

The London School of Economics and Political Science

**An affective and embodied push to Bourdieu's dispositional
model: *Funk's cultural practices in Rio de Janeiro***

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Abstract

Baile funk is a music scene historically associated with blackness and impoverished areas of Rio de Janeiro. This music has been gaining in visibility over the last three decades. Nevertheless, stigmatization and official repression co-exist with its popularity. Funk's pervasiveness, even among the upper classes, does not seem to eradicate prejudice against producers and fans. This thesis investigates struggles for equal rights and full citizenship using funk by looking at the mediation and appropriation of funk music by the government, journalists, activist groups and funk creators themselves. This investigation refers to interviews, documents, videos and photographs. Hence, the methodology employed relies on a combination of ethnographic methods, including visual ethnography, and the analysis of semi-structured interviews.

Sociologists have associated popular culture with a lack of legitimacy and autonomy, opposing it to pure art and its disinterested approach to worldly life. Indeed, the creation of *baile funk* music is not a disinterested activity. While funk producers may have commercial interests, they do, nevertheless, also get involved in political matters and local community issues, dealing with structural constraints through their bodies, political activism and affective labour. Lastly, those creating funk demand the freedom to create, the possibility of occupying different spaces of the city and recognition as aesthetic agents.

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Despite the valuable contributions of others, I alone am responsible for any omissions or errors in this thesis.

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Core glossary

Afroreggae: It does work similar to CUFA (see CUFA), counting on support from different companies.

APAFUNK: Created in 2008, the acronym stands for Association of Professionals and Friends of Funk Music. It is the main institution behind the Funk is Culture movement (see Funk is Culture).

Asfalto: Slang for areas of the city beyond the *favelas*. It is hard to give an unequivocal definition of *asfalto* and *favela* because the difference hinges on space, but it is also symbolic, denoting all sorts of inequalities.

Baile: Parties occurring in Rio de Janeiro since the 1970s. The first *bailes* played North-American soul music, this was replaced by Miami bass during the 1980s. Finally, during the 1990s, *baile funk* became an identifiable style with its own particularities.

Batalha do Passinho: Series of events organized in the *favela* communities of Rio de Janeiro in which dancers compete with one another for prizes.

Bonde: It refers to groups of armed men, members of criminal factions. *Passinho* dancers appropriated the term, using it to name their dance groups.

Break: A form of dance associated with hip-hop that influences movements in *passinho*.

Cantagalo: A *favela* community located in Copacabana, a rich part of Rio de Janeiro famous for its beach and tourism.

Capoeira: It is a mixture of dance and martial arts initially practised by slaves in Brazil. Detailed information about how *capoeira* arrived in Brazil and how it evolved is scarce, given the low

status of its practitioners in the past.

Chapéu Mangueira: A *favela* community located in Leme, a wealthy neighbourhood close to Cobacabana.

Comando Vermelho: Founded in 1979, it is a major criminal organization in Rio de Janeiro, it used to control a number of different *favelas*, including Complexo do Alemão.

Complexo do Alemão: A complex of *favelas* located in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro. It was occupied by military forces in 2010.

CUFA: An acronym standing for Central Única das *Favelas* (roughly translated as Unified Centre of *Favelas*), it stages events and provides workshops and courses for young people in the *favelas*. CUFA is sponsored by a number of big Brazilian and international companies.

Direito para Quem: In their words: "We are a group of activists fighting for human rights and the emancipation of the working class from an anti-capitalist perspective."

Equipes de som: Companies that own the sound systems, organize parties and hire the other professionals involved in the *baile*. Esquenta: A show from Globo Television introducing attractions from underprivileged parts of Brazilian cities.

Favela: It is not easy to define what a *favela* is. Normally, the answer revolves around poverty, segregation, a lack of services available in other areas of the city, the stigma suffered by its dwellers and precariousness. Nevertheless,

positive attributes are also conferred on *favelas*, such as a strong sense of community and collaboration.

Favelado: A pejorative term referring to someone who lives in a *favela*. It has been re-signified by funk songs aiming to dignify the term.

Frevo: An energetic dance in which the body is kept low and the posture straight, while the legs perform fast kicks in the air. The dancers commonly carry a colourful umbrella. It is a typical dance from Pernambuco, in the northeast of Brazil.

Funk is Culture: In 2008, funk artists and activists released a manifesto criticizing the economic exploitation and prejudice funk fans and artists have to endure on a daily basis. As a result of its activities, a law discriminating against funk was revoked and replaced by a new one recognising funk's status as culture.

Funkeiro: A term referring to funk artists and fans, it acquired pejorative connotations during the 1990s.

Funk-sertanejo: A mixture of funk and sertanejo (see sertanejo).

Galeras: Groups of dancers/fighters, associated with certain areas of Rio de Janeiro, clashing in *baile funk* during the 1990s in the so-called *bailes de corredor*, or corridor parties. Galera is also a slang term referring to a group of friends.

Globo: A major media group in Brazil which controls newspapers, magazines, publishing companies and television networks.

Heavy baile: A term coined by a group of DJs and producers who mix funk with other influences, including other styles of club music.

Lapa: A bohemian region in central Rio de Janeiro known for its parties.

MC: An acronym for Master of Ceremonies, the singer and most of the time composer of funk music. He is also responsible for entertaining the crowd.

MEURIO: Established in 2011, this organization is part of a broader network of institutions combining online and on-site activism. It works with APAFUNK during Rodas de Funk, even though it has a more varied agenda, normally dealing with issues involving the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Montagem: A strand of funk stressing the beat. Words are not completely absent, but they are not as important as in other styles of funk.

Ostentação: A recent strand of funk, especially strong in São Paulo, based on wealth ostentation.

Pagofunks: Considered a subgenre of samba (see samba). Since the 1990s, many groups using the word pagode have started producing what has been called pagode romântico (romantic pagode). This kind of music enjoyed huge commercial success during the nineties and is still relevant on the music scene today.

Patricinha: Similar to a playboy (see playboy), but referring to a woman in better financial circumstances who lives in a wealthy area and wears branded clothes.

Playboy: A highly relational term used by all social classes in Rio de Janeiro, it refers to someone who is not only richer than most but is also in the habit of showing off.

Pós-baile: Similar to montagem (see montagem), it is a name given by

Man Recordings to Sany Pitbul's productions.

Proibidão: A label referring to funk songs about crime and sex. It can be translated as forbidden or prohibited in English.

Putaria: A swear word meaning something like dirty sex, it also became a term referring to a strand of funk describing sex.

Quadrado: A form of dance associated with funk music. It incorporates different dance traditions and became prominent among youth from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro.

Rebolado: A word for dance movements using the hips.

Rocinha: Rocinha is located in the middle of two wealthy neighbourhoods, Gávea and São Conrado. It is considered to be the biggest *favela* in Brazil. It received a visit from a unit of the Pacifying Police in 2012.

Roda de Funk: Events that mix music and protest and demand the right to produce *baile funk* in areas occupied by UPPs.

Samba: This word covers a number of different practices, including dance and music. It is associated with carnival and became one of the foremost representations of Brazil, to the point of becoming a stereotype. Normally, samba includes percussive elements, e.g. surdo and tamborim, and string instruments, such as cavaquinho or acoustic guitar.

SBT (Brazilian System of

Television): Competing with Globo and Record, this is a major media group in Brazil. It is also a channel of so-called open television, just like Globo and Record, which can be accessed by anyone with a television set.

Sertanejo: It is a kind of music associated with acoustic guitars and lyrics about life in the fields.

A new strand called sertanejo universitário (university sertanejo) diverted from bucolic songs towards something more agitated, enjoyed by youngsters at parties.

Terceiro Comando: A splinter group from Comando Vermelho formed during the 1980s.

Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora (Pacifying Police Units): A project that started in 2008 based on military operations and followed by the installation of a so-called Pacifying Police Unit. This unit is normally a building in which policemen work, many of them recently hired by Rio de Janeiro's State Government.

UPP Social: This project recently changed its name to Rio+Social, following the decline of UPP's legitimacy. The city government controls this project. It aims to give a voice to different sectors of government trying to bring social improvement to different *favelas* with UPP.

Introduction

A injustiça vem do asfalto
pra favela
Há discriminação à vera
Chegam em cartão postal
Em outdoor a burguesia nos revela
Que o pobre da favela tem instinto
marginal
E o meu povo quando desce
pro trabalho
Pede a Deus que o proteja
dessa gente ilegal, doutor
Que nos maltrata e que finge não
saber
Que a guerra na favela é um problema
social
Eu não sou marginal

Eu só imploro a igualdade pra viver,
doutor
No meu Brasil que o negro construiu

A injustiça tem o colarinho branco
Usa sapato e tamanco compra tudo que
quiser
Tem limusine, avião, BMW
Compra sua imunidade só pra agir de
má fé
Enquanto isso os favelados vão
sofrendo
E por aqui vou escrevendo
E vou cantando a minha dor doutor
Indignado com tanta corrupção
Que maltrata os inocentes e alivia o
ladrão

Injustice comes from the *asfalto* to the
favela
Lots of discrimination
Coming as postcards
On hoardings, the bourgeoisie reveal
that the poor of the *favela* have a
marginal instinct
And my people, when it comes down
to work,
Ask God for protection from this
illegal people, doctor
They mistreat us and pretend not to
know
That the war in the *favelas* is a social
problem
I'm not a marginal

I just beg for equality to live,
doctor
In my Brazil that the blacks built

Injustice has a white collar
They wear shoes and clogs
Purchase anything they want
Limousines, aeroplanes, BMWs
They buy their immunity,
just to act in bad faith
Meanwhile the *favelados*
suffer
I'm writing and singing my pain,
doctor
Outraged by so much corruption
Which abuses the innocent and
relieves the thief

(Rap da Igualdade, song by MC
Dolores, author's translation,¹ sung
during the People's Summit in
20/06/1984 by MC Junior and MC
Leonardo)

¹ All quotations from Brazilian newspapers and archival sources, as well as lyrics, interviews, excerpts and citations from websites, are my own translations. Regarding academic sources, I will make my translations explicit in the text. For longer interview excerpts, the original texts in Portuguese are included in these footnotes.

The *baile funk* scene in Rio de Janeiro has its roots in the so-called *bailes black*, very popular parties held during the seventies (*baile* is Portuguese for ball). At those events, North-American rhythm & blues (R&B, also referred to as funk) was the music of choice. Today, in Brazil, the word funk mostly refers to a kind of electronic music that is extremely popular across the country. Funk is also a highly malleable expression, enjoyed by different classes, even though its production is closely connected to the working classes and blacks. The style constantly incorporates new beats, slang, clothes and dance moves.

The sociological and anthropological literature on *baile funk* reacts critically to negative portrayals of the style by the press and criminalization by the state, a process that began during the 1990s (Facina 2009, Lopes 2011, Herschmann 2005). There are at least two different argumentative strands addressing those problems. First, the literature describes, analyses and criticizes prejudice and criminalization (Facina 2009, Lopes 2011, Herschmann 2005). Secondly, another line of enquiry argues that one should be able to analyse funk by stressing its aesthetic autonomy (Mizrahi 2006, 2010).

Regarding criminalization, authors directly or indirectly stress the power of structures and institutions, also analysing how funk artists resist social constraints. Nevertheless, by stressing the influence of structures and institutions, authors concerned with the criminalization of funk are not disregarding funk as an aesthetic practice. One argument is that prejudice and criminalization hamper the recognition of funk's aesthetics.

Another approach argues for an aesthetic analysis of *baile funk* music by downplaying the influence of social structures. Mizrahi (2006, 2010) argues that focusing on social determinants fails to comprehend funk as an aesthetic practice. This is also a necessary critique, given that if social research does not

pay enough attention to funk as an art form, it might suggest that the aesthetics of funk is not as important as its social dimension.

But stating that the notion of ‘art for art’s sake’ is applicable to funk (Mizrahi 2010) presupposes a stable concept of a work of art (Born 2005), as discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, the production of funk includes making alternative versions and remixes, thus clashing with established notions associated with the ‘art for art’s sake’ paradigm. For instance, there is a collective dimension to funk’s production that does not occur in the production of so-called pure art, described as marked by individuality (Born 2005).

Mizrahi (2010) argues that *baile funk* is an autonomous art form, even though this autonomy does not apply to the artist as an individual. According to her, the aesthetics of *baile funk* does not involve the creative genius ideology typical of a romantic understanding of aesthetic autonomy (Mizrahi 2010).

I intend to follow a different path in this thesis, one that recognizes funk’s aestheticism while stressing the relevance of social structures by focusing on how funk artists use music to struggle for equal rights and full citizenship. Palombini’s (2011) work provides crucial resources to initiate this debate, since he pays attention both to the aesthetics of *baile funk* and to the context of violence and official repression. Sneed (2003, 2007, 2008) is also a valuable source in this area. Both authors, however, have concentrated on traditional agents involved with funk. I will expand the scope to include other agents that contribute aesthetically to the production of *baile funk*, even though they might, to a certain extent, be considered outsiders in the funk scene (academics included). My thesis will take up the issues outlined above and focus on the following questions:

- What is the relationship between aesthetics and politics in the *baile funk* scene?
- What role do spaces, affects and embodiment play in the struggles of *baile funk* artists, producers and activists?
- How do funk artists struggle for equal rights and full citizenship in the funk scene?

Baile funk music is still quite unknown internationally, outside groups of electronic music connoisseurs (for references in English see: Palombini 2010, Dowdy 2012, Filho and Herschmann 2011, Sneed 2003, 2007 and 2008, Yúdice 2003). Therefore, next I give a short historical introduction to the *baile funk* scene in Rio de Janeiro. This section aims to situate the reader in the broader context of *baile funk* music production.

A short history of baile funk music in Rio de Janeiro

Different cultural practices associated with the working class and blacks in Brazil have undergone processes of appropriation and legitimation, one example being samba (Avelar and Dunn 2011, Siqueira 2012, D'Angelo 2015). However, during the first half of the twentieth century, the promotion of artists and songs that contributed to the necessity of fostering national integration accompanied this process of legitimation. In this case, the subgenre *samba-exaltação* (patriotic samba) fulfilled this role very well (Yúdice 2003, Siqueira 2012, D'Angelo 2015).

Meanwhile, Getúlio Vargas' authoritarian government censored *sambistas* who did not contribute to creating an image of social and racial integration (Magaldi 1999, Avelar and Dunn 2011, Siqueira 2012, D'Angelo 2015). These

were singers identified with the “ethos and myths of the *malandro*, the urban street hustler romanticized in countless sambas” (Avelar and Dunn 2011, p. 15).

Examining funk provides an interesting perspective on the theme of working-class practices and their pervasiveness among the middle and upper classes. In funk’s case, this is an ongoing process. Looking at space is fundamental, since movements across the city accompany stylistic changes in funk, making it sound increasingly local and peculiar (see Chapter 5).

The theme of national integration does not seem to affect the expansion of funk’s consumption among the middle and upper classes observed since the nineties (Essinger 2005, Ariza 2006). Scholars have pointed out that funk artists themselves identify “more with the local *favelas* instead of the nationalistic connections of musical genres such as samba” (D’Angelo 2015, p. 47).

The emergence of a funk scene preceded the production of *baile* funk music as we know it today. The kind of funk listened to across Rio de Janeiro (sung in Portuguese and marked by a strong electronic syncopated beat) sounds very different from the funk played in the suburban *bailes black*. However, research conducted on funk recognizes in those parties the beginning of today’s funk scene (Vianna 1987, Essinger 2005, Herschmann 2005, Lopes 2011).

How did this type of American music become popular in Rio de Janeiro? One of the first DJs playing soul music was Newton Duarte, or Big Boy, who combined soul and rock’n’roll in his sets. He was white middle class and from Flamengo, a wealthy neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro. In 1964, Big Boy started a radio show on Tamoio station. He used to talk over different songs in his shows and DJ sets, a style which Essinger (2005) later characterized as a kind of proto-rap.

In 1969, another important player entered the scene. Mr Funky Santos started to organise parties in Astoria Futebol Clube, located in Catumbi, near the Port Area of the city. Mr Santos' parties were extremely successful. According to him, this was because youths from the suburbs who started to attend Big Boy's *bailes* did not want to hear rock, only "heavy funk" as he called it. Therefore, as Funky Santos started to play only soul, he managed to steal some of Big Boy's audience (Essinger 2005).

Another important location for the funk scene was Clube Renascença, created at the end of the 1950s in Méier, before moving to Andaraí a few years later (Vianna 1987, Essinger 2005). One of the main objectives of this club was to bring the black community together and to raise its self-esteem, according to one of its main idealizers, Filó (Essinger 2005).

The first parties held in Renascença were samba parties. But one night, Filó went to Astoria Futebol Clube to see Mr Funky Santos' party. Astonished by the attendance, Filó realized he could do the same thing in Clube Renascença. In 1972 he set this idea in motion, creating *A Noite do Shaft*, or Shaft's Night; this was the beginning of a number of parties which culminated in the creation of Soul Grand Prix's *equipe de som*, sound companies owning the sound system and organizing the *bailes* (Vianna 1987, Essinger 2005). According to Filó, their peculiarity was black consciousness (Essinger 2005).

The assertion of blackness during the early days of the funk scene in Rio de Janeiro could be perceived in the name of a fourth important sound system, Black Power. This *equipe de som* began with Paulão, and his first night was in Clube Botafoguinho, Guadalupe.

Those four *equipes de som* dominated different areas of the city, as described by Essinger and his interviewees. Big Boy was a big name in Zona Sul, or South

Zone, known for being the most touristic and wealthy area of Rio de Janeiro. The central area, also comprising the port area, was Mr Funky Santos' region. Soul Grand Prix dominated Leopoldina, Méier and Cascadura. In turn, Black Power was strong in Oswaldo Cruz, Bento Ribeiro, Marechal Hermes and Rocha Miranda.

Therefore, roughly speaking, it is possible to say that Soul Grand Prix and Black Power played an important role in the suburbs, Mr Funky Santos in central Rio and Big Boy in Zona Sul (southern Rio de Janeiro). Of course, DJs were not restricted to their own areas, but a sense of territoriality was perceivable in interviews collected by Essinger (2005) for his book *Batidão*, about funk's history.

The seventies marked the beginning of the *baile* funk scene and the proliferation of parties known as *bailes* throughout suburban parts of Rio de Janeiro. At the beginning of the eighties, rhythm 'n' blues, or soul music, gave way to electronic beats and melodies produced by synthesizers. Discotheque fever dominated the whole city (Vianna 1987).

At the end of the eighties, the discotheque scene started to decline, both in *Zona Sul* and *Zona Norte* (northern Rio de Janeiro), and this was when disco-funk appeared. Most songs were Miami bass tracks, a strand of American hip-hop and the source of most funk beats used during that period. At the end of the eighties, Miami bass had replaced American funk as the preferred style of *bailes black*, but the word used by everyone remained the same, funk.

In an interview for this research, DJ Marlboro explained that during that period the expression Miami bass was not yet even a phrase for describing this specific hip-hop from Miami. One important character in this shift from soul funk to electronic funk was the eclectic American DJ Afrika Bambaataa. His

mixture of Kraftwerk with James Brown arrived in Rio de Janeiro and influenced DJ Marlboro, who released the album *Funk Brasil 1* in 1989 (Essinger 2005). The end of the eighties was also the period when one of the most important characters in the funk scene emerged, the MC or Master of Ceremonies, a character who sings and raps over funk beats.

Both scholars and funk artists talk about a growing discontentment with *baile funk* from certain sectors of Rio de Janeiro's society during the nineties. This sentiment grew out of the loudness of parties and the constant association between *baile funk* and violent group fights, these being characteristic of so-called *bailes de corredor*, or corridor *bailes* (Yúdice 2003, Herschmann 2005). Fights between *galeras* marked a number of those parties, in which groups from different neighbourhoods would fight each other.

It was only when those fights reached the rich neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro that funk became a focus of attention for the whole city. In 1992, an episode known as “*arrastão*” happened. The newspapers interpreted this episode as a frenzy of collective robberies, but researchers also describe it as a repetition of scenes normally occurring inside *bailes funk*. This fight on the beach might have been responsible for creating the collective panic reported in the newspapers (Herschmann 2005, Facina 2009). Despite the ambiguity over what actually occurred, the news connected the “*arrastão*” with funk, thus motivating the growing repression (Lopes 2011) and criminalization (Yúdice 2003, Herschmann 2005) of *bailes* during the 1990s.

Hermano Vianna argues that government and prejudice pushed funk into the *favelas*. According to him, the repression of *bailes de clube*, happening in suburban clubs, mostly in the north of Rio de Janeiro, delivered funk into the hands of drug traffickers (Vianna 2005). Despite this situation, at the beginning

of the 1990s, the *bailes* in *favelas* were less dangerous than the *bailes de clube* (Essinger 2005). This happened because people going to *bailes* in *favelas* were mostly locals.

Sometimes, people from *asfalto*, slang for richer areas outside *favelas*, would also go up the hill. This movement prompted new and different encounters and conflicts which were very different from the issues raised by *bailes de clube*, these being marked by the violent encounters between different *galerias*, groups of youngsters identified with various parts of the city.

There are two aspects to be highlighted regarding *bailes de favelas*. First, some of them were the result of the very particular socio-geography of Rio de Janeiro, marked by poor communities ensconced in the hills of the city amidst rich areas. Secondly, this geographical proximity of *favelas* and *asfalto* illustrates inequality but also allows for encounters between different classes, which were not always completely peaceful, even though a certain degree of integration also occurred. Ways of talking, slang, gesturing and dressing spread from *favelas* to *asfalto* (Essinger 2005, Mizrahi 2010).

Research by Hedegard (2011) suggests that there is a certain rejection of funk and rap in Brazil because of class and racialized boundaries. Surveys suggest that people in Brazil see styles such as funk and rap negatively, associating them with the lower classes and blacks (Hedegard 2011). On the other hand, research has associated *bossa nova* and rock with “white identities” (Hedegard 2011, p. 788). Those results reaffirm funk’s position as one of the main ways in which Brazilian black youth engage with culture, they also suggest the persistence of stigma. Furthermore, research about cultural consumption in Brazil has already pointed to the existence of negative reactions from the Brazilian middle class towards cultural practices associated with the poor and blacks (O’Dougherty 2002).

Even though funk still resists discrimination from the Brazilian upper and middle classes, qualitative data found during field research (and by other researchers in the area, see Mizrahi 2010, Lopes 2011, Herschmann 2005) suggest that engagement with funk is not restricted to the poor, blacks or *favela* dwellers. Mizrahi (2010) investigated the life of MC Catra, a black middle-class artist who gave up law school for funk, he became a very successful MC. Moreover, DJ Big Boy, one of the founding fathers of funk in Rio de Janeiro back in the 1980s, was white middle class (Essinger 2005). A number of funk producers have also ascended through funk.

More recently, the biggest challenge that funk artists have faced is the renewed official persecution of this style from the state government. During the nineties, state and city legislative chambers investigated funk, leading to the repression of *bailes*. In the last few years, the state has prohibited *baile funk* events after installing Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora or UPPs (Pacifying Police Units). The UPP is a security policy implemented by the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro since 2008 that aims to control organized crime in the *favelas*.

1.1 Habitus and cultural capital: funk as interested aestheticism

How does one reconcile the influence of established social structures with the possibility of social change? The contradictions found in scholarly discussions about funk involve accounting for the power of social structures while avoiding reifying the stigma and prejudice against the style by stressing its aesthetic relevance.

Similar problems appear in purely theoretical debates. Lamont and Lareau (1988) associate the concept of cultural capital with high status. But what happens to this account of cultural capital in contexts where eclecticism grows stronger and different social classes consume similar cultural products (see Petterson 1992, Peterson and Kern 1996, Savage et al. 2013)?

Maintaining the association between cultural capital and high status could mean reifying social segregation. The same problem influences discussions on aesthetic autonomy (Bourdieu 2010). The popular arts have historically been associated with a lack of autonomy and cultural legitimacy (Bourdieu 2010, Adorno 2006, Green 1997). Regarding popular music, Adorno said: “The autonomy of music is replaced by a mere socio-psychological function. Music today is largely a social cement” (Adorno 2006, p. 82).

According to Bourdieu and Adorno, standardization and commercialism mark popular culture, as opposed to pure and autonomous art forms (Bourdieu 2010, Adorno 2006). Bourdieu (2010) associates pure art and aesthetic autonomy with a disinterested approach to worldly life typical of highbrow art forms. Nevertheless, authors such as Friedman (2011), Middleton (1990) and Mizrahi (2010) challenge this interpretation, arguing that the term aesthetic autonomy could be at least partially applicable to popular culture.

Theoretical concepts interact with mutable historical periods and structures. Changes in the way people consume and produce cultural products do not necessarily invalidate those terms. Nonetheless, modifications to social structure force us to revise our traditional tools of social analysis.

Funk as a form of cultural capital

Funk's articulation as a form of cultural capital is, from one perspective, fragile because of its association with low-status signals. But *baile funk* has other advantages, such as pervasiveness accompanied by a relative independence from hegemonic market structures and a strong connection to spaces in the city known for their cultural vitality.

For these reasons, funk became an important tool of social mobilization, as I will show in Chapter 6. Chapter 4 will argue that considering funk as a form of cultural capital also depends on the transformation and adaptation of sonic materials and body moves, independently of labels and classifications. The relationship between the production of funk and spaces of the city known not only for their poverty but also their cultural vibrancy, the so-called *favelas*, suggests as well the possibility of discussing funk as a form of cultural capital. This possibility emerges from the collective mobilization of funk's cultural practices, and not necessarily from individual struggles to improve one's social position.

Many MCs, dancers, producers and DJs manage to accrue social, economic and political capital by producing funk. But when considering repression, prejudice and the origins of many artists interviewed for this research, how does one explain their capacity to develop different kinds of resources through their cultural practices?

According to Bourdieu, those in the upper classes create distinction through the articulation of different kinds of capital with long-lasting dispositions, or habitus. Considering cultural capital as "widely-shared status signals" (Lamont 1988, pp. 152–159, Friedman 2011) would exclude the possibility of considering practices associated with funk as a form of cultural capital. Is the concept of cultural capital suitable to explain funk?

Studying the *baile funk* scene provides a rich field to understand processes of legitimation, as the middle and upper classes increasingly appropriate the style. Therefore, discussing funk as a form of emerging cultural capital (Savage and Prieur 2013) is crucial. This concept helps to explain some of the issues involving funk, including its use in struggles for equal rights and legitimacy.

Legitimacy in this work is not the same as “prestige”. Prestige serves to restrict “access to higher status positions” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157). Lamont and Lareau describe legitimacy as the exclusion of “lower class members from middle class circles” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157). However, cultural legitimacy in the case of *baile funk* does not depend solely on exclusion based on class.

In order to discuss legitimacy, analysing established notions of citizenship in Brazil is useful. Despite critiques, ideas sustaining the cordiality of the Brazilian people and the existence of harmonic racial conviviality are still influential (Emboaba da Costa 2016). I will consider the process of funk’s legitimation as culture and art in terms of the acceptance of and resistance to those ideas.

Cristopher Dunn and Idelber Avelar see music as central to “current reimaginings of Brazilian citizenship” (Avelar and Dunn 2011, p. 109). One article in the aforementioned book concentrates on how local media simultaneously both stigmatize and glamourize funk (Filho and Herschman 2011). The authors argue that the moral panic stirred up by the media also brought visibility to the funk scene, allowing agents involved with the style to “denounce the condition of ‘banned’ subjects’ and claim citizenship” (Filho and Herschman 2011).

In Brazil, citizenship is both “confusing and unstable” (Caldeira and Holston 1999, p. 717) and does not refer to practices and rules linearly leading us

“towards ideal civility” (Dunn 2011, p. 75). Since 1985, when democracy returned after more than twenty years of violent military dictatorship, Brazil witnessed an “expansion of civil, social, and political rights” (Dunn 2011, p. 89). At the same time, the rise of so-called urban violence led to the securitization and militarization of spaces, especially *favelas*, a term referring to impoverished areas of the city (Facina 2009). On a daily basis, many young and black *favela* dwellers suffer a violent death, as I will discuss in Chapter 6 (Facina 2009).

As Pardue (2011) puts it, “the triad [of] social, civil and political rights rarely existed in an equal fashion from the very beginning of democratic transition” (Pardue 2011, p. 209). With the end of military dictatorship, different and “heterogeneous groups” (Pardue 2011, p. 210) started to exercise their “citizenship rights” (Pardue 2011, p. 210). Consequently, the state’s hegemonic power to control identity was weakened (Pardue 2011, p. 210). In this context, it is unlikely that the state would appropriate funk to foster national integration, as it did in the past with other working-class practices, such as samba (Siqueira 2012).

Bourdieu and others (Boyne 2002, McRobbie 2002) often consider working-class subjects through deprivation and suffering (Skeggs 2011). Curiously enough, the majority of funk songs are not about lack, necessity or poverty, rather they are about power: the power of criminal factions; the power of men and women; the power of sex and money; the power of romantic love; the power of spaces and memories; and so on.

Pleasure and affect are crucial and can be mobilized to confront authority: “the pleasures of the popular are not disaggregated from the political as many have suggested” (Skeggs 2011, p. 506). As suggested by Skeggs (2011) and Gandhi (2006), stressing affect is necessary in order to propose a comprehension

of the self that avoids privileging rationality, discursivity and the predominance of exchange value.

Skeggs (2011) and Gandhi (2006) seem to suggest that Bourdieu does not provide a suitable framework to understand non-hegemonic values, my intention is to show that they are only partially right. First, Bourdieu did take into consideration affect and embodiment when proposing a dispositional model. Secondly, I want to argue that concepts such as habitus and cultural capital are still useful to explain “alternative value formations” (Skeggs 2011, p. 504). However, going beyond Bourdieu is still necessary. My objective is neither to subscribe completely to Bourdieu’s theories nor to defend him from critique, but rather to critically appropriate some of his concepts, testing the limits of these ideas to explain the current reality.

Habitus and improvisation: rehabilitating “popular aesthetics”

Chapter 2 focuses on how people’s affective attachments to spaces in the city, cultural practices and ideologies of race and class produce a notion of habitus that does not presuppose a hegemonic ethos. In this sense, representation loses importance when compared to other explanations of social action. In addition, discussing habitus requires an account of space, conducted in Chapter 5, and embodiment, conducted in Chapter 7, thus complementing affect (Reay 2004). This focus is compatible with Bourdieu’s thoughts, especially if one considers the book *Pascoalian Meditations* (2000), where he systematizes a model of social action based not on rationality but on disposition.

The concept of habitus is especially useful to social analysis when considered in terms of embodiment, affect and individual trajectories (Reay 2004). The informants and other agents mentioned in this thesis occupy different positions within the field of funk music production and the social space. Bourdieu associated habitus with social positioning and the possession of different kinds of capital. Habitus does not only indicate social sets but also individuality; in his words: “no two individual habituses are identical” (Bourdieu 1993, p. 46).

It is helpful to think about habitus moving back and forth between collective and individual structuration, as well as between present and past (Reay 2004). Bourdieu focused on social class to propose classed habituses (Reay 2004). But other elements can interfere in habitus formation; race and gender are two examples (Reay 2004).

If different elements can constitute habitus, considering collective habituses together with individual habituses allows the comprehension of how different structural determinants intersect to influence action. In this thesis, habitus is a method (Reay 2004), a conceptual tool aiding the explanation of how agents create their world.

Bourdieu is sceptical of accounts aiming to rehabilitate popular aesthetics, which would be the same as transforming “privation into choice (...) while leaving things as they are” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 76). The absorption of working-class culture by cultivated culture can occur, but only as an act of “distinguished subversion” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 76). Meanwhile, those in unprivileged positions remain “devoid of any social value and subject to abrupt devaluations” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 76).

In this context, it is hard to understand how “agents may transcend situational frames of meaning and resist their subordination within a particular system of power relations” (Jenkins 1982, p. 273). According to Jenkins, who accuses Bourdieu of determinism, “structures produce habitus, which generates practice, which reproduces the structures, and so on” (Jenkins 1982, p. 273). Therefore, according to this critique, there is a clear line of causation from structures towards action.

Bourdieu, though, argues that one of the main objectives behind the term habitus is to challenge a determinist comprehension of social action (Bourdieu 2000). The literature has used the term affordance to explain how perception is also a practical activity, about perceiving knowledge and affordances provided by the environment (Ingold 2000). DeNora uses the term affordance to think about music as a “resource for (...) world building” (DeNora 2003, p. 46), a practice also supporting other practices.

Habitus propitiates affordances (Ingold 2000). This remark does not suggest that one should ignore established social constraints, rather that acknowledging embodied and affective learning allows the individual to deal actively with existing structures (Bourdieu 2000). According to Ingold (2000), both the theory of affordances, proposed by Gibson, as well as Bourdieu’s theory of practice “set out to re-embed perception and cognition within the practical contexts of people’s on-going engagement with their environment” (Ingold 2000, p. 167). The concept of affordance provides a conceptual instrument that does not contradict Bourdieu’s basic arguments, while allowing a comprehension of what carioca *baile funk*’s practices, such as dance and music, “can do” (DeNora 2006).

The terms habitus and habit have a long intellectual tradition. In sociology, Bourdieu’s conceptualization of habitus gained immense currency. William

James' book *The Principles of Psychology* (2014) was Bourdieu's inspiration (Blackman 2013). Bourdieu and William James wanted to solve the contradiction of "habit as both resistant and creative" (Blackman 2013, p. 191).

Solving this paradox means dealing with a lasting issue in sociology, structure versus agency. The idea of improvisation provides a fruitful path to deal with this apparent dichotomy. Bourdieu defines habitus as the non-intentional regulation of action closely associated with the capacity to improvise (Bourdieu 2000). In order to understand the habitus of funk producers, one must acknowledge how they balance improvisation and repetition.

Improvisation is not the same as random behaviour and "it typically consists of patterned actions that can be interpreted by others" (Duranti et al. 2012, p. 423). Ingold and Hallam (2007) investigate how creativity depends on improvisation, creativity not only in the artistic sense but also in the broader sense of generating forms (Ingold and Hallam 2007, Mizrahi 2010). Referring to this idea of improvisation as generative, Mizrahi (2010) argues that the "reasons" behind funk music are also the "art for art's sake" (Mizrahi 2010, p. 99, author's translation) and the "pleasure of pure creation" (Mizrahi 2010, p. 99, author's translation). She argues that one can understand funk without referring to a social context, as an autonomous art form.

Stanyek (2004) provides an account of improvisation that may be useful at this point. In pan-African music, when musicians improvise, they are giving up control over the final result. They are stressing the collaboration between different practices and histories without precluding "diasporic unity" (Stanyek 2004, p. 94). Improvisation does not only link with spontaneity but also with an "empathetic, hermeneutic *interaction* that is constituted upon a recognition of the

powerful synergy and responsibility that arises when humans with multiple perspectives come together to make music” (Stanyek 2004, p. 95).

In *baile funk*, improvisation and creation based on the reconfiguration of musical sources are extremely common. Similar to pan-African music, *baile funk* is part of a different assemblage than the ‘art for art’s sake’ paradigm. The latter places emphasis on the autonomous work of art as finished and immutable. Therefore, even though I do agree with Mizrahi’s intention to consider funk from an aesthetic perspective, the term ‘art for art’s sake’ does not seem adequate.

Born (2005) uses the word assemblage to account for durable interconnections between artists, instruments and other kinds of technology. One should be cautious when discussing the influence of technology in music production. Indeed, in the last few years, we have seen a proliferation of technical devices that influence the way humans create and communicate (Savage and Prieur 2013). This process has had a profound impact on the funk scene. *Passinho* dancers, as analysed in Chapter 4, are very skilled in the use of social media, they are mostly teenagers or youngsters in their early twenties.

Social media have been an important component of the *baile funk* scene, at least since the 1990s, and their use has expanded in the last decade as the *favelas* became more digitally inclusive (Bentes 2013). The use of technology associated with popular culture and social activism creates what Bentes (2013) calls a “cyber-periphery”. According to her, “this is a place of ‘wealth in poverty’ fought over by groups like Nike, Globo Network Television and the State” (Bentes, 2013, p. 33).

Nevertheless, accessibility still lags behind in those areas when compared with the rest of Rio de Janeiro (FGV 2012) and suggests the existence of a “cyber-periphery” might lead to an excessively optimistic analysis of digital

inclusion in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*. Getúlio Vargas Foundation conducted research in 2012 on this theme. It found that Rocinha, Complexo do Alemão and Maré (three of the biggest *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro) had the lowest levels of digital access in the city (FGV, 2012).

Regarding theory, despite Bourdieu's timid account of technology (Prior 2008), one might draw an important conclusion from his work: one must be careful not to confer on technology an excessive power of determination over social action (Sterne 2003). Following Ingold (2000), one should not assume the existence of a technological world that determines how people act and create.

Funk as an interested practice

Bourdieu associates aestheticism with conservative politics and disinterestedness (Bourdieu 2010, Gandhi 2006). Nevertheless, as argued by Leela Gandhi (2006), this link is unnecessary. Stressing the interestedness of funk music does not mean setting aside its aesthetical importance. It means bringing to the fore the political relevance of *baile funk* and how political action using music indicates different affordances of art-making (DeNora 2003).

The politics of funk deals with affects and dispositions and it does not appeal only to reason. My objective is to depart from the ideal of political practice as solely dialogue and reflexivity, manifested as "an allergy to the revolutionary claims of utopia, metaphysical, affective and 'spiritualist' endeavour" (Gandhi 2006, p. 146).

Funk artists constantly have to cope with stigma and repression. Considering funk as an autonomous artistic practice cannot dispense with a critical account of discrimination based on class and racialized boundaries. On the other hand, considering funk as a practice fully determined by social structures does not

explain the complex aesthetic intervention of *baile funk* in debates about classism, racism, homophobia and sexism.

Funk artists' strategies to cope with discrimination include creating performances promoting respectability and challenging structural constraints. Nevertheless, it is hard to confirm whether funk artists oppose or align themselves with hegemonic values. A nuanced approach is required to understand funk's contradictions, one that does not presuppose only two opposing possibilities, subservience and resistance.

The analysis of funk music conducted in this thesis highlights an aesthetic path to political action, as analysed in Chapter 6. Bourdieu seems to close this path in *Distinction*, since those at the top create the rules for those at the bottom, including the aesthetic criteria governing high or low. Theory internalizes existing differences and it becomes very hard to understand how those at the low end of the social spectrum can change this system of positions that reinforces their own judgement criteria.

According to Gandhi (2006), one can also think about art as an aesthetic but still interested practice relying on an "ethics of domicilium" (Gandhi 2006, p. 154) that is predicated on dwelling with otherness and difference. She developed this term aiming to account for "this capacity to offer asylum that art lays claim to radical autonomy from the levelling and conservative actions of history and thought" (Gandhi 2006, p. 161).

This "ethics of domicilium" involves the role that aesthetic experience plays in freeing action from the "legislative realm" of cognition and rationality (Gandhi 2006). It is a kind of aestheticism compromised with liberation from "imperial realism and narcissism in its flight toward the numerous strange

outcasts variously excluded from the privileged mainstream” (Gandhi 2006, p. 161).

Both Gandhi and Bourdieu share a critical approach towards rationalistic models of social life. Bourdieu proposes a dispositional model, introducing the concept of habitus as central to his framework. Habitus is “this ‘can-be’”, producing practices that adjust to “possibilities, in particular, orienting the perception and evaluation of the possibilities inscribed in the present situation” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 217).

In order to understand habitus in terms of emerging value formations, it is necessary to have a concept of value that is “contingent and situational” (Skeggs 2010, p. 34). According to Skeggs, “autonomist working-class value practices” (Skeggs 2011, p. 509) challenge ideas about what constitutes the “proper” way to be, marked by individuality, rationality, reflexivity or possessiveness (Skeggs 2011). Considering funk as a form of cultural capital does not escape this context of value’s contingency:

Different circuits and exchange mechanisms exist, some enable capital/s accumulation; others exist alongside and others are autonomist, based on reciprocity, care, shared understandings of injustice, insecurity, precarity. All these values circulate through the person as they face capitalism in very different directions. (Skeggs 2011, p. 509)

There is at least one important assumption internalized in Bourdieu’s ideas. Agents seem to be in a constant quest for dominance or hegemony (Gandhi 2006). The term relative autonomy, also used by Bourdieu to discuss aesthetic autonomy (see chapter 6), describes how a field “generates its own values and markers of achievement” (Maton 2005, p. 689). The field also comprises agents in different situations, “struggling to maximize their position” (Maton 2005, p.

689). Those maximizing agents defend the relative autonomy of their field in order to retain privileges and established positions (Bourdieu 2010).

Aesthetic autonomy appears in this context as another form of relative autonomy, serving to maintain structures of power. However, Gandhi (2006) argues that aestheticism is not simply “bad (conservative) politics” (Gandhi 2006, p. 156) while materialism represents a “good (revolutionary) alternative”, as Bourdieu seems to propose (Gandhi 2006, p. 156).

While aesthetic autonomy is associated with the defence of positions of privilege. Interested aestheticism is about creating spaces where differences can co-exist. I give a few examples in this thesis, such as protests against the prohibition of *bailes funk* organized by APAFUNK, debated in Chapters 5 and 6, and the use of funk music to challenge established sexuality and gender performances, debated in Chapter 7.

1.2 Thesis overview

The theory mobilized in this thesis combines a dispositional model, inspired by Bourdieu, with contributions from the sociology of music, more specifically a strand labelled the ‘aesthetic turn’ (see for example, DeNora 2003, Hennion 2001, Prior 2011). This research investigates affective and embodied dimensions of musical practices, including how music influences social action and social change.

In Chapter 2, I will discuss the notions of habitus and cultural capital, emphasizing affect, embodiment and space. The analysis considers the connection between habitus, race and class politics. One common debate is the association of *brasilidade* with widespread notions that racial relations are

harmonious or cordial in Brazil.

Baile funk challenges certain established ideas about the connection between art-making and claims to citizenship and artistic legitimacy, since the analysis of funk's cultural practices does not support a non-conflictive image of social or racial relations in Brazil (Yúdice 2003). More than ideas, music also mediates the development of affective attachment to spaces in the city and widespread notions of *brasilidade*.

Chapter 3 explains the research methods and their contribution to the questions posited by this research, including semi-structured interviews, visual methods and the use of documents and Internet sources. This chapter also exposes the difficulties and advantages of combining different methods and the reasons for using audiovisual materials. The comprehension of practices of funk production benefits from the use of a camera to register different events, registered both in camera and through traditional ethnographic descriptions. Videos and photographs served very well as a digital audiovisual field book. Filming and photographing were also means for engaging with participants in this research.

How funk artists use music to transform cultural capital in other forms of capital through entrepreneurial habitus is the focus of Chapter 4. Additionally, production of funk depends on the use of technical and digital reproduction. Technologies also play a role in blurring the boundaries between artists and consumers, a process described by Born (2005) as “relayed creativity”.

Creativity is not exclusive to consecrated spheres, such as authorship or performance. The development of digital music does pose serious challenges to market structures and creative practices, highlighting the creativity of so-called consumption practices and bringing to the fore collaborative authorship (Born

2005). However, such potential of digital music was not absent in the “analogue era” (Born 2005). Black electronic music was already flirting with collaboration and re-composition using samples produced by analogue technology (Born 2005).

Sampling also prompts a discussion on copyright and its current level of enforcement. Specifically regarding the regulation of copying, more than fifteen years after the Napster revolution, the first peer-to-peer platform to share music, copyright regulation has never been so strong in the United States, where the government continually extends periods of protection (Netanel 2008). This process is accompanied by pressure from commercial agreements for the same practices to be adopted elsewhere (Netanel 2008). Composers of funk music also register their songs with relatively high frequency, as research on the theme conducted in 2008 attested, even when they do not have a contract with companies or producers. This chapter challenges the idea that technology possesses some kind of exceptionality for explaining social or aesthetic practices.

Chapter 5 considers attempts by the government to control funk in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. Funk’s spatial moves across the city and political mobilization recurring in funk performances reveal patterns of its engagement across different social groups. It reveals the intervention of government, especially the security forces, trying to control and regulate funk music and its development.

In addition, understanding funk involves acknowledging its local dynamics and enjoyment in venues and streets. Therefore, Chapter 5 stresses funk’s association with emerging urban cultural capital, marked by embodiment, passionate attachment, localism and affective connections between different sites.

Chapter 6 explores the relationship between struggles for equal rights and

official repression by applying the concept of interested autonomy. If certain authors argue that autonomy and authorship (seen as bourgeoisie ideologies) are vanishing – or, at least, that this could be an existing tendency (Francis 2007, Foucault 1998, Barthes 1977) – what does it imply regarding the appropriation of music produced by those with less power?

The relationship between claims for equal rights and citizenship and the affordances of music is also revealing about gender and racialized boundaries. Chapter 7 considers how embodied practices convey performances of sexuality and gender. The objective of this chapter is to argue that funk performances can simultaneously challenge and reinforce symbolic violence. This occurs because affective engagement with music and dance does not produce coherent practices in terms of social norms (Masumi 1995).

Dance conveys affect and non-verbal meanings, providing the possibility for provisional confrontations of heteronormativity and sexism. Those same performances challenging predominant norms can also reproduce them, since they occur in a scene in which women, for example, are in a minority and their performances are more prone to sexualized appropriation. For instance, female funk artists are publicly criticized for assuming their feminism, and introducing this theme into their songs. This critique bases itself on aesthetic judgements of their practices, considered “vulgar”. Not coincidentally, Bourdieu uses this word to describe what those who appreciate highbrow culture feel towards popular culture (Bourdieu 2000).

To conclude, the last chapter will summarize the findings of the whole thesis, refuting the association between aestheticism and political conservatism established by Bourdieu. It will also reconsider the relevance of stressing affect, embodiment and space, based on evidence introduced throughout the thesis, to

produce both individual and classed habituses. Following Reay (2004), one can benefit from considering the articulation between habitus as a set or social classification, and how it is manifested in the trajectories, actions and creativity of different individuals.

Chapter 2: Affect, embodiment and space: using the dispositional model to think funk

*If we wish to reveal the genesis of being for us,
then we must ultimately consider the sector of our
experience that clearly has sense and reality only
for us, namely, our affective milieu.*

(Merleau-Ponty 2012, p. 156)

One of Bourdieu's intellectual influences was Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Weiss argues that while it is hard to explain "radical change or spontaneous innovation" (Weiss 2008, p. 233) in relation to Bourdieu, for Merleau-Ponty habits are seen as "expanding rather than limiting our possibilities" (Weiss 2008, p. 233). Nevertheless, the notions used by Merleau-Ponty are not absent from Bourdieu's framework:

We learn bodily. The social order inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation, which may be more or less dramatic but is always largely marked by affectivity, and more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment. (Bourdieu 2000, p. 141)

The citation above indicates that affect and embodiment play a significant role in Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Nonetheless, this importance is frequently not stressed enough, or simply ignored in studies referring to Bourdieu, with a few exceptions. Skeggs, for instance, uses affect to critically appropriate Bourdieu. She stresses the importance of finding alternatives to the dominance of

exchange value in analyses deploying the concepts of field and capital, such as economic, social and cultural capital. She argues, in line with other scholars, that despite numerous attempts to appropriate and regulate affect, it has the capacity to disrupt the same “mechanism of exchange” by taking advantage of it (Skeggs 2004).

The literature accounting for affect considers it as autonomous from “conscious perception and language” (Massumi 1995). Acknowledging this autonomy does not mean denying affect’s social character, but rather pointing to affect as “open-endedly social” or “social in a manner prior to the separating of individuals” (Clough 2010, p. 209). Scholars have also noticed the affective properties of music (DeNora 2003) and dance (Huntington 2011). Those practices produce results that extend beyond language and social structures (Massumi 1995, Clough 2010).

Much of the work on the sociology of art “negotiates a fine line between accusations of determinacy (the artwork is a cultural text with an internal meaning and structures social action in a predetermined way) and indeterminacy (the artistic object is a profane object whose meaning emerges from its subsequent mobilization in social interaction)” (Acord and DeNora 2008, p. 226). In both cases, art itself is not the focus. It remains a black box.

Recent literature has aimed to fill this gap by promoting a move within sociology called the aesthetic turn (Prior 2008, Acord and DeNora 2008, DeNora 2003). The focus moves from outside culture and arts to the analysis of artistic practices themselves as they emerge through social interaction (Acord and DeNora 2008, DeNora 2003, Born 2005, Hennion 2001).

A dispositional model is not necessarily averse to this move. Complementing

it with other contributions on affect and the sociology of music aids the comprehension of affective and embodied engagement with music in Rio de Janeiro. One can extend Bourdieu's model to include recent contributions on affect and embodiment, an extension that remains faithful to the original model. However, a critical stance must accompany this extension.

Bourdieu proposes a historicist account of Kantian aesthetics, it is described by him as privileging abstraction and founded on disinterest towards ordinary life and economic and technical matters. Nonetheless, he does not offer another alternative for autonomous aesthetic practice besides the one advocated by pure art. Actually, this Kantian inspired disinterested aesthetics associated with pure art becomes a straw man. It is a simplification that allows the formulation of a critical stance towards aestheticism (Zangwill 2002), linked by Bourdieu to conservatism (Gandhi 2006).

Popular arts are not properly aesthetic to Bourdieu, because of their integration with ordinary life (Bourdieu 2010). Moreover, he commonly conflates the aesthetic with a "pure aesthetic approach to art" (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). After analysing the sociological literature accounting for pure art in a critical way, Zangwill found three ideas that different authors (including Bourdieu) attach to this concept. First, pure art supposedly involves an attempt to understand art in complete isolation from its historical context (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Secondly, there is the idea that works of art only have aesthetic "purposes" (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Lastly, pure art assumes that any work of art must be "fine art or 'high art'" (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Nevertheless, in Zangwill's words, "there is absolutely no reason (...) why the traditionalist defender of the aesthetic [such as Kant] is committed to any of this" (Zangwill 2002, p. 446).

Bourdieu directs critique to a rather limited and narrow notion of aesthetics (Zangwill 2002).

In sum, a particular interpretation of Kantian thought became the basis for an attack on the concept of aesthetics, but even this interpretation might not be accurate: “Kant would certainly have rejected the pure aesthetic approach.” (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). According to Zangwill, Kant does account for situations in which the arts should be “understood in terms of their historical and social contexts” (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Gandhi (2006) argues that one can find in Kant another notion of autonomy, synthesized by her using the idea of “interested autonomy”, that is against the notion of pure disinterested art.

Authors such as Foucault and Barthes have argued for a decline in the author’s authority and the increasing dilution of art in other social practices (Foucault 1998, Barthes 1977). More recently, Francis (2007) developed a similar argument, arguing for a situation of post-autonomy, comparing it with the term relative autonomy. To Francis (2007), these two terms are somewhat similar, both having the benefit of understanding art integrated into non-artistic social practices, one difference being the “apocalyptic tone” (p. 43) of the post-autonomy concept.

The postmodernist critique of modernism proposes an “overcoming of the historical division between high and popular culture” (Born 1995, p. 46). Postmodernism attacked aesthetic autonomy, considering it a “modernist belief” (Born 1995, p. 46). Born identified two strands of critique, calling the first critique “vanguardist” and the second “populist” (Born 1995, p. 46).

The optimism entailed in “populist” positions and the celebration of difference – characteristic of “vanguardist” strands of postmodernism (Born

1995) –must be weighted against two factors. First, achieving distinction also occurs through mediations blurring the boundaries of so-called highbrow and lowbrow art forms. Newly emerging forms of distinction might follow the erosion of the division between high and low. Consequently, the kind of aesthetic autonomy advocated by pure art might have lost importance in comparison with other markers of distinction.

Secondly, the “anti-aesthetic” approach of “populist” strands of postmodernism, and its rejection of art’s autonomy, connects to a critical stance vis-à-vis pure art (Born 1995). Bourdieu recognizes that pure art is a “historical invention”, one acknowledging the existence of an aesthetic disposition, which is, according to him, “the mode of artistic perception now accepted as legitimate” (Bourdieu 2010, p. xxvi). Thereafter, in his book *Distinction*, he seeks to expose the social foundations of aesthetic experience by investigating specific cultural and social contexts. Aesthetic autonomy appears as another form of relative autonomy, typical of the artistic field, that contributes to practices of distinction (Bourdieu 2010).

This mode of artistic perception has changed in recent decades, and studies indicate that in many countries people have become culturally eclectic (Peterson 1992). However, distinction does not derive only from class-based identification with styles or artists but also from practices of consumption and production as well. For instance, one might produce distinction when exhibiting knowledge about a certain artist, or by ironically engaging with a certain cultural product known to be in “bad taste”, such as “crap TV” (Prieur and Savage 2013).

The idea of an emerging cultural capital helps to account for a situation in which popular culture’s pervasiveness across different classes accompanies new

forms of distinction, including embodied ones (Friedman 2011). In this context, “objectified” cultural capital, associated with the classification of practices and tastes, loses its central place in explaining distinction (Friedman 2011, Bennet et al. 2009).

According to Friedman, survey results suggest that the “culturally privileged” (Friedman 2011, p. 348) produce “new forms of ‘objectified’ cultural capital” (Friedman 2011, p. 348) through the consumption of comedy. Nevertheless, his qualitative findings suggest that popular culture’s “distinction is being realized more through embodied cultural capital” (Friedman 2011, p. 348). Embodied cultural capital does not emerge from systematic classification alone but also from forms of “artistic appreciation” (Friedman 2011, p. 350).

Objectified and embodied cultural capital

One is always at risk of ignoring the aesthetics of *baile funk* when focusing on social structures, especially when referring to Bourdieu, who is critical of aestheticism as a form of political intervention in the world (Gandhi 2006). One possible reason for this disbelief is that a disinterested conception of art was more influential in the past, one that affected Bourdieu’s model of cultural capital.

At that moment, cultural consumption and its classification may have revealed more explicitly the positionality of social groups. Critiques consider this conception of cultural capital to be outdated. Recent studies reveal a much more complex pattern, as new research on the theme attests (Peterson and Kern 1996, Savage et al. 2010, Silva and Ward 2010, Coulageon 2013, Atkinson 2011).

The omnivore thesis proposed by Peterson questions whether Bourdieu's findings, claiming a stark distinction between lowbrow and highbrow forms of culture, are still valid. He called "omnivores" those who, despite their high social status, have highly eclectic taste and consume both highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996). Other studies have also suggested that the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow taste does not exclude an omnivorous consumption of cultural goods (Savage et al. 2010).

Even though the consumption array has widened among the upper classes, omnivores still tend to dislike certain lowbrow forms of culture, such as styles most appreciated by the working classes or groups defined by racialized boundaries (Bryson 1996). Further research on the issue of the omnivore has also found that, among the lower classes, an omnivorous tendency does not occur. Allegedly, these groups remain attached to specific lowbrow forms of popular culture (Bryson 1996). This situation led to the coinage of the term "univore" to refer to this kind of cultural consumption (Peterson 1992).

There is a lot of controversy on the position enjoyed by different kinds of popular culture within the omnivore framework, and whether taste still indicates social distinction based on a highbrow-lowbrow hierarchy (Savage et al. 2010, Silva and Ward 2010; Coulageon 2013; Atkinson 2011). Determining the taste of different individuals and associating it with patterns of social position is productive in seeking to assess how different groups perceive culture. However, it ignores how people affectively experience cultural practices through their bodies.

Friedman, for instance, observed a certain disinterested approach to comedy. His interviewees noticed that the appreciation of comedy does not necessarily entail laughter, an embodied detachment associated with genuine "artistic value"

(Friedman 2011, p. 361). Nevertheless, survey analysis has also found “conflicting taste criteria” (Friedman 2011, p. 361) among those with high cultural capital (Friedman 2011). Furthermore, disinterested appreciation may dwell with other forms of judgement, including embodied ones (Friedman 2011).

Friedman found through interviews that those with high cultural capital in his sample spoke more, more loudly, made more eye contact and showed a higher “embodied sense of assurance”, when compared to those with lower cultural capital (Friedman 2011, p. 360). Bourdieu also considered how symbolic violence imposes itself through the body, and how those in lower social positions often express an embodied sense of inferiority: through timidity, difficulty in articulating discourse, posture and so on (Bourdieu 2000). It is not farfetched to imagine that displaying assurance can have a decisive impact on someone’s life, and it is something deeply engrained and reproduced as part of habitus.

Performing funk undeniably involves developing embodied assurance. Nevertheless, paying attention to one’s body is not exclusive to those involved with funk. For instance, Wesolowski (2007) affirmed the following in his study of *capoeira*, a mixture of martial arts and dance produced by enslaved Africans in Brazil:

Bodies in Brazil – and in particular in Rio de Janeiro, world famous for its semi-nude carnival and beaches – have long captured the social imagination. Physical appearance and care of the body is a near obsession in Rio de Janeiro, where life seems to be a year-round parade of bodies to see and be seen. (Wesolowski 2007, p. 14)

Nevertheless, this “obsession” with the body does not necessarily restrict itself to a reflexive stance that some scholars associate with a middle-class habitus, marked by diets, exercise and attempts to control body weight (Crossley

2006). Even if one assumes this idea of a generally heightened awareness of the body in Rio de Janeiro (or Brazil?) to be true, gender, racialized boundaries and social positioning still mark out this relationship.

Emerging cultural capital

Scholars associate cultural capital with high status (Lamont and Lareau 1988, Friedman 2011). Understanding the possession of cultural capital as a way to obtain a better position within a certain field and applying it to *baile funk* music requires some explanation. *Baile funk* music is not currently widely recognized as a status symbol. It is, however, not only the idea of cultural capital that does not fully explain working-class practices:

Bourdieu's theory of the habitus, whilst explaining perfectly the middle-class and aspects of working-class inability to inhabit entitled dispositions, cannot account for that which is beyond abstraction, beyond the metaphoric model of exchange, investment and accumulation.

(Skeggs 2004, pp. 90–91)

Even though Bourdieu's ideas are to a certain extent based on a hegemonic model of the self, I would argue that the concept of habitus is still important for explaining how to reconcile structure and agency. It is crucial to avoid placing those from the upper or middle classes on one side, with their cultural capital and selves based on exchange value, while placing those from the working classes on the other side, with their affects and pleasures.

Without a concept capable of bridging the gap between structure and agency (such as habitus) it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the "subaltern cannot

speak” (Spivak 2010), or that the working classes live according to “a very different set of values” (Skeggs 2004, p. 91) not comprehensible by others. In both situations, the upper and middle classes will always be making the rules while the working classes will be following or resisting them.

Can we overcome those limitations by referring to what other authors before and after Bourdieu have said about habitus? Nick Crossley has already pointed out how the distinction between habitus and habit is based on an attempt to escape an association between habit and behaviourism, a mechanical conception of the self. According to Crossley (2013), this idea of the term habit is misguided and there are compelling reasons to bring the two terms together. He gives as an example Merleau-Ponty’s concept of habit, which can “represent an advance upon the positions of Mauss and Bourdieu” (Crossley 2013, p. 147). For example, Merleau-Ponty gives much more detail on how habit(us) is supposed to evolve and change.

The discussion on “autonomist working-class value practices” (Skeggs 2011, p. 509) could benefit from the concept of habitus, as long as we move away from Bourdieu’s focus on exchange value and accumulation. In funk’s case, this change of focus means exploring how funk producers portray exchange value and accumulation in their own way, thus begging the question: by incorporating values associated with hegemonic structures in their art, are funk producers, MCs and DJs fully accepting the rules of the game and capitalism?

Funk MCs, DJs, dancers and producers do not blindly follow the rules of a capitalist or patriarchal society but they do not necessarily always resist or oppose them either. Unlike those studied by Skeggs (2004), funk artists participate in the game. They are not, however, ready to accept the rules as a given.

Assessing the status attained through the production of funk music in order to understand its value as a form of capital begs two important questions. First, am I talking about Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, or specific communities? Secondly, how do funk agents mobilize, individually and collectively, this supposed cultural capital?

Value in this case is contingent and situational and trying to understand the kind of value generated by funk focusing on stable political boundaries, such as the nation-state, is bound to fail. *Baile funk* can be highly valued by producers outside Brazil, such as Diplo and Major Lazer, two big names on the international electronic music scene, while being highly devalued in its own city.

Most accounts of cultural capital seem to consider that individuals mobilize the capital they possess in order to position themselves. However, understanding legitimation involves more than attributing styles and practices to different sets, associating it with specific social positions or classes. It involves acknowledging not only “objectified” forms of cultural capital, associated with classificatory schemes, but also embodied ones (Friedman 2011).

What Bourdieu calls popular aesthetics has two important features: integration of life and art relying on more straightforward forms of representation; and, its association with the lower classes, usually with fewer years of schooling, and therefore lower institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu 2010). One obtains institutionalized cultural capital through formal education, measured by diplomas and other titles. Commercial appeal is also typical of popular forms of culture (Bourdieu 2010).

After Bourdieu wrote his thoughts on popular aesthetics, with the “proliferation of recorded music”, many so-called popular subcultures started to adopt music as a central reference. Youth participation and ethnic as well as class

divisions mark those subcultures (Bennet 2004, Savage et al. 2009). Funk is among those new forms of urban expression, such as hip-hop.

This idea of a subculture has, however, received harsh critiques, for it “implies a fixed relationship between specific aspects of post-war style and music with the class background of those who appropriate it” (Bennet 2004, p. 225). Vianna (1987) points out its inadequacy to understand funk, arguing that the concept of a subculture aims at simplifying a complex reality, presupposing the existence of an encompassing dominant culture. As an alternative, Bennet and others (O’Connor 2002, Straw 1991) talk about scenes, which include geographical considerations and more integrated accounts of different art forms.

The emergence of the aforementioned kinds of urban expression raise the need to question whether the concepts coined by Bourdieu are still sufficient. Within Bourdieusian frameworks, legitimate taste or highbrow culture connects to what Bourdieu called pure gaze, trained by a refined knowledge of art and its history. Meanwhile, popular aesthetics relies on a naive gaze, one averse to any kind of formal experimentation. It is also composed of more inclusive and realist forms of representation (Bourdieu 2010). These are the foundations of the division between highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture.

Recent literature argues that those engaging with popular culture also reproduce practices of distinction, as explored by Thornton in her study of club-goers (Thornton 1995). The recognition of those kinds of cultural capital can ultimately lead to the empowerment of groups creating and reproducing different cultural practices. As argued by Frith: “Low culture (...) generates its own capital – most obviously, perhaps, in those forms (...) which are organized around exclusiveness, but equally significantly for the fans (...) of even the most inclusive forms” (Frith 1998, p. 11).

All the above accounts of cultural capital seem to consider that individuals mobilize cultural capital in order to position themselves. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to imagine that cultural capital might have an impact on the “collective level” (Jeannotte 2003). City areas become associated with specific cultural practices, as occurs with the relationship between funk and Rio de Janeiro’s *favelas*. Cultural distinction is increasingly articulated around references to space, according to Savage and Hanquinet (2012).

The mobilization of collective forms of cultural capital does not necessarily translate into less exclusion or distinction. Divisions and exclusion are also part of spatial perceptions and experiences of the urban environment. It is reasonable to assume that as culture’s relationship to space changes, both in symbolical and physical terms, the same occurs with cultural capital and its articulation.

The modernist aesthetics on which Bourdieu relied to think about legitimate culture was eminently anti-urban. According to Savage: “Cultural capital was not conditional on urban experience or, even, on urban culture. Cities could be contemplated, observed, described, represented but never *lived* as an elevated aesthetic experience” (Savage and Hanquinet 2012). Therefore, the decline of those ideas, underlining the comprehension of more traditional forms of cultural capital, allowed for the recognition of an emerging cultural capital. This emerging cultural capital also derives from the urban experience of marginalized groups (Savage et al. 2010).

Even though Lamont and Lareau (1988) acknowledge that “lower class high status signals” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157) play a similar role to cultural capital, she argued that. “for the purpose of clarity” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157), a new concept is necessary. Hence she proposed the term “marginal high status signal” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157), arguing that working-class

practices are not a form of cultural capital. Therefore, Lamont and Lareau reinforce the notion that working-class practices have a different (and possibly lower) value. When referring to those practices simply as status signals, while refusing to acknowledge their function as a form of capital, she ignores the possibility that individuals and institutions can transform those “signals” into other kinds of capital.

The term emerging cultural capital might do a better job than “marginal high status signal”, since it does not reject the idea of cultural capital. It is, however, not possible to equate emerging cultural capital with the status signals used by the marginalized to obtain better positions, even though the term can include those practices as well. By using the word “emerging”, one acknowledges that funk’s value is not necessarily well established. Nevertheless, by insisting on using the concept of “cultural capital”, those practices have their “exclusivist function” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p. 157) recognized and the analysis does not internalize or reify the hierarchy of highbrow and lowbrow.

2.1 Affect, embodiment and space

Affect

Many descriptions of taste analysed by Bourdieu referred to affect, or at least descriptions of affect. For instance, Bourdieu linked the distinction produced by pure taste to a “visceral disgust at vulgarity”, directed at popular culture (Bourdieu 2010, p. 502). It is meaningful that, regarding taste, he referred mostly to affects describing repulsion, in line with his competitive account of field dynamics and focus on distinction (Bourdieu 2010). Nonetheless, studies analysing a passionate attachment to music (Benzecry 2011) and the practices of

music-lovers (Hennion 2001) contradict this focus on repulsion, even though Benzecry did notice practices of distinction among opera fans in Buenos Aires.

It is not far-fetched to assume that affective and embodied interactions might have the same importance, if not more so, than formal classifications in order to assess how people relate to music. Thinking in terms of affect allows a consideration of what people share. While one operates within the logic of different capitals, distinction seems necessarily to be the game. Each person mobilizes available capital in order to reach a better position, marked by exclusivity, meaning that the overlapping of social positions is not possible.

Nettleton (2013) recently developed the concept of “existential capital” (Nettleton 2013, p. 205), also considering embodiment processes. She distinguishes this specific kind of embodied capital by its non-instrumental characteristics, comprising value “appreciated for its own sake” (Nettleton 2013, p. 207). The analysis of fell-running conducted by her, for instance, focuses more on how sports establish social relations, diluting inequality rather than reinforcing it. She argues that to reveal what “people share in common” (Nettleton 2013, p. 197) we should look at passionate relations instead of “instrumental and calculative” (Nettleton 2013, p. 197) ones.

The organization of sound frequencies through music is certainly a privileged way of producing mobilization and affect, as argued by Goodman (2009) in his investigation of the affective dimensions of sound. Funk’s capacity to mobilize and attract people is also noteworthy.

As an example, the first ethnographic account of the style produced by Hermano Vianna (1987) stressed the fact that despite funk’s immense popularity at the end of the eighties, attracting millions of people every weekend, this was

not commented on in the press or known about in the *Zona Sul* (South Zone), the richer area of Rio de Janeiro. It is impossible to ignore the passionate and affective connections that people establish with funk and their projects for future personal or social change through culture.

Authors commonly conflate affect with emotions and feeling. Even though it is possible to reach an approximation based on strangeness to rationality, these are different concepts. For Massumi (1995), emotions are social while affects are pre-reflexive but not presocial. Representations and rationalizations cannot convey affect in its pure state because of its volatility. Nevertheless, most accounts of affect do refer to emotions and feelings in order to describe affective exchanges, exactly because affect is so hard to grasp in conceptual terms.

Merleau-Ponty observed in his book *Phenomenology of Perception*, originally published in 1945, that despite our attempts to represent affect, representations remain strange to affectivity, even though not completely unconnected:

Those substitutions [representations] attach pleasure and pain to circumstances that are naturally indifferent to us and that, through one transfer after another, secondary or tertiary values are constituted that have no apparent relation to our natural pleasures and pains. (Merleau-Ponty 2012, p. 157)

In order to understand affect, because of its relational character, one cannot turn only to an isolated manifestation occurring in an individual body or delimited space. The focus should be on the relation itself, moreover on the consequences arising from this exchange.

Thinking in terms of a dispositional model also means considering how the world encompasses us all as “thing among things, but I, as a thing for which there are things, comprehend this world” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 130). It means

stressing the body, and its position in the world. In this context, people incorporate social structures as dispositions, associated by Bourdieu with the “expectations and anticipations” shaping our “practical knowledge and control of encompassing space” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 130). Despite its fleeting character, affect can also accumulate and produce long-lasting effects (Watkins 2010).

One way to understand how this occurs is through habitus. Bourdieu considered the role of affect in shaping dispositions structured in a certain habitus, which seeks to establish the foundations of its reproduction (Bourdieu 2000).

The concept of habitus makes an attempt to understand social action as neither rational nor random (Bourdieu 2000). One can better comprehend habitus by considering its insertion inside a certain field, because the field gives to a specific habitus the possibility to materialize its possibilities and capacities. Social action results from: “self-obscure encounters between habitus marked by the history from which they arise and social universes (in particular fields) in which they realize their potentiality” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 116).

Part of the obscurity in those encounters between habitus and fields might lie in the impossibility of completely describing affect in terms of social structures, such as language (Massumi 1995). Therefore, addressing affective interactions in sites of artistic practice is relevant with regard to developing a so-called dispositional model based on the idea of habitus, since it allows an elucidation of the affective dimension of social encounters.

Carla Huntington (2011), in order to understand how black social dancing is used in television advertising, proposes two axes: one showing the plane of verbal and nonverbal communication, and the other showing the plane of cognitive and affective communication. The relationship between non-verbal,

cognitive and affective dimensions produces somatovisceral effects, which are used to explain how dance is both cognitive and affective, despite being a non-verbal practice (Huntington 2011). To comprehend engagement with funk one needs to address those two axes simultaneously, i.e. considering the verbal and the non-verbal, the cognitive and the affective.

Even though authors commonly associate Bourdieu with reducism and determinism, his objective of developing a dispositional model might not be completely at odds with other perspectives on the sociology of music and dance. More importantly, this revision of Bourdieu does not necessarily rely on bringing too many strange notions to his theory.

Embodiment

Bourdieu is one of the main representatives of what Prior called an “old sociology of art” (Prior 2011, p. 125). Critics have accused him of being too deterministic in his analyses of taste for art and its homology to social structure (Prior 2008). However, it is far from the case that we should completely drop Bourdieu in order to understand how music or culture interacts with social action. His analyses of how embodiment is also part of cultural capital assert that embodied kinds of capital do not transfer as easily as other kinds of capital.

The embodiment of manners and ways of acting sustain and produce social distinction and are part of class experience. The concept of habitus, referred to as bodily incorporations of dispositions (Bourdieu 2000), provides a fruitful beginning in order to understand how culture is embodied. Habitus is a genetic mode of thought (Bourdieu 2000), meaning that it is not only the result of external conditions, but also a generative process. It is a way of explaining action while avoiding the Cartesian comprehension of consciousness marked by divine

transcendence (Merleau-Ponty 2012). In Merleau-Ponty's words, Cartesian thinking disentangles "the object from the subject and the subject from the object" (Merleau-Ponty 2012, p. 205). Therefore, it "only gives us thought about the body or the body as an idea, and not the experience of the body or the body in reality" (Merleau-Ponty 2012, p. 205).

A recent trend in sociology has produced works about music engaging with issues such as the relationship between affect and music fandom (Hennion 2001, DeNora 2003, Benzecry 2011, Goodman 2009, 2012, Prior 2008). Spinoza (1992) and Deleuze (1988) worked on the theme of affect as well, determining it as the relationships that bodies establish with each other by stimulating or diminishing the propensity and capacity to act. This relation might include any kind of body, human or non-human (Massumi 1995).

Different authors have criticized attempts to explain culture merely through symbolic and meaningful exchange, anchored in textuality and verbal exchange (Gilroy 2001), especially through works accounting for black music and dance (Gaunt 2006, Huntington 2011). Gaunt, for instance, has studied the games that black girls play in school involving clapping and singing, and considered their importance for hip-hop and American black music. According to the author, one possible explanation for the lack of attention to those games is the scarce attention given to embodiment, sexuality and gender by scholars studying black music (Gaunt 2006).

To look at funk from the perspective of the body is imperative. A theoretical and methodological bias towards meaning and cognition would undermine the comprehension of important issues of the *baile funk* scene. Or else it would reproduce a hierarchical situation of mind over body that is constantly used to

judge funk, which has its dance moves associated with a supposed lack of education and immorality among the lower classes.

The attention to embodied cultural practices, aided by audiovisual ethnographic methods, seems to stress how social boundaries can be traversed, but not effaced, and how funk is often considered a gregarious and communal activity. The affective connections that bodies establish with each other, mediated by space, are essential to class cohesion, and for interaction between different class groups within society.

In this context, studying embodied practices serves not only to recognise divisions, but is also a way of investigating how people traverse boundaries and get together. The comprehension of class, not only as an economic or ideological concept but also as embodied, is key to overcoming recent critiques of the concept (Beck 2002, see also Atkinson 2007, Savage 2000, Skeggs 2004 for critiques of Beck's critiques on class as a concept). Indeed, class is a complex configuration, but recognizing complexity does not mean affirming that fragmentation and individualization have reached the point of completely effacing class experience.

Reflexivity and individualization might not even be at odds with each other, as analysed by Abbas (2004). His analysis of long-distance running shows that despite its association with processes of "individualization" (Abbas 2004, p. 160), it can be indicative of "middle-classness" (Abbas 2004, p. 160). Beck's attack on class remains attached to a historical moment, when one could find big groups to which people would consciously affiliate. According to him, individualization endangers this context; as a result, the idea of class loses importance (Beck 2002).

Nevertheless, Bourdieu and Beck are not referring to the same idea of class.

To Bourdieu, whether agents consciously identify with a certain class is a matter of how they comprehend their position in the world. Class has also to do with the articulation between habitus and different forms of capital, included within a certain field and interacting with other possible fields, including the broader encompassing field of power (Wacquant 2013).

As Abbas exemplifies, individualization does not clash with class experience, because the main feature of middle-classness is not a conscious identification as middle class, but how certain practices and trajectories compose a specific habitus (Abbas 2007). This habitus develops itself not by force of a certain reflexive will, but because of positionality and, more importantly, relationships established across different positionalities (Wacquant 2013). In this context, consciousness emerges from grouping, not the opposite (Wacquant 2013). If one observes a certain habitus sustaining individualization, it does not mean that class, objectively speaking, does not exist.

Space

There is a third key element of this thesis besides affect and embodiment. In order to account for these two dimensions, one also needs to analyse how bodies relate to each other, and the role the relationship body/ environment plays. As suggested by DeNora, the “focus on space as a matrix for action is sociologically powerful because it is simultaneously a move from individualist conceptions of action and (...) also from cognitive-based, information processing models of how action takes shapes in real time” (DeNora 2003, p. 128).

There are many approaches to space in the literature. A renewed Marxist approach proposes an interdisciplinary effort to comprehend space, departing from the comprehension of space as a container (Lefebvre 1992). This literature

aims at analysing the social construction of space by looking at the insertion of cities, and their competition, in a globalized, post-modern and neo-liberal world (Lefebvre 1992). Merleau-Ponty already criticized the idea of space as a container, he argued that: “Space is not a milieu (real or logical) in which things are laid out, but rather the means by which the position of things become possible” (Merleau-Ponty 2012, pp. 253–254).

Regarding the theorization of space in association with music, there is abundant literature within a strand called sound studies. In this approach, noises, sound frequencies and their organization as music relate to different spaces, such as music venues, recording studios, streets, pavements, buses and undergrounds, as well as underwater worlds (Goodman 2009, Labelle 2011, Bramwell 2011, Henriques 2010). One important feature of sound studies is that they go a step further in order to understand non-cognitive elements of music’s interaction with space.

One example is the bass-enhanced frequencies blasted through sound systems installed in cars and the “resonance” of a “certain racial pride” across roads (Labelle 2011). This modification of cars is part of a “class and cultural consciousness” found among Mexican-Americans in the United States (Labelle 2011). The same practice exists in Brazil, where people modify cars to emit loud funk in the streets. During field research, one funk producer cited the habit of listening to funk through powerful sound speakers installed in cars as a worrying practice. According to him, his venue is completely soundproof and able to operate. However, during the night, cars blast funk across the Rocinha community, leading people to denounce his *baile* as the cause of the noise.

Another common source of conflict in shared spaces involving funk is the playing out loud of music through mobile phones, a practice that Bramwell

(2011) found to be disruptive on London buses, the difference being that the music was rap or grime. Regarding this disruption of the normal soundscape of buses, Bramwell affirmed:

The beeps and buzzes of the bus are subordinated to the sounds of pleasure, play and celebration of the body. This interruption of the socially dominant soundscape functions on multiple levels. It is an assertion of a play ethic within this space and an aestheticisation of the bus. (Bramwell 2011, p. 166).

Regarding space, this research considers the relationship between the enjoyment of funk music in different venues and the transformations occurring in the city of Rio de Janeiro and its historical trajectory as well. The different locations where funk fans enjoy music across Rio de Janeiro are very revealing about the kinds of audiences that engage with funk and the transformations the style has gone through. According to Dayrell:

Consumption and cultural production for the youth are signs of new spaces, a new moment for the formation/ production of youth as social actors. These processes point to new forms of sociability, in which cultural groups and the sociability they produce occupy a central place. (Dayrell 2002, p. 119, author's translation)

Most accounts found in the literature or given by historical actors involved with funk say that the style was not born in the *favelas*. For some, official repression pushed funk into *favelas* during the nineties, leaving those areas forgotten by the state as some of the few places where one could appreciate this kind of music at big parties at affordable prices (Vianna 2005). Funk's penetration into wealthy areas and venues in the city gained momentum during the mid-nineties, and today one can hear it in nightclubs and social events all

over Rio de Janeiro (Essinger 2005, Lopes 2011).

A common question regarding the relationship between cities and culture revolves around the possibility of talking about a “generic” urban culture (Savage et al. 1993, p. 106). Talking about urban culture involves a variety of possible meanings. Savage, for example, has described an approach to urban culture in which four general points are proposed. First, the author stresses cities’ uniqueness. Particularities are as important as the general characteristics that urban areas might have in common. Secondly, urban culture is not to be associated only with famous locations, such as touristic attractions. The “interstices” (Savage et al. 1993, p. 106), or daily life spaces, are extremely important.

Those are places where people perceive the city “in distraction” (Savage and Ward 1993, p. 144). Thirdly, cities are a mediator between “individual experience and cultural representation” (Savage et al. 1993, p. 145). They are places for culture’s display and subversion. Lastly and more importantly for this thesis: “urban cultures cannot be grasped by purely cognitive or intellectual processes (...) but also through fantasy and dream processes” (Savage et al. 1993, p 145).

2.2 Popular education and the politics of race and class

Stressing affect and embodiment in the context of the *baile funk* scene runs the risk of racial stereotyping. It is important to clarify that the point here is not that funk artists are limited to affective and embodied expression, on the contrary, following Gilroy, music “can be used to challenge language and writing as preeminent expressions of human consciousness” (Gilroy 1995, p. 74). The

political affordances of black music in particular point to this possibility (Gilroy 1995).

Considering funk as part of a diasporic tradition of black music helps to counter a common discourse affirming that funk fans and artists are uneducated, that instead of using their “brains” they would rather use their “butts”, as a journalist has recently commented about the style. Tico Santacruz, for example, a rocker from Brazil, stated on his Facebook page: “How can I complain about those girls inventing ‘*Quadrado de 8*’ if Brazil does not have schools for everyone?” *Quadrado de 8* is a form of dancing funk. The dancer lies on the ground and raise the legs over the body, moving the hips at the same time. Tico’s opinions suggest that the “lack of schooling” seems to exempt artists from blame for producing what he considers low-quality entertainment.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 1 Bonde das Maravilhas performing 'Quadrado de 8' (Source: YouTube, accessed on 11/05/2015)

Institutional initiatives and research have, however, challenged this opposition between the production of music by the marginalized and education. Government has used hip-hop in São Paulo as part of a strategy to educate (Pardue 2007). The

state hired rappers in a project called CEU, which is both a word for sky in Portuguese as well as an acronym for Unified Educational Centres (Pardue 2007). In his work, Pardue challenges the belief held by a number of sociologists (Bourdieu 2001, Althusser 1984, Baudelot 1991, Pereira 1997) that popular education cannot take place in capitalistic societies. The overall argument is that education is indeed part of a hegemonic project of inculcating social norms. But Pardue argues that hip-hop can be part of an alternative and popular form of education (Pardue 2007).

It is not only hip-hop and its use in São Paulo as described by Pardue that serve as an alternative form of education. According to Patricia Pinho (2004) and Risério (1981), soul music in Bahia had the role of promoting black consciousness. In one interview collected by Risério and cited by Pinho, Watusi, who is an important person in the black movement in Salvador, affirmed that while in Rio de Janeiro funk music became commercialized, because of a supposed lack of connection with its black roots, in Salvador soul music worked to promote black consciousness.

In Rio de Janeiro, as Watusi suggests, the idea that funk serves to promote black consciousness or to educate is somewhat contested. Rappers in São Paulo frequently opposed themselves to funk artists in Rio de Janeiro. They argued that hip-hop in São Paulo was about social consciousness (including racial consciousness), while funk producers were alienated and preoccupied solely with economic profit and producing entertainment (Herschmann 2005).

This opposition recently reappeared when Mano Brown, a renowned rapper from São Paulo, produced a song with a funk singer called Naldo. While rebutting criticism directed at this project, Naldo announced a new song with

Brown, saying that it represents “two blacks celebrating a victory and the union between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo” (Portal G1, 24/11/2015).

In sum, cultural practices flourishing in different cities like São Paulo, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro differ in terms of their perceived potential to promote black consciousness. One of the reasons for this perception lies in the fact that while in São Paulo rappers express their political views verbally, and in Bahia the connection to blackness seems to be more explicitly articulated, only a minority of *baile funk* songs are explicitly about politics or racial issues.

Nevertheless, in 2008, senior funk producers, directly addressing political questions, created an association called APAFUNK (Association of Professional and Friends of Funk Music). It is meaningful that this association played an important role in encompassing funk artists and social activists. One informant once told me: “APAFUNK brought many on the left to funk and many on funk to the political struggle.”

Despite their importance for supporting explicit and institutionalized political mobilization, funk was already political before 2008, when APAFUNK appeared. Where does one find the politics in funk before its recent institutionalization?

Racial politics

Producers and activists argue that the state discriminates against funk through general regulations selectively applied in order to stop the *bailes*, one example is Regulation 013, further discussed in Chapter 6. They believe that this official discrimination is similar to that suffered by other practices also associated with

black culture in Brazil, such as samba in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Buarque de Holanda argues that moments of historical conflict in Brazil (such as independence or the abolition of slavery) are examples of top-down initiatives that reflect how separated politics is from social life in Brazil (Buarque de Holanda, 2002). Supposedly, this separation has to do with the cordiality of Brazilian people, a concept that also reflects an aversion to ritualism and methodical behaviour. The cordial man does not act according to the parameters of citizenship, fleeing from responsibilities and preferring to obey (Luiz de Souza 2007).

Still according to Holanda, Brazilians do not recognize any relationship without an emotional background. This is the basis of the personalism and patriarchal relations that affect political life. Those ideas about cordiality were extremely influential, and to a certain extent still are; one Brazilian newspaper used the expression “cordial racism” in a special edition about race relations (Almanaque Folha 1995).

Another set of ideas regarding *brasilidade* is the myth of racial democracy, attributed to Gilberto Freyre. The author himself never used the term “racial democracy” (Pinho 2004), but one can find in his books phrases such as: “social distance [in Brazil] is (...) the result of class consciousness rather than of race or colour prejudice. As the Brazilian attitude is one of large tolerance toward people who have African blood (...)” (Freyre 1959, p. 119)

One relevant historical moment for *brasilidade* formation is the period of Getúlio Vargas’ presidency (Magaldi 1999, Avelar and Dunn 2011, Siqueira 2012, D’Angelo 2015). Starting in 1930, with a coup d’état, Vargas stayed in power until 1945, and was again in power for three more years after 1951.

During these years, Vargas endeavoured to articulate new symbols and imaginaries to represent nationalistic feeling, creating urban references to express *brasilidade* (Magaldi 1999, D'Angelo 2015). Official propaganda and ideological promotion of miscegenation served that purpose well (Magaldi 1999, D'Angelo 2015, Avelar and Dunn 2011, Siqueira 2012).

Loic Wacquant and Bourdieu (1999) criticized Hanchard (1994), accusing him and other “US-based” scholars of trying to export racial categories to Brazil (Yúdice 2003). One problem with Wacquant and Bourdieu’s accounts is their uncritical assumption of the “myth of Brazilian ‘racial democracy’” (Yúdice 2003, p. 80). According to Yúdice, this quarrel also has to do with the rivalry between the USA and France, as well as different “definitions of culture” (Yúdice 2003, p. 80). Those differences, in this case involving French, North American and Brazilian conceptions of racial relations, occur across national boundaries, mainly through comparisons having “performative force” (Yúdice 2003, p. 80).

Nonetheless, in at least one sense Wacquant and Bourdieu were right, comparisons and studies about racial categories are about power, as Yúdice also notes (2003). Governments also get involved in creating and sustaining those categories, employing culture to this end, as samba’s case exemplifies (Siqueira 2012). According to Yúdice, funk provided a site of resistance for the pervading idea of racial democracy (Yúdice 2003). However, even funk is not immune to appropriations aiming to convey all sorts of ideas regarding racialized boundaries and class.

Black activists and scholars have deconstructed racial democracy, describing it as a myth (Emboaba da Costa 2016). The increasing recognition that racism and racial inequality are indeed problems in Brazil resulted in the adoption of

state policies. One example is affirmative action, including a quota system guaranteeing blacks and indigenous people access to public education and public-sector jobs. This system has been implemented since 2002, when the Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ, State University of Rio de Janeiro) conducted the first experiment with quotas for blacks and indigenous peoples, also using socio-economic criteria to select its students.

Nevertheless, racial democracy persists as an “ideal or future hope, an orientation among Brazilians of all races/ colours” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 25). In this context, affect appears to sustain the defence of “dominant racial discourses” in Brazil (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 25). The affective attachment to racial democracy serves to reproduce forms of power and inequality (Emboaba da Costa 2016). At the same time, one should not denounce racial democracy as simply a form of false consciousness, as that is to simplify the problem:

The multiplicities that anchor people to ideals of mixed conviviality are not ‘false’ or free floating. They have material reality in concrete aspects of lived experience – the actually existing biological and cultural mixtures that constitute families, language, music, cuisine, worldviews, and ways of being, especially among the popular classes. At the same time, a belonging that channels the appeal of mixed identification and racial democracy plays down other places and trajectories inhabiting the very same field of multiplicities that construct the feeling of existence and density of lived reality. (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 31)

Emboaba da Costa proposes a comprehension of this hope for a “mixed conviviality” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 31) as unequally distributed affective attachments associated with “histories of power” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p.

31). He talks about affective communities attached to happy objects, in this case ideologies of racial harmony. This attachment excludes critique as well as other possible paths to achieve happiness that do not sustain the myth of racial democracy.

Black activists and scholars criticize those objects as being happy. They “challenge the happy core of the dominant affective community” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 31), proposing the idea of *racism velado*, or veiled racism. In this case, people acknowledge the existence of racism while believing that it is “less pernicious” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 31) in Brazil. This position undermines the efforts of the black movement and fails to recognize the existence of expressions and behaviours that “dehumanize and continually harm Afro-descendants” (Emboaba da Costa 2016, p. 31). One example is the idea of a cordial racism, describing a form of violence as something mild.

Scholarly accounts of *baile funk* music illustrate the complexity surrounding the reality of discrimination in Brazil in relation to those ideological constructs. George Yúdice (2003) identifies in funk-music culture a move away from “racial democracy” and “cordiality” (Yúdice 2003, p. 114) towards “differentiation” (Yúdice 2003, p. 123). Echoing ideas published by an influential Brazilian journalist called Alba Zaluar, Yúdice affirms that the “construction of a national image is no longer viable” (Yúdice 2003, p. 123).

Meanwhile for Sneed, a sociologist who conducted extensive fieldwork on *baile funk* in Rio, funk music reaffirms or transforms *brasilidade*. The author uses the term *re-brasilidade* (Sneed 2008). Mylene Mizrahi also highlights the integrative character of *baile funk* music. She argues in her doctoral thesis that funk music mediates between *favelas* and richer neighborhoods.

Before the aforementioned discussions, many debates in the seventies and eighties hinged on the alienated, colonized or Americanized character of the soul *bailes* happening in Rio de Janeiro in those decades (Vianna 1987). One member of the Research Institute for Black Cultures (IPCN) defended funk dancers while attacking *sambistas*, accusing them of co-optation by the white middle class (Vianna, 1987). He also argued that clothes, hairstyles and dances could prompt the necessary emulation to recreate the black identity lost with the African diaspora.

Cultural exchanges across the Black Atlantic are simultaneously about culture and politics. The term Black Atlantic, coined by Gilroy, challenges assumptions of cultural nationalism (Gilroy 2001, Stanyek 2004). Black writing and music reveal a kind of internationalism explained through the term double consciousness, meaning that premodern assumptions dwell with rationality (Gilroy 2001).

Following Anathias and Yuval-Davis (1992), considering that the nation overlaps with citizenship allows the reification of “the hegemony of one collectivity” (Anathias and Yuval-Davis 1992, p. 11). Both civil society and the state implement those ideological apparatuses. Different authors have already considered the *baile funk* scene by referring to the ideas of the Black Atlantic and the diaspora (Lopes 2011, Facina 2010).

The cultural and political project of absorbing black practices into national culture exposes serious limits, especially when it comes to equality of opportunity (Garcia 2009, Fry 2000). Referring to the diasporic condition has the analytical power to take us beyond nation, geography, nature and culture (Pinho 2004, Gilroy 2000).

Funk music has also developed through transatlantic exchanges. Recognizing the diasporic condition of funk provides an alternative route to understand the relationship between funk and *brasilidade*. The main question is not whether appropriating “foreign models disconnects young Brazilians from their own tradition” (Magaldi 1999, p. 317) since, if we are to discuss tradition, those youngsters are not only contributing to *brasilidade* formation. They also represent another tradition associated with the cultural and transnational practices of the Black Atlantic.

It is not surprising that funk artists do not always support ideas surrounding *brasilidade*. The black population in Brazil was not responsible for articulating the imaginary surrounding *brasilidade*, associated with elites and the necessity to foster national integration. When *baile funk* artists promote an ambiguous relationship with *brasilidade*, it is not an indication of alienation from either politics or tradition. They are suggesting that old ideas of *brasilidade* are not valid to explain current racial issues in Brazil.

Moreover, they indicate that the nation-state should not be the basic unit to understand a range of different issues, from musical creativity to racial ideology. Therefore, one should take into account the critique of methodological nationalism, which has important implications for the comprehension of cultural capital today (Savage and Prior 2013). For example, Savage and Prieur consider “the stakes of cosmopolitan, transnational cultural capital” while proposing an emerging form of cultural capital (Savage and Prieur 2013, p. 247). They argue that being able to “stand outside one’s own national frame of reference may today be an important cultural marker” (Savage and Prior 2008, p. 259).

When funk artists transform beats from the *maculelê* (a traditional dance in Brazil) or use melodies from other traditional Afro-Brazilian practices, they are

not necessarily expressing *brasilidade*. They are actually connecting to a much broader complex of influences and movements across different countries and continents. It has to do with the first African diaspora, a past including the slave trade and colonialism, followed by a second diaspora of intense migratory and mostly voluntary movements (Guerreiro 2010). Guerreiro also proposes a third diaspora, potentiating the other two and associated with intense analogue and digital communication (Guerreiro 2010).

Class politics

Besides notions of racial democracy, another cultural movement proposed a relationship between Brazilian culture and mixture. In 1928, Oswald de Andrade (1976) released the so-called Manifesto Antropofágico, starting with the following sentence: “only anthropophagy unites us” (Andrade 1976, p. 1, author’s translation). This manifesto founded an important strand within Brazilian art, which inspired generation of artists from different areas ranging from painting to music, including popular artists in the late sixties identified under the label *tropicália* (Buchman 2014).

The word *antropofagia* (anthropophagy) describes movements in Brazilian art associated with the appropriation and recreation of external influences referring to metaphor, or even better, mythologizing, to cannibalism (Buchman 2014). This deliberate aesthetic act of imitation, however, conveys a certain sense of rebellion against the “colonizer” (Buchman 2014). Therefore, a colonial, or post-colonial, context informs debates on *antropofagia*. According to Buchman, the feeling pervading *antropofagia* was the following:

As European modernism appropriated ‘foreign meaning’ – meaning, in its eyes, ‘premodern’ and ‘exotic’ – modes of representation of Africa and Asia, the Brazilian artists and intellectuals were to appropriate as disrespectfully as possible European culture, which they had allegedly only imitated, and mix it with local traditions. (Buchman 2014, p. 112)

Emilio Domingos, a cinema director who made a film about a dance competition called Batalha do Passinho, used the word *antropofagia* in an interview when talking about a dance style called *passinho*. A lot of what funk does is indeed to mix foreign cultures with local traditions. Curiously, while some sophisticated Brazilian artists proclaim themselves to be anthropophagites, sociologists refer to the idea of the omnivore to explain current patterns of cultural consumption. Both refer to feeding metaphors but express very different approaches regarding the nature of engagement with art and culture.

Discussion of the omnivore leaves aside engagement and embodiment, it tries to explain current eclectic trends involving the consumption of culture. In turn, the idea of *antropofagia* conveys an “aesthetics of the flesh” (Buchman 2014, p. 111). Andrade’s manifesto proposes an inclusive and embodied approach to art, based on symmetry and claims for equality.

Even though there is not enough space to elaborate on *antropofagia* as a sociological concept, the introductory paragraphs above are a reminder that acts of appropriation can also be creative. And that appropriation can in itself be elaborated as a practice, historically conditioned and conditioning, also creating a tradition. Moreover, it shows that, in Brazil, meaningful and praised artistic lineages also productively employ appropriation practices.

Nevertheless, *antropofagia* is a reference normally employed by artists in privileged positions (Buchman 2014). Funk in turn is associated with those in underprivileged positions. The point is that while artists working with the idea of *antropofagia* are able to appropriate and elaborate practices of appropriation and copying to legitimate their art, funk artists hardly have the same opportunity to portray their practices in a similar light. When Emilio refers to funk dance using this concept, it serves as a legitimizing discourse, equating dancers with artists such as Hélio Oiticica, Ligia Clark, Ligia Pape and other important figures in Brazilian art.

Does music, or the arts as a whole, in Brazil contribute to creating equality and symmetry by mediating between different social classes? Is this also a discourse associated with a certain social class? According to Moehn, “music has a prominent role in current imaginings of Brazilian citizenship” (Moehn 2011, p. 109). Therefore, music should indeed work to mediate between different social classes and spaces, as well as between the state and civil society (Moehn 2011).

At school, Brazilians often learn about the existence of two Brazils. This image became a common one to describe the huge economic gap in the country. Moehn discusses the possibility of a third Brazil. In the words of the psychologist Maria Rita Kehl, cited in this paper, this is a place “where all Brazilians have the right to exile when real life becomes too insipid” (Moehn 2011, p. 110, apud Kehl 2002).

Is this idea of referring to music and dance to escape the hardships of life enough to bridge existing socio-economic divisions in Brazil? Moehn recognizes the fragility of this “ambiguous musical space of hope” (Moehn 2011, p. 111). According to him, popular music works to change the world but not in the

direction of “an impossible future utopia” (Moehn 2011, p. 111), rather towards a heterotopia that helps people to cope with life (Moehn 2011).

This idea of a heterotopia does not diverge significantly from other accounts of the “utopic dimension” (D’Angelo 2015, p. 47) of *baile funk* music. Following Dyer (1999), D’Angelo (2015) and Sneed (2003, 2008), media products create a space for utopia that allows people to “escape social tension, inadequacy and absence” (D’Angelo 2015, p. 47). One difference observed by Sneed (2008) between the consumption of *baile funk* and the North-American context, studied by Dyer (1999), is the “active engagement and audience participation” (D’Angelo 2015, p. 47). D’Angelo argues that *baile funk* “reveals its utopic nature” (D’Angelo 2015, p. 47) by putting together affect and representation:

I understand the creation of baile funk’s utopic dimension to be a specific sampling aesthetic. In this aesthetic, both representational and non-representational signs, particularly words and lyrics, converge with non-representational signs (particularly rhythms, melodies and sonic fragments) which constitute a music producer’s sonic palette on any given track.

It is reasonable to theorize *baile funk* music as a resource for obtaining equal rights and full citizenship and as an art form creating approximation between different classes in Rio de Janeiro. This discussion should not, however, ignore the fact that social stratification is still very strong in Brazil (Moehn 2011). In this sense, Moehn (2008) discusses the idea of mixing in Brazilian music, without seeking to use this word to describe “all Brazilian cultural production” (Moehn 2008, p. 167). He reveals how ideas of “racial and cultural mixture” (Moehn 2008, p. 167) are still reinforced by journalists and embraced by a

middle class “caught in the middle of the various dynamics, flows and problems of modernity” (Moehn 2008, p. 167).

The interviews conducted for this thesis can shed light on this issue. Those interviewees coming from a working-class background (also those already very successful, such as DJ Marlboro) do not deny mixing. At this point, a strong similarity exists between the predominant discourse and testimonials from both working-class and upper-class artists. MC Leonardo, a senior MC from Rocinha, affirms very clearly that “nobody owns culture”. For him, “culture is alive and mutant”. Cebolinha, a young dancer, revealed without any hesitation his multiple influences. He introduced *passinho*, a way of dancing funk, as an amalgam of different dance styles from Brazil and abroad. Lastly, it seems that no one denies that funk has evolved in the last three decades by combining many different influences.

Despite the mixed character of *passinho* dance and it being to a certain extent a novelty, dancers demand respect for the rules of their dance. MC Leonardo acknowledges that anyone can produce *baile funk* music but, at the same time, he notes the importance of preserving tradition. In another interview, he highlighted the centrality of poor areas of the city for the vibrancy of Rio de Janeiro’s culture. Sany Pitbull, a *baile funk* DJ, describes how he chooses his repertoire, whenever he plays at certain locations, based on local attachment to funk songs.

I also interviewed a range of middle-class individuals who interact with funk. Again, mixing appeared to be an important element, but the interviewees were much more reluctant to accept labels. Maria Buzanovsky, even though she has participated in APAFUNK political activities, refused to define herself as a *funkeira*. Leo Justi also did not describe his productions as *baile funk*. Maria Buzanovsky, Leo Justi, Emilio Domingos and Rafael Dragaud introduce and

mediate popular practices to new audiences. Nevertheless, one should not discard the aesthetic relevance of such mediation.

Their testimonials reveal that, despite the violence in the *favelas*, access to *baile funk* artists and their cultural practices is not exactly a problem. Moehn also acknowledged the issue of access. According to him, the singer Marisa Monte, “a white, middle-class Carioca” (a word for those who are Rio de Janeiro born and bred) (Moehn 2008, p. 166), had the privilege of enjoying “the freedom to transcend what in other circumstances might be relatively more unyielding barriers of race, class and place” (Moehn 2008, p. 166). Considering those differences invites a question: do Brazilians from the two Brazils have the same access to the third Brazil described above by Moehn and Kehl?

No rigid position about cultural appropriation was found among my interviewees, none of them questioned the right of someone, from any social position, to produce *baile funk*. However, among middle-class individuals, one can notice a certain propensity to interact with different cultural practices in a more fluid way. Among working-class artists, a certain preoccupation with preserving culture was perceivable, accompanied by a permissive posture vis-à-vis the use of different cultural practices.

This apparent contradiction becomes less puzzling when locality is included in the debate. Working-class interviewees seem to merge respect for culture with respect for a given locality, or even *favelas* as a whole. The third Brazil accessed by middle- and upper-class Brazilians is a world of mixture and harmony, a place to escape the insipidity of the world. For those living in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, the problem is not only that the world is insipid or tasteless but also violent and unjust.

One can find in someone's voice an important way to understand habitus, as it simultaneously conveys space, embodiment and affect. The word voice, beyond its physical expression, is also a metaphor for political representation or the capacity to influence how events or social processes unfold. One's voice is not, however, simply for transmitting meaning. One's voice has an "ambivalent" position. It is simultaneously interior and exterior to meaning (Dolar 2006). One's voice, its accents, intonations and timbre, leverages speech: "the voice, in its function as the internal exterior of logos, the apparent pre-logos, the extra-logos, is called upon and necessary in certain well-defined and crucial social situations" (Dolar 2006, p. 107).

There are a number of occasions when the voice is crucial: in religious rituals, universities, courts and during elections (Dolar 2006). In Dolar's words, "the living presence of the voice is the element which defines the ritual nature of court proceedings" (Dolar 2006, p. 109).

The MCs in the Roda de Funk bring the voice of the *favelas*, with its intonations, accents and timbres, to the forefront. MCs still refer to speeches to mark the Roda de Funk as a decidedly political event. However, it is by singing that MCs break with the hegemony of meaning and rational discourse as the only form of political debate.

It is through voice that language is embodied, even though the voice does not belong to language or the body. It floats away, detached but still "corporeal" (Dolar 2006, p. 73). One important element of *baile funk* music is accent, an element that takes us "into the vicinity of singing" (Dolar 2006, p. 20). It connects the voice to its material conditions (Dolar 2006). Accents can convey

class divisions, revealed in struggles regarding the ruling norm, and regionalism (Dolar 2006).

For Brazilian speakers of Portuguese it is not too difficult to distinguish regional accents, the recognition is almost immediate. In the music video “Estourei a Boa”, from MC Frank, also discussed in Chapter 4, one can hear three different accents.

At the beginning of the music video, MC Frank calls MC Léo da Baixada, who answers the phone and refers to MC Frank as “*padrinho*”, godfather in English. MC Frank supported MC Léo da Baixada at the beginning of his career, which explains the usage of the expression. In the name Léo da Baixada, the word *baixada* refers to a metropolitan area called Baixada Santista.

This area includes the port of Santos, one of the most important ports in South America and an industrial complex in the city of Cubatão. There are also important touristic places in this metropolitan area, such as the city of Guarujá. Moreover, this is one of the main regions outside Rio de Janeiro where *baile funk* music prospers. Many MCs have emerged in recent years from Baixada Santista. According to MC Léo da Baixada, on his Facebook page, MC Frank used to put on shows in this area, from at least 2007.

MC Léo da Baixada pronounces the letter ‘o’ of the word “*padrinho*” using a nasal sound. Comedians typically exaggerate this sound when they imitate the accent from São Paulo. In his answer, MC Frank asks MC Léo da Baixada to meet him. At this moment, he says: “*estourei a boa*”, meaning that he is in a comfortable situation and suggesting that his friend should come and enjoy it with him. This time the ‘s’ in “*estourei*” is pronounced using a Rio de Janeiro accent, closer to the sound at the beginning of the word “ship”, for example. A common joke is that cariocas sound like a broken or badly-tuned radio, because of this

pronunciation of ‘s’; in São Paulo ‘s’ has a sibilant sound closer to the sound in the word “sack”.

The third accent introduced in the song comes from a sample extracted from a duo playing *sertanejo* music, a style that one can roughly describe as country music from Brazil. The duo, called Canhoto and Robertinho, was one of the first duos playing *sertanejo* in Brazil to import a style inspired by American western movies (Mizrahi 2010). They sing using a countrified accent and make references to guns and ruffians in a comic way.

Funk producers have remixed and sampled a number of songs produced by this duo, who serve as a reference for different characters of *baile funk* music, such as “Jack, o Matador” (Jack the Killer) and “O Homem Mau” (evil man) (Mizrahi 2010). One sampler, used at the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, originally by DJs such as Adriano DJ and Pipo’s Equipe de Som, comes from the song “Jack, o Matador”. More recently, MC Frank and DJ Leo Justi have also used this sampler.

In the original song from Canhoto e Robertinho, a character called Jack enters a bar and orders everyone to drink, killing one person who refuses to obey him. The song starts but is interrupted near the middle, this time Jack orders a man to play the harmonica (*gaita* in Portuguese), saying: “Everyone here must dance! *Gaiteiro* play your instrument!” One man refuses to dance and Jack kills him as well.

“Chumbo Quente” (Warm Bullet), another song from Canhoto e Robertinho and the soundtrack of a homonymous movie starring the duo, has also influenced many funk artists. Furacão 2000, a famous *equipe de som* from Rio de Janeiro, remixed the song using the sound of modern weapons and funk beats (Mizrahi 2010). Inspired by the first remix, using beats from *baile funk*, other MCs have

sung lyrics over the new beat to produce *proibidões* portraying local faction members as merciless and brave (Mizrahi 2010).

The MCs Junior and Leonardo also use samples from the song “Chumbo Quente”. In this version, they imitate the sound of gunshots with their voices, something they do in another song, as well, called “Rap das Armas” (Sneed 2003). In both songs, the MCs criticize violence in the *favelas*, including the truculence of police action. Using the sound of guns (either imitated with voices or sampled) is a common practice in *baile funk* music. According to Sneed (2003), this aesthetic usage of the sound of guns appears in a number of contexts:

By turning the gunfire into a voice of protest and solidarity, funk artists perform a densely suggestive semiotic inversion that subverts this dehumanizing association and opens possibilities for new meanings. Gunfire can be a lament of the conditions of life in *favelas* and their abandonment by mainstream society, it can be a roar glorifying the power of the *favela* and its drug lords, or it can be an ominous war cry warning those of the status quo that there is a storm rising. (Sneed 2003, p. 25)

Dolar described the partially successful efforts of inventors during the eighteenth century to produce a speaking machine, a machine capable of producing “the most human of effects” (Dolar 2006, p. 10), the voice “could subjectify the machine” (Dolar 2006, p. 9). In Brazil, MCs portray the situation in many *favelas*, where people are dehumanized and prone to violence and assassination, by imitating the sounds of guns. In this case, the machine that kills becomes a voice. Unlike the artefact itself, this voice does not intend to kill but

to denounce a situation of inequality regarding basic rights. According to Blommaert:

Problems of voice are problems of inequality, and as such they will occur in every environment where inequality is a feature of structure. (...) The point here, however, is that such structured forms of inequality in language require an analytical toolkit that addresses them as features of structure, not necessarily of intentional deployment in interaction.

(Blommaert 2005, p. 233)

The coexistence of or conflict between different voices can structure itself in patterns or “familiar shapes” (Blommaert 2005, p. 233). Using gunshots is part of a repertoire of symbols and sounds that funk artists use and transform. Habitus offers the possibility to explain patterns and recurrences without relying on the “innocent nature” of repetitive events or choices (Blommaert 2005, p. 233).

There is a tension between subjectivity and situatedness (Blommaert 2005). Attending to this tension also reveals the relevance of analysing the voice in terms of habitus (Blommaert 2005). Considering habitus as “ethnographically grounded” (Blommaert 2005, p. 222) allows the investigation of how participants perform their subjectivities using their voices and bodies.

2.3 Conclusion

In the theoretical frame proposed in this chapter, habitus maintains a place of importance, one challenged to a certain extent by recent contributions on the theme of distinction (Bennet et al. 2009) and criticized for its treatment of social class as an “omnipresent horizon” (Weiss 2008, p. 233). Nevertheless, this thesis does not ignore Bennet et al.’s remarks on the “contradictory ways” of habitus,

and the interaction between “class, gender, age and ethnicity” (Bennet et al. 2009, p. 3) conditioning processes of becoming (Bennet et al. 2009, p. 3). At the same time, it argues that one might find in Bourdieu himself another way of departing from the idea of “habitus as a unified set of dispositions rooted in a specific class position” (Bennet et al. 2009, p. 3).

One can account for habitus and its complexity by shedding light on the importance of affect, embodiment and space. The latter does not contain the other two, rather it interacts dynamically with both affective transactions and their embodiment (Merleau-Ponty 2012). People modify and re-signify surrounding space; in turn, space also conditions individual actions and their outcomes. Those two processes are not separate. People or even objects do not simply add up to make an environment, as if they have no history or trajectory. In Ingold’s words, “‘organism plus environment’ should denote not a compound of two things, but one indivisible totality” (Ingold 2000, p. 19).

People as well as scholars commonly think of individuals as being set apart from their environment, presupposing as well a separation of mind and body (Ingold 2000, Crossley 2006). Those divisions are difficult to change and are part of social and historical processes. In this sense, reflexivity can be thought of in terms of a social habitus associated with the ubiquitous notion that one can somehow think about oneself in a detached way (Crossley 2006). Challenging divisions such as mind/body or space/body does not mean ignoring their social existence but avoiding a theoretical reification of presuppositions that cannot be simply accepted as natural or a given.

Additionally, it is not just a matter of challenging divisions, but also of challenging hierarchies. Subject and object are not simply set apart as a result of

inconsequential reasoning exercises, a hierarchical situation is also implied.

Thought and reflection tend to overshadow or colonize embodiment, affect and interested aestheticism (Gandhi 2006). Moreover, theory-making tends to neglect the notions required to comprehend how humans integrate into their surrounding space (Ingold 2000).

It is meaningful that popular cultures (such as funk) show a more prominent use of body displays (Green 1997). For Bourdieu, while the value of highbrow forms tends to emanate from its purity, autonomy and abstraction, popular art appeals to the senses, enjoying a lower position because it supposedly does not demand special skills or training for its appreciation (Bourdieu 2010).

Nevertheless, in dance and other forms of engagement with funk, an educated gaze, as well as embodied and technical knowledge, is highly valued. At the same time, the supposedly low status of funk means funk artists and fans constantly have to find “moral justifications” for their practices (Facina 2015, p. 83, author’s translation). This situation does not result only from the fact that marginalized individuals produce funk, but also because of its realist language and embodied communication.

Of course, saying this does not justify repression of or prejudice against the style. Recognizing that art might have social consequences is not the same as making it a scapegoat for social problems (DeNora 2003). Reactions, such as funk’s prohibition, occur because of the specific aesthetic traits of funk, e.g. realism, perceived in a specific structural context.

In sum, funk’s repression does not occur solely because of class, racial or spatial prejudice, but because funk’s aesthetic production actively raises those

issues. Funk artists raise sensitive issues using art, thus allowing people to engage with matters such as exclusion, prejudice, violence and sexism

Voices do emerge that try to stop the introduction of those themes, relying on an argument that funk stimulates anti-social behaviour. The need to affirm funk as art serves as a defensive attitude to counter official repression and media coverage, since both frequently undermine funk as legitimate cultural expression by associating it with a reproachable lifestyle (Herschmann 2005). More importantly, funk's claims for citizenship and equal rights can also challenge assumptions regarding a hierarchical relationship between reason and affect. By using the body, available tools and surrounding space in resourceful ways, funk artists dispute the meanings and limits of art and culture.

Chapter 3: Methodologically approaching affect and embodiment

This research relies on a variety of methods. This combination of methodologies has two main objectives. First, the use of different sources, such as legal documents, interviews (see Appendix I), photographs and videos, aims to answer how meanings and affects resonate through different cultural practices, such as music or audiovisual production.

Secondly, different materials are sought to complement each other, fill information gaps and allow different perspectives and subjective accounts on different events. To understand affect – associated with the impact that bodies have on each other within spaces that intensify or attenuate those relations – the use of a variety of sources proves indispensable. Fieldwork involved both participant observation (see Appendix II) and interviews with dancers, MCs (masters of ceremonies, those usually responsible for writing songs, singing and cheering up the crowd), DJs, activists and executive producers (see Appendix I).

The Deleuzian approach to affect relies on metaphors and references to images and their representation (Coleman 2013). In fact, this strand puts forward a critique of representation, which usually cannot convey affect directly. Instead, representation involves qualifying affect as an emotion or attributing it to a certain causal agent.

The same is valid for sounds, which have their names linked to causal agents, such as the name of a specific drum producing a certain sound (Shurkus 2014). This has to do with the changing qualities of embodiment and sound. Therefore, we tend to associate those fleeting phenomena with specific “causing agents” (Shurkus 2014, p. 79).

Deleuze introduces three different kinds of language. The first kind, language I, is that of “names” (Deleuze 1995, p. 7), in which the relationship between names and objects is direct, “where enumeration replaces proposition” (Deleuze 1995, p. 7). This is the language of novels (Deleuze 1995). The second kind introduced is that of “flows that direct and distribute linguistic corpuscles” (Deleuze 1995, p. 7). This language is associated with the voice, the language of “radio”. Lastly, Deleuze introduces a third language, image, which is different from the first two because it is no longer about “otherness”. According to Deleuze, the second language he describes, language II, is still the voice of the “other”: “You would have to succeed in speaking of them, but how is that achieved without introducing yourself into the series, without prolonging their voices” (Deleuze 1995, p. 7).

Language III brings together words and voices with images. It is “outside of language”, the language of television (Deleuze 1995, p.10). Language III relates to changing boundaries. What matters in this case is not the coherence and rationality of language I, or the flowing of voiced piercing memories characteristic of language II:

The image is not an object but a ‘process.’ We don't understand the power of such images, however simple they appear from the point of view of the object. This is language III, neither that of names or of voices, but that of images, sounding, coloring. (Deleuze 1995, p. 9)

Nevertheless, those three kinds of images are never alone. According to Deleuze, it is “extremely difficult” to create a “pure image” marked by “singularity” and stripped of rationality or personality. Therefore, television is still to a large extent the voice of “other”, and the same is true regarding research combining an ethnographic orientation with images. Can anyone introduce

difference without “prolonging voices”? Can anyone produce a pure image ethnographically?

Deleuze’s ideas support the use of images in the social sciences, since it allows access to specific tensions. Using photos and videos loosens the “grip of words” (Deleuze 1995, p. 9) and allows a productive, even if momentary, disengagement from reason.

Ethnographers developed the use of visual techniques to undertake social research in a bid to overcome the authoritarianism detected in ethnographic representation of shared inter-subjective accounts. Considering different narratives bring to the fore the fictional character of experience (Marcus 1995). This approach accompanies the suspension of micro or macro distinctions – and their different hierarchies and levels of legitimacy – an essential step towards avoiding ethnocentric assumptions (Jensen 2000). There should be no images or accounts that are more or less legitimate in a shared representation of events. This does not mean that actors regard those representations as equally legitimate, or that no hierarchy exists, however.

This research departs from positivistic assumptions, leaning towards a so-called “reflexive science” or “dwelling in” approach (Burawoy 1998). Therefore, methodologically speaking, the principles underlying this project do not assume a necessary isolation from the “object”. In my case, for example, I somehow intervened in the field, interacting with participants through the exchange of audiovisual materials and ideas about funk movements’ strategies and actions.

According to Burawoy: “Interventions create perturbations that are not noise to be expurgated but music to be appreciated” (Burawoy 1998, p. 7). Markedly therefore, what is noise in one form of scientific endeavour can become music in another. How can one, however, transform noise into music? Reflexivity is

extremely important in this case, not as a way of pursuing objectivity or scientific rigour, but rather to produce a shared account considering inter-subjectivity, a negotiation between different subjects, the researcher and the participants.

3.1 Methods employed

Entering the field

The triangulation of methods in this research aims to paint a “fuller picture” (Denscombe 2010, p. 231) of the *baile funk* scene. Audiovisual recordings contribute to a better comprehension of embodied practices and the relationship between affect and meaning. Recording images and sounds is also an exercise in reflexivity, in the sense that it forces you to ponder what to record and why. Images and sounds also become an audiovisual field diary.

One side effect of the production of audiovisual data is that it helped me to enter the field. Fieldwork did not follow traditional ethnographic long-term immersive research. It was important for me to benefit from the opportunity to develop my research in London, with closer supervision and contact with other scholars. I went to Brazil three times, in 2012, 2013 and 2014, staying a total of nine months in Rio de Janeiro. Even though I did not stay for a long period immersed in the field, I have been monitoring funk’s relationship with security forces and its prohibition in the *favelas* since 2011.

The possibility of maintaining contact with informants online was extremely valuable. Almost all of my respondents were very active in online communities, including Facebook, Orkut (an already closed social medium similar to

Facebook) or YouTube. Therefore, with different opportunities, especially when I was abroad, I obtained information online by contacting informants, by participating in online forums or by watching videos online.

Moreover, before starting my PhD, the process of entering the field had already started. During 2011, I began producing filmed accounts of arrests involving six MCs and the prohibition of funk music in the *favelas*. My investigation was not restricted to the nine months of physical presence in the field, after starting this PhD. The initial moment in 2011 provided me with important evidence regarding the repression of *baile funk* and the political reaction to it.

At that period, I was working for Rio de Janeiro's state government, in the Management and Planning Department. At the beginning of January 2011, before going to work, I read in the newspaper about the imprisonment of six MCs accused of advocating crime², among other offences. I was interested in the situation and commented on it in my work. A colleague knew Ricardo Sidi, the lawyer who defended the MCs. After talking with friends, they agreed to support me in an interview. My initial idea was to make a film. Sidi put me in contact with Guilherme, who introduced me to other MCs and DJs.

This was my rather unconventional entry to the field. During that period, I was also preparing my application to the LSE. Hence, before going to London in 2011, I was already in contact with funk. The initial contact with APAFUNK helped me to get in touch with other organizations as well, such as MEURIO, a separate group from APAFUNK. MEURIO is mostly formed of young middle-

² The term *apologia* in Portuguese means defending or advocating a certain idea or a cause. It appears many times throughout this thesis and I have decided to translate it in different ways. When referring to the crime of '*apologia ao crime*', I use the term 'advocating crime'. In other occasions, I translate the term using equivalent English words or I do not translate it at all, since the original meaning would be affected.

class individuals struggling for a wide range of different causes, usually connected to the changes occurring in Rio de Janeiro during the last few years as a result of many ‘modernization projects’ taking place.

This form of communication using images connected me to activists from APAFUNK and MEURIO, it also enabled me to raise awareness and publicize their activities. One example is a short video denouncing the prohibition of *bailes funk* produced by MEURIO, an organization that collaborated with APAFUNK in protests against funk’s criminalization.

The initial preoccupation with activism also helped me to establish my focus on how groups and individuals occupying different social positions mediate funk, including the consequences and affordances of such mediation. Of course, this work also mediates *baile funk* music, and it begs a few questions: How do I translate *baile funk*? Is this translation accurate, satisfactorily, ethical? In this chapter, I will deal with those issues. Nevertheless, let me start with a short reflection on my position and the impact it might have had on forging relationships in the field.

I come from a middle-class background, my father is a tax lawyer, working in a very competitive and corporate environment, while my mother worked for the city of Rio de Janeiro as an urban designer specializing in social housing. Hence, since I was little, I heard stories about my mother visiting different *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, including moments of danger, e.g. when she had to leave a certain area because of shootings. Therefore, doing fieldwork in *favelas* involved dealing with familiar images and fears that do not emerge only through the newspapers but also through conversations in my household.

Part of my research involved analysing political activities. Activists wanted more people in Brazil and abroad to know about the repression suffered by those

producing funk music. Nevertheless, I was also a newcomer. They did not know my thoughts and opinions and had no idea of what I was going to say in my research about their grievances.

Because of my social position, skin colour and ways of acting, in other words because of my habitus, on every occasion that I entered a *favela* I did not have the illusion of being, or even attempt to be, confused with a local. This situation left me with a feeling of vulnerability but it also allowed for many opportunities, since people would come and talk to me, trying to explain their ways of living and preferences. When I went to watch a movie about *passinho* in a *favela*, called Providência, a dancer told me that I was just like a “*gringo* in the *favela*” because I could not find the venue for the event. *Gringo* is a pejorative word for foreigner. The use of this word also indicates that it was obvious that I came from another part of town.

Fieldwork for this thesis involved producing and exchanging images, as well as talking about them with a variety of informants. Some of them were interested in what I was going to do with the images, others were also involved in producing images themselves and wanted to promote exchanges. At the same time, this universe of images provided opportunities for discussions on affect to appear in subtle ways.

More than a methodological strategy, working with images helped me to comprehend the relevance of audiovisual creation around funk. Those images are also integral to the way people judge funk in Brazil. This thesis addresses funk images and their consequences from an affective perspective, instead of thinking in terms of effects. Distinguishing between affect and effects means focusing on “constitutive relationalities” (Coleman 2008, p. 174) instead of unidirectional

causation. Bodies are constantly interacting with images, which both “limit or extend” possibilities of “becoming” (Coleman 2008, p. 174 and 2013).

I attended a vast variety of events during my fieldwork: dance contexts, street parties, political demonstrations, a public hearing inside the State Legislative House, meetings and talks by activists somehow involved with funk and even a funk poetry soirée. This research, even though it does not rely solely on ethnographic data, draws inspiration from methods of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Benzecry 2011; Hannerz 2003; Pink 2007), since my focus is not only on *bailes*, already much investigated via ethnographic approaches (see for instance Vianna 1987 or Mizrahi 2006, 2010).

I dedicated most of my field investigations to newly created events, which happened many times in areas occupied by UPPs (Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora, it translates as Pacifying Police Units), inside or around venues where *bailes de favela* used to occur before their official suspension.

The UPP project, designed and implemented by the state government of Rio de Janeiro, represents an attempt to deal with a context of violence in the *favelas*. It has faced much criticism from participants in this research, but also from scholars (Silva 2015). Silva understands this process, named pacification, as the promotion of peace through the silencing of conflict (Silva 2015). In this context, to produce order, the state silences “dialogues built upon social and cultural relations” (Silva 2015, p. 150). One example is the prohibition of *baile funk* in *favelas*, following the occupation of territories for the installation of UPPs (Silva 2015).

Another site of research was the Internet, where funk fans and artists, students, activists, scholars and the like interact through debates and the exchange of information on forums. The map below shows the status in 2015 of

all *bailes* mentioned in this thesis, including a few more mentioned by participants in newspapers or online forums and websites. It does not aim to map all *bailes* in Rio de Janeiro, but it includes many parties that people know for their persistence, popularity or anteriority.

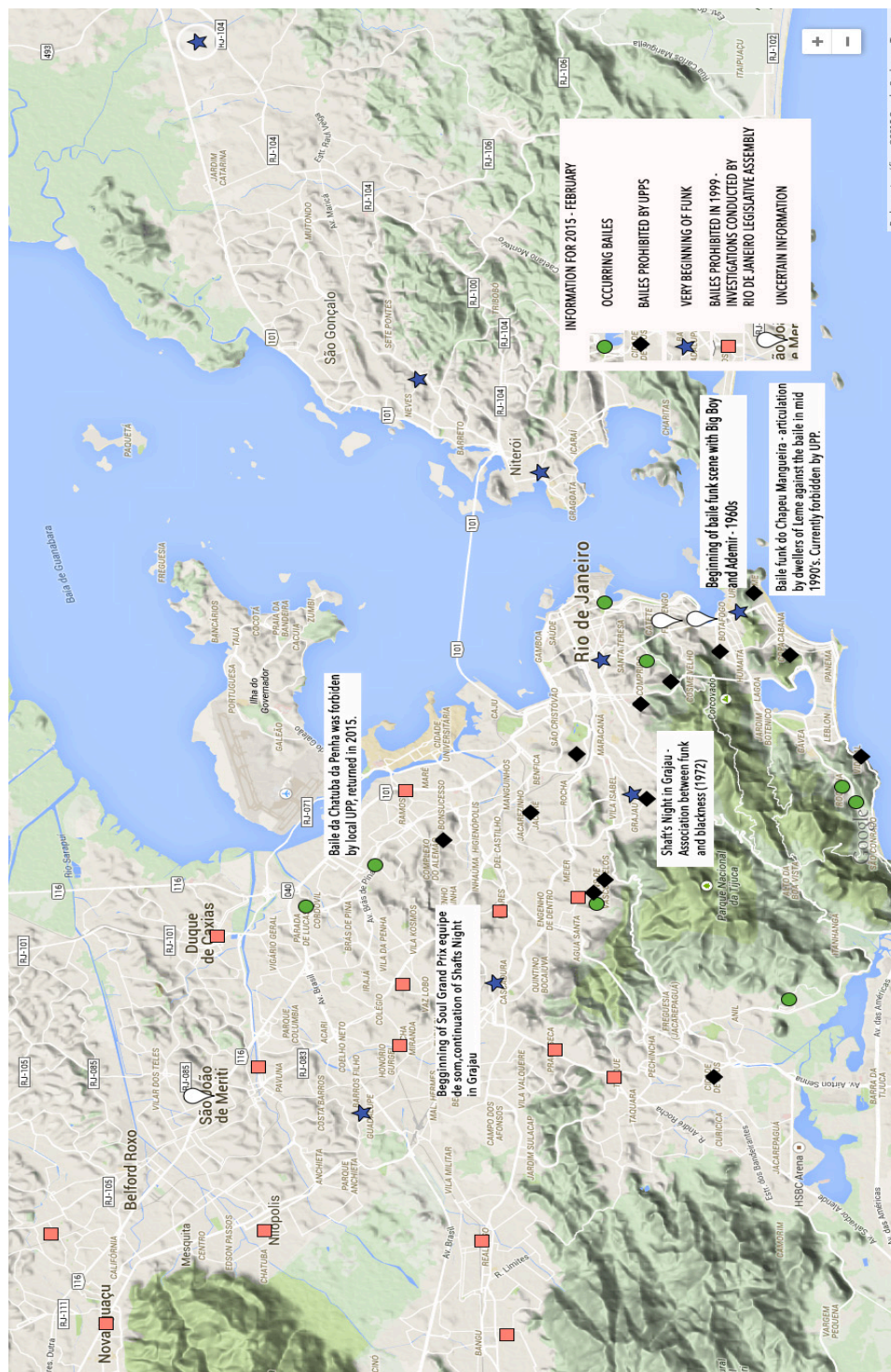


Figure 2 Map showing the situation in February 2015 of bailes mentioned in this thesis.

Three different cases attracted my attention. First, the arrest of six MCs drew me to the field, as mentioned above. Henceforth, I started following Rodas de Funk and political protests. APAFUNK (Association of Professionals and Friends of Funk Music) organized those events with the help of other actors from civil society, such as MEURIO and Direito Para Quem (DPQ). They demonstrated against the prohibition of *baile funk* in *favelas*. A mixed group of MCs, DJs, producers and social activists, including university students and even teachers, organized those *rodas*.

A third important site of research was dance contests, called Batalha do Passinho. These were events happening in Rio de Janeiro in February and March of 2013, sponsored by Coca-Cola with the support of Rede Globo (one of the biggest television networks in Brazil) and the State of Rio de Janeiro. In those dance contests, youngsters from the age of eight to twenty-something competed for a monetary prize. These competitions were held across the city in different *favelas*, resulting in each *favela* having a champion, who duelled against another champion from another *favela*, for a place in the big final. The winner of the grand final was entitled to a prize of R\$10.000 *reais* (about £ 3,300 in 2013).

Interviews and speeches

I conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty-four different participants chosen during my observation-participation period. The choice of interviewees related to questions arising during fieldwork. This process revealed how interviews connected with one another and the diversity of people involved with efforts to legitimize and promote *baile funk*.

Some respondents are MCs, DJs, dancers or producers coming from a working-class background with an intimate connection to the *favelas* or suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, even though they do not necessarily live in those areas.

Regarding respondents coming from an upper- or middle-class position, there is little doubt about their racial profile in most cases. Eleven interviewees coming from wealthier backgrounds are white, with only one exception. I inferred social position and skin colour based on my own personal perceptions combined with comments made by respondents during the interviews.

Skin colour is not the only factor one should take into account in order to evaluate ethnicity, but it is a very relevant one. Subjectivity is also key to determining ethnicity and it was to a certain extent captured during the interviews. However, it was possible to infer, with reasonable accuracy, those among the respondents who might suffer racial prejudice in Brazil and, with even more certainty, those who would not.

There is a noticeable interconnection between social position and skin colour among the respondents. This perception becomes clearer when one considers the skin colour of interviewees positioned in the upper/middle classes. Analysing the social positioning of the interviewees also reveals an even division regarding numbers, with half of my respondents coming from working-class positions and the other half from upper/middle-class backgrounds. Regarding age, ten

respondents were between eighteen and thirty years old at the beginning of my research. The remainder were more than thirty years old.

It was not hard to infer whether a certain participant came from an upper/middle-class or working-class background. Place of dwelling, profession and social trajectory are good proxies. I do not attempt to provide a complex and detailed account of stratification in Brazil. In fact, social difference appeared during field research and interviews in a very polarized manner.

My initial focus was on funk's repression and how existing political activism led by APAFUNK aimed to legitimize, institutionalize and organize the struggles of funk producers for recognition by the state as culture. During my second period of fieldwork, starting in 2013, I started to follow *passinho* dance. This expansion of interest provided me with the opportunity to observe an emerging product derived from funk, associated with social organizations, companies and government, and providing a different face for funk's institutionalization.

Different interviewees introduced the idea of activism and the *passinho* scene as possibly solving problems or finding solutions for funk. In both cases, institutions get involved. Funk is a culture movement articulated through universities, schools and groups of activists to pressure government. At the same time, different groups promote *passinho*, while simultaneously appropriating its steps with a variety of intentions, mainly to promote social causes, governmental policies or brands.

Each interview aimed to extract more information about how the interviewee related to cases investigated in this thesis: their roles, objectives, connections with other actors and details of their activities, which involved aesthetic and political practices. The answers revealed that explaining or understanding the links established among participants could not rely only on institutions and their

practices or roles. Engagement with funk also involves passion and affective links, such as friendship and trust.

This contradiction emerged very clearly as I attempted to code the interviews. I did so by considering the concept of engagement as developed by DeNora (2003) and its different five interacting dimensions: Actors; the production of music, sounds and form; acts of engagement; conditions of engagement; and environment. The table below summarizes how this approach raised a range of different issues discussed throughout this thesis.

Table 1 Interview Coding

Engagement (DeNora 2003)	The coding of interviews, complemented by fieldwork, revealed:
Actors	Emotions, dreams, strategies, objectives, affinities, tastes, social connections and agency.
Music	Tools, beats, melodies, copying techniques and originality affirmation.
Events and acts	Embodied cultural capital and knowledge, affect, desire for recognition, sexuality and the challenging of gender normativity, as well as its affirmation.
Conditions	Co-optation, mediation and appropriation, discrimination of all sorts, related to dwelling space, racial

	prejudice, class and music taste.
Environment	Urban space marked by inequalities, insecurity, geographical exclusion and police abuse, as well as the possibility of interaction and articulation between groups and individuals from different social backgrounds.

During protests by the Funk is Culture movement, I also recorded hours of speeches from MCs and other activists who took the microphone to show their indignation and to introduce information they considered necessary, among other motivations.

After transcribing the interviews and texts of speeches, I used different colours associated with each of the dimensions in the table to mark up the transcripts. Moreover, I also marked in the text the minutes of each of the questions in order to facilitate access to corresponding sound or video, thus allowing me to analyse non-verbal clues. Regarding speeches, I also inserted comments in the written transcripts regarding events occurring during the footage or in the background of a sound recording.

I also obtained material by accompanying other actors conducting interviews, a process that was valuable in providing ethnographic and discursive elements about funk. Each of those situations arose because of my insertion into the field, even though I was not the only one conducting interviews.

On one occasion, there was a journalist working for a German radio station, *Funkhaus*, talking about an interview he conducted with Sany Pitbull. On another occasion, during the World Cup 2014, a journalist from a German television

network wrote a story about the prohibition of *bailes* in Rio de Janeiro. I followed their crew in Cantagalo and Rocinha. We talked to a DJ and a lieutenant from Cantagalo, as well as a *baile* funk producer from Rocinha.

This variety of sources proved valuable to approach funk from multiple perspectives. This thesis shows funk's controversial context as mediated by national and international journalists, academics, movie producers and photographers.

Documents

The data collected form a large network of debates and alternatives to the void left by governmental action with their hindrance of *bailes* in the *favelas*.

Different perceptions about the reasons why funk still faces discrimination and repression frame those discussions and alternatives. A complementary source of information was documents about how governmental action interacts with funk music. The list of documents include laws, regulations, comments by lawyers about these laws and regulations, and other legal documents, such as the writ of habeas corpus used for the release of six arrested MCs accused of inciting crime during a police operation in 2010. I obtained all documents via the Internet, except for the writ of habeas corpus, which I obtained from Ricardo Sidi, one of the lawyers defending the arrested MCs.

Table 2: Documents

Document	Description
City law 2.518 from 1996	Defines funk as a cultural practice and affirms that the executive has the responsibility to ensure the

	safety of <i>baile funk</i> events.
State law 3.410 from 2000	States that every <i>baile funk</i> event must have permission from the military police. The police must also be on duty during the event.
State law 4.264 from 2003	Funk is defined as a cultural practice and producers are now responsible for ensuring safety during events.
State law 5.265 from 2008	Specific and numerous requirements are set specifically for funk and rave parties to hinder the occurrence of <i>bailes</i> .
State law 5.544 from 2009	Repeals law 5.265
State law 5.543 from 2009	Defines funk as a cultural movement and prohibits discrimination against this style.
Resolution 013 from 2007	A general document to regulate the holding of any party. Nevertheless, it was commonly applied to hinder funk parties across Rio de Janeiro. It was suspended in 2013.
Report by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) on resolution 013.	A report produced by a lawyer from FGV criticizing resolution 013.
Habeas corpus	A document produced by lawyers at Fernando Fernandes Advogados (a law firm) asking for the release of six MCs arrested after numerous accusations, including inciting crime.

The idea of digital ethnography (Murthy 2008, Pink 2007) seems suitable to describe some of the methods employed in this research. The methodologies included gathering information from social-networking websites and the use of digital machinery to produce data. The use of digital tools also helped me to conduct this research despite the limited period of fieldwork, allowing me to obtain data while away from Brazil.

Even though I do not want to qualify this work strictly as digital ethnography, I did employ a few techniques associated with it. According to Murthy (2008), one can combine both physical and digital ethnography in the same research:

(...) a balanced combination of physical and digital ethnography not only gives researchers a larger and more exciting array of methods to tell social stories, but also enables them to demarginalize the voice of respondents in these accounts. (Murthy 2008)

Doing digital ethnography involves “catching up, sharing, exploring, interacting and archiving” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 6). Using the Internet I followed the news and online statements from research participants regarding events deemed relevant. Sharing was a strategy used to obtain feedback without being excessively demanding, since I could share material, receive opinions and publicise results.

Online “exploratory trips” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 7) were particularly valuable when I was trying to make sense of events. By following information found in forums and doing research online it was possible to know if a specific *baile*, reported during the interviews or in the literature, was still active. In many cases, it was possible to find activity online about specific *bailes* until the year

the authorities decided to ban them. This date usually coincided with the year of the installation of an UPP. Regarding interaction, I talked to informants when I had specific questions, even though, with a few key respondents, I developed a closer relationship both online and offline. I also sent emails and messages on Facebook to arrange interviews.

Archiving meant organizing and saving links to videos and forum discussions. I also archived specific public statements made online by participants, most of these statements confirmed information already gathered during participant observation or interviews.

Found images and sounds, not produced with this research in mind, were also an important source of information. Different from my own production, images available online (especially filmed clips) provided new perspectives on the *baile funk* scene. Regarding the use of found material it is important to ensure its authenticity (Denscombe 2010). Most of this found material is extremely popular and discussing it with different agents provided me with stories and narratives about the situation in it.

Digital ethnography does not replace “long-term immersion in a society or culture” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 4). The intention of this thesis is not to produce a ‘classic’ ethnographic account but to create “deep, contextual and contingent understandings” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 4). However, this investigation is not restricted to the online world but brings together “sensory, embodied engagements often involving digital technologies in co-producing knowledge” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 4).

This work involves the use of digital machinery outside the online world. Integrating filming strategies into social research can be extremely helpful for a number of reasons. While I talked to participants and tried to comprehend and

record their moves, emotions and ideas, using a camera was a good way of creating proximity. A camera helped to create bonds with them. This occurred in two ways. First, it helped me to interact with other people also producing images, as talking to them about creating images was already a subject in common.

Participants also understood filmed accounts as opportunities for expressing their views. This research also resulted in a short video produced with the help of friends. I sent this video to many participants and asked them for their views on it. Many responses were positive. Moreover, this video associated me with other interlocutors, such as journalists from abroad working on stories about funk.

Nevertheless, this research did not involve only the recording of images but also a “multisensorial place-making process” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 98). It involved the “production of ethnographic knowledge in terms of the researcher's active participation in a social, material and sensorial environment” (Pink and Postill 2012, p. 98). Therefore, one should not concentrate only on the visual and run the risk of reinforcing the hierarchy that places vision above the other senses (Pink and Postill 2012).

3.2 Images and sound

Capturing images and sounds

Filmed accounts also have the capacity to capture lived experience and transform it into rich audiovisual accounts to be analysed later (Grady 2001, Henley 2004). In my case, the audiovisual material collected during field incursions formed an audiovisual field diary that was used to complement and aid the creation of written descriptions (Henley 2004). Moreover, to account in writing for the movements, sounds and emotions produced by funk is not an easy task. In Henley's words:

Even the most gifted writer would have difficulty in evoking, let us say, the grace of a Balinese classical dancer, let alone the impact that her performance might have upon her audience. Yet these are arenas of experience that film, in the hands of a skilled practitioner, can deliver to a rounded ethnographic account. (Henley 2004, p. 219)

From a positivistic standpoint, using a camera in the field might cause interference, such as prompting non-spontaneous reactions from participants. However, is there such a thing as an unmediated and spontaneous relationship with participants? Clothes, ways of talking, socio-economic background and gender are all conditions that mediate my relations with others. The researcher should address all those concerns with a reflexive attitude towards participants.

Events during fieldwork demonstrate that, more than cognitive reflexion, one must also consider the space the body occupies while using a camera. Without this spatial and affective care, a camera can be an annoyance or even a source of danger. During a *baile funk* event, for instance, while filming the dance floor, I sensed a group of people avoiding the camera, so I did not point the camera in their direction anymore. On another occasion, while walking in Cantagalo, a *favela* community located in Copacabana, a group of men asked us to put down our cameras while we walked through an alley following DJ Lorão, before an interview in his home. They probably feared being caught on camera while trading drugs. Hence, using a camera during fieldwork can also be risky, demonstrating in practical terms the vulnerability of the researcher using an ethnographic approach (Wacquant 2015).

My observant participation involved, to a certain extent, “performing the phenomenon” (Wacquant 2015, p. 1), since I employed practices also used in funk, especially funk activism, such as using a camera to film and putting images

together to make a short documentary. This also served to show what was occurring in Brazil regarding banning *baile funk* in many *favela* communities from 2008 onwards. Two international blogs reposted the film, the Man Recordings label and Norient (Network for Local and Global Sounds and Media Culture):

One month before the FIFA World Cup in Brazil starts one can read everywhere about the ‘pacification’ of Rio's favelas. Therefore police or militias cause deep ruptures in the social fabric of the communities. Some weeks ago Bruno Muniz from Rio uploaded the upsetting documentary ‘Funk is culture – Music Politics in Rio de Janeiro’ on YouTube. He shows us how the baile funk culture is affected by this policy. But there is an unexpected side effect, as the German label Man Recordings writes: ‘Funkeiros are becoming more politicized in order to fight back and reclaim their former urban space.’ Watch the short documentary about the activists from Rio's Apafunk Network.

Loïc Wacquant seeks to explain what he calls “the social animal”, not marked by rationality but as a “sensate, suffering, skilled, sedimented, and situated corporeal creature” (Wacquant 2015). In order to do that, he believes that ethnographic methods are “uniquely suited to helping us re-incarnate society by restoring praxeological dimensions of social existence” (Wacquant 2015, p. 4).



Figure 3 'Funk is Culture', movie produced as part of this research project (Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jDiYjwIsU14>, accessed in 10/03/2016).

In terms of “performing the phenomenon”, I have been engaged in producing music since I was a teenager. This previous interest certainly helped me to interact with informants, in terms of understanding what they were saying regarding music, rhythm or equipment use, for instance. According to Wacquant, by using ethnographic methodology someone can learn about his object of study by using his body, “by deepening his social and symbolic insertion into the universe he studies” (Wacquant 2015, p. 4).

Regarding the objective of addressing how the mediation and appropriation of funk occur, using a camera proved highly valuable. Certain technical choices were also crucial, such as using a wide-angle 9-millimetre lens which, despite producing a distorted image, allowed the inclusion of many different subjects in the frame for subsequent analysis. Therefore, both performances and reactions to those performances, as well as other activities conducted during performances, such as dance or people working at the event, are included. At the same time, other moments required other kinds of lenses, because while a wide-angle

perspective includes context, it tends to take the attention away from specific acts which require a closer framing to reveal faces and expressions, for instance.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 4 This image was produced using a 9mm lens during a Roda de Funk protest in Aterro do Flamengo (Source: Author, 2012)

Therefore, filming and photographing can be highly productive in terms of generating analytical insights as well (Grady 2001, Henley 2004). The literature argues that filming might even help the researcher to concentrate on important aspects of the environment in which he is situated (Grady 2001, Henley 2004). Of course, there is the important issue that cameras can cause inhibition or restraint. For a number of reasons this was rarely the case in this project. Many participants were used to the presence of a camera, many of them participated in other film productions during my research period. Moreover, some of the participants were also video-makers or photographers themselves. Therefore, they also produced audiovisual accounts of many important events associated with my fieldwork.

Another important question regarding the use of images in this thesis is how to connect visual and auditory materials. However, this seemingly

methodological question leads to a much more complex issue about the nature of inter-subjectivity, and the connection between different senses. Do people relate to funk only by hearing or seeing? Some authors say that in modern Western culture vision dominates other senses, a dichotomy that is, according to them, visible in a number of ethnographies (Ingold 2000). Ingold (2008) and Pink (2009) propose that perception is multisensory, thus countering the literature dedicated to assess the prevalence of specific senses.

Because this research relies on the analysis of recorded sounds and images, vision and hearing gain prominence, but it should be acknowledged that this focus does not undermine the importance of comprehending interconnections between different senses. Moreover, one should consider how to address this process of differentiation and organization of experience in relationship to culture and its embodiment. The mere act of trying to film and photograph dance performances of the audience at Batalha do Passinho produced important insights regarding where to position myself. During those duels, called Batalha do Passinho, there are two different spaces. One space is exclusively for the dancers and producers, separated from the area where the audience stand to watch the performance. However, many dancers stay in the common area and some of them do not compete, they just want to be there to show off their skills.

After a little provocation, usually short dances, small pushes and staring at each other, the dancers begin to move more intensely. Quickly, many people gather around, many with cameras, forming a circle in which the dancers are enclosed. However, arriving after the circle is formed means a photographer gets very bad images, since they cannot get close enough to the subject. Therefore, I started to note when a dance was about to start in order to capture it from a better perspective. Being closer to the dancers allowed me to notice the

competitiveness involved, enhanced by dance moves combined with gestures and comments about the dancer currently performing.

The experience of using a camera during field research is part of the idea of dwelling in the field, which happens not solely through vision and hearing, but also via the multi-sensorial experience of a body moving within a certain space. In Ingold's words: "the eyes and the ears should not be understood as separate keyboards for the registration of sensation but as organs of the body as a whole, in whose movement, within an environment, the activity of perception consists" (Ingold 2000, p. 268).

During the fieldwork, attempting to capture sounds and images introduced a few problems for the ethnography. In order to capture sounds (using a portable recorder) and images (using a camera) one must think about where to stand. Frequently, the place for the best images is not the place where one can record the best sound.

The objective of capturing images and sounds also provided me with insights into the comprehension of different events. On certain occasions, the attention was on the stage, e.g. when an MC was singing or when dancers were duelling against each other. In other moments, the attention was not on the stage but distributed across the space, when a number of interesting situations unwound beyond the stage and I had to choose what to capture, where to look.

The sound coming from the stage was very dominant, except for a few but very relevant moments. In fact, stopping the music is an important expedient used by funk artists to create suspense, normally leading to an apex moment during a performance. During political events using funk, stopping the sound was again necessary, at moments when MCs and activists could inform everyone that they were not attending a normal funk party but a protest.

Following Gershon (2013), I consider sounds to be vibrational affects associated with both “resonance and knowledge” (Gershon 2013, p. 1). Objects and human beings (including the whole environment, ideas and experiences) have the potential for simultaneously affecting and receiving affect (Gershon 2013, Goodman 2010). Methodologically, recording sounds in social research has the advantage of removing a “layer of translation” (Gershon 2013, p. 3). Data are lost when the researcher transcribes an interview, a speech or a live performance. This loss may include important non-verbal clues and information about the surrounding environment:

(...) the ability to present sounds-as-sounds rather than text-as-sounds can remove a layer of authorial translation and interrupt Western notions of the centrality and authority of text and the written word over other forms of expression (literally and figuratively) while providing an opportunity for others to be heard in their own voices, prosody, inflection, affect, and intention intact. (Gershon 2013, p. 3)

Acknowledging the advantages of using sound in social research does not mean ignoring that sounds can also be manipulated (Gershon 2013). Moreover, the analysis of this material also involves “intentional acts of interpretation and translation” (Gershon 2013, p. 3). Just as with other kinds of qualitative enquiry, analysing sounds requires a reflexive attitude, including the questioning of why the researcher pays attention to certain sounds to the detriment of others.

Another reason for acknowledging audiovisual material in social research is the pervasiveness of video accounts in many kinds of media (Grady 2001). The production of videos became a much more accessible practice with the proliferation of apparatuses capable of filming (Ruby 2000). There is a discussion on the use of inexpensive digital production to fight “image making

corporations” (Ruby 2000, p. 237). In funk’s case, artists and activists constantly use audiovisual accounts to struggle against mainstream media and government measures. At the same time, corporations and the state also use images of funk to publicize their brands and actions.

Video-making is a form of communication now widely used by different groups within society, which has important implications for social research (Pink 2007). The use of audiovisual accounts is, for example, a good way to publicize the results of research on participants and stimulate feedback. However, the creation and dissemination of videos by research participants is also an opportunity to access self-representations (Murthy 2008).

Found images, sounds and self-representation

An important debate within anthropology regarding the fictional statute of ethnography involves differentiating objective data from representation (Geertz 2008, Marcus 1995, Ruby 2000, Pink 2007, Gonçalves and Head 2009). Some authors argue that the aim of an ethnographic method is not to obtain and analyse objective data, as if subjectivity is an obstacle to achieving scientific rigour. Instead, ethnography is a negotiation between the researcher and the informants’ subjectivities, which could involve the use of written, recorded and filmed representations and self-representations (Pink 2007, Gonçalves and Head 2009). Before arguing further about the desirability of using visual methods in social research, I will briefly explain the concept of self-representation and its importance to an ethnographic method.

Self-representation is an account that aims to overcome dualities, objectivity and subjectivity, both real and fictional, since it refers to the process of becoming and how it entangles reality and fiction. The term virtualization, used by Deleuze, is relevant to understanding self-representation. Virtualization refers to a process requiring constant actualizations. However, those actualizations are always dissimilar to the virtual. In other words, they are potentialities. Connected to the virtual is the concept of time-image, which stands in opposition to the concept of action-image, associated with cinematic and linear narratives, in which time is fixed.

Time-image is not a form of representation, it does not try to explain anything. It involves a plurality of images moving at different paces, captured from different angles. Time-image stresses the movement of time and its productivity outside the subject. Therefore, self-representation aims to overcome representation and its authoritarian overtones (Clough and Halley 2007, Gonçalves and Head 2009).

It proposes a renewed way of thinking about memory and narratives. Instead of linearity, there are simultaneous and interconnected images. Therefore, part of the participant observation in this project involved exploring something similar to the Deleuzian time-image. It involved an attempt to extract and organize information from many simultaneous audiovisual sources, narratives and performances. In this context, producing ethnographic accounts involved the comprehension of change through shared narratives and images produced by researcher and informants.

For Ravetto-Biagioli, juxtaposing “landscapes, people, time-images, recollection-images, music, and cultural references” (Ravetto-Biagioli 2014, p. 108) produces contradictions and “a sense of ambiguity” (Ravetto-Biagioli 2014,

p. 108). Nevertheless, one does not need to fear this uncertainty, even though this juxtaposed totality does not subsume to one identity, even escaping classifications based on hybridity (Ravetto-Biagioli 2014).

The selection of videos followed two different criteria. Either the respondent mentioned the video during an interview, or the video was illustrative of a certain event described in the thesis. Those videos are also extremely popular on YouTube, some of them have millions of views. Therefore, during my exploration trips online, I had already found most of the materials listed below before most interviewees mentioned them.

Table 3: Videos considered in this research

Video	Description	Link
Bonde das Maravilhas 2013 Quadrado de 8 Aquecimento das Maravilhas CLIPE OFICIAL	June 2013, a video-clip from Bonde das Maravilhas, a group of young girls from 14 to 20 years old.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ArlxGDdhL3w [Accessed: 10/05/2015]
Aluna passa em segundo lugar em mestrado com projeto sobre Valesca Popozuda – Rachel Sheherazade	April 2013, shows a television reportage on a master's project about a female and feminist funk singer, Valeska Popozuda.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QuKul2edl8c [Accessed: 10/08/2015]
Batalha do Passinho – Gambá	September 2011, in this duel Gambá dances in his “gay style” to embarrass his opponent. Published by the Pacification Blog.	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eekle2lJCdo [Accessed: 19/05/2014]
Leandra e Ludyana Bonde das Perfect	April 2013, this show from Globo television network shows “ <i>passinho</i> girls” trying to argue that <i>passinho</i> is not exclusive to boys anymore.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-FV6nzW2Adk [Accessed: 10/05/2015]
MC Frank – Estourei a Boa (video clip, official HD)	May 2014, MC Frank sings, accompanied by women, champagne and gold necklaces. This song	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-4hvhIK1p8

	fits into the style of “funk <i>ostentação</i> ” (ostentatious funk).	[Accessed: 10/01/2016]
MC Orelha – Faixa de Gaza	August 2009, one <i>proibição</i> that became famous, it praises Comando Vermelho (Red Command), one of the biggest criminal factions in Rio de Janeiro.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zjm80Lhjupe [Accessed: 12/07/2015]
Leo Justi – “O Homem Mau (Snipe Queen)” (official video)	November 2012, introduces the character “O Homem Mau” (The Evil Man), or Sniper Queen, who shoots people in Rio de Janeiro from above with his sniper gun.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ApSWWKPvzE&list=RD_ApSWWKPvzE#t=0 [Accessed: 22/05/2015]
Todo mundo no passinho	March 2013, shows an intervention in the tube organized by Batalha do Passinho producers, in which funk is mixed with classical music, played by live musicians while dancers show their skills to a curious crowd.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0EqgLk_wc8 [Accessed: 25/09/2015]
Passinho foda	September 2008, four friends dance together in the backyard of a house, uploaded before <i>passinho</i> became known outside the funk scene.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-gjytnMvZ8 [Accessed: 10/10/2015]
Ensinando a Fazer Quadrado- Cebolinha Bonde do Passinho Video-Aula	March 2013, Cebolinha teaches how to dance Quadrado, a step very commonly used in <i>passinho</i> .	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qcgJeAukfl8 [Accessed: 08/09/2015]
Alegria. Marca Registrada do Passinho e do Rio de Janeiro	December 2011, it shows boys dancing <i>passinho</i> in Rio de Janeiro. Julio Ludemir, producer of Batalha do Passinho, describes <i>passinho</i> as a new trend capable of fostering what he calls a “culture of peace”.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhAEvKDBYTg [Accessed: 10/03/2015]
Eu só quero é ser feliz!	Non-official video of the song “Eu só quero é ser	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXU4P

	feliz!” The video shows images from Rio de Janeiro, with song lyrics in subtitles.	h9zZWQ&nohtml5=False [Accessed: 13/08/2015]
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When talking about self-representation, however, the researcher cannot ignore that using a camera is also an exercise of power. Offering cameras to informants in order to stimulate the production of different visual accounts is one of the strategies used by ethnographers to balance power in terms of visual representation (Pink 2007; Ruby 2000). This is also a strategy to bring audiovisual material into the discussion and ethnographic negotiation.

In my case, the technology necessary for the production of visual accounts was already disseminated, providing an interesting source of material to be analysed, since those videos, posted on YouTube and other social media, provoke debates and heated discussions. It is, however, not only dancers who produce their own audiovisual accounts of funk. There are many other actors producing and using different visual and written accounts of funk, a few examples are: media, independent producers, government, activists and engaged amateurs.

In funk, an example used in this research is the utilisation of YouTube by *passinho* dancers to show their skills online. In some videos, dancers dance solo, filming themselves on a computer or mobile phone. In other situations, dancers compete against one another. Many of those videos were recorded during Batalha do Passinho, a number of events taking place in 2011 and 2013 at different *favela* communities across Rio de Janeiro.

3.3 Ethical issues

Regarding ethical issues, I informed all my interviewees about the purpose of the research and obtained their consent before interviews. On many occasions, obtaining written consent was impossible. One interview, for instance, was done via Skype, others occurred in situations in which requiring a signature would be counterproductive. Hence I employed other options, such as sending an email to explain the purpose of the research and seek consent, or I explained the objectives of the research while recording, but also asking permission to record before starting an interview.

I did not interview children for this research, which had consequences for data gathering, since many *passinho* dancers are under 18 years of age. Nevertheless, obtaining consent from parents would be extremely time-consuming or impracticable, given the relatively short time span for fieldwork.

I did get close to some of my interviewees. For instance, a number of them I added as friends on Facebook, or they added me. Nevertheless, I avoided using information gathered through online chats, without first clarifying that a certain question had to do with research objectives. I do cite informal conversations occurring during fieldwork in this text. However, I took care to hide identities when doing so. I omit information from this thesis that could cause future complications for interviewees.

I did not disclose any sensitive information provided to me during interviews to other agents during the research period. For example, I interviewed both dancers and producers of Batalha do Passinho. Dancers are often trying to impress the producers, therefore I took maximum care to avoid affecting the relationship between these groups. Regarding the Rodas de Funk movement, at

different moments participants discussed internal conflicts or revealed personal opinions that could affect their relationship with other members. Even though some of those episodes might be illustrative of how those groups act, I avoid describing them in this text.

Another ethical issue arising during research concerned questions about racial, class or spatial belonging. Many respondents would spontaneously talk about the reality of living in a *favela* or being black. Regarding class, a few respondents used the term *trabalhador* (worker), or middle class, to describe themselves. I avoided asking direct questions about ethnicity, class or place of dwelling without the interviewee initiating the conversation. For this reason, doing semi-structured interviews allowed conversations to proceed without needing to risk disrespecting the participants' sensitivities.

Using a camera also brings to the fore a few issues regarding research ethics. For instance, I always requested permission before recording in a private space, such as someone's home. Most images and sounds were captured in public performances, such as protests and dance duels. Using a camera also requires developing the capacity to anticipate negative reactions. I avoided pointing my camera at people or other subjects when I felt it could infringe on their privacy.

One issue limiting this research was the need to avoid harm to others and myself during field research. Violence is a reality in Rio de Janeiro and *favelas* are places where many conflicts occur between police and criminal factions, or even between two criminal factions. Therefore, visiting a *favela* requires planning and a certain protocol to guarantee safety, I had to avoid a few field visits due to doubts about security. I tried to be always accompanied by someone who knows the area. Family members were notified about when I was supposed to be back and instructed to call me in case I did not send a message by that time.

The use of found images on the Internet and the usage of data collected in online forums also require a few considerations of ethics. Researchers experimenting with information gathered online have been criticized for lurking in online forums without revealing their identities, thus raising a few ethical concerns (Murthy 2008). Regarding information obtained online, I either omitted names or asked permission to quote conversations inside online forums where I required approval for my participation.

Chapter 4: Cultural entrepreneurship in funk, entrepreneurial habitus and emerging cultural capital

Signs, discourses and mental constructs have become dominant in sociology, supplanting materialist approaches (Warde 2007, Emmison 2003). In this context, consumption, its motivations and determinants gained predominance over production as a field of study. Regarding culture, studies on the omnivore (Peterson 1992) and emergent cultural capital (Savage 2013) also seem to concentrate on consumption, rather than production.

In order to understand production, other approaches should be included. The literature uses the concept of mediation to question assumptions regarding consumption and production, especially supposed hierarchies between creators, performers and fans (Born 2005, Hennion 1989). The concept of mediation has been quite useful to discuss how creativity distributes itself across different assemblages, historically established and stable associations, “between objects and subjects” (Born 2005, p. 22). This kind of creativity was termed “relayed creativity” (Born 2005, p. 8).

Analysis of the individual habituses of funk artists indicates that the creation of funk is part of an emergent mode of artistic production associated with changes in collaborations to produce music since at least the 1960s. This emergent mode of production interacts with the habituses of funk artists, affecting the strategies they implement to succeed in show business. Moreover, it conditions emerging forms of cultural capital.

According to Savage et al. (2013), agents in very different social positions consume emerging forms of cultural capital. Hence, it is reasonable to expect

that the use of cultural capital to produce distinction does not depend solely on class positioning.

I want to argue that one can apply the idea of emerging cultural capital to question the assumption that cultural capital refers only to high-status signals, associated with a more contingent notion of value (Skeggs 2011). Social positioning does affect the mobilization of different forms of cultural capital and also the possibilities that different agents have of learning techniques of production. Therefore, when thinking about the production side, the capacity of *baile funk* music to function as cultural capital depends on its mediation, appropriation and also articulation of different kinds of cultural capital, including more conventional forms.

Producers change funk in order to please all sorts of tastes. For instance, the mediation of funk music might enjoy respectability and legitimacy among fans of electronic music. One example is the interest of producers, such as Diplo, an American producer, and the group Major Lazer, in transforming funk to suit the taste of electronic music fans around the world. These are major players on the international electronic music scene.

Producers have also managed to introduce *passinho*, a dance associated with funk music, in such a way that it has also attracted visual attention as an impressive art form, and generating praise from choreographers of contemporary dance, according to reports from dancers.

Authors have questioned the imperfect homology, which Bourdieu noticed in *Distinction* (2010), between musical taste and social class (Petersen 1992, Petersen and Kern 1996). The association between cultural capital and high status rests on certain assumptions regarding the production of art losing relevance in recent decades. In the case of funk, the articulation of different kinds

of cultural capital, together with economic and social capital, indicates whether practices function as a form of cultural capital or not. Moreover, this contingent notion of cultural capital also depends on locality, the theme of the next chapter.

Even the notion of high status itself is constantly and aesthetically reimagined by funk artists in their songs and videos. This aesthetic transformation is a reminder that high status is also part of a symbolic structure. When funk artists use high-status signals in their videos, they are not simply expressing a desire for luxurious goods. They are indicating that, despite the historical association of funk music with low status signals, and all the prejudice, by performing what they understand as high status they might acquire real wealth and power.

4.1. Mediation and originality

Most forms of contemporary music rely on studio equipment and technical knowledge, a practice and an entrepreneurial mode influencing the aesthetics of the music itself (Kealy 1990). Cultural entrepreneurs of funk channel and modulate affect by producing and articulating images and sounds. In sum, this entrepreneurial agent works with funk music, aiming to produce affects, and mobilizing urban and emerging cultural capital. The funk artist has an important objective to cheer up the crowd and make the people dance. This dancing, in turn, represents a critical comment on music. If no one is dancing, the music is not doing its job. Therefore, one has to consider, in funk, how “relayed creativity” (Born 2005) interacts with relayed affectivity.

Georgina Born examines different conceptions of mediation introduced by Lydia Goehr in her book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*. According to Born, Goehr charts the emergence of a romantic and idealist account of

musical work occurring since around 1800. She follows the Weberian argument, describing a “progressive rationalization and autonomization of music and art” (Born 2005, p. 8).

Creativity in music derived from an individual figure, a “composer-genius, who must refuse to follow established rules or submit to external controls” (Born 2005, p. 8). Another change centres on the idea that musical work is “perfectly formed, finished and ‘untouchable’, and transcends any particular performance” (Born 2005, p. 8). Therefore, a rigid division appears between “original and derivative works” (Born 2005, p. 9). In this same book, Goehr also notices that this configuration started to change from the mid-twentieth century onwards. Nonetheless, she does not provide a “systematic account of the changing mediations that she probes” (Born 2005, p. 10).

According to Born, mediations form assemblages, enduring modes of doing music related to historical trajectories (Born 2005). Within assemblages, a concept used to grasp the ontology of music engagement, hierarchies might exist but social analysis should not reify them. For instance, and “ontology of the musical work” (Born 2005, p. 26) conveys an assemblage in which composers are above interpreters. In turn, interpreters are above listeners in terms of their contribution to music’s value. Different ways of doing music, associated with new or not so new technologies, propitiate challenges to this specific assemblage, which places emphasis on the work of art as the main source of musical value.

Hence, accounting for music’s multiple mediations, and for historical changes in those mediations, allows for the questioning of established notions regarding the consumption and production of art. Sociological literature on music, for instance, treats music fans as passive listeners, vehicles “of their socio-professional category” (Hennion 2001, p. 3). According to Hennion, a more

“balanced sociology of music” (Hennion 2001, p. 3) is necessary, one that considers “the more general capacities of music to produce individual and collective states” (Hennion 2001, p. 3). The idea of distributed objects, drawn by Georgina Born from Alfred Gell’s work, proposes “creative agency as distributed between persons, between subjects and objects, and across space” (Born 2005, p. 24).

The assemblage associated with the “ontology of the musical work” (Born 2005, p. 26) does not help the comprehension of funk production. Funk songs are not necessarily finalized work. I witnessed many MCs singing the same lines over a number of different beats, for example. Remixes and appropriations of melodies are not uncommon, as well as the use of samples. Why does originality still hold value in this context?

Affirming and protecting originality is a market strategy as well as an aesthetic issue. For instance, one of the pioneering funk DJs, DJ Marlboro, argues that creating funk versions of other songs had its role at the beginning of funk, but now those productions do not have a place. Paradoxically, copying becomes a practice to achieve originality, to create a new style. However, this possibility is not as paradoxical as it might seem, nor exactly uncommon.

There is a stimulating ongoing debate about whether copyright stimulates culture production or, on the other hand, actually hampers creativity or even free expression: “copyright is thus a potential impediment to free expression no less than an ‘engine of free expression’” (Netanel 2008). Originality within copyright discussions does not only refer to formalistic innovations, it “reflects particular conceptions of authorship that have developed in Western modernity” (Frith and Marshall 2004, p. 11). Copyright results from a mixture of utilitarian economics with Romantic comprehensions of authorship (Kretschmer and Kawohl 2004).

4.2. Entrepreneurial mode and habitus

The same period that Lydia Goehr identified as a moment of change in music history, the mid-twentieth century, is also the time when, according to Kealy, a new mode of music production emerged. The recording industry had a variety of jobs that were associated with music creation, but not recognized as being artistic activity. Sound engineers or sound mixers are an example studied by Kealy, in an article originally published in 1979 (Kealy 1990). He describes a change regarding the artistic status of the sound mixer, the one responsible for mixing music albums. Collaborations between musicians and technicians became more common. Sound mixers started to be part of the creative process and recognized as artists.

Music production has certainly changed a lot since Kealy's article, but it is easy to assume that recent trumpeted changes in music's production and consumption might not be as recent as they seem. Trends observed today, commonly associated with the Internet and digital technology, were according to Kealy already on track during the 1960s. This process fostered the emergence of what he called an "entrepreneurial mode", a new way of managing creative collaborative work in music. In Gopinath and Stanyek's words: "This epoch of the digital sublime – roughly beginning in the mid-1980s (although one could argue convincingly for multiple inception points) – hearkens back to an earlier one, the epoch of electrical and mechanical conveyance" (Gopinath and Stanyek 2014, p. 1).

Some statements made by Kealy (1990) regarding the 1960s could easily be found in descriptions of the contemporary scenario regarding music production,

including funk, even though references to now obsolete technologies reveal the context. Examples of quotes showing this include:

- “studio technology suddenly became much simpler and cheaper, and more flexible with the replacement of direct-to-disc recording by tape recording”;
- “the ability to make recordings also became decentralized”;
- “small entrepreneurs could profitably record new or previously ignored artists and find an audience for them through radio airplay”;
- or, lastly, “the emergence of the entrepreneurial mode of collaborating brought with it a new recording aesthetic”. (Kealy 1990, p. 176)

Considering the role of technical objects is necessary. Nonetheless, one should avoid attributing too much determination to them (Sterne 2003). This might be one of the most relevant lessons one can extract regarding technology from Bourdieu’s work (Sterne 2003). This section will stress the social dimensions of entrepreneurialism, without forgetting that technical objects are included in those mediations. Nonetheless, those objects do not form a priori technological worlds determining creative practices (Ingold 2000).

According to Prior’s remarks about technology and music (2008), referring to Bourdieu would be of little help in seeking to analyse funk’s prolific audiovisual creativity:

(...) to what extent is there room for a sufficiently complex treatment of technology under Bourdieu’s corpus of ideas? At best, it will be argued, the problem of technology does not feature highly enough in Bourdieu’s work to give it the strategic status it deserves; at worst its inclusion stretches his arguments to the limits of credibility. (Prior 2008, pp. 303–304)

Even though Sterne agrees that Bourdieu rarely addresses “objects that we recognize as technological” (Sterne 2003, p. 373), he thinks that there is something to be gained by not substantializing technology. This possibility allows us to understand how technology is also part of habitus reproduction (Sterne 2003). According to Sterne (2003), “technologies are essentially subsets of habitus” (Sterne 2003, p. 370). Sterne (2003) connects this discussion of habitus with debates on technology use through embodiment processes, arguing that even technologies apparently “less associated with the human body” (Sterne 2003, p. 381) do in fact interact with it.

Technology and entrepreneurship in funk

Recent literature challenges the idea of the entrepreneur as a “heroic agent of change”, relying on Bourdieu’s theory of practice (De Clercq and Voronov 2009, p. 395). It questions the idea that being an entrepreneur is mostly associated with an individual’s skills and attributes. Instead, entrepreneurship has to do with societal and cultural representations, as well as social structure. Within the “interplay between everyday practices and the social context” (De Clercq and Voronov, p. 395), those entering the field must develop a certain habitus. For De Clercq and Voronov, “entrepreneurial habitus” relies on two simultaneous needs: “to fit in and stand out” (De Clercq and Voronov 2009, p. 396).

Conventional entrepreneurship, such as that geared to the production of commodities, has in common with funk production the need to innovate in terms of production techniques. In funk, it involves choosing certain kinds of equipment, showing off sound potency or using sound effects in different ways.

Innovation might also relate to wearing certain clothes, choosing certain themes to sing about or moving in different ways that attract people and their attention. Innovation has to do with the mobilization of sociocultural capital and it is not simply the result of personal attributes.

Producers, DJs, MCs and dancers adapt their performances depending on the audience, creating new versions, modifying beats, adding new steps and changing certain words to make a song more acceptable, e.g. by hiding explicit references to sex or crime, among many other strategies. This process of constant translation and adaptation allows different social classes to consume funk via different kinds of media. At the same time, it maintains the necessary coherence to appreciate the name funk, usually perceivable through the beat and other characteristics.

The alleged decline of pure art and the emergence of new forms of cultural capital do not equate to a decline of practices of distinction (Savage 2013). Individuals still distinguish themselves from others in how they engage with cultural practices. One can make a similar argument regarding production. How entrepreneurs transform given sound materials is more relevant than formal boundaries of style if one wishes to determine how different social groups or classes interact with funk. In this sense, the aesthetic unit, “style”, seems to lose importance. In some ‘styles’, e.g. *baile funk*, a variety of practices are included. More importantly, those different practices can also be revealing of social position.

Scott has used the expression “cultural entrepreneur” to describe the labour of creative agents who lack economic capital but who aim to develop a career as an artist (Ellmeier 2010, Scott 2012). Usually, those “cultural entrepreneurs” take

different jobs in order to finance their living costs and artistic aspirations, a situation one can also find in with funk as well.

The DIY (do-it-yourself) “cultural entrepreneurs” in the music field studied by Scott in New Zealand reported similar problems to funk artists at the beginning of their careers. They referred to their cultural capital in order to gain attention and recognition – by making a “buzz” – managing to transform cultural capital into social and economic advantage. Moreover, people measure this “buzz” not only by sales numbers but also by the number of views on YouTube (Scott 2012).

Funk’s cultural entrepreneurs do not usually have vast amounts of economic capital at the beginning of their careers. In fact, the opposite is more often the case. Those starting their careers in funk have to transform the emerging form of cultural capital they do possess into other kinds of resources that they need. Developing a career as MC, DJ or dancer depends on social connections. Artists must introduce their work to producers, journalists and other possible collaborators.

The idea of an “enterprising self” bases itself on quantification and the accumulation of specific forms of capital (Skeggs 2004, p. 78, DuGay 1996). According to Skeggs, this is part of a “dominant symbolic structure, which enables some dispositions, cultures and practices to be inscribed with more value than others” (Skeggs 2010, p. 32). In this case, affect provides another path to understand the circulation of value, “beyond the dominant symbolic and the traditional economic” (Skeggs 2010, p. 33). Skeggs’ understanding of value is “contingent and situational” (Skeggs 2010, p. 35), circulating across fields and converted through embodied mechanisms, such as “labour”, “gift” and “affect” (Skeggs 2010, p. 35).

The conversion and appropriation of affect reveal contradictions. An affective realm becomes increasingly part of capital's reproduction: "feelings and emotions become value statements about one's capacity" (Skeggs 2010, p. 43). However, affect remains "beyond subsumption", "exchange" or "use-value" (Skeggs 2010, p. 34), maintaining the "potential for disruption of the dominant symbolic (and its economic and legitimating function)" (Skeggs 2004, p. 34).

This thesis does not intend to challenge the aforementioned contradiction, but rather to elaborate on it. To understand funk practices using the concept of cultural capital involves analysing the accumulation and management of affect, as well as the use of technical artefacts in this process. Nevertheless, despite attempts to control affect, it still disturbs dominant assumptions regarding the constitution, conversion and mobilization of value. For instance, many producers rely on a range of unpaid collaborations in order to produce music and videos. Moreover, the production of funk itself involves managing emotions and feelings in activities such as editing images, talk and sounds to convey meaning and intention charged with affect.

The expression emotional labour refers to the demand placed on service workers to display a certain emotional state, e.g. an amicable attitude, regardless of actual feelings (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild also considered the effect this emotional work could have on the labourer.

The work of MCs, DJs and dancers aims to attract attention and to stimulate body movements and dance. They seek to produce a sense of collective celebration. As funk gets institutionalized, by receiving funds from the state or the sponsorship of big companies, the component of emotional work seems to appear more clearly.

Dancers, for instance, are in contact with producers, who can put them in television shows. Those producers, as well as senior dancers, such as Leandra and Cebolinha, intervene when dancers behave “badly”, posting messages about criminal factions or sexuality. One of the producers of Batalha do Passinho, who also works for Globo television network, described his work in the following way:

The work involves monitoring the behaviour of those boys and trying to influence it. I don’t prohibit anything, I’m not the father of anyone. But when I see a boy posting a gross pornography on his Facebook page, involving a twelve-year-old girl, because he is an adolescent, that is part of his culture. I call the guy and say, ‘Listen, today you are an ambassador of something good, you are an example inside the community, I am suggesting you to be cover of the newspaper, O Dia.’ That’s what I do. It’s not me on the cover. You won’t find any images of me on the cover of a newspaper because I’m directing Batalha do Passinho. I put all those boys on the cover. It’s them participating in Fátima Bernardes, it’s them participating in RJ TV, Caldeirão, Esquenta, Xuxa [he cites a number of shows from Globo television]. I teach those boys to participate in those TV shows. In fact, I don’t teach, I cannot put myself in that role, I try to have influence, saying, ‘Look, this journalist thinks you are very cool because you said you are in a good vibe, because of Batalha do Passinho and so on, but she will take a look at your Facebook profile. What do you think she is going to think?’ That guy will

start to understand that he is a replicator of culture, an influence, and say:

‘Fine, I will remove it.’³

Dragaud is part of CUFA (Central Única das Favelas; in English, Unified Centre of Favelas), an NGO that activists from other social movements pejoratively call “Kings ONGs” (ONG is the Portuguese acronym for NGO, this expression is also a pun referring to the character King Kong). This pun refers to the power those institutions have (Bentes 2013, p. 33). Dragaud fits the profile of “people managers” or “managers of subjectivities” (Bentes 2013, p. 33), agents investing in the potential they see in *favelas*. This citation is also an example of how one can teach or ingrain an entrepreneurial habitus, in a context of funk production. Dancers learn that to have a career they have to please the right people and avoid certain themes. In other words, they have to “fit in”, in order to “stand out”.

Institutionalization means that standing out relates more strongly to fitting in, according to structures and norms the media and the government enact and sustain. On the other hand, the relationship between standing out and fitting in in funk does not always submit to easy and harmonious appropriation by governments or media groups. This is different from affirming that some funk

³ O trabalho é de monitorar o comportamento destes meninos e tentar influenciar. Eu não vou proibir ninguém de nada, eu não sou pai de ninguém. Mas quando eu vejo um moleque desses postar uma putaria grosseira no perfil dele no Facebook envolvendo uma menina de doze anos, porque ele é um adolescente, aquilo ali faz parte da cultura dele. Eu ligo para ele é digo: ‘Fulaninho, você hoje é o embaixador de um negócio do bem, você é um exemplo dentro da comunidade, eu indico você para ser capa do jornal O Dia’. Que é o que eu faço, não sou eu que sou capa do jornal, você não vai encontrar uma imagem minha na capa do jornal porque eu estou dirigindo a Batalha do Passinho, eu coloco todos esses meninos virando capa. Eles é que participam da Fátima Bernardes, eles é que participam do RJ-TV, do Caldeirão, do Esquenta, da Xuxa, eu que indico esses meninos. E eu ensino eles a como participarem desses programas. Ensino não, influencio. Eu não posso me colocar nesse papel. Aí eu viro para esse moleque e falo: ‘Olha só cara, a jornalista, que achou você muito legal, porque você falou que está numa onda do bem, por causa da Batalha do Passinho, e parara parara, mas ela está vendo o seu perfil no Facebook cara. O que você acha que ela vai achar?’ Aí esse cara para, começa a se perceber como um replicador de cultura, uma influência, e fala: ‘Beleza, vou tirar’.

producers refuse to fit in as an act of resistance, or that funk is marked by heroic independence.

In funk, balancing fitting in and standing out involves negotiating with different groups or individuals, who hold power in different contexts. The problem is that those groups have different expectations and requirements regarding what should or should not be said in lyrics, or shown in movements. It is part of an entrepreneurial habitus to be able to adapt or, in other words:

Leveraging the potentially contradictory demands to fit in and stand out may depend on their [entrepreneurs'] effective use of impression management, whereby they artfully adapt their practices and stories across stakeholders or across time. (De Clercq and Voronov 2009, p. 409).

Regarding funk, one can explain this necessary adaptability in terms of artistic techniques, which involve: changes in music themes; the use of different equipment, such as beat synthesizers or controllers; and creative methods, such as sampling. In this sense, entrepreneurial habitus does not necessarily force structural imperatives upon funk producers. It also provides them with the necessary disposition to dodge constraints and balance fitting in and standing out. Achieving this equilibrium involves combining technical skills, affective labour, improvisation and the capacity to gather support, sometimes without any financial reward.

MC Frank: from proibidões to ostentação

MC Frank lives in Madureira, which is not a rich area. Nonetheless, it has vibrant commerce. Both working- and middle-class people live there. According

to him, safety was one of the reasons for him to leave Complexo do Alemão, the *favela* complex where he lived before. He was also starting a family. I met his wife and newborn baby. He proudly showed us his car and explained many peculiarities of show business, including the necessity he felt to exercise regularly and do liposuction to “look beautiful on stage”.

MC Frank can afford to consume goods like gadgets, gold necklaces, cars and apartments through funk. Interestingly enough, more than having wealth, one of the most recent styles of funk is all about showing off wealth. It is called ostentatious funk, or funk *ostentação*.

Considering funk *ostentação*, one cannot ignore the extent of inequality in Brazil. The Gini Index is a statistical tool for measuring inequality; it varies between 1 and 0, 0 standing for total equality and 1 for total inequality. The Brazilian index in 2008 was 0.584 against 0.627 in 2002 (Neri 2008). Considering that from the 1970s until the 2000s this index remained above the 0.6 threshold, there was considerable progress in reducing inequality during the first decade of the twenty-first century, leading Neri to argue for the emergence of a new middle class (Neri 2008). However, Brazilian wealth distribution is still among the worst in the world, being in 17th position in terms of worst income distribution (Central Intelligence Agency 2015).

When I met MC Frank in June 2011, he told me about his intention to sing more about sex and money in order to avoid problems with the police. I attended MC Frank’s house after the police raided it in December 2010 to arrest him and his brother, both accused of inciting and advocating crime, and association to commit crime. Many MCs describe criminal activity in their lyrics, a sub-genre called *proibidão*, or “forbidden funk”. MC Frank was one of them.

MC Frank used to sing *proibições* before funk *ostentação* gained in popularity. However, funk *ostentação* started to gain national notoriety with productions occurring in São Paulo and not in Rio de Janeiro. MC Frank clearly invested in this trend (even though he lived in Rio de Janeiro), starting to increasingly convey symbols associated with wealth in his video clips. Even before starting to really characterize his productions as *ostentação*, he already flirted with this style.

One of his complaints during the interview was that the police confiscated all his gold necklaces in 2010, and had not yet returned them. He insisted on showing me his fiscal documents proving that he was actually the owner of all his jewellery. In his most recent video clip, published on YouTube in May 2014, with more than 270,000 views so far, he drinks champagne while singing:

Look how our crew is	Olha como que o bonde tá
I have no reason to hide	Eu não tenho o porque esconder
Ostentatious with pride	Eu ostento com muito orgulho
Because I'm tired of suffering	Porque no bagulho cansei de sofrer
Lazy asses are all admiring	Vagabundo há de se admirar
Look how Frank is	Olha como que o frank ficou
People must be asking	Nego deve até se perguntar
Which bank did he rob	Qual foi o banco que ele roubou
I hopped up the Hayabusa	Porque eu envenenei o motor da
engine	Hayabusa
Nike gel on my feet and the alligator	Nike gel no pé e o jacaré
on my shirt	na blusa
The sound system of my Veloster is	O som do meu veloster vale um carro
the price of a popular car	popular
The smell of my perfume	O cheiro do perfume
Leaves mystery in the air	Deixa o mistério no ar
Heavy on gold	Pesadão de ouro que é o melhor
The best investment	investimento
My necklace alone is worth one	Só o meu cordão vale um
apartment	apartamento ⁴

⁴ Lyrics transcribed from MC Frank's video, "MC Frank – Estourei a Boa (oficial video clip)" available on YouTube, see Table 3 in Chapter 3 for the link and other information.

The fact that MC Frank shows off proudly, because he is tired of “suffering”, is noteworthy. At certain moments, he refers to a variety of brands, such as Lacoste – associated with alligators, Hyundai – his car is a Veloster, and motorcycles – such as Hayabusa. Of course, he could not forget about the gold necklaces. Frank says in his lyrics: “prosperity comes from the person”.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 5 MC Frank and girls in bikinis drinking champagne in the video clip 'Estourei a boa' (I scored a good one). (Source: YouTube, accessed on 10/01/2016)

In funk *ostentação*, prosperity does not necessarily precede looking prosperous. Quite often, one must look prosperous to acquire wealth, one must play with social representations and affections in order to change positions inside a certain field. The more convincing this performance is, the more effectively it attracts audiences, producers and work offers.

MC Frank exemplifies Carah’s remark that popular music stimulates the flow of affects in a way that articulates with market structures. According to her, “the general circulation of meaning and affect facilitated by popular music align with the contemporary identity, lifestyle and participatory strategies of brands” (Carah 2014, p. 349). Funk artists commonly engage in what the sociological literature

has called affective labour. In this case, affect does not belong to the worker, who actually modulates “social connections, ideas and feelings” (Carah 2014, p. 348). Our position in the world also plays a role in the mediation of affect: “The affective labourer might narrate specific affects, but more generally they stimulate and channel the attention of others” (Carah 2014).

Nevertheless, referring to brands was not something strange to *proibidões* either. Therefore, in some songs, such as MC Orelha’s “Faixa de Gaza”, one can find a description of a life of “crime” and references to brands or other signs of wealth as a sign of power:

Na Faixa de Gaza,
só homem bomba,
Na guerra é tudo ou nada,
Várias titânio no pente,
Colete a prova de bala,
Nós desce pra pista pra fazer
o assalto,
Mais tá fechadão no doze,
Se eu tô de rolê 600 bolado,
Perfume importado pistola
no coldre,
Mulher ouro e poder,
Lutando que se conquista,
Nós não precisa de credito,
Nós paga tudo a vista,
É Ecko, Lacoste, é peça da Oakley,
Várias camisas de time,
Quem tá de fora até pensa que é mole
viver do crime,
Nós planta humildade, pra colher
poder,
A recompensa vem logo após,
Não somos fora da lei,
Porque a lei quem faz
é nós, (...)
Quantos amigos eu vi,
Ir morar com Deus no céu,
Sem tempo de se despedir,
Mas fazendo o seu papel (...)

The Gaza Strip is like this, only
bombers
In the war it’s all or nothing
Many titanium bullets in the magazine
Bulletproof vests
We go down on asphalt to commit a
robbery
We go with 12mm guns
I’m on a 600 cc motorcycle
Imported perfume and a pistol on my
waist
Women, gold, and power
Only by struggling can one get it
We don’t need credit
We pay for everything in cash
It is Ecko, Lacoste, Oakley sunglasses,
many team t-shirts
Someone looking from outside might
even think crime is an easy living
We sow humbleness
to harvest power
The rewards come quickly
We are not outlaws,
Because we are the ones making the
law (...)
I have seen many friends going to live
with God in the sky,
with no time to say goodbye
But doing their duty⁵

⁵ Lyrics transcribed from MC Orelha’s video, “MC Orelha – Faixa de Gaza”, available on YouTube, see Table 3 in Chapter 3 for the link and other information.

Funk artists seem to pose a different problem than the one examined by Carah, who analysed how musicians were actively co-opted to promote brands. In funk, references to brands appear as signs of power and affluence. Therefore, in MC Frank's and in MC Orelha's cases, their affective performances do not necessarily revert to publicity desired for the brands they cite. In fact, it is uncertain whether those brands do in fact want this publicity. MC Frank is actually appropriating insignias of wealth, brands included, to create a narrative of affluence, a kind of narrative that gains increasing relevance as a profitable alternative to lyrics, containing explicit sexuality or references to criminal activities.

Leo Justi, a middle-class funk entrepreneur

Leo Justi is a young and emerging DJ and producer from Rio de Janeiro. I went to interview him at his home. He lives by himself in a small one-room apartment. His home studio was set close to his bed. Leo's case brings a completely different type of entrepreneurial figure to the discussion. Leo has no close ties with the *favelas* in terms of his personal life. He clearly felt troubled, saying that he produced carioca funk music, possibly because of his middle-class background and his trajectory as a musician and DJ, connected to other styles of music. In the beginning, he did not interact with funk in its supposed authentic spaces of production. His history of identification and denial of funk music illustrates this situation:

Leo Justi: I enjoyed it, as a child I already liked funk. When I was 7 or 8 years old, funk was already very popular in high school and I liked it. But

I remember I had a neighbour, he liked Smashing Pumpkins and other stuff I enjoyed as well, I was at his house all the time. One day I sang some funk and he said, 'Wow man! Do you like funk? Funk is bad. We sing this as a joke.' I kind of believed him, and disliked funk for many years. Then when I came back from Germany, at the time I was around 18 years old, that's when I started liking funk again, going out to parties. I started to enjoy it again, also there was that time with Laranja Dub, we started to have new ideas to make music for dancing, and I began to get involved with the idea of becoming a DJ. At first I wanted to do something with a dance hall, hip-hop, and then I ended up going to funk, because it was where I saw I could position myself in an original way. I started doing remixes of electronic music, hip-hop, and even house, with funk.

Bruno: What do you produce? You have said that you don't produce funk.

Leo Justi: Man, I don't want people to think that I deny doing funk. I think it's an honour if people recognize my sound as funk, I like funk, but, I sincerely believe that if you look at funk and compare it with what I

do, what I do is much more club music, Baltimore Club, as it is done in the United States, with elements of funk, rather than *baile funk*.⁶

Musical mixtures involving funk and other kinds of popular music have become very common in the last few years. *Pagofunks* and *funk-sertanejo* are some of these novelties, deriving from mixtures, respectively, with *pagode* and *sertanejo*. *Pagode* is a style featuring romantic and cheesy lyrics, using the same instruments used to play *samba*. *Sertanejo* is associated with central parts of Brazil and countryside imagery.

Other producers bring *baile funk* to the electronic scene, making *montagens*. *Montagem* is a word referring to funk songs with emphasis on an instrumental beat, created by copying and pasting other funk songs and various references from international culture. Certain DJs combine funk with other influences from international dance music, creating a bridge between funk and the electronic club scene. Producers such as Sany Pitbull and Leo Justi experiment with funk and other influences. Man Recordings, a record label based in London, calls Sany's productions *pós-baile funk*, or *post-baile funk*. In turn, Leo Justi coined the term '*heavy baile*' as a name for his beat.

I went to one of his parties, which was staged in central Rio de Janeiro, close

⁶ **Leo Justi:** Eu gostava, quando era criança já gostava de funk. Quando eu tinha 7 ou 8 anos já estava bombando no colégio e eu gostava. Mas eu lembro que tinha um vizinho, ele ouvia Smashing Pumpkins e outras paradas que eu me amarrava, ia na casa dele sempre. Um dia cantei um funk e ele falou: "Pô cara! Tu gosta de funk? Funk é ruim. A gente canta essa porras de sacanagem." Aí eu meio que entrei na onda dele, e reneguei o funk por muitos anos. Aí quando eu voltei da Alemanha, assim na época, mais ou menos, tinha 18 anos. Foi quando eu comecei a curtir o funk de novo, saindo indo para as festas mais. Comecei a curtir de novo, teve também a época do Laranja Dub, quando a gente começou a ter idéias de fazer baile e comecei a me envolver com a idéia de virar DJ. No começo eu queria fazer uma parada mais dancehall, hip hop e depois acabei indo para o funk, porque foi onde eu vi que ia me colocar de maneir original. Fazendo remixes de música electronica, hip hop e até house, com funk.

Bruno: Você considera que produz o que? Você mesmo disse que não faz funk?

Leo Justi: Cara, então, eu não quero que quando eu falo isso que achem que eu nego que eu faço funk. Eu acho uma honra reconhecerem o meu som como baile funk, como funk carioca, mas eu sinceramente acredito que avaliando o funk e avaliando o som que eu faço, o que eu faço é muito mais club music, Baltimore Club, como é feito nos Estados Unidos, com elementos de funk, do que o baile funk.

to Lapa neighbourhood, an area known for its bars and music venues. The nightclub was relatively open to the street. It was possible to hear the music from the other side of the street, where I was standing with friends waiting to get inside. In Rio de Janeiro, it is common for people to drink outside the nightclub before going inside, where prices are usually much higher. The ticket prices ranged from R\$ 30 reais, for those who had bought their tickets early, also receiving an Aperol Spritz drink as a gift, to R\$ 80 reais for those who had not registered to attend the event. Those are quite high prices for Rio de Janeiro, while certain parties can cost even more.

Leo Justi and other DJs played *heavy baile* to the lively crowd. Later in the evening, MC Carol took the stage, one of her songs referred to marijuana use and her hallucinations. Other songs talked about sex, undesired pregnancy and a crazy grandmother who prefers to spend her limited money on a wig, even though their house is “on the brick” and “the fridge is empty”. During her performance, a man wearing a monkey costume danced on stage. At one point, a woman went onto the stage and started to dance with a monkey, simulating sexual intercourse. The party was on 21 June, during the World Cup.

An interview with Leo Justi was telling in terms of the differences he saw between *baile funk* music and his productions which, according to him, were closer to club music productions. The producer said that various kinds of electronic music influenced him. He stressed the word club as an important reference to characterize his music. During our conversation, he mentioned some technical details, such as how many bars (musical notation) there are in music parts.

The musical parts of *baile funk* songs vary according to the lyrics, and one can find parts with any number of bars. Club music, on the other hand, usually has

strict rules regarding music parts and transitions, changes occur in multiples of two and four: 2/4/8/16/32. This is important because those changes guide the dancing in the absence of lyrics, indicating the apex of the song, signalled through changes in the dynamics, which follow the structure described above.

According to Leo Justi, he compromises with cleanliness and uses many “layers” of sounds. For him, *baile funk* productions are normally very simple when compared to his:

It is a more complex production, I mean, with more complex arrangements, so I try to produce by looking for the right timbre, finding a clean sound, which is usually not done in the production of funk. These productions are made very quickly. They grab more or less ready-made samplers. For instance, they work for a while in the loop and make the song with this loop, some vocals and a few effects.⁷

Two reasons explain the particular features of funk music exposed above by Leo Justi when making a distinction from ‘club funk music’. First, as developed in the other interview with DJ Marlboro, improvisation marks funk. A second difference between *baile funk* music and club music lies in funk’s association with different local communities. *Baile funk* songs frequently refer to local issues and events. One can find in lyrics much local slang and references to local disputes. Therefore, songs can establish conversations with other songs or describe current events, requiring the fast release of songs feeding the *bailes* with novelties, stimulating cultural production with local characteristics.

⁷ É uma produção mais complexa, quer dizer, arranjos mais complexos, então eu tento na produção timbrar, limpar bastante o aspecto sonoro, como normalmente não é feito na produção de baile funk. É feito uma coisa bem rápida. Eles pegam samplers prontos. Eles por exemplo, trabalham bastante tempo num loop, aí fazem a música com esse loop, uns pontos vocais e uns efeitos.

Using an instrument popularly known as an MPC, which became extremely popular within *baile funk*, DJs employ different loops and effects. This equipment is a controller to manipulate sounds from a computer; some can play sounds stored in the machine as well. It has several buttons, or pads, each one of which can contain loops that play in synchrony with each other. The pads are also sensitive to different intensities of touch, allowing for the creation of beats with a certain “human feeling”, as described by Leo. One can use those machines in two different ways, by triggering loops or allotting one sound to each pad, meaning that the DJ can produce a beat as if playing a proper drum. One can also combine those two possibilities.

This means that DJs can change the track according to the audience’s mood or the MC’s performance. Those changes do not follow a structured pattern as DJs change the music at will, depending on the occasion, creating a performance marked by improvisation.



Figure 6 Equipment used by Leo Justi, the square machine with buttons is similar to an 'MPC' but from another brand. (Source: Author 2013)

In partnership with Red Bull, DJ Sany Pitbull developed an app in which one can choose different MCs (such as André Ramiro, Dughettu, Emicida, Flávio Renegado, Funkero, Guimê, Jean Paul, Sapão or Smith e Zé Brown) and sounds associated with those artists. The user combines beats and short voice samples to create live tracks with already existing phonograms. At the same time, the app promotes Red Bull's brand and is on iTunes. The app's name is Red Bull IFUNK-SE.

Being a cultural entrepreneur involves reconciling originality with knowledge and embodying the rules of the game, including ways of acting, what Bourdieu called *habitus* (Prior 2008). The embodiment of manners conveyed by *habitus* also relates to class and inequality, which conditions the kind of cultural capital one can access. Is it possible for cultural entrepreneurs to combine both conventional and emerging cultural capital?

Despite showing differences from producers coming from working-class contexts, there is one difficulty faced by Leo Justi and producers elsewhere. He is attempting to transform his cultural capital into economic capital, which according to him is a bit risky, because the income is not steady. Leo Justi also told me how he had to play many times for nothing, or almost nothing, to get somewhere (to make a 'buzz').

Lastly, Leo also stresses how he became a producer after experiences of consumption. This last point might seem obvious. It is hardly surprising that some people listen and develop a taste for music before actually learning to make it. However, there are two remarks that make this observation more noteworthy. First, there is the way he tells the story, placing practices of consumption before explaining his creative engagement with music. Secondly, the consumption

practices remembered by him involved different degrees of engagement, e.g. going out to dance at nightclubs.

After noticing similarities between Leo Justi and funk producers in other social positions, there are important differences that one cannot ignore. Leo comes from a family in which highbrow forms of music are cultivated, both his father and mother are professionally involved with music. His father is a classical musician and plays the oboe, while his mother is a music teacher. Therefore, his social background already favours a formal knowledge of music. Lastly, his middle-class background gave him access to more traditional cultural capital, such as a basic education to begin with. In his case, traditional cultural capital merges with emerging kinds of cultural capital, such as carioca funk and other styles of music marked by their association with an urban environment.

Despite his connections with more traditional forms of cultural capital, his skills as a musician who has grown up in an educated middle-class family are not enough to make him a successful DJ. He had to develop entrepreneurial skills and learn how to market his songs, and connect to people who could help him. This help involves producing images, such as videos and photography, or written content, such as reviews and introductory texts in the media. More than producing music, he has to produce images and other media material to attract attention: “I released my work, people liked it and I gathered the support of friends to produce *O Homem Mau* and *Gaiteiro*. I don’t work with video at all.”⁸

His video clip called “*O Homem Mau*” (translates as: The Evil Man), shows a muscular black man who shoots people far away with his sniper’s gun. At the same time, it is quite hard to affirm whether he is trying to convey any kind of

⁸ Fui botando meu trabalho na praça as pessoas foram gostando e consegui o apoio de amigos que fizeram meus dois videos, *O Homem Mau* e o *Gaiteiro*. Eu não trabalho absolutamente com video.

message with those videos, because he clearly denies any political connotations in his work. This was even a point of minor critique regarding his own video clip for “O Homem Mau”, for him there is the danger of people (e.g. a “mischievous journalist”) identifying a political message, where in his opinion there is only an “eccentric” character:

It is just a curious character, an eccentric, crazy guy who puts lipstick on his face and kills people. It is plain fun, a joke. However, I would have taken out a few details because it suggests something moralistic. For instance, one guy steals from a lady and the guy goes there and kills the thief, there is this thing of him being a justice maker on the roofs of the city. At the same time, there is a little aristocratic girl and he shoots her balloon. It doesn’t make a lot of sense. However, a mischievous journalist could say it is moralistic (...).⁹

Leo’s lack of political intentions resonates well with middle-class youth eager to enjoy the bass-driven syncopated beats of funk; his parties are now usually crowded, attended mostly by the young middle-class. The production also involves hiring dancers to animate the crowd. It is not hard to perceive a majority of people coming from middle-class or privileged backgrounds to his events. This success involves translating so-called “funk from the *favelas*” into the language of cosmopolitan electronic music.

Leo Justi stated that his advantage when doing funk was his ability to use

⁹ Um personagem curioso, excentrico, maluco, passa baton na cara, mata a galera é uma brincadeira, uma piada. Mas tem alguns detalhes no video que eu teria talvez tirado porque entra numa coisa talvez meio moralista. Tem um hora que um ladrão rouba uma senhora e o cara mata o ladrão, tem um lado do cara ser o justiceiro sobre os telhados da cidade. Mas ao mesmo tempo tem uma garota aristocrática com um balão e ele atira no balão da garota. É uma parada meio sem sentido. Mas um jornalista maldoso pode chegar e dizer que é moralista (...)

technology, creating interactions between layers of beats, melodies and effects. For him, original funk music is much simpler, usually relying on a few loops of beats. According to him, his musical education gave him an understanding of melody and harmony, which he applies when creating his music.

DJ Marlboro: the entrepreneur of funk

I met DJ Marlboro at his house in Mangaratiba. This touristic location has many beaches and abundant rainforest. It is only a two-hour drive from Rio de Janeiro. I arrived at his house at 10 am. He was just waking up, and his children were already jumping around. I talked to one of his employees while waiting by a pool. DJ Marlboro asked me if I wanted to conduct the interview in his studio. The first floor contained his DJ equipment and a vast collection of long plays, while on the second floor was the recording studio.

In 1989 DJ Marlboro released an album called *DJ Marlboro apresenta funk Brasil* (DJ Marlboro introduces funk Brazil), recognized as one of the first attempts to produce funk *carioca*. Today, he manages a record label, a publishing company, an *equipe de som* and a video-production firm (Ariza 2006). Moreover, he also does live presentations and has a very popular radio show on FM O Dia (Ariza 2006).



Figure 7 DJ Marlboro's studio, at the back one can see his LP collection, in the foreground his equipment. (Source: Author 2014).

According to him, funk is the “jazz of the future”, because improvisation is one of its main features. This reference to improvisation is interesting, because it establishes a comparison with an unlikely style. This was unexpected because even funk artists rarely call themselves musicians, as I could observe during fieldwork, a remark also made by Adriana Facina, a teacher at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Yet, jazz is famous for its musicianship. Marlboro’s observation also complements Leo Justi’s comments. He affirmed that funk rarely follows a very regular pattern regarding transitions within a song.

As analysed by Stanyek (2011), improvisation seems to be a central feature of Brazilian identity. He maps out different contributions from newspaper articles, literary works and marketing campaigns, also including his analysis of *capoeira*, in a debate synthesized on the idea that Brazilian exceptionality lies in improvisation (Stanyek 2011). Among the participants of this debate, some see it as something praiseworthy; others argue that the tendency to improvise is

actually a cause of many, if not all, of the problems one can find in Brazil (Stanyek 2011).

Stanyek analysed the phenomenon of *jeitinho brasileiro* (roughly translated as the Brazilian way) by considering its reception outside Brazil, and its relationality to non-Brazilian *jeitinho*. *Jeitinho brasileiro* is a popular expression referring to improvised solutions that Brazilians resort to to solve their problems, extensively discussed by journalists and scholars (Stanyek 2011).

Nonetheless, the use in funk of “foreign” sounds and “imported” artistic practices shows that even though improvisation appears to be a central characteristic of Brazilianness, or *brasilidade*, often the practices used to support this conclusion also come from other places in the world. This conclusion is applicable to a range of other “cultures”, now rendered Brazilian, such as *capoeira* and samba, made possible only by the horrid experience of the African diaspora.

Funk’s creativity does not contradict this supposedly Brazilian trend of resorting to improvisation, funk singers improvise lyrics and funk dancers create routines, mixing a variety of steps borrowed from different traditions, such as break dance and samba. At the same time, its development is an eminently cosmopolitan phenomenon. Funk’s cosmopolitanism is visible in its connections to hip-hop, which developed from a mixture of influences from the Caribbean and soul music in the U.S.

Improvising is not something that only Brazilians can do. In fact, according to Bourdieu, the capacity to improvise is at the core of habitus, being defined as “a principle of invention, a principle of improvisation” (Bourdieu 2005, p. 46). However, after stressing the inventive possibilities of habitus, Bourdieu makes a

further observation, habitus “generates inventions and improvisations, but within limits” (Bourdieu 2005, p. 46).

DJ Marlboro’s remarks support the idea that while improvisation in jazz requires the coordination of musicians within a band, funk – and hip-hop – articulates individuals performing different roles: DJs, dancers and MCs. Each one of those roles requires specific knowledge, both technical and embodied.

In *baile funk*, vocal improvisation includes long spoken texts and short refrains or call-and-response chants. Improvisation is not restricted to the voice. Funk artists have stressed the importance of improvisation for beat creation, and live performances as well. The MPC allows DJs to produce beats marked by dynamism and improvisation. DJs use digital equipment to change patterns and introduce or withdraw layers by pressing different buttons.

Improvisation also marks dance in *baile funk*. Hence, it appears in the voice of MCs, in the beats created by DJs and in the performances of dancers. In every case, improvisation occurs over a beat that provides guidance. In sum, doing funk involves managing repetition involving improvisation.

Becker argued that the jazz musicians studied by him resented outsiders’ interventions in their work. A “distressing” dilemma faced by jazz musicians was having to opt between success and art (Becker 1997). Many funk MCs and DJs said that they actually “had” to choose themes or songs talking about sex, because they needed to please audiences. Regarding singing about crime, one MC, while being interviewed for a local television news show, affirmed that faction members forced him to sing about crime. Nevertheless, MC Frank, interviewed for this thesis, said that “No one was forcing nobody to do nothing,” other MCs also confirmed that faction members did not intimidate them to make them sing.

Regarding singing about sex, one could argue that funk producers' might use the argument of market determination to justify their aesthetic practices, given the social condemnation of those songs. Hence, their defence would be more revealing about the social and moral suppression of practices than any actual anxiety about going commercial. DJ Marlboro himself disagreed vehemently with the idea that one cannot profit from funk without singing about sex or crime, citing a number of songs that do not appeal to any of those themes.

In funk, the creation of versions is a very common practice. Moreover, DJs and MCs adapt their productions to different tastes and moral standards, thus satisfying a range of different demands. This strategy is simultaneously part of an entrepreneurial mode as well as an aesthetic aptitude.

Artists create versions of their own songs, but the use of copying and adaptation of other songs is also relatively common. According to DJ Marlboro, appropriating the music of others was a means of opening up the way for funk. He described doing it today as appellative, or "out of place".

Of course, one can argue that defending originality is extremely convenient for Marlboro, considering his established position in the funk market. However, funk's professionalization does indeed raise the issue of copyright, and it became an important and lucrative form of securing the market. Marlboro's argument, which involves accepting copying in the past while condemning it today, has to do with this notion that, in the beginning, MCs, DJs and producers were still developing a style, or indeed creating funk.

In other words, for Marlboro, copying was more acceptable during funk's onset, whereas doing it today indicates a lack of creativity. One of DJ Marlboro's first songs to become famous was "Melô da Mulher Feia" (Ugly Women Song). The lyrics say: "Ugly women stink like vultures." This song was an adaptation of

2 Live Crew's song "Do Wah Diddy" (Essinger 2005), a collective adaptation in fact.

Before DJ Marlboro released this song there was already a popular version going around. When 2 Live Crew's song was played in *bailles* at the end of the eighties, the crowd would sing over the English lyrics, in Portuguese, a much more explicit chorus than the one used by DJ Marlboro, referring to the supposed sex activities of an "ugly woman" (Essinger 2005).

This story illustrates more than the mere adaptation of foreign styles to create funk, it shows that the crowds somehow mediated this process, playing a diffuse creative role, later appropriated by DJ Marlboro. He could not use the "original" lines, since they were too explicit and therefore unsuitable for a broader audience, he had to adapt them to make a more acceptable version.

4.3. Copyright conflicts

Analysing funk through the experience of various producers, and data produced by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in 2008, provides compelling evidence for the funk market's relative independence from big labels and recording companies. Only 18 per cent of MCs considered in the survey had contracts with recording companies. Nevertheless, even though numbers suggest a certain informality of funk production, the staggering majority of MCs register their songs. Among MCs, 96 per cent compose their own songs and 76 per cent "always" register their songs, while 6 per cent "almost always" register them and 11 per cent do it "sometimes". The Getúlio Vargas Foundation interviewed 381 professionals working with funk, including 114 MCs.

The most common argument in favour of copyright is an economic one, in that it creates a market and protects original and innovative work from plagiarism and copying. It aims protecting original and creative artists. At the same time, creation relies a lot on freely appropriating the work of others. In Netanel's words, "all authorship builds upon pre-existing expression" (Netanel 2008, p. 58).

Artists such as the painter Picasso, the music composer Stravinsky or the poet T. S. Eliot have compared doing art to an act of stealing (Netanel 2008). Appropriating melodies, beats and dance steps is certainly part of funk's creation. Still, the most important thing about funk's production is how artists coming from underprivileged backgrounds appropriate references and blend them together, presenting the result as something innovative.

Copyright might also work in limiting ways, since it constrains the use and combination of existing musical elements. According to Netanel, copyright has expanded in such a way that it starts to restrict "authors' liberty to take from others" (Netanel 2008, p. 59). It might even constrain authors from taking advantage of their own work, since in publishing contracts it is common that the author gives away the management of his rights. Decisions as to whether to release a work or not, and when and how, are left to the publisher. Funk artists are often resentful of signed contracts.

DJ Marlboro, for instance, expressed his discontent with problems regarding some artists managed by him during his career. He told me that it was a common practice in the past for artists to sign exclusive contracts with many publishers at the same time. According to him, by acting in this way, "they ended up creating

more problems in the future, being forced to pay reparations, because this is wrong”.¹⁰

Besides of bad faith or imprudence, it is possible that there is another explanation for existing conflicts regarding copyright and publishing contracts in funk. Producing funk involves an entrepreneurial habitus marked by pragmatism. This entrepreneurial habitus emerges as the result of shifts in collaboration, occurring across different professionals in the chain of music production since the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, this habitus is not necessarily congruent with existent notions of originality. Those notions derive from enduring Romantic assumptions regarding art, appropriated according to commercial convenience.

Using and transforming the aesthetic ideas of others (including those in a condition of “otherness”) to create is hardly a rare practice (Netanel 2008). Electronic music to dance to (including hip-hop and funk) has flirted extensively with recreation and collage. The emergence of dance electronic music prompted a debate over whether samplers (sound units copied from other phonograms, usually reconfigured with effects to sound differently, or in a different tempo) had to be cleared, i.e. made legal, before being commercialized as music recordings (Frith and Marshall 2004). This practice of clearing samples became “increasingly expensive and administratively time-consuming, which in turn, had had a variety of effects on how sample-based music like hip-hop is produced” (Frith and Marshall 2004, p. 3).

¹⁰ (...) eles acabam tendo problemas no futuro, o que eles pagam de danos, indenização, isso é errado né.

Leo Justi revealed to me his disappointment when trying to clear his samples. Because he uses samplers from other songs, usually there is the need to contact the original creators in order to regularize a remix and release it. In one case, he could only get it cleared after granting 100 per cent of the royalties to the publisher.

MC Leonardo is one of the first funk MCs to portray social issues in his lyrics, together with his brother and collaborator, Junior. The first association created to defend the rights of funk professionals appeared in 2008, called APAFUNK. MC Leonardo was one of the founders and the main articulator of funk inside this group, which involved academics, students and other activists. One initiative taken by this group was to produce an illustrated story explaining copyright and showing how to register a song. APAFUNK also criticized inequalities inside funk in a manifesto produced by the association. According to Guilherme Pimentel:

The kid starts to compose funk inside the *favela*. One of his neighbours has a computer and software to edit and record sound. He goes there, records a song, his neighbour makes the beat, and then we have a music phonogram. With that recorded on a CD, he takes it to a funk producer. The producer listens to it, likes it, calls the guy and makes him sign a publishing contract. Now the song is ‘intellectual property’ and its owner is a publishing company. Only those who are authorized can use the song, at risk of facing a lawsuit.

In Rio de Janeiro, because of the prohibition of *bailes*, publicizing funk depends even more on the mass media and the entertainment industry. The market organized itself in such a way that two producers control all rights over these songs. These two producers also control the

main funk show on FM radio. Being on the radio is the easiest way to become known and have a career; however, the MCs sign those contracts and receive a very small proportion of the wealth produced by the song, which is linked to a publishing company, the owner of the artwork. This is why MC Leonardo always says that funk has the highest payola of all, because for a song to be played on the radio, the artist must give up almost all his rights to his work. (Pimentel 2013, pp. 190-191, author's translation)

The idea that copyright regimes can also affect inequality is noted in the literature on copyright and music; Frith and Marshall, for instance, say that: “the history of music is a history of composers and artists, as well as their rights, being exploited” (Frith and Marshall 2004, p. 11). Copyright can work to transfer fees from users and consumers to artists. It can also work to boost concentration within the music industry.

There is evidence, raised here and elsewhere (Facina 2005, Ariza 2006), showing that funk creators face obstacles including copyright in their lives. MC Marcinho, for example, reported having problems with releasing his music independently because of a contract he signed with a funk producer (Facina 2005).

DJ Duda and other artists have accused DJ Marlboro of being unjust regarding the divisions of profits, especially with albums released abroad (Ariza 2006). According to Ariza (2006), the informality of the business facilitates the exploitation of artists, since often they are not even aware that their music is for sale and how much money the publisher earned. This is an interesting situation. It shows that the relative independence (funk artists also sign with established international labels, as discussed in this chapter) of big market structures does

not necessarily mean better deals. Nonetheless, DJ Marlboro has defended himself against accusations of unfairness. According to him:

My artistic contract follows the same rules as other publishers in the world. For authorship, 75% goes to the author and 25% to the publisher. (Salles 2009, 07/08/2009)

Still according to Marlboro, at that time, he was giving three times more to the MC (150 reais) at the stage of a recording session, when compared with other producers “in the *favelas*” (Salles 2009, 07/08/2009). He stressed that his equipment is professional and that “we live under capitalism, each one receives according to the profit it gives. Music is a business” (Salles 2009, 07/08/2009).

MC Leonardo is another one facing problems with copyright. This quarrel, however, has little to do with local publishers. A publishing company that holds the rights to a song called “I Don’t Want to Lose Your Love Tonight”, from the band The Outfield, is suing him for plagiarism.

The two songs are very different in terms of their beat, meaning of lyrics, context and market. One is sung over an electronic beat and talks about the violence in Rio de Janeiro and the contrast with the natural beauty and touristic attention given to the city. The Outfield’s rock song, on the other hand, is about the fear of losing a loved one.

Two separate reports confirmed plagiarism accusations, based on a few notes sung by two MCs, Leonardo and Junior, and the band The Outfield. This accusation of plagiarism was made more than a decade after the song was composed, after it became part of Elite Squad’s movie soundtrack. Apparently, because the movie achieved international circulation, someone noticed the similarity and initiated a judicial process.

4.4. Dance and originality

The second part of this chapter considers *passinho*: a dance usually performed to a funk accompaniment, it involves fast steps and charismatic impersonations. It provides another kind of pervasive cultural capital, mediated in opposition to other strands of funk considered nasty and improper, such as *proibições*. Moreover, it continues a discussion on emotional labour initiated in the last section. This time, unlike MC Frank, *passinho* dancers promote brands because they participate in events directly associated with companies or government institutions, usually sponsors.

The introduction of *passinho* dancers as almost naive characters, deprived of eroticism and detached from violence reproduction, is commercially interesting in this context. This symbolical appropriation of *passinho* as a form of cultural capital capable of fostering peace and inclusion has contradictory implications. On the one hand, it benefits youth by challenging the association between black youths and criminality. Media, newspapers and television producers introduce a new possible image for youths in the *favelas*. On the other hand, the government points these youths towards a future of hope that is not necessarily going to materialize.

There is an institutional need to appropriate *passinho*. This process is part of a selective process articulating government, NGOs, big companies and producers in which certain expressions of funk are detached and recontextualized. A most striking example is a video in which dancers perform inside the Metrô Rio (Rio de Janeiro's underground transport system) to the sound of funk mixed with classical music, a video produced to promote Batalha do Passinho.

This process has certainly helped to promote the dance style and its dancers; *passinho*'s propagation also produces a strong sense of success and recognition for youths in the *favelas*. Nevertheless, institutions are likely to appropriate the results of aesthetic encounters and the sense of community and affection emerging from them.

Two dance competitions called Batalha do Passinho were held in 2011 and 2013. In 2013, a second competition took place, after a first successful one in 2011. The dancers are usually from *favela* communities and their ages range from eight to early twenties. Two individual partners, Nike (this is his nickname) and Julio Ludemir, started organizing duels called Batalha do Passinho. These events clearly grew in popularity and gained support from companies and the media.

Another event connected to Batalha do Passinho was a film exhibition in Favela da Providência. A movie contained images of duels taking place in 2011 across different communities of Rio de Janeiro. Following the movie, there was a debate and dance performances. The movie showed life in a *favela* constantly struggling with removal processes conducted by the city government, which aims to open up space for renewal of the port area.

Watching the movie of the first Batalha do Passinho event in 2011 provided me with the opportunity to make some comparisons with what I saw in 2013. In 2011, dancers competed on the floors of samba schools or sport courts, but in 2013 a big stage was set up. There were sixteen battles in 2013 in different *favela* communities. Dancers were able to choose the community in which they wished to compete. In each community, sixteen dancers competed with each other; the winner in each location qualified for another event, so that four would remain to

dance in the finals. Globo television network broadcast the finals, which were held on the set of a popular TV show in Brazil.

I attended two Batalha do Passinho events during my fieldwork. The first competition occurred in Complexo do Alemão. I arrived there, to be precise in the Nova Brasília community, at 6 pm sharp. The place was quite empty and soon I found Maria and two of her friends, who had also just arrived. Maria soon left, because she was working at the event as a photographer, and so I started talking to her friend. More people started to arrive and some boys rehearsed dance steps among the audience.

As the place filled up, a circle spontaneously formed within the audience, where dancers showed off their moves for eager looks all round. On all occasions, it did not take long for numerous digital cameras to point towards the boys. Initially, I only observed the dynamics of the site and the dancing. The level of sponsorship and support involved in the event was noticeable: Coca-Cola, UPP Social, FM O Dia, Metro Rio, the State Government, the Ministry of Culture and Extra Newspaper. At a certain point, a boy started dancing next to me, other boys joined in and I lifted my camera. I shot for about five minutes as they battled to occupy the space and show what they could do. There was an attempt by older dancers to impose themselves on the younger ones, they fought for the right to be able to show off their skills in the *roda*, or circle. The mutual provocations were frequent, but the prevailing mood was one of mockery.

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Figure 8 Dispute for space and teasing in Batalha do Passinho (Source: Author 2013)

The second time I attended a Batalha do Passinho was in Jacarezinho. Jacarezinho is the informal name for Jacaré, one of the Regiões Administrativas (RAs), or administrative regions, of the city. It is located in the *Zona Norte* (North Zone) and, according to census research conducted in 2000, the region has one of the worst Human Development Indices of Rio de Janeiro. In the picture, we see two dancers waiting for a decision from the judges (the three people sitting on the red chairs in the top-left corner of Figures 9 and 10). Meanwhile, a girl working at the event is holding a can of Coca-Cola used to advertise the brand, before the jury gives the result.

In Jacarezinho, I was able to talk to a dancer referred to by many as one of the “inventors” of *passinho*, Baianinho. The next week, I interviewed Baianinho and his partner Wanderson, they told me their version of the origins of *passinho* dance, attributed by them to a drug dealer. Baianinho proudly boasts being one of the “developers” of *passinho*, even though he carefully explained to me that he

was not its inventor, but the first one to imbue *passinho* with new moves.

Whether the story told by the dancer is true or false, it is impossible to tell. The dancer himself affirmed: “If you ask around, who invented *passinho*, depending on where you are you will hear many different stories.” After saying that, he quickly assured me that his version was actually the truth, and that he was truly one of the first to dance *passinho*.

What is interesting about the story above is not whether it is true or false but that it shows that narratives of characters involved in the drug business are part of dwellers’ lives in Rio de Janeiro’s *favelas*. Even though some see *passinho* as the redemption of funk, dancers often dwell in the same spaces as *proibições* singers. Those dancers too are not immune to the violent outcomes of armed conflicts. The assassinations of Gambá (one of the best-known *passinho* dancers, called the King of Passinho, shot in 2012) and DG (shot by policemen in Cantagalo community in 2014) are examples.

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Figure 9 Batalha do Passinho in Jacarezinho community, dancers' apprehension while waiting for the result (Source: Author 2013)

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Figure 10 After the result is disclosed the winner falls on the ground while his opponent shows disappointment, the two judges one the right voted for him (Source: Author 2013)

Charisma versus skills

Featherstone has defined charisma as: “This power to affect others through body rhetoric, the accumulation of affective force and potential in the body” (Featherstone 2010, p. 196). In this investigation of charisma, the author considers bodily modifications and their connection to consumerism. *Passinho* dancers’ use of body rhetoric produces affects and reveals ambiguous connections to consumer culture.

Many funk songs praise brands, normally sport-related ones, such as Oakley or Nike. In order to show those insignias people use falsified objects or even sew labels into their clothes. Funk also generates new trends that are not initially associated with big brands or mainstream fashion, such as different hairstyles and the use of certain stretch fabrics in trousers to accentuate body parts (Mizrahi 2006).

Dancers are also concerned about the way they look. This includes using certain brands but also going to particular hairdressers, who are able to create

patterns in their hairs. Regarding clothing, certain items are very common, such as caps, large colourful shorts and T-shirts.

During interviews, the dancers constantly acknowledged the importance of “dressing well” in order to counter society’s prejudices towards those who live in the *favelas*. However, while dancers make an effort to “dress well” in order to be accepted, they also create their own dress codes and have their own perceptions of what it means to “dress well”.

Some dancers also acknowledged that clothes must allow freedom of movement for the body, since some of the steps require flexibility and physical effort. Therefore, it is not only relevant how a certain shirt or pair of shorts looks, but clothes must also facilitate dance steps. Moreover, dancers have reported that certain clothes enhance the expressivity of steps. In sum, the body as a whole, its movement, manner and clothes, transmits charisma.

Curiously enough, when talking with two dancers, Cebolinha and Leandra, they argued that *passinho* was born without charisma. According to them, *passinho* is mostly about dancing skills, not charisma. It is important to qualify what they mean by charisma. For them, a dancer found dead in 2012, called Gambá, embodies well the kind of charisma they describe. Many dancers in my research argue that Gambá did not have the best dancing skills, but few would disagree about his charisma. He was also one of the first to dance in a style consisting of mimicking gay body language.

The two dancers interviewed attribute charisma to theatrical interpretation, an embodied charisma resonating with affect and meaning in conjunction with dance skills. Nonetheless, charisma alone is not enough. Skills are highly valued by the *passinho* dancers considered in this study. The fact that dancers do not agree with the judgements of non-specialists shows that those who dance to funk

music also produce rules and criteria governing their aesthetic production. In this context, referring to external dance steps not yet internalized in those communities of dance, or appealing to affective or theatrical expression, is condemned when used to disguise a lack of skills.

From those different comprehensions of charisma discussed above, theoretical and empirical, it is possible to conclude that those moving bodies command attention and respect. Producers and dancers commented on the recognition enjoyed by *passinho* dancers in their communities, and how it rivals the power enjoyed by armed gunmen and drugs traffickers. All comments stressed that dancers now have the capacity to affect others and enjoy social power in the different urban environments from which they come. However, this influence is not restricted to their home communities. Some online videos can easily achieve hundreds of thousands of views, sometimes even millions.

Therefore, dancers are capable of mobilizing their own community, and many other sites, through online communication and movement across the city. The different kinds of charisma that dancers provoke, one expected by the jury, another recognized inside their communities, and also the charisma enjoyed online, are key to understanding *passinho*'s connection to other institutionalized actors. In sum, what many of the dancers were saying is that if, instead of "very important people", the dancers were the judges, the results would be different. More than this, the whole setting of the dance is modified in Batalha do Passinho. Instead of the close face-to-face contact found inside the *baile*, with dancers enclosed in a circle formed by the masses, the duels in Batalha do Passinho are performed on a wide stage, where each dancer waits his turn, sitting in a corner.

Each Batalha do Passinho includes performances other than dance, at least one local attraction performs at each event. There is also a presenter, who introduces dancers, judges and attractions, as well as publicising the sponsoring institutions. The dancers have 45 seconds to show their skills to three judges who are responsible for choosing the winner. Many judges work in the media, while others are funk professionals, a few come from the *passinho* dance scene. In Jacarezinho, one of the judges was the head of the Departamento Estadual de Cultura (Rio de Janeiro's State Department for Culture).

Their decisions are, however, not always unanimously accepted. All four dancers interviewed for this research criticized the judges' decisions. Many dancers constantly challenge the winners and this discussion provided me with fruitful material to comprehend what is distinctive about *passinho*, when compared, for instance, with styles from which they draw movements and inspiration. One common argument is that judges do not know what is typical of *passinho*, thus they evaluate contenders based on their own values.

Cebolinha and Leandra argued that judges are usually "very important people" looking for "complete artists". However, dancers who manage to interact with the crowd charismatically and impress the judges are not necessarily the best *passinho* dancers. Judges evaluate "charisma", according to Cebolinha, not skills. Moreover, they commonly do not consider the "rules created by dancers in their communities"¹¹.

¹¹ (...) as regras criadas pelos dançarinos dentro de suas comunidades.

Moving the duels onto a stage and finding very important people to judge them changes the conditions in which the dance normally occurs. This obvious remark is neither a critique of Batalha do Passinho nor an attempt to defend the roots of *passinho* dance. The intention is to stress what kinds of implications funk's appropriation has, including the articulation of dancers aiming to intervene in those appropriations by associating with producers. The dancers interviewed collaborate with Batalha do Passinho, while retaining a certain critical position towards it. One concern they raised concerns the fact that producers have registered the name Batalha do Passinho. They questioned this appropriation, given that the name is quite general and commonly used to describe a duel, as in "*batalha de passinho*".

The growth of Batalha do Passinho has to be understood together with a situation in which funk parties are outlawed by the government's strategy of "pacification". One noteworthy contradiction is that if *passinho* is a source of hope for the future, the *bailes*, where this dance developed and acquired its distinctive quality, are now suspended. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the beneficial consequences of *passinho*; dancers set an example for children and become references inside their communities. Instead of groups of heavily armed men, children can turn to dance crews as a path to empowerment.

According to Baianinho and Wanderson, interviewed for this research, none of the judges that day had the proper knowledge to judge "rhythm, interpretation, sensuality". They believed that other professional dancers could do a better job than most judges at Batalha do Passinho. Still according to them:

Some dancers *embrasam* [a slang term used among *passinho* dancers indicating someone who dances with lots of energy], but if we see a

dancer who does not *embrasa* so much, but manages to keep the rhythm,
for us that is the guy deserving to win, because he follows the rhythm.¹²

Cebolinha also told me a story about a choreographer who was moved while watching him dance, something that clearly strengthened his self-esteem as a dancer. Therefore, it shows that they do not necessarily see themselves in an inferior position when compared with other arts. In fact, they want to have assessments or feedback from specialists, inside *passinho* or in the dance field:

Wanderson: If you pay attention to the music and to many of those boys dancing in Batalha do Passinho you can see. I don't know if you understand a lot about dance, do you understand a lot about dance?

Bruno: I understand more about music.

Wanderson: Well, it helps. Pay attention to the music and then look at those guys dancing, pay attention and see if it's synchronized.

Baianinho: Just like ballet. Imagine a ballet dancer dancing losing the rhythm.

(...)

W: The biggest question is, the judges...

B: They don't know the story very well?

W: Sorry to say that, but they have that woman, from the Department of Culture. I ask myself, what does she know about *passinho*? Do you get it?

The majority [of the judges] do not know *passinho* very well.¹³

¹² Muitos dançarinos embrasam, mas se tem um dançarino que não embrasa muito mas consegue ficar no ritmo, pra mim é ele que merece ganhar, porque ele sabe seguir o ritmo.

¹³ **Wanderson:** Se você for ver, prestando atenção na música, você prestando atenção neles dançando na Batalha do Passinho. Você entende bastante de dança?

Bruno: Eu entendo mais de música

W: Então, isso ajuda, presta atenção na música e neles dançando, você vai ver se encaixa legal.

Baianinho: É igual balé, é como se a bailarina dançasse fora da batida.

(...)

W: A questão é, a maioria dos jurados...

The sociological literature, culture producers and managers see popular culture as an inclusive kind of culture, marked by immediacy (Bourdieu 2010). Popular culture supposedly merges with life (Bourdieu 2010). Therefore, most people should be able to enjoy, judge and appropriate sounds, dances and images drawn from popular culture, meaning that people do not need any training or specific knowledge to engage with funk. *Passinho* dancers seem to challenge this assumption. They highlight the peculiarity of their dance, while stressing similarities to other kinds of dance.

Morris distinguished between artistic and aesthetic judgements, aiming to understand the effect that ballet competitions may have on the development of ballet as a style. According to her, artistic judgement takes into consideration rules and conventions internal to a certain “tradition”, while aesthetic judgement applies to a range of other situations (Morris 2008). For instance, one can make an aesthetic judgement of a sunset, while an artistic judgement would not apply to describe this event, since a sunset is not art.

One can understand *passinho* as an artistic and aesthetic performance, or simply as an aesthetic one. In other words, one can recognize *passinho* as a beautiful form of expression, without necessarily recognizing it as art. This observation seems to be extremely fruitful in order to analyse the appropriation of funk. Saying that something is beautiful is not the same as saying that something is art. The notion that something is artistic normally includes internal criteria and conventions. Nonetheless, it is often unclear what is internal and

B: Eles não sabem muito bem...

W: Desculpa dizer. Mas tinha uma moça lá da secretaria. Eu me pergunto, ela entende de *passinho*? Você entende o que eu quero dizer? Na maioria das vezes não conhecem *passinho* assim tão bem.

external, a definition that depends immensely on power differences and classificatory efforts made by specific agents, who are not always internal to the practices they classify and judge.

Originality and exclusivity in dance

Comparing how dancers defend and promote originality differs from discussions regarding the use of sounds and melodies. There is no formal regulatory framework imposed on dance moves, the judgement of originality remains largely aesthetic and non-institutionalized.

One example is the trend discussed throughout this thesis of dancers imitating gay body language. There is a consensus that Gambá helped to popularize this trend by winning the 2011 Batalha do Passinho, and dance competitions held in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*, using this style. Many criticized him for not having the right dance skills and only convincing the judges based on charisma. Despite this disagreement regarding his dance skills, most dancers agree that he was very influential in the scene. Gambá's style, including the way he dressed, was visible to many dancers in the 2013 competition.

In debates occurring online, Leandra, one of the few female dancers in *passinho* who has a central leadership role in the scene, suggests that this dancer should develop his "own" way of dancing:

He has the soul of an artist, but to be respected by those that understand *passinho*, he has to find something of his own. To mix something beyond Gambá's style, if he achieves this balance ... he will be among the best. Because he has a lot of charisma * _*.

Another dancer also commenting on this thread did not share Leandra's courtesy: "Do you know why I don't go to Batalha do Passinho, because who knows how to dance does not win. This guy dances like shit." After calling Batalha do Passinho's producers names, he says that "*passinho* is for those who know how to dance, it's not clownery. Dancers kill themselves training and then this guy comes doing clowning stuff and wins. This is bullshit."

According to Leandra, she decided to start mediating this community of dancers in a defunct online community called Orkut, because of the aggression dancers directed at each other. The way dancers argue about who is supposed to win a duel, swear and provoke each other during competitions reveals that *passinho* depends on vibrant and continuous attempts to mark out one's position. Nonetheless, those attempts do not translate into physical aggression. Actually, most dancers reveal links of affection for each other, despite the ongoing rivalry. Leandra once told me: "Before I met the boys, I thought that they would beat the shit out of each other every time they met, but later I discovered that it was not like that."¹⁴

In dance, appropriating elements from other dancers is not necessarily a bad thing. As suggested by Leandra, a "balance" is possible. Those moves are not directly associated with economic value but attached to a certain individual. Copying other moves can be aesthetically fruitful, but relying only on imitation can also undermine a performance's value, especially among those who really know the dance.

Cebolinha, a twenty-four-year-old dancer from Rio de Janeiro, constantly included international references, such as Les Twins, who dance for Beyoncé, or

¹⁴ Antes de conhecer os garotos, para mim quando eles se encontravam a porrada ia comer, mas não era.

Will Smith, remembered by him when explaining the origins of a specific dance step. Cebolinha severely criticised a singer via a video on YouTube because she apparently claimed to have invented *quadrado*. Cebolinha called the singer a liar, arguing that the *quadrado* step is a combination devised by a funk group called Os Caçadores of two different performances, one found in a video clip by Sean Paul, and a dance done by Will Smith for an American television show. He calls the singer a *patricinha*, a pejorative term referring to women who are careful with their looks and usually wealthy. He also accuses her of trying to appropriate this *favela* invention, and of being disrespectful towards those doing funk in those areas. He told me that there is an “invisible fence” around the *favelas*, a fence that he believes is being dismantled. For him, *passinho* is part of this process. “Let us shine”, he says.

In another video, in which Cebolinha wants to teach people to dance this same step, he argues that only the pioneering *passinho* dancers know how to do it, those “who accompanied the development of the step”. He decided to do a “dance tutorial” after noticing that funk is one of the “only styles that does not have dance tutorials”. Cebolinha argues that only by knowing how the step appeared can one properly dance it. According to him, he noticed the lack of tutorials in funk when his friend made fun of him because he did not know Dougie, a dance style from Dallas in the United States. He searched for tutorials and learnt how to dance it, bragging it to his friend afterwards.

Another one of Cebolinha’s latest movies includes a video of one of his workshops showing collective dance lessons promoted by him. Another dancer contacted for this research, Baianinho, also uploaded videos of him dancing, an activity one can easily find on YouTube among many other *passinho* dancers.

Producing self-images is not restricted to *passinho* dancers, the English slang term selfie, for instance, became popular, even in Brazil. However, *passinho* dancers, instead of posting photos, introduce themselves in motion, i.e. dancing. The literature has associated the practice of producing selfies with the many “attention-getting techniques” (Marwick 2015, p. 138) usually used by companies but now also widely employed by individual users. This use of attention-getting techniques is part of a “micro-celebrity mind-set” (Marwick 2015, p. 138), associated with the objective of gaining status online and part of a set of “self-presentation practices” (Marwick 2015, p. 138). Marwick draws from the online world the word “Instafame”, when someone becomes famous on Instagram:

Instafame demonstrates that while micro-celebrity is widely practiced, those successful at gaining attention often reproduce conventional status hierarchies of luxury, celebrity, and popularity that depend on the ability to emulate the visual iconography of mainstream celebrity culture. This emulation calls into question the idea that social media are an egalitarian, or even just a more accessible, way for individuals to access the currency of the attention economy. (Marwick 2015, p. 139)

Passinho dancers also publish audiovisual material to attract attention, or create a buzz. This process is crucial for the transformation of cultural capital into economic or social capital. Twenge and Campbell (2009) noted an ongoing epidemic of narcissism. Even though *passinho* dancers do engage with this contemporary attention economy described by Marwick, to describe them as narcissists is extremely judgemental.

Indeed, Baianinho seems very confident of his skills. He introduces himself as one of the first to develop *passinho*, and as one of the best dancers in Rio de

Janeiro. He compares himself to Michael Jackson very naturally, and seems to be constantly selling his “product”, a posture that he maintained throughout almost the whole of the interview.

Accusing working-class youths of narcissism, for showing off their skills and stressing their cultural relevance, means criticizing them for engaging in practices widely engaged in by affluent or middle-class groups. In fact, narcissism is not necessarily the main issue with those practices. Actually, those practices indicate a new mode of engaging with culture in which doing gains relevance (Marwick 2015). In this sense, someone has to act constantly – do things – to be a micro-celebrity, while in the “broadcast era” someone simply was a celebrity (Marwick 2015, p. 140).

The term micro-celebrity, however, already introduces a negative overtone into this engagement in with an attention economy (Marwick 2015). Some *passinho* dancers, and other funk artists as well, have no problem with discussing this attention economy of attention. MC Frank, for instance, talks freely about liposuction and other strategies to achieve popularity or look good on stage. Dancers identify steps that attract attention, because of a certain theatrical or even comic intent, and dance steps that are difficult and/or technical. They constantly refer to views and likes on Internet platforms. Knowing how to engage with this attention economy is part of the aforementioned entrepreneurial habitus possessed by funk producers.

There is only one problem with this attention economy associated with online tools. Even though they allow potentially anyone to achieve fame or at least visibility, “these opportunities are typically limited, fleeting, and unaccompanied by the financial resources available to the traditionally famous” (Marwick 2015, 140). One important question regarding *passinho* is whether it represents an

already established cultural practice or if it is just a passing trend, affording transient visibility enhanced by media attention and appropriation.

Institutional use of funk

Dancers and producers associated with *passinho* work concentrate on channelling affects and qualifying emotions, as well as controlling them. Carah discussed affective work by focusing on how certain brands and musicians are associated. The musician plays the role of fuelling affective relations to underpin marketing strategies, while brands provide material support. Other authors have also used the term emotional work to analyse different social contexts, this time referring to a certain required control of mastery over the display of emotions while at work. Companies and entrepreneurs require this ability of workers, especially in service jobs (Hochschild 1983, Wharton 2009).

According to DeNora, those demands require workers to “produce themselves as types of emotional agents under the organizational cultural auspices” (DeNora 2003, p. 96). This control has an impact on the sense of selfhood while emotional labour also affects workers themselves (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild points to the possibility of emotional dissonance, because forcefully sustaining an emotional display, suppressing specific affects and emotions, might create “self-estrangement or distress” (Wharton 2009, p. 149).

Funk producers engage in a peculiar kind of emotional labour. They do emotional work as defined by Hochschild, since they have to act as emotional agents, channelling affect. Nevertheless, this emotional work can potentially reach millions of viewers on the Internet or thousands of people during *bailes*. MCs frequently portray what one might assume to be desired situations in their

video clips, such as being rich and surrounded by beautiful women. Many interviewees, dancers and MCs showed a very pragmatic attitude towards music production. They want to sing what the people want to hear and do the dance steps the crowd will appreciate.

This section will analyse a video commissioned by Rio de Janeiro's State Government, showing children and youngsters dancing *passinho*. Comments from Julio Ludemir accompany the steps. He is one of the organizers of the *Batalha do Passinho* dance competitions held in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro in 2011 and 2012. In this video, the producer explains how dance keeps dancers healthy and away from drugs: "They won't be able to dance if they are not in perfect fitness, which also points to a new future, one of peace and without drugs."

Rio de Janeiro managed to become the host of two of the biggest sporting events in the world – the World Cup, staged in 2014, and the Olympic Games, happening in 2016. Those announcements caused euphoria and hopes for better days. Rio de Janeiro's State Government commissioned a propaganda piece called "Happiness: A trademark of Rio de Janeiro". The government marketed the city as representing culture and happiness. The logo for this campaign had the two letters RJ replacing the C for copyright in the symbol signalling copyrighted material, i.e. ©.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 11 Dancers in publicity video 'Happiness: A Trademark of Rio de Janeiro' (Source: YouTube, accessed on 10/03/2015)

“Happiness a trademark of Rio de Janeiro” introduces *passinho* as art made by the “poor youth from the periphery of Rio”, also saying that “they have the desire to be included” and “they are not asking anyone's permission, they are not knocking on anyone’s door”. Publicity also positions *passinho* as somehow fostering “social inclusion”, “youth’s potency” and “digital inclusion”.

The video argues that dancers move across the city, appropriating it in the name of a “culture of peace”. The use of the word peace is not simply a coincidence, it serves to associate this dance’s expression with the pacification of *favelas* conducted by Rio de Janeiro’s State Government.

This piece of marketing also tries to disassociate *passinho* dancing from eroticism. Media and producers introduce *passinho* as a naive dance, avoiding associations with sexuality. This strategy is comprehensible in the sense that any connection between *passinho* and sexuality could be extremely detrimental to the event. Sponsoring brands are very conscious of their branding and do not want to be associated with an event where youngsters perform accompanied by any suggestion of sexuality. More than a practical demand, Julio Ludemir also

believes in the power of *passinho* to break a common-sense association between funk, sexuality and violence.

The Government's campaign helps to shed light on what a "social order" government expects of the changes planned for Rio de Janeiro. Julio Ludemir, for instance, says the following in the video: "Actually funk is today the identity of Rio de Janeiro. (...) But there is a difficulty in this process of assimilation because of the link with eroticism and violence and *passinho* is managing to break with this."

Julio identifies two social "problems" associated with funk: eroticism and violence. The video exemplifies what the authorities want to change in funk in accordance with the government's efforts to promote a so-called "culture of peace". Institutions formerly engaged in associating funk with criminality and pornography are now "deconstructing" this view, giving impulse to new docile strands.

Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández (2013) have already noted that institutions have a role in placing "the Self" amidst "contradictory forces" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández 2013, p. 77), leading to the "inclusion and exclusion" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández 2013, p. 77) of *favela* dwellers. Researchers interviewed 204 *favela* dwellers and found contradictory affects taking place, entitling them "affective states of the Self" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández 2013, p. 76). They found that "fear, insecurity and suffering" coexisted with "pride, belonging and hope" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández 2013, p. 76). Those findings pointed to contradictions "between the Self and its context" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández 2013, p. 76). Hence, the video stressed pride and hope by showing *passinho* dancers as included in the city and, indirectly, it also introduced pacification as a solution to insecurity.

This actualization of the future impacts on the present but its realization is not guaranteed, it may not even be likely to occur. UPP (Pacifying Police Units) is a project implemented by Rio de Janeiro State's Government, aiming to occupy *favelas* with police in order to reduce the power of criminal factions. After obtaining the support of large groups of Rio de Janeiro's society, including the middle classes, scepticism and even "pessimism" replaced euphoria. O Globo of 1 March 2015 had the following headline, "If UPP does not work we are all going to the hole" (O Globo, 01/04/2015). Frederico Caldas, public relations officer for the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro, said this during the last UPP occupation in Maré, greeted by heightened local resistance and protests. Caldas mentioned a "climate of pessimism" (O Globo, 01/04/2015).

This government video shows how a discourse of empowerment by music promotes the branding of Rio de Janeiro. The government's publicity video is an attempt to show a city without cultural, social, spatial or racial divisions. For instance, *passinho* is supposedly a dance performed by "*neguinhos*" ("blackys") and "*branquinhos*" ("whities"). Hence, it voices widespread ideas about Brazil, rooted in the social sciences and literature stressing racial tolerance and cordiality (Yúdice 2003).

Funk and corporatization

Corporate groups are also interested in promoting a "good" version of *baile funk*. The relationship between funk politics and corporate patronage is not free of conflict. Despite the association with the left and a critical stance towards capitalism, activists from APAFUNK do not concentrate their attacks on specific

brands. They prefer a systemic critique of capitalism. However, activists have particularly criticized and resisted one brand, the UPP.

The state and city governments of Rio de Janeiro created two different programmes to bring the *favelas* under military control with the brand UPP. The state government would occupy the *favelas* with military police, while the city government would articulate social action through the so-called UPP Social. One APAFUNK activist declared to me that he would not support or attend events supported by any of the UPP brands.

One of the first funk artists to enter the corporate world was DJ Marlboro. In 1994, possibly when the prejudice against funk was at its peak, this DJ started performing every Saturday for Globo Television Network in Xuxa Park, in an extremely popular television show for children. According to Essinger, “it was as if funk was entering TV through the front door, with a red carpet” (Essinger 2005, p. 135, author’s translation). Curiously, the first funk artists to have an album edited by a big label were MC Junior and MC Leonardo, two of the most important artists leading the “Funk is Culture” movement. Sony Music bought the album from DJ Marlboro, who produced it. The album sold seventy thousand copies (Essinger 2005).

More recently, the relationship between Coca-Cola and funk provides an interesting example to understand the corporatization of the scene. The production of funk maintains a reasonable degree of independence. There are a number of reasons for this situation: the existence of cheap digital machinery and, more importantly, funk’s strong roots in many different *favelas* and other localities. Corporations are interested in funk but they see two problems with it, people associate funk with both violence and sex. Therefore, on specific

occasions, for instance when playing a song on radio, producers must adapt and sanitize funk songs before their commercial appropriation.

This requirement has important implications for funk's political efficacy. Sanitizing funk creates a division within the scene that has nothing to do with established affective communities or aesthetic differences, it is a division between "good" and "bad" kinds of funk. Corporate media groups stress this division, which is highly criticized by activists.

Dragaud connected Julio Ludemir with Coca-Cola, one of the sponsors of the 2013 Batalha do Passinho. Before contacting Dragaud, the producers of Batalha do Passinho realized they needed more help to organize the event. Dragaud had more experience as a producer and one of his main tasks, in his words, was "to create new rules to moralize" the event since children would be attending it.

Of course, Coca-Cola did not want to get involved in an event where children perform accompanied by lyrics containing coarse language or explicit sexuality. Therefore, effacing references to sexuality and violence was essential for *passinho*'s potential commercial success.

Dragaud also stressed that his main motivation was not commercial. In fact, he understood his work with *passinho* as an opportunity to help. According to him, by finding important sponsors and attracting attention to funk he could help the dancers: "We created certain rules to make it a pleasing spectacle, to redeem funk music, a genre that everyone likes, but that also suffers a lot of prejudice."¹⁵

¹⁵ Vamos criar certas regras para isso virar um espetáculo bacana, para a gente redimir o funk, que é um gênero que todo mundo gosta, mas que também sofre um preconceito enorme.

4.5 Dance and music: bodily movements, sounds and institutional interventions

The lower frequencies are very important in *baile funk* music. Someone attending a *baile* will certainly feel that the sound does not enter your body only through the ears, it affects your body as whole. Sound gains a physical presence, it shakes objects and bodies, literally. During a *baile funk* in Rocinha it was impossible for me to stay next to the large PA-system speakers, even though I saw many people enjoying the feeling of being as close as possible to the source of the sound. Nevertheless, it is not only the bass that matters, for that reason the term “bass culture” (Henriques 2010) is not completely accurate in this context.

In the dancehall scene in Jamaica, the bass line is extremely relevant to identify the beat, also referred to as riddim (Veal 2007). Yet, in funk, to identify a beat one must also pay attention to high-pitched rhythmic sounds. A trend in *baile funk* music since the 2000s involves incorporating rhythms from Afro-Brazilian drumming. This funk beat was given the name *tamborzão* and it has rhythmic similarities with the beat of *maculelê* (Sobrinho 2013)¹⁶. Just like capoeira, *maculelê* is also a mixture of dance and fighting. The person performing *maculelê* crosses swords (*grimas* or *esgrimas*) or wooden rods, making a noise that accompanies a beat normally produced by a drum called *atabaque*, made of wood and rawhide.

In *baile funk*, the beat box copies the rhythms of the *atabaque*. Many times, other electronic sounds strengthen the sounds of the beat box, notably bass

drums, snares and other elements. The lower frequencies in funk have the role of enhancing the intensity of specific moments, usually after the DJ omits the beat, excludes certain elements or filters particular frequencies.

The song “Faixa de Gaza”, already discussed in this chapter, serves as an example. The MC sings more than one third of the track without a beat accompanying it, *a capella*. However, as pointed out by Palombini (2011), the beat is always present, guiding the singer, even though the listener cannot hear it. The vocal performance is doubled but one does not hear the beat until the chorus starts. This trick creates a kind of dynamics that contrast with Leo Justi’s complex work involving layers and melodies. In this track, the climax results from two elements: the voice and the beat.

One possible path is to understand affect, as proposed by Henriques (2010), paying attention to how participants “manage, direct and manipulate vibrations” through music-making (Henriques 2010, p. 59). The process described by him is not necessarily conscious. Affect is propagated by the “skilled techniques and practices used on various instruments and machines” (Henriques 2010, p. 59), including the voice.

Performance and affect

Affect includes ephemeral physical and physiological interactions between objects and subjects (Massumi 1995, Watkins 2010). Despite its fleeting character, affect can also leave its mark and accumulate (Watkins 2010). Affect produced by music and dance might have its strongest effects during a performance, but it leaves a lasting residue. Watkins raised the possibility of affect’s accumulation to defend the idea of recognition from its critique,

associating it with subjugation and objectification (Yar 2001). In this revision of recognition, power is “enabling” and not only associated with control and repression.

In order for power to be enabling, one must be in a condition that allows “self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem” (Moyaert 2011, p. 88) which, in turn, depends on “patterns of mutual recognition, namely love, respect, and solidarity” (Moyaert 2011, p. 88). According to Watkins (2010), this revised notion of recognition involves “acknowledgment” and “confirmation of self-worth” (Watkins 2010, p. 273).

Emilio talked to me about how he produced his movie. His original idea was to make a short movie about four days of Batalha do Passinho. In this case, he was talking about the first staging of this competition in 2011. According to him: “In the backstage conversations, I saw that *passinho*’s universe was much bigger than what I first imagined.”¹⁷ I met both Maria and Emilio for interviews and on other occasions, and very often they would mention conversations with dancers. Emilio filmed *passinho* duels while directing a movie about the 2011 Batalha do Passinho, and Maria photographed this same event in 2013. She has also photographed many Rodas de Funk. Emilio said that he considers some of the dancers friends of his, including Gambá, to have been victimized by violence in Rio de Janeiro:

It is very rich material of that scene, we filmed a lot of different things.

Lots of dance, lots of talks, rare talk at very vibrant moments, things that will never be repeated, and that are very important. Just to give you an idea, one of the main characters in the movie died. I have hours of

¹⁷ Nas conversas de bastidores, eu vi que aquele universe era muito maior do que eu imaginava.

recordings with him. Of all the boys in *passinho* he was my best friend.

The one I would call to ask about everything, we would talk insanely on

Gtalk. (...) I have a crazy way of doing cinema, I don't wait for

government funding, I try to do it collectively, with people supporting the

idea in an independent way, and then I try to get the funding. I'm

struggling with this right now, because I want to pay the people.¹⁸

Maria and Emilio, both graduates from prestigious federal universities in Brazil, consider it a struggle to work the way they do, because they have to produce independently while trying to get funding. Therefore, financial motivation does not play a central role, at least it is not the main motivation explaining why those two individuals engage in mediating funk. Emilio told me that he felt attracted to *passinho*, and wants "to know the dancers".

Baianinho, during an interview, also said that he had "a lot of affection" for Julio Ludemir, because he thinks that Batalha do Passinho really helped to improve the dance scene in Rio de Janeiro. Of course, those affective links are also important when they occur among equals, e.g. among *passinho* dancers.

Baianinho told me that they formed a "family" composed of dancers who travelled to London, to participate in the closing ceremony of the 2012 Olympics. This "family" included ten dancers: Baianinho, Cebolinha, Bolinho, Michel, Chocolate, Rene, Granfino, Higuinho, Fabinho (FB) and Yuri (Mister Passista).

¹⁸ É um material bem rico da cena. A gente filmou muita coisa, tem muita dança, muito depoimento, depoimento raro, no calor do negócio ali. São coisas que não se repetem mesmo, que são muito importantes. Para você ter uma ideia, um dos personagens faleceu. E ele, tenho horas de depoimento com ele, entre os meninos do passinho, era meu melhor amigo. Era quem eu ligava para perguntar qualquer coisa. E falava no Gtalk loucamente com ele também. (...) Eu tenho um estilo de fazer cinema que é muito louco, porque eu não espero edital, tento fazer de forma coletiva, com pessoas que apoiam o projeto de maneira independente. E depois, eu vou tentar captar. Eu estou tentando captar para o meu filme agora, que eu quero pagar as pessoas.

Both Baianinho and Cebolinha, two members of the aforementioned “family”, told me the same story about the day they met. Cebolinha and Leandra believe that the origins of *passinho* battles have to do with dancers visiting *bailes* in different communities. All the dancers agreed that *passinho* started before the duels, and that this sense of rivalry and competition started when dancers visited other *bailes*.

More recently, artists have been releasing many low-budget videos on the Internet, reaching millions of viewers. The video clip of the song “Ah Lelek Leke Leke”, one of the songs most played during the 2013 carnival, had an extremely low budget (Uol, 15/02/2013). The producers used the money to have a barbecue in order to attract people to the place of filming, done with a tablet. They also claim that their success had to do with the fact that they do not swear or talk about sex in the lyrics of this song (Uol, 15/02/2013).

This video is only one of many examples of how producers use reproduction techniques to try to include elements of local creativity and community life. Funk fans and producers participate and seem to gain recognition, independently creating and propagating affective and aesthetic performances of songs and images attached to them.

Simultaneously, affective labour and appropriative processes mediate and transform spontaneity, happiness and other emotions conveyed by funk. Those emotions are not the same as affect, but a qualification, a translation (Massumi 1995). Moreover, this translation is almost bound to be at least partial, if not in opposition to what is impressed upon the body and received through the senses in the first place (Massumi 1995). A range of factors interferes in those processes of qualification. So-called technical reproduction is among those factors.

Individuals and institutions mobilize affect in subtle ways to gain control. In this context, bodies, sounds and images mutually constitute each other in affective (non-representational) and representational ways. Lash argues that “post-hegemonic power” is at play (Lash 2007, p. 55), a form of power marked by intensity, communication and performativity, instead of hegemony exerted by meaning (Lash 2007).

At the same time, acknowledging that power becomes associated with an order of communication usually accompanies a lack of consideration of economic inequality and social class (Lash 2007). Working-class youths internalize imperatives of performance or attention-grabbing techniques. This example shows that “post-hegemonic power” (Lash 2007, p. 55) resides in a context in which hegemonic domination and official repression still occur, represented by military interventions and control of the *favelas*.

According to Emilio, Rafael Dragaud, Julio and many of those involved with *passinho*, including dancers, *passinho* “attracts attention” in a “positive” way, managing to overcome the hurdles faced by *funkeiros* by dissociating funk from criminal activity or explicit sexuality. Images play an important role in the popularization of *passinho*. More generally, Emilio has described *passinho* as devoid of ideological content. Hence, if *passinho* conveys affect very efficiently, through body movements and theatrical interventions, it often does not transmit or accompany any discursive meaning.

Comparing dance and music regarding copyright and cultural capital

Patents are not the same as copyright. A patent protects technological innovation while copyright protects authorship (Wong 2009). Wong has argued that in the North-American context one should be able to register a patent for

bodily performances involving objects. However, even in this example, patenting bodily movements “is not justified in many cases” (Wong 2009, p. 29). The author has rejected the possibility of patenting “performance techniques that involve only bodily movements” (Wong 2009, p. 28). Regarding copyright, a sequence of movements in a given choreography might be copyrightable, but individual movements do not “represent the type of authorship intended to be protected under copyright law” (Wong 2009, p. 28).

In the case of funk, dancers participating in this study did not resort to copyright or patents to protect their work, instead relying on their embodied skills and affective subtleties of performance to distinguish themselves from other dancers. In music production, even though songs are not always finished works, because of re-creation, copyright forces more stability in their form. Therefore, producers cannot use certain tracks (or even parts of tracks) without clearance. In dance, no one needs to clear dance steps legally.

Nevertheless, being a pioneer still has advantages. Cebolinha’s dance tutorial provides an example. Because he proclaims himself to be one of the first to dance *passinho*, hence following how it evolved, he argues that he knows exactly how to do the steps. He believes that knowing the history behind dance steps contributes to their execution. Leandra and Cebolinha constantly referred to the importance of having a distinctive style to obtain recognition as a dancer, being charismatic or doing stunts is not enough.

Interviews with dancers reveal their attempts to establish what makes a good dancer and which steps constitute *passinho*. Because, despite their apparently free and improvised appropriation of steps, those considered among the first dancers, including Baianinho and Cebolinha, try to a limited extent to delimitate

what *passinho* is and is not. Moreover, they also claim that those who do not dance *passinho* may not be qualified to judge it.

Comparing music and dance offers the possibility of questioning the consequences of copyright regulation from a social perspective. The point is not proving copyright as a negative or positive regulation, nor engaging with matters regarding the law, but focusing on its social consequences by considering its role in controlling specific musical mediations.

Netanel's book points to a paradoxical role of copyright, supposedly rewarding originality but possibly threatening creativity by limiting the extent to which one can draw on others to create something "new". Funk provides an example of how copyright can produce value. DJ Marlboro for instance relies on the publishing business to support the position he enjoys inside funk and society, also extracting rewards from his pioneering efforts. At the same time, as argued by APAFUNK, the publishing business allows the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few publishers, including Marlboro.

In dance, this possibility does not exist and moves remain part of spontaneous performances. Originality emerges as part of an interested engagement with the dance scene, by raising your own skills or even knowledge of *passinho*'s history. Moreover, dancers manage to take advantage of *passinho* as a form of cultural capital due to its mediation by other agents, e.g. producers, filmmakers and photographers. Audiovisual productions of *passinho* dance usually introduce *favela* dwellers as sources of inspiration for children by telling stories about overcoming hurdles and prejudices. Accordinho to Emílio:

Passinho has a ludic thing that is very particular. It has the capacity to break down barriers and prejudices because it is dance and bodily expression, it has no ideology associated with *passinho* (...) There is no

contextualization of it, *passinho* acts in a neutral field breaking down many prejudices. Moreover, it is a phenomenon of youth, by which I mean teenagers. It reaches many boys and people who are sensitized, especially when you see a thirteen-year-old boy dancing in a crazy way.¹⁹

Emílio describes *passinho* as a kind of disinterested art. The supposed disinterestedness of *passinho* makes it more susceptible to affective and nuanced forms of institutional appropriation. Producers and other artists mediating *passinho* introduce it as a highly technical art, valued as a form of cultural capital marked by aesthetic autonomy due to its focus on non-representational content.

On the other hand, music production interacts with another institutional context. The importance of copyright in funk contrasts with the lack of conformity of funk's production to the romantic assemblage of creative genius and finished works of art, important assumptions underlying copyright.

Copyright partially transfers the social enactment of originality and the control of aesthetic exchanges to an institutionalized order. The word "partially" serves as a reminder that imitation remains a practice one can use to produce funk music, even under the limitations imposed by existing regulation.

Tang (2013) has emphasized the relationship between copyright and class stratification. He argues that copyright regulations serve to preserve cultural capital and reinforce "cultural consecration" (Tang 2013, p. 426). According to him, cultural capital represents a major threat to a "vision of democracy

¹⁹ O *passinho* tem uma coisa lúdica, que chama muito a atenção. Eles tem a capacidade de romper barreiras e preconceitos, pelo fato de ser uma expressão corporal de dança. (...) Não tem nenhuma contextualização disso, o *passinho* atua num campo neutro que acaba conseguindo quebrar muitos preconceitos. Sem contar que é um fenômeno de juventude, de juventude que eu quero dizer é de adolescente. Então ele atinge garotos, e as pessoas ficam sensibilizadas. Principalmente quando você vê um garoto de treze anos dançando igual a um louco.

espousing true equality” (Tang 2013, p. 452). It “works in less obvious, more invidious ways than political and economic power” (Tang 2013, p. 452).

Despite the necessary critique of cultural capital, one should not ignore new forms of cultural capital conflicting with assemblages stressing individual creativity and originality. Tang (2013) initiates this debate by arguing that a Supreme Court decision involving the hip-hop group 2 Live Crew “turned copying into high art, and mass popularity into the new cool” (Tang 2013, p. 443). In 1994, the decision mentioned by Tang recognized that a parody of the song “Pretty Woman” was a case of fair use, becoming “a benchmark case for parody and the fair use doctrine” (Tang 2013, p. 444).

Arguing that the Supreme Court decision recognized copying as the “new cool” supports the argument introduced throughout this thesis that funk can also work as a form of cultural capital, since it implements very similar techniques when compared to hip-hop, including the creative use of copying. Nevertheless, the term high art does not seem adequate and this is why insisting on the notion of emerging cultural capital is important.

Moreover, one should not ignore that the romantic ideas supporting copyright are not completely absent from emerging forms of cultural capital, at least in the cases analysed here. Instead, artists engaging in emerging cultural practices must constantly negotiate with more traditional conceptions of art creation. This process generates a number of conflicts.

Tang (2013) also seems to have a point regarding the power of copyright to promote the concentration of wealth. Copyright seems to produce value in the funk industry. However, this value is concentrated in a few hands and seems to produce discontent and conflict. Artists such as MC Marcinho (Facina 2005) and Leo Justi feel constrained regarding the possibility of benefiting financially from

what they consider to be (at least partially) their own creations.

In dance, instead of litigation, dancers rely on social strategies, such as publishing videos online, criticizing judges or even outright insults to affirm themselves, the autonomy of their art and their sense of authorship. Affirming authorship, defending the freedom to create and being able to claim one's rights do relate to one's social position. Nevertheless, one has also to consider social position not only in terms of social class, as in this case, but position within a certain group engaging in a set of practices. Dancers, for instance, try to impress *passinho* producers affectively, convincing them of their value and innovative style. In sum, they have to sell themselves as entrepreneurs of dance, who fit in and stand out.

4.6. Conclusion

Entrepreneurialism and self-promotion, so far referred to as entrepreneurial habitus, mark the production of images and music in funk. Dancers, DJs, MCs and producers use technology to provide funk fans with songs suited to their moral, affective and emotional expectations.

Passinho also emerges as a form of cultural capital, as it seems to represent a technical, disinterested and "good" form of funk, despite protests against this label by activists and despite the predominant interested aesthetics of *baile funk*. Other producers involved with funk also manage to articulate different forms of cultural capital in order to introduce *baile funk* music to different audiences in Brazil and around the world.

The literature on emergent cultural capital has shown the pervasiveness of different cultural products across a range of distinct social groups. It has also

considered the possibility that different ways of engaging with culture might explain distinction and exclusiveness (Friedman 2011), despite affirmations of increasing eclectic taste from certain social groups (Peterson 1992).

This chapter has taken another route, exploring the entrepreneurial habitus of funk producers and its involvement with techniques of reproduction. Those techniques of reproduction articulate with forms of cultural capital that influence the acceptance and reception of practices associated with *baile funk* music. This articulation is not separate from power struggles and institutional constraints.

In music, copyright regulations influence the creation of funk music, and even how wealth is distributed in this market, even though imitation maintains its relevance as an aesthetic technique. Copying to create is not a rare expedient in art, even though a certain prevailing ideology still sees art works as finished compositions, instead of evolving ones. Nonetheless, regarding dance copyright, this is normally not applicable, at least not in the context of this research. The appropriation of dance reveals a subtle use of images to convey hope and support hegemonic projects as well. Discussions over legal issues are scarce among dancers when compared to the production of music.

Traditional forms of power, such as official repression, still have a crucial impact on funk's production. However, looking to "post-hegemonic" power raises a commonly ignored alternative when thinking about funk's appropriation. The literature refers to the vital nature of power and to the merging of domination and performance. Power becomes diffuse and associated with an order of communication (Lash 2007). This order of communication relies heavily on the production of sounds and images and on their affective modulation and appropriation (Coleman 2013).

Chapter 5: The space of carioca funk music

Recent studies have investigated how urban exclusion affects the concentration of cultural practices in certain areas (Zukin 2008, Ley 2003). Local culture distinctiveness might cause property prices to rise, ultimately destroying the conditions that caused dynamism to occur in the first place (Ley 2003). Many studies pay attention to the “micro” level, looking at sites of engagement with music. At this level, the causal properties of music seem more straightforward. One example given by DeNora (2003) is the playing of Mozart in a wine store to create a specific atmosphere, somehow conditioning the experience of consumption.

This chapter refers to the idea of a funk scene (Bennet 2004) in order to stress the continuity between micro and macro levels, analysing musical events connecting different areas of Rio de Janeiro. These events aim to debate the future of the city and ongoing urban projects. In this case, localized events occurring in *favelas* and other areas provide “resources for sense-making within the social setting” (DeNora 2003, p. 130). More interestingly, in those cases, “sense-making” involves questioning Rio de Janeiro’s future, and to what extent this future reserves space for popular culture.

This chapter also examines the socio-geographical context of *baile funk* music. It considers the movements of *baile funk* music across the city. These movements reveal funk’s official management and repression, especially from the 1990s onwards (ISER 1996, FBFP-LAV 2012, Yúdice 2003, Essinger 2005, Lopes 2011). At the same time, it reveals the ingenuity of people engaging with funk, managing to connect a variety of art forms and mobilize different classes, dwelling in different areas of the city.

Space is central to the comprehension of struggles around funk and its affordances. Funk's association with power exercised over territory is such that one of the first measures that police employ after occupying areas where criminal factions are active is to silence *baile funk* music. According to Savage and Hanquinet (2012), space is more important today when assessing social position than other determinants, such as rent. The consumption of cultural goods is another relevant variable. However, in order to understand how music and other practices relate to spatial matters, thinking in terms of engagement becomes central.

Consumption is not opposed to engagement. In fact, considering consumption as an act of engagement provides an interesting alternative to rational-choice explanations of consumption. According to Warde: "It is the fact of engagement in the practice, rather than any personal decision about a course of conduct, that explains the nature and process of consumption" (Warde 2005, p. 138).

Engagement transcends consumption, being part of a broader explanation of practice, which also involves understandings and procedures (DeNora 2003). Consumption involves affects and emotions, as well as objectives and beliefs (Warde 2005). However, one can use engagement to explain production as well, blurring the boundaries between practices of production and consumption. But how can you determine when dancing funk ceases to be consumption and becomes something watched millions of times online, as has happened with *passinho foda*'s video on YouTube? Youngsters filmed this video in their backyard using a mobile phone.

The mediation of emotions and affects through music articulates moments in time, the actors involved and space, as well as acts of engagement (DeNora 2006). This chapter focuses on the spatial dimension, associating it with

glimpses of funk's history, initially by analysing debates around the prohibition of the famous *baile* in the Chapéu Mangueira community. After considering this long quarrel involving the production of *baile funk*, this chapter analyses how funk music also enters spaces of so-called traditional cultural expression, such as samba, *choro* and *capoeira*. This approximation is not free of conflicts, but it does reveal how artists mobilize history in order to reinforce funk as a kind of cultural capital, by comparing it with or approximating it to other formerly marginalized but now widely accepted practices.

5.1. Emerging and urban cultural capital

One of the characteristics of emerging cultural capital in the United Kingdom is its penetration of different classes; one study considered seven different social classes in the UK (Savage 2013). It found out that even though the richest still appreciate highbrow culture and the poorest (called the “precariat”) demonstrate very low levels of cultural capital overall, emerging cultural capital seemed to be important for a wide range of social positions.

Thinking in terms of emerging cultural capital is fruitful in order to elaborate on debates around the omnivore which argue for a more eclectic taste among the middle classes. The omnivore theory identified a phenomenon that happens from the perspective of consumption, arguing that more people across a wider range of social classes consume a larger variety of styles and cultural products than a few decades ago. Thinking in terms of an emerging cultural capital allows a simultaneous consideration of production and consumption, acknowledging as well a move from Kantian aesthetics based on a distanced contemplation of life.

Bourdieu associated legitimate art with his interpretation of the Kantian view of aesthetics, involving a separation between life and art (Gandhi 2006) and resulting in an anti-urban account of cultural capital (Savage and Hanquinet 2012). Even though modernist aesthetics engages with urban space, it does so from a distance (Savage and Hanquinet 2012). According to Savage, this perspective has become less prominent, allowing for a renewed appropriation of popular culture embracing urban space.

Cultural distinction is increasingly associated with references to urban spaces and cultural practices seen in big cities (Savage and Hanquinet 2012). This chapter seeks to elaborate on this connection by showing that funk fans and artists transform cultural capital into a resource collectively mobilized through references to spaces in the city.

Funk seems to be cosmopolitan despite its strong roots in communities and other areas of Rio de Janeiro. The concept of a trans-local scene aims specifically to analyse certain expressions commonly associated with youth musicality (Bennet 2004), such as *baile funk* music. The term trans-local scene addresses how certain expressions linked to “particular local contexts” (Bennet 2004, p. 229) retain a stark sense of connectedness to other expressions, or scenes, happening in other places.

There is one important connection between the development of a local funk scene in Rio de Janeiro and trans-local dynamics. This reveals another link to emerging cultural capital, the “prominence of urban cosmopolitanism” (Savage and Hanquinet 2012, p. 7). It means that emerging cultural capital is less concerned with nationality and more with cultural production based in “large metropolitan centres” (Savage and Hanquinet 2012, p. 6).

5.2. Spaces for popular creativity and its appropriation

Theory provides tools to understand new kinds of cosmopolitan engagement with culture. Bennet's trans-local scenes and Gandhi's affective communities stress at the same time locality and global interconnections. Geographical boundaries do not determine the affective communities described by Gandhi (2006), as occurs with Benedict Anderson's national communities (Anderson 1991). Both concepts account for the association of individuals who might never have met face to face. The social sciences often concentrate on geographically bounded communities, especially when accounting for neighbourhoods (Warner et al. 2012). The research agenda apparently changed with the advent of the Internet and mobile phones. The literature started to concern itself with the "death of distance" afforded by rapid communications. Nonetheless, Gandhi refers to a number of struggles against colonialism based on affect and crossing the boundaries of the nation-state.

Community is a term marked by ambiguity. Besides its use among sociologists, it is a common word among policymakers and people in general (Warner 2012). For example, the term community is a synonym for *favela* in Rio de Janeiro everyday speech, a word used to avoid the pejorative meaning attributed to the word *favela*. Despite all the prejudice, *favelas* are places of culture irradiation; *samba* also has an important and historical association with certain areas of Rio de Janeiro marked by poverty and black populations. *Samba* became an important reference for Brazil, even becoming part of a general stereotype (Siqueira 2012).

Vianna (1995) narrated the encounter of important intellectuals in Rio de Janeiro, including the anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, with *sambistas*, such as Pixinguinha and Donga, in 1926. This meeting suggests how much importance the culture of the “dominated” (samba was produced by the poor and/or blacks) already had back in 1926 for those occupying privileged positions in society. This situation led Fry (2000) to question why those producing national symbols and mass culture chose the culture of the “dominated” to represent nationality. This process of conversion occurred throughout Latin America, where elites and other mediators initially rejected popular culture, only later to appropriate it (Ochoa 2006).

Therefore, there is a complex ambiguity involving popular culture in Rio de Janeiro or more broadly Brazil. The appropriation of black culture – and its centrality to identity construction – facilitated the attempts by the working class producing funk to transform cultural capital into social and economic capital. On the other hand, it might act to hide and even disempower black communities (Fry 2000). Arguably, this “conversion” of popular creativity into ethnic and national symbols helps to hide a situation of racial dominance (Fry 2000):

It has always been difficult for black groups to establish diacritical emblems of black culture, because, under the canopy of racial democracy, many cultural touchstones, such as *feijoada* (Brazil's national dish based on black beans and pork), *samba*, and *capoeira* (a balletic martial art), that can be traced back to Africa have become symbols of Brazilian nationality. Perhaps that is why the symbols of black identity were frequently taken from outside Brazil, such as reggae in Maranhão, hip-hop in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and, finally, Africa itself. (Fry 2000, p. 105)

One must wonder whether this process described by Fry is a continuing one, meaning that even recently created strands of black culture can also be appropriated to signify nationality and miscegenation. Many interviewees have noticed similarities between funk and samba regarding their repression by official forces.

This thesis does not attempt a full comparison of funk and samba trajectories. Nevertheless, an examination of funk's contradictions (pervasiveness accompanied by repression) benefits from considering how funk's appropriation might sustain the masking of existent spatial, racial and class segregation and conflicts. This is clearly an issue when consumption spreads to the middle and upper classes.

On the other hand, the popular classes continue to produce and promote funk autonomously, working to create affective communities and approximation between different social groups. This sense of community raised by music is not restricted to funk, it seems to appear in other forms of black music as well. Interestingly, this sense of community raised by music might justify a variety of unequal appropriations. Feld describes one interesting example of this possibility, commenting on Hancock's appropriation of pigmy music.

Herbie Hancock, according to Feld, copied a melody, found in ethnomusicological recordings from 1966, from Arom and Taurelle (see Feld 1996). When questioned by Feld about this situation, Hancock simply stated that this was a "brothers kind of thing" (Feld 1996, p. 6). Therefore, Hancock felt entitled to use music from the pygmies based on his affective belonging to a certain community associated with blackness, and a felt connection to Africa, even though Hancock himself is not from the African continent.

Appropriation often involves an embodied legitimacy imbued with a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging might stretch across different countries, basing itself on different cultural or phenotypical traits, as well as spatial attachment, commonly involving affective attachments as well. However, notions of belonging are not free of conflict, showing that it is not just a matter of subjectivity. A sense of belonging is also about negotiation.

The production of culture related to blacks and neglected areas of Rio de Janeiro has created important spatial attachments, such as the association of many Escolas de Samba (clubs where samba is produced) with certain *favela* communities or neighbourhoods. *Rodas de capoeira* (rituals involving music, fights and dance) are also organized in order to stress the historical importance of a site, such as the Roda do Cais do Valongo, organized monthly by a *capoeira* group called Kabula in a place where slaves used to arrive in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

5.3. Sound and space

The analysis of interactions between space and sound is central to a discussion of control and management of populations. It is equally central to the comprehension of resistance processes struggling against control and official management. Music provides resources for people to use to understand and make sense of their social settings (DeNora 2003). In DeNora's words, "it helped to configure the space as a space fit for particular actions, strategies and trajectories and in this capacity, music's structuring powers 'showed up' in conduct" (DeNora 2003, p. 130). Spatial aesthetics stimulate and change social action in two ways. First, space offers "scenic features", it provides information and

provides an atmosphere in which action takes place, thus affecting the choice of certain strategies and action repertoires over others. Secondly, space also relates to action in non-cognitive ways, appealing to senses, bodies and shared memories.

One example of this relationship between space and sound explored in the literature is the use of sound systems in cars by Mexican-American and African-American communities, analysed by Labelle (2011). This aesthetics of car modification is associated with social and urban mobility and driven by the economic achievement of buying a car. These mobile sound systems are equipped with powerful subwoofers playing hip-hop through the streets of Los Angeles, boasting “class and cultural consciousness”. These “ethnic statements” travel throughout the city.

Funk also aesthetically conveys class and racialized boundaries. Propagation through loudness is also common in both cases. Furthermore, powerful sound systems installed in cars also play funk across town. One *baile* producer, for example, told me how this habit causes him trouble. According to him, people and public authorities assume that funk music always comes from his *baile*, resulting in complaints to police or *disque-barulho*, a public service used to report noise.

Public officials have recently introduced extremely challenging bureaucratic procedures to regulate the occurrence of *bailes*, and police frequently intervene directly during parties. This has been happening since the nineties, when funk was pushed into the *favelas*, as mentioned above. Since 2008, even in the *favelas*, the silencing of funk is accompanied by its appropriation by diverse social classes, leading to a rather strange outcome. The police repress funk in *favela* communities where it has acquired its own identity. At the same time, people

enjoy funk in many different conventional or even expensive nightclubs and during festivities.

Many informants reported that the noise argument is simply an excuse for funk's repression. They remember that the government also repressed a number of other popular expressions of Brazilian history. The conflictive relationship between popular art and government is not new. In fact, José Ramos Tinhorão (2005) affirms that back in 1790, when Brazil was still a Portuguese colony, "reunion spots of popular culture started to be so noisy that, through an edict published on 3 March 1790 (...) the Portuguese authorities forbade carioca tavern owners to allow any 'game or entertainment' inside their premises" (Tinhorão 2005, p. 29, author's translation).

Disrespecting this edict could lead to imprisonment. One reason commonly given by police to veto *baile funk* events is the nuisance caused to neighbourhoods surrounding funk parties. *Baile funk* occurs in venues – usually sports halls – that are not always prepared acoustically to contain the sound made at parties.

The last conflicts involving the control of funk by the public authorities occurred with the stationing of Units of Pacifying Police (UPPs) in different areas of Rio de Janeiro. The first UPP was put in place in December 2008, in Favela Santa Marta, in the Botafogo neighbourhood. Since then the police have occupied more than thirty-seven other communities and in most cases banned the local *baile funk*.

5.4. Silence enforcement: the experience of Chapéu Mangueira

The control of music and its resonance in space is a matter of local and

cosmopolitan creativity but also of political control, with different governments in history having attempted to control music and its performance for political reasons (Ross 2012). According to Attali (2012), a “theory of power” (p. 6) must consider sound and its forms, the “control of noise, and the institutionalization of the silence of others assure the durability of power” (Attali 2012, p. 8).

During a public hearing held at the Rio de Janeiro State Assembly in 2011, aimed at discussing conflicts between cultural and public security agents, one of the main issues was the noise coming from *bailes*. Many informants stressed that to see the noise coming from funk parties as the sole motivation for funk’s repression is naive. There is evidence showing that the challenges faced by many of those engaging with funk have to do with a series of other issues, such as racial prejudice, classism and spatial segregation (Lopes 2011).

Policemen often see silencing funk in the *favelas* as a victory over the enemy, in this case so-called “drugs traffickers” (FBFP-LAV 2012). Therefore, silencing funk is part of a territorial and symbolic power dispute:

This idea of the locus of evil is attributed to *bailes funk*, while other music is faced with more tolerance [by the police]. More than criminality, funk is seen symbolically as the enemy’s music, so the prohibition of a *baile* is a symbolic trophy for many policemen, it is also a way of showing who’s boss in the community, as if they are taking down the enemy’s flag after taking over territory. (FBFP-LAV 2012, p. 153, author’s translation).

The excerpt above is from a report about the UPPs, published in 2012, produced by the Brazilian Forum of Public Security and Violence Analysis Lab (FBFP-LAV), located in Rio de Janeiro State University. Research on public security and experiences of community policing published in 1996 also observed

conflicts linked to the *baile* in Chapéu Mangueira, a *favela* community in Copacabana. One important difference between 1996 and 2012 is that research at that time did not find evidence of orders emanating from the police themselves to close the *baile* in Chapéu Mangueira, a judicial order forbade it on that occasion. Even though the result is not different, the fact that *bailes* are now being closed by local UPP commanders effectively creates a different situation, in which police officially manage local culture, having the power to say yes or no to cultural events.

Funk artists and activists proposed projects in which venues were acoustically isolated in order to contain the sound of *bailes*. In 1996, the government rejected this solution for Chapéu Mangueira, deeming it economically infeasible (ISER 1996). Today, other groups have resurrected the idea and requested government public funding for projects of this type in different *bailes* across the city.

Huge crowds of people used to spread through the streets and surroundings of the local sports court in Chapéu Mangueira. Many affirmed that the *baile* in Chapéu Mangueira was an opportunity for youngsters from different backgrounds to meet and socialize (Essinger 2005, Herschmann 2001). According to Herschmann, between 1993 and 1995, those who liked funk, or empathized with the music, described that moment as a “cultural armistice”. On the other hand, “conservative sectors” feared a “dangerous mixing of social classes”, condemning what they saw as social “promiscuity”:

The fact is that, during the first months of 1995, the proximity of youths from *asfalto* [meaning not *favelas*] with [the] funk world was a reality. (...) The new trend of youngsters seeking emotion – the kind of emotion that conventional nightclubs could not provide – was heading to Chapéu Mangueira in Leme neighbourhood on Fridays, in Morro Azul

(Flamengo) on Saturdays, and Santa Marta (Botafogo) on Sundays – eventually they would go to Emoções da Rocinha [literally, the name of the *baile* is emotions from Rocinha if translated into English]. It wasn't rare to see expensive cars parked at the entrances of *favelas*, and many youngsters heading to the *bailes*. And, something that terrified parents, it wasn't uncommon to see white girls going out with black *funkeiros* from the communities. (Essinger 2005, p. 134, author's translation)

Nevertheless, the *baile* in Chapéu Mangueira showed a certain social separation as well. Black youths coming from the community itself or other *favelas* occupied the centre of the sports court, close to the speakers, while the white middle class preferred to stay around the court (ISER 1996). Since June 2009, with the inauguration of the Pacifying Police Unit in Chapéu Mangueira/Morro da Babilônia, the local regular *baile funk* does not function (ISER 1996).

The processes described above acquire interesting contours when one considers the peculiar socio-geography of Rio de Janeiro. Since poor communities are often located close to wealthy neighbourhoods, and arguments around sound propagation also reflect social boundaries. Leme, a neighbourhood in *Zona Sul* noted for its tranquillity and expensive apartments, is located right next to Chapéu Mangueira, where one of the most famous *bailes* of Rio de Janeiro ran for years. This proximity helped to fuel a conflict situation between *favela* and *asfalto*, despite attempts by both sides to find a solution.

Field visits to Chapéu Mangueira

One of the expressions of funk still allowed in *favelas* occurs in the form of protest. Rodas de Funk are political events that aim to raise awareness about the repression and prohibition of funk. During my fieldwork, I attended five Rodas de Funk, one of them in Chapéu Mangueira. Those events only occur because of their political character. While cultural events need police authorization to proceed, the Constitution allows public meetings for political purposes, activists only need to notify the police. Even so, this does not prevent police from violently dispersing political protests (as observed in protests occurring throughout Brazil in June 2013).

I attended Chapéu Mangueira twice during my fieldwork, on 22 May 2012, and a second time four days later. Initially, I attended a meeting to discuss the organization of a Roda de Funk. I learned of the meeting when I contacted Daniela to make an appointment for an interview. Daniela was an intern at MEURIO, an organization that combines online and on-site activism, selecting a wide range of causes. She told me that there would be a meeting in Chapéu Mangueira, on 22 May, to organize a Roda de Funk. Despite prior negotiations, activists involved in the organization of Rodas de Funk reported feeling intimidated by police during the event organized on 26 May. According to Daniela:

The Rodas are organized in the following way: ten days in advance we send a document to the local police station, which is the right procedure, not to a UPP commander. (...) We always end before ten in the evening. But even with all those precautions, at the last Roda occurring in Chapéu Mangueira, for instance, throughout the whole event local dwellers had to

be in constant dialogue with the police, so they wouldn't stop the sound before the agreed hour.²⁰

Many activists constantly question this argument about noise; according to them, this is an excuse to stop the *bailes*. Police prohibit *bailes* while other events, also with loud music, still occur. According to Daniela, even the owner of the school court in Cantagalo, another *favela* community near Copacabana, questioned the UPP commander regarding this restriction during a meeting, saying that other events were happening without any problems. According to Daniela, the commander admitted that noise was not the only problem, that people complained more about funk than other styles.

During my first visit, after arriving in Leme, I looked for the right way to go up Chapéu Mangueira hill. At the bottom of the hill, it was possible to see some beautiful mansions. After a few metres, I started to see the humble homes of the *favela*, with their exposed brick. I walked up to Bar do David with Daniela, where we asked for some croquettes, made with beans and filled with seafood. David, the owner of the bar, entered those snacks into a competition to find best *boteco* food in the city (*boteco* is the denomination for a humble bar). We talked with David while enjoying the food, he told us about the increasing number of customers caused by the competition and the installation of UPPs.

There were many policemen in the area as well. Some of them were having lunch at Bar do David. João from MEURIO arrived soon after I decided to start

²⁰ Por enquanto as rodas tem sido organizadas assim, com dez dias de antecedência a gente envia um ofício para o batalhão local, que é o procedimento correto, não é para o comandante da UPP (...) A gente termina dez horas da noite. Mesmo assim, mesmo com tudo isso sendo feito, na última roda que foi Chapéu Mangueira por exemplo, durante a roda inteira os moradores tiveram que estar num diálogo constante com a UPP, para garantir que eles não terminassem a roda antes dela terminar.

the interview with Daniela, and a few minutes later our food arrived, delaying the interview. We talked about various subjects, among them, matters related to police action in Rio de Janeiro, which made João warn Daniela about the presence of policemen behind us.

They started having a conversation about a newspaper article on the construction of a luxury hotel in Vidigal, a *favela* community located close to Leblon and Ipanema. In the article, social cleavage and the contradiction emerging from the construction of a luxury hotel close to a poor community are clear, even though the article makes no critical comment on the matter. “The idea is obviously to attract tourists, but locals are also welcome”, said the article. The attempt to seem welcoming continued throughout it:

Locals can enjoy the afternoon, stay at the bar or get up early, follow a trail to the top of Dois Irmãos hill and then lunch at the hotel. Vidigal has a fantastic climate; the neighbours know each other and offer a *pão de queijo* (Brazilian cheese bread). The view is the prettiest I have ever seen. Vidigal has always been the *senzala* [a place where slaves used to be kept during the slavery period in Brazil] of the *casa grande* [where the slave-owners used to live], Ipanema and Leblon. Now everyone can go to this place, it is wonderful! (O Globo, 08/05/2012)

The statement that “Vidigal was always the *senzala* of the *casa grande*, Ipanema and Leblon” was much criticized by my interlocutors. It turned out that the interview with Daniela could not go ahead on that occasion, because MC Leonardo, Guilherme Pimentel and other colleagues involved with the organization of the Rodas de Funk arrived. After moving some tables to accommodate everyone, they started talking about a funk producer who was beaten up by military police; he also had all his sound system burned. The local

newspaper, Extra, reported the issue, the article also said that the Human Rights Commission of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro, where Guilherme works, was following the case.

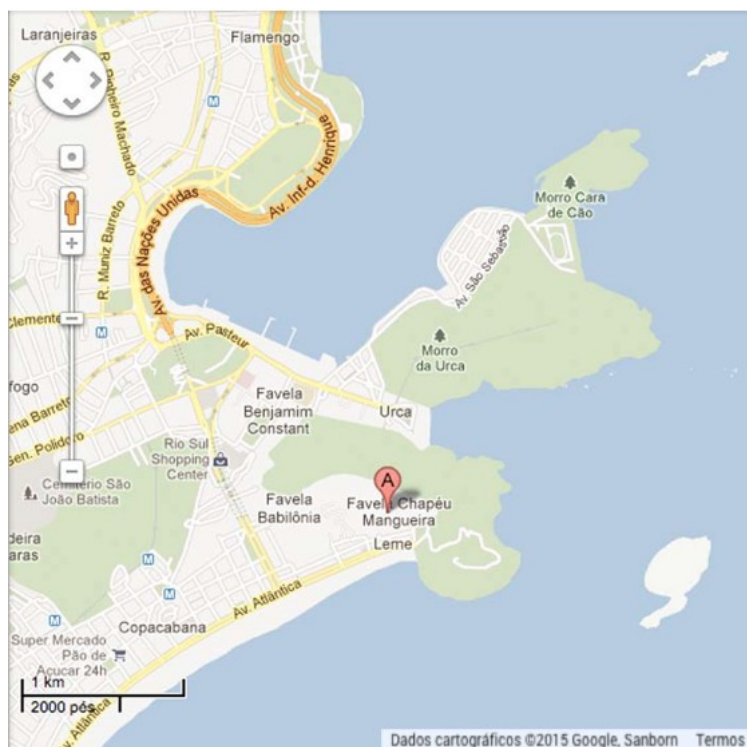


Figure 12 Map showing the location of Chapéu Mangueira, Av. Atlântica (shown on the map) is one of the most expensive streets in Rio de Janeiro.

On 26 May, the day of the Roda de Funk, I drove once again to Ladeira Ary Barroso (Ary Barroso Hill) that leads up to the Chapéu Mangueira community, for the Roda de Funk. The street is named after a famous Brazilian composer, representative of a specific nationalistic samba strand called *samba exaltação* (exaltation samba). He composed a famous song called “Aquarela do Brasil”. I arrived at Bar do David around four o’clock in the afternoon and the place was already full of people eating and waiting for the event, delayed due to a light outage.

Production had a generator arranged, but light was soon restored. Already installed at a table, we observed a theatrical presentation given by youths from a social organization that teaches theatre to youngsters from different *favelas* in Rio – the Mente Solta Theatre Company was their name. Daily events in the lives of these young people were staged, skits had to do with violence, sexuality, family relationships and, of course, funk. First, a skit depicted young girls lying to their mothers about their visits to the *baile*. The play portrayed the *baile* as a place for dancing and meeting people of the opposite sex. However, the scenes showed girls continuously rejecting and pushing away boys who approached them.

Finally, our food arrived, white bean *feijoada* with seafood. While I ate, a local resident began talking to me. He asked me if I was a news photographer because I had a camera around my neck. I said no, he then started giving his opinion of the changes that came with the UPP. For him, not much had changed, except that now he could not count on the help of drug traffickers to solve his problems. In his opinion, talking to the police was “useless”, e.g. in case of a medical difficulty, as according to him, the cops were as “fucked up” as anyone else there. The resident also said that the slum was very different from the “*asfalto*”, emphasizing the existence of a strong sense of community in the *favelas*.

My interlocutor also told me that he was currently working on infrastructure projects being carried out in local communities, principally slope containment and drainage. I asked him if he considered this was an improvement indirectly related to the UPP. He said yes but, on the other hand, life was much more expensive, since they had to pay for light, cable TV etc. Before, connections were illegal known under the famous term *gatos*. He also told me about the gift

he had bought for his girlfriend, a Carolina Herrera perfume – “with a pump” he pointed out – seemingly valued by his partner. With the intent of proving that the UPP was just “cosmetic”, he pointed out to me someone selling drugs in the slum, a young beautiful woman, according to the resident's opinion. He said faction members would not show their guns like before, but still there were people around armed with pistols.

After this conversation, I finished my food and stood to watch the Roda de Funk. The audience comprised both locals and people from other parts of the city. One of the MCs noticed this mixture, stressing the importance of bringing together different social classes to fight funk's preclusion.

The Roda de Funk started as it usually does with a speech by MC Leonardo informing those attending the event about the motivations of the Roda de Funk. For him, Rodas de Funk are also essential to “prevent playboys [local slang referring to wealthier people] going up the hill” to produce *bailes* while they (people from the *favelas*) would stand around “sucking their thumbs”. Other MCs also made speeches; one of them, MC Calazans, talked about his origins in Complexo do Alemão, highlighting at the same time a sense of identification, even affective identification, between different *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro:

This hill here in Chapéu Mangueira, a historical hill where I had many adventures. I come from Complexo do Alemão, my name is MC Caôzans [caô is popular slang found in old samba songs referring to lies or life problems], renamed here today. [The crowd correct him: MC Calazans!] Yes, yes, MC Calazans, a special edition tonight, Chapéu Mangueira. Our suffering is the same, here in Chapéu, there in Morro do Alemão, the houses are the same, the alleys are the same, the problems are the same. That is why our voice is universal, it is *favelada*. This is

why we sing here and feel the same emotions, the same goosebumps.

This song is for everyone who knows what it is like to live in a reality

like this, with no liberty, where the police pass and the pain stays.²¹

This last sentence is simultaneously the name of his song and a pun pointing to the similarity between the word *pacificador* (pacifying), referring to UPPs, and the expression “*passa e fica a dor*” (“the police pass and the pain stays”). A few minutes later Guilherme came and alerted me to the hostile attitude of some policemen, one of them even started to record the event using a small camera.

Towards the end of the event, boys competed with each other for a prize, dancing in pairs. They were then cheered on by the crowd, one by one, in order to determine which of the two was the winner, and thus qualified for a second round of dances. The ages of the boys varied between 10 and 14 years old. After the dance competition, the Roda de Funk finished. While walking down the hill we heard sounds of *capoeira*, a mixture of dance and fighting practised in Brazil, coming from a room in a building, we walked up some stairs and watched a rehearsal for a few minutes. The name of the group was Senzala.

This ethnographic description of a Roda de Funk in Chapéu Mangueira shows the sense of community that many attribute to the *favelas*, even though, according to Perlman, this community solidarity is quickly eroding (Perlman 2010). Moreover, it also shows that affection and compassion for life’s hurdles connect different *favelas*, allowing the voice of funk singers to be *favelada* (from

²¹ Essa ladeira histórica do Chapéu, de várias aventuras. Então, vindo do Complexo do Alemão, meu nome é MC Caô-zans, rebatizado hoje. Sim, sim, MC Calazans, edição especial da noite de hoje, Chapéu Mangueira. Os nosso sofrimentos são muito comuns, aqui no Chapéu, lá no Complexo, né. As casas são iguais, os becos são iguais, os problemas são os mesmos. E é por isso que a nossa voz é universal, ela é favelada. Quando a gente vem aqui, a gente sente o mesmo, a mesma emoção, o mesmo frio na espinha, qualquer morador, qualquer pessoa que sabe o que é viver numa realidade, ainda mais essa, sem liberdade nenhuma, onde a polícia passa e fica a dor.

the *favelas*) and, according to Calazans, universal. Certain problems affect people in different contexts, and those problems bring them together.

Favela dwellers constantly stress the differences between *asfalto* and *favela*. One can even detect a certain rivalry, for instance, when MC Leonardo argued that those dwelling in the community should be the ones producing local *bailes*. On many other occasions, MC Leonardo also stressed the unity between *favela* and *asfalto*. The case analysed above, regarding Chapéu Mangueira's *baile* prohibition, which occurred at two different moments, shows how funk articulates *favela* and *asfalto*. Nevertheless, during the research, people commonly stressed the communal life of *favelas*, something that supposedly does not exist "down there", in *asfalto*.

5.5. Debating the city in Cais do Valongo

Merchants forcibly transported black people from a variety of African countries across the Atlantic Ocean throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to become slaves in Brazil. They travelled under very harsh conditions and many did not survive. Since 2011, a small area of Rio de Janeiro's port area has been part of a historical circuit celebrating African heritage:

In Cais do Valongo (Valongo Pier), between the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the early nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Africans arrived in Brazil. (...) In that place, a past that people wanted to forget was buried, but now, with the changes to this port area, there is an opportunity, also a political one, that black movements have claimed, to show that space once again. (...) Because the city was growing in the eighteenth century, the authorities decided to divert the

arriving Africans to a faraway place. Cais do Valongo was that place at that time. (Abreu 2015, p. 21, author's translation)

Today, that "faraway place" has become an area where central Rio de Janeiro will expand, with new office buildings popping up, including a new building for the Central Bank being built on top of the Lazareto dos Escravos (Assunção 2015). In this place, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the authorities quarantined Africans arriving in Brazil with contagious diseases. Currently, each month, there is a *roda de capoeira* near this archaeological site, organized by the Kabula group. Before the *jogo* (*capoeiristas* do not fight or dance, they play) there is usually a lecture on popular culture. The speaker that Saturday, 16 February 2013, was MC Leonardo, who made a defence for freedom of cultural expression, saying:

Every culture communicates, and every communication is culture. The first thing we should think is [he starts to create a dialogue] 'Man, we are communicating, we have our rights'. 'Yes, but the youth in *favelas* are using too many swear words.' They have the right. Before anything else, they have the right. Art is free. Culture serves everything, including nothing. The person who doesn't want to do anything with culture, he is free to do so, he wants to sing: 'Lalalalala or lelelelelele,' he has the right. Someone wants to do a traditional *roda de jongo* [a cultural practice considered one of the precursors of *samba*]. You go there, do the *jongo* statute, and whoever wants to do that traditional *jongo* is free to do so. Nonetheless, whoever wants to put the *passinho* of funk, *forró*, or whatever, into it, is also free to do that. No one owns culture. 'Hey you, stop right there! Culture has its roots, its ramifications, and its traditions.' Very good, we will fight for recognition of roots and traditions. But they

do not belong to anyone. Even if it hurts some people who appreciate traditional *jongo*, or traditional *macumba*, or traditional *samba*, or traditional funk. ‘So, the guy from ‘*asfalto*’ can also make funk?’ He can, of course, the *favela* does not own funk, nobody owns culture. It does not have an owner. Culture is alive and mutant. ‘But, you know ... This culture is really Americanised.’ It is Americanised. Also, *Marchinha*, which people say is the cradle of Brazilian music, is Portuguese. *Marchinhas* are not Brazilian, *pandeiro* is not Brazilian, *sanfona* is not Brazilian.²²

His speech questioned the use of public spaces in the city which, according to him, the population should occupy so that they can in fact become public. An event that day prompted the beginning of this discussion. Although there was an air-conditioned auditorium for lectures nearby, our debate had to take place outside the building, where the heat was over 35°C. Attempts to reserve space were in vain according to the organizers:

We are here today, I tried to talk with them, so we could go to a room. Is it this space not public? Actually, we should be invited to go inside, ‘Hey come inside, this space is yours.’ This is the main issue we are dealing with here today. Where are we going to put the culture we want to

²² Toda cultura comunica e toda comunicação é cultura. Então você deve pensar primeiro, nós estamos nos comunicando, nós temos o direito. ‘Mas o moleque da favela está falando muito palavrão’. Ele tem o direito. Antes de qualquer coisa ele tem o direito. A arte é livre. Cultura serve para tudo, inclusive para nada. O cara que não quer fazer nada com cultura, ele tem o direito de não fazer nada com a cultura. Ele quer cantar: ‘lalalala ou lelelele’, ele tem o direito. O cara quer fazer uma roda de jongo tradicional. Você vai lá, faz o estatuto, diz como tem que ser, e quem quiser fazer aquele tradicional, pega e faça. Mas quem quiser colocar o passinho de funk ou o forró no meio da roda de funk, tem o direito. A cultura não pertence a ninguém. ‘Alto lá, que a cultura tem suas raízes, ramificações e suas tradições’. Parabéns, lutaremos pelo reconhecimento das raízes e pelo reconhecimento das tradições. Mas ela não pertence a ninguém. Por mais que doa a quem gosta do jongo tradicional, ou da macumba tradicional, ou do samba tradicional, ou do funk tradicional. ‘Então o moleque do asfalto pode fazer funk?’ Pode pô! A cultura não pertence a favela, não pertence a ninguém. Não tem dono. Ela está viva e mutante. ‘Ah cara, mas está muito americanizada essa cultura.’ Está americanizada... também. A marchinha que todo mundo diz que é o berço da música brasileira, é portuguesa, o pandeiro não é brasileiro, a sanfona não é brasileira.

develop in this city? By what means are we getting this respect, this right to occupy? And how can we argue with our representatives?²³

Through a link to *capoeira* and the historical difficulty with and repression of this cultural practice, the importance of a discussion about the necessary democratization of city spaces became clear. For MC Leonardo, the struggle should be for popular spaces. For him, education precedes culture, and to believe in the transformative power of culture without education is illusory.

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Figure 13 Begué (film-maker), MC Junior, MC Leonardo and Sergio Vaz (poet) (Source: Author, 2013)

In conversations with Leonardo and Guilherme, before and after the speech, they raised the issue of the excavation of Cais do Valongo. They told me of the difficulties encountered by the researcher doing excavations at the site.

²³ Estamos aqui hoje. Fui até conversar lá dentro para que pudéssemos ir para uma sala. Não foi possível. Mas não é público? O certo não seria nem ele pedir. O certo seria ele virar e falar, ‘ei fica aí fora não, entra que isso aqui é de vocês.’ A diferença está exatamente aí, onde nós vamos colocar a cultura que a gente quer desenvolver dentro da cidade? Onde é que a gente vai buscar esse respeito a esse direito de ocupação? De que maneira a gente vai falar para os representantes?

According to them, the archaeological site, which became available for public visits, should have covered a much larger area.

After watching and singing along to the *capoeira* for a while I left with Guilherme, which gave me an opportunity to talk to him as we walked to Lapa. He told me about the latest developments on the issue of the prohibition of *bailes*. In his speech, MC Leonardo narrated a huge drop in *equipes de som* in recent years. According to MC Leonardo: “*Baile funk* is not agonizing, it is already dead and we need to revitalize it.”

Mestre Carlão and the Kabula *capoeira* group published a book about the debates occurring in the recently rediscovered Cais do Valongo. In this book, Matthias Assunção, a historian from Sussex University, stresses the importance of what he calls “public art, such as, graffiti and funk, or *roda de capoeira*” (Assunção 2015, author’s translation). For him, the space for public art is also space for utopia created by public art. He cites Amir Haddad, a Brazilian actor and writer, who says that the “public spectacle” is capable of balancing public and private forces, collapsing present, past and future (Assunção 2015): the present of experience, the past of slavery and colonialism, and the future of urban interventions aiming to transform the city.

Baile funk music is also producing the memory and history of *favelas*, while struggling with governmental interventions and accompanied by violations of human rights (Facina 2015). Despite the constant advertising in newspapers and television programmes announcing the return of funk parties in pacified communities, including by authorities such as Beltrame, the Security Department Secretary, the process was still slow. According to Guilherme, it was perhaps worse than ever. Guilherme believes that the defence of funk should occur in a proactive way, by exercising culture and not just through defensive speeches. As

part of this project, he spoke about APAFUNK's idea to form a drumming group, in samba-school format, to play funk.

A year and a half later, on 18 August 2014, I went to a rehearsal of Bloco da APAFUNK (APAFUNK drumming group), funded by money collected online via a website (I made a modest contribution). *Bloco* is a format used to play *samba*, *maracatu* and other styles performed in the street, similar to a parade, usually accompanied by a crowd. A conductor leads the group, comprising a large number of drummers playing snares, bass drums and other percussion. The creation of this group is another example of how aesthetic expressions of funk crosscut different mediums. Instead of a DJ, the beat comes from acoustical instruments and the potency of a large number of players performing together. This set-up provides another possibility for intervention in urban spaces. While in a Roda de Funk the MC stands still, this format allows mobility.

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Figure 14 Bloco APAFUNK, rehearsal in Lapa (Source: Author 2014)

APAFUNK is currently appropriating musical intervention techniques associated with *samba* and other Brazilian practices, resonating with MC Leonardo's talk about culture. *Roda* and *bloco* are common configurations in

Brazilian popular music, being used in *samba*, *capoeira*, *ciranda* and *maracatu*, just to cite a few expressions using either the word *roda* or *bloco* (or both) to describe their practices. The impact of this use of aesthetic intervention mobilizes by appealing to activists in two different ways. First, it attracts activists to find samba and other popular “traditional” expressions, mediating funk using different instruments, concepts and forms of interaction with space. Secondly, Rodas de Funk and *blocos* organized by APAFUNK, unlike *rodas de samba* and *blocos de samba*, have specific objectives, such as raising awareness about the problems faced by funk artists and their communities.

Therefore, APAFUNK experiments with “traditional” aesthetic formats are broadening funk’s reach by introducing it through different set-ups and maintaining rhythms typically associated with funk accompanied by MCs’ voices. This appropriation of “tradition” to legitimize a form of emerging culture is accompanied by numerous discourses, from APAFUNK activists, remembering how popular culture is constantly and was historically repressed in Brazil.

In sum, this research did not find a clash between funk artists or activists with “national identity” or tradition necessary, as seen by Yúdice (2003) when conducting his research on the issue. *Funkeiros* do participate in the creation of a cosmopolitan kind of art, but they also refer to local traditional images and practices (Lopes 2011). Funk simultaneously exemplifies and complicates claims regarding Brazilianness.

5.6 Zé Black and Reginaldo: moving the city with funk

Zé Black and Reginaldo are owners of *equipes de som*, or sound companies, businesses that organize *bailes* across Rio de Janeiro in different areas of the city. Zé Black, for example, told me that he was one of the first to produce *bailes* in the *favelas*. Their trajectories indicate a sense of career attainment within funk. Zé Black, for instance, started as a roadie, elevating himself to become an owner through his persistence in the “struggle”.

I had a chance to interview them while attending a radio show promoted by APAFUNK on Radio Nacional, a public broadcaster. After the show, which took place on a stage where MCs were singing live, I talked to them outside the studio. They told me about their “stories” and “struggles” in the funk scene:

Zé Black: My name is Zé Black, I am now the owner of Soul Grand Prix *equipe de som* [sound company]. In 1973, I started in Clube Renascença. At that time, I was not an owner, Nirto and Filó were the owners of Soul Grand Prix. When I started, I loved to hang there, to be present, watching the dances. Then Nirto invited me to join the team. I started carrying speakers, putting them together and participating, until I took this role in management, and later I became an owner. I had the pleasure of meeting Reginaldo a while ago, we produced a *baile* in Mourisco, and Reginaldo had a *baile* in Cruzada São Sebastião...

Reginaldo: At Leblon...

Zé Black: Those were good times!²⁴

Mourisco was a club in Botafogo, popularly identified as a middle-class area. Cruzada São Sebastião is a group of social houses constructed in 1955, on the initiative of the Catholic Church, in one of the richest and most touristic neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro. The objective was to create housing possibilities for those living in *favelas*, in order to reduce the concentration of people, in terms of space, in those areas (Oliveira 2012). At that time, the Catholic Church appropriated the image of *favelas* as a locus of “poverty, popular culture and dangerous classes” (Oliveira 2012, p. 7, author’s translation), arguing for the necessity of combating “material misery” and “moral misery”, representing the “degradation of men” (Oliveira 2012, p. 7). While the Church predicted integration of the classes with the project, what actually happened was the stigmatization of those living there. Dwellers from Leblon, the name of the neighbourhood, started to see those living in Cruzada as “adventitious” (Freire et al. 2011, p. 215, author’s translation). Following Zé Black, Reginaldo also introduced himself, citing many *bailes* produced by him in areas known as suburbs, comprising regions of the north and west of Rio de Janeiro, but also other cities, such as Duque de Caxias:

Reginaldo: My name is Reginaldo, owner of Rio Curtisom sound team, on track since 1985, but I have loved *bailes* since I was a child, 17, 18

²⁴ **Zé Black:** Meu nome é Zé Black, eu sou hoje da equipe de som Soul Grand Prix. Em 1973 eu comecei no clube Renascença. Naquele tempo eu não era o dono, existiam umas pessoas que chamavam-se Nirto e Filó que eles eram os proprietários da equipe Soul Grand Prix. Como eu gostava muito de estar lá presente, assistindo as danças, eu fui convidado para fazer parte. Então naquela época eu comecei a carregar caixa de som, montar caixa de som, participando, até chegar na parte de gerência da equipe, e mais tarde virei proprietário dentro marca. Eu tive o prazer de conhecer o Reginaldo, nós fazíamos naquela época um baile no Mourisco e Reginaldo fazia um *baile* na Cruzada São Sebastião.

Reginaldo: No Leblon...

Zé Black: Esses eram bons tempos!

years old. When we started with the team we were five people, the time went by, people married, got tired, and left, I continued the struggle, taking it seriously, we are still in the fight there today. We've been through several clubs; Curtisom Rio did *bailes* in Rocinha, Emoções for thirteen consecutive years. We did Nilopolitanos club in Nilópolis for eight years, Gramachão in Caxias for eight years, Club Sport in Miguel Couto for four years, so we always pick up work. We are currently doing Boqueirão do Passeio, a *baile* that already has a great tradition, did the dance for four years, had an interval of two years and came back a year or so ago.²⁵

Both Zé Black and Reginaldo also reported their experiences when working with MCs. In fact, the list of artists who worked with them is impressive and many of them have achieved fame. According to Zé Black and Reginaldo, those MCs started in their hands “from nothing”. The two senior producers also showed their discontent with many MCs who, according to them, emerged “from nowhere”, achieved fame and, after it, “turned their backs on them”. They complained that many MCs do not know how to cope with success, becoming arrogant, forgetting those that helped them to get where they are now. He also cited the case of two MCs who became famous, but now face financial and other

²⁵ Meu nome é Reginaldo, dono da Curtisom Rio, na pista aí deste 1985, mas amo os bailes desde criança, com 17, 18 anos. Quando começamos éramos cinco pessoas, mas aos poucos o pessoal foi casando, se cansando, foi saindo, e eu continuei na luta, levando a coisa a sério. Na luta aí até hoje, já passamos por vários clubes. Curtisom Rio fez o baile emoções da Rocinha durante treze anos consecutivos. Fizemos clube Nilopolitanos em Nilópolis durante oito anos. Gramachão em Caxias durante oito anos, Esporte Clube Miguel Couto por quatro anos, então sempre pegamos trabalhos. E atualmente estamos no Boqueirão do Passeio, baile com uma tradição muito grande, fizemos por quatro anos, tivemos um intervalo de dois anos e voltamos mais ou menos um ano atrás.

problems in life, because they just wanted to “show off, did not plan their lives properly, and did not listen to those with more experience”.²⁶

This idea that producing funk is a “daily struggle” was very noticeable in both Reginaldo’s and Zé Black’s discourse. Despite their happiness when remembering the “good old days”, they did not forget to describe the difficulties they faced in their careers. Zé Black’s name takes us back to the beginning of the funk scene in the seventies, when the soul scene, or black scene, was extremely vibrant in the suburbs. He describes a situation in which he was dragged down “narrow and long stairs” in the *favela* to the police station, with a rope on his neck, because he refused to run when police arrived to arrest drug dealers: “I did not run, because I owed nothing to nobody.”

Zé Black worked on bringing funk from Rio de Janeiro’s suburbs into those neighbourhoods, marked in the city’s imaginary by the presence of armed faction members. This mediation work exemplifies an important component of all cases discussed in this chapter, those involved in funk work moving it across Rio de Janeiro, adapting it and introducing it to different audiences.

²⁶ Só queriam ostentar, não planejaram a vida direito e não escutaram àqueles com mais experiência.


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Figure 15 Zé Black and Reginaldo at Rádio Nacional (Source: Author 2011)

Apparently, Zé Black had to deal with both faction members and police. He also serves as an example that contradicts the common prejudicial notion that producers of *bailes* in *favelas* are normally in collusion with “drug traffickers”. He told me that he constantly refused to play certain songs referring to criminality when asked, and that he even stopped doing *bailes* in certain locations because of it. When asked about songs about criminal factions he was very critical, arguing that he wishes no harm to MCs, but that despite his warnings they persist in doing this “horrible music”. According to him, this kind of music is not restricted to *bailes* in *favelas* anymore, it is common to see it being played in rich neighbourhoods and nightclubs: “And there, nothing happens. (...) The rich guy can play this song in the radio of his car and it’s fine! It is not only the poor that listen to it today.”²⁷

DJ Marlboro also commented on the consumption of so-called *proibidão* funk by the rich. According to him, young wealthy people listening to *proibidão* or propagating it somehow are the ones truly advocating crime. For Marlboro, those who have neither lived in a poor area nor experienced the situations described in

²⁷ Lá não acontece nada. O rico pode tocar a música no rádio do seu carro e está tudo bem! Não é só o pobre que escuta isso hoje.

funk songs concerning crime are actually glorifying it, in contrast to MCs from the *favelas* who, most of the time, are describing situations and characters they have come into contact with.

According to Zé Black, those songs taint funk's image, making his work of producing *bailes* or managing MC's careers much more difficult: "It's a disservice to funk" and to him, those suffering the consequences are people who "make their bread" from funk music.

Notably, Zé Black and DJ Marlboro mentioned that rich and poor alike consume *proibidão*.

5.7 Changing space, changing engagement

Visiting Waly Salomão Cultural Centre

On 29 August 2012, I went to visit Waly Salomão Cultural Centre located in Parada de Lucas, a *favela* community in Rio de Janeiro. Feijão, who works for Afroreggae (an NGO working in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro), drove us there. Accompanying me were Chester and Viktor, the latter was preparing a show for a German radio station, Funkhaus. Afroreggae runs the cultural centre and has among its sponsors Santander bank, Natura (a company that produces cosmetics), Rio de Janeiro's state and city government, Odebrecht (a construction firm), O Globo group and RedBull.

Feijão met us in central Rio de Janeiro with a car. He had a very cheerful and talkative personality. Along the way, he showed us the place in Manguinhos where the consumption of crack-cocaine occurs, underneath a viaduct. He also

told us about his trajectory, how he used to work for criminal factions, even reaching a position of leadership, but “abandoning that life” to join Afroreggae.

He parked the car across the street from the entrance to the cultural centre. As we crossed the road, over a catwalk, we could see a man, with a gun, who nodded as we passed. Parada de Lucas was not yet occupied by the police force, as in other *favelas* where that state government had installed Units of Pacifying Police, aiming to control local crime.

The centre is extremely large. Composed of a few floors, it offers dance, theatre and music lessons, including DJ lessons, given by Sany Pitbull. We spent most of the time talking to Sany and a few of his students in the area where classes normally run. Sany Pitbull told us a story about a night he played in Stuttgart. According to him, people placed his equipment on a piano and listened to him while sitting. He said people would applaud him as if they were watching a classical-music concert. Sany described how he changes his style depending on where he plays:

Prazeres, Mineira [different *favela* communities in central Rio de Janeiro], the day they announce Sany Pitbull there, the old guys, in quotation marks, go there. I only played [singing] ‘Prazeres, Escondidinho’ and the entire crowd was like, ‘fuck yeah’. Or ‘*Complexo do Alemão está em paz*’ [he sings another song about *favelas*]. Things that usually I don’t play.²⁸

Sany also compared the “culture” in Rio de Janeiro with his experiences in “Europe”. According to him, “It is completely different to play here or in

²⁸ Prazeres, Mineira, no dia que anuncia Sany Pitbul ali, a coroadada, entre aspas, vai lá. Eu só toquei ‘Prazeres, Escondidinho’, nego caraca! Or ‘Complexo do Alemão está em paz’. Só essas coisas, que normalmente eu não toco.

Germany, or any other place.” In Rio de Janeiro, for him, “People care more for the drinks than for the music.” He said that on flyers for *bailes* they put the image of a “can of beer bigger than the DJ”. Therefore, according to Sany, his status as an artist changes according to the place he plays.

Funk and tradition

In fact, the funk scene did not begin with the same musical or dance practices heard or seen across Rio de Janeiro today. Even though most people would recognize carioca funk as a Brazilian style nowadays, the beginning of the funk scene was associated with soul music, and later hip-hop imported from the United States (Magaldi 1999). Traditionalists pursuing a defence of samba have largely used this fact to denigrate funk, characterizing it as an expression used to alienate and Americanise the masses (Vianna 1987). Nevertheless, the appropriation of foreign trends is not necessarily something new in Brazilian popular culture. According to Tinhorão, also a finding of Vianna: “in 1916 the biggest success of the Brazilian carnival was a one-step called Caraboo, from the Jamaican Sam Marshall, disguised as a Brazilian carnival march” (Tinhorão 2000, p. 377, author’s translation).

Funk’s appearance and its repression certainly cast doubt on national ideologies for so long assumed true, such as racial tolerance and cordiality, which were posited as traits characteristic of Brazil. At the same time, Yúdice understood funk as something very different from conventional Brazilian popular music. However, opposition does not necessarily mark the relationship of funk with popular music from Brazil. Actually, funk creators do draw on melodies and themes from samba, coco and other traditional styles.

MCs and DJs, such as MC Leonardo, MC Frank and DJ Sany Pitbull, also reported sharing spaces and drawing on melodic themes and rhythms from samba or other Brazilian “traditions”. Another MC, called MC Catra, recently released an album in which he sings samba songs. The opposite also occurs. The Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Unidos do Viradouro, among the elite group of *escolas de samba* from Rio de Janeiro, introduced a funk beat in its parade in 1997 (Santo 2012). During fieldwork, I also observed that *passinho* dancers rely on *samba* and *frevo* moves, both considered “authentic” dance styles of Brazil.

Sany Pitbull explained the difficulty of introducing a work he developed with *chorinho* musicians in Democráticos club, a space historically associated with the style. Sany described *chorinho* as the “classical music of *samba*”. He also stressed how *chorinho* fans deem Democráticos club “a temple to *chorinho*”. According to him: “there [in Democráticos], before going on stage, the musician must say his prayers. It’s been open since 1800 and something.” According to him, the reception of his mixture among the older *chorinho* fans was extremely negative, and so it was necessary to include younger *chorinho* musicians to convince the older generation to allow Sany’s funk in that space:

When we went there to do our mixture of *chorinho* and funk, the older generation wanted to hit me with their walking sticks, ‘Take these dirty beats from my space, respect where we are.’ I had to show my work, explain it to them. The media came to cover the event. Things settled down a little. Since then, the people from *chorinho*, considered the classical music of samba, do not accept me. A group of young musicians, who play very well, like Serginho Krakowski, had to intervene. The younger generation introduced funk to their fathers: ‘This is a cousin of ours lost in the streets.’ If *chorinho* came from samba, it also came from

the *senzalas*, just like funk. One cousin had to be introduced to another one in that space, there was a bit of a fuss, but it was very good.²⁹

Funk artists do not deny traditional musical forms, thus contradicting Yúdice (2003) and Dowdy (2012). Funk is now even considered to have a certain tradition behind it, as suggested by MC Leonardo in Cais do Valongo, also developed by Lopes in her account of so-called funk de *raiz* (roots funk) (Lopes 2011). Traditional music and its attachment to spaces bring respectability and acceptance to funk, and artists use this to bring value to the cultural capital they possess.

The story told by Sany Pitbull also reveals a more preoccupying issue. Even when funk DJs form partnerships with other musicians, mixing funk beats with melodies drawn from ‘respectable’ styles (e.g. *choro*, described as “the classical music of samba”), it needs to be introduced by skilful musicians associated with that respectful practice to be accepted in certain spaces. Therefore, funk’s association with other ‘traditional’ practices is a valuable way to highlight its cultural capital. At the same time, this comparison risks reproducing hierarchies, if an association with samba, *choro* or other forms of expression is to work and bring legitimacy to funk since, in this context, funk does not actually escape the position of needing to be “introduced”.

²⁹ Quando a gente foi fazer a mistura do chorinho com o funk, os coroa de bengala queriam dar na minha cara, ‘tira essa batida imunda do meu espaço, respeita aonde a gente chegou’. Eu tive que primeiro mostrar o trabalho e tal, para a gente poder contornar. Aí veio a mídia cobrir o evento. A coisa deu uma assentada. Mas a galera do chorinho, que é tido a música clássica do samba, não aceitou. Um grupo de novos músico, Serginho Krakowski, a galera toda do chorinho, que toca para caramba, tiveram que botar a cara para bater. São os novos, apresentando para seus pais, ‘olha isso aqui é um primo nosso que estava perdido na rua’. Se o chorinho veio do samba, ele também veio da *senzala*, como o funk. Então teve que se encostar, um primo ser apresentado um ao outro, deu um reboleço mas foi muito bom (...)

More than a strategy to sell funk in a certain way, this appropriation is also affective, “a thing of brothers” in Hancock’s words, or “cousins” in Sany Pitbull’s. Curiously, Sany Pitbull approximates funk and *choro* by associating the latter with samba, and samba with blackness and spaces of exclusion, such as the *senzalas*, where the slave-owners kept their slaves in Brazil. This idea that funk comes from the *senzalas* (and thus closer to local expressions than foreign ones) did not only arise in Pitbull’s interview. An article written for O Globo newspaper, published on 10 August 2009, had as its title: “Funk, son of *senzala* and a mirror of Brazil”. The text cites MC Leonardo, who says:

My funk is not American. I didn’t listen to James Brown. My parents are into *forró* and *samba*. We are closer to the *senzalas*. Anyone hearing *tamborzão* (a funk beat) will recognize it as electronic Brazilian music.
(O Globo, 10/08/2009)

It is a common practice for artists to access and create memories of slavery by referring to ‘typical’ musical practices. Funk’s connection to Afro-Brazilian traditions is mediated by so-called traditional rhythms. Referring to the past is a strategy to reject accusations that funk derives from foreign styles. During an interview with MC Leonardo, one of the most prominent articulators of APAFUNK, there were images of basketball players, complemented by North-American flags behind him, a fact that did not go unnoticed: “The only problem with placing the camera there is to have those posters behind me. They belong to my partner, with whom I share this office.”

Journalists and academics also compare funk to *samba* or *capoeira* in terms of its historical repression, a kind of discourse that appeared very commonly during fieldwork. To say that associations of funk with already established popular styles (or even with a past of slavery) appear to be a choice of actors aiming to

achieve certain ends is not exactly wrong, but it is an incomplete answer. It ignores the position from which someone is speaking.

This reference to *senzalas* is an important marker of associations with blackness that are used by funk and many other cultural practices and often regarded as typically Brazilian, such as *capoeira*. Yet, MC Leonardo and DJ Sany Pitbull are not just trying to address a past of persecution when referring to the *senzalas*, but also a present moment of strong repression. This reference to the *senzalas* exposes a certain strategy, which is not exactly just a rational articulation, but rather a combination of dispositions articulating performances seeking freedom and the preservation of affective communities.

Existential capital and affective communities

Affective communities built around funk are not national but trans-local. Yúdice acknowledges that “funk occupies the same physical space” as that of “traditional samba” (Yúdice 2003, p. 113), even though “it questions (...) the fantasy of access to social space” (Yúdice 2003, p. 113). For him, despite dwelling in the same areas, those engaging in funk do not “identify with their *sambista* elders” (Yúdice 2003, p. 113). Still following Yúdice:

The youths challenge the ownership by the ‘non-marginal’ middle classes of the city’s space, claiming it as their own. Through the new, non-traditional musics such as funk and rap, they seek to establish new forms of identity, but not those premised on Brazil’s much heralded self-understanding as a nation of nonconflictual diversity. On the contrary the song is about the disarticulation of national identity and the affirmation of local citizenship. (Yúdice 2003, pp. 113–114)

Even though this thesis finds support for Yúdice's argument regarding local citizenship, those engaging with funk are not necessarily challenging Brazilianness. Lopes (2011) has already observed, based on her research criticizing Yúdice, that it is not a matter of "identification". For her, funk could be a reinvention of samba itself. This argument relies on the idea that funk provides "artistic work that is both sensible and accessible to the youth in the *favelas*" (Lopes 2011, p. 106, author's translation).

Nevertheless, seeing funk as a continuation of samba poses a serious problem when trying to understand funk's musical peculiarities and trans-local articulations. Those engaging with funk act according to funk's positioning in relationship to other popular cultures, from samba to hip-hop. Hence, seeing it as a continuation of samba undermines the comprehension of funk's positionality in historical and structural terms.

The last sentence of the O Globo article from 10 August 2009 is revealing in this regard: "Brazilians must comprehend that when they look at themselves in the mirror they are also seeing funk. They can't refuse it." The newspaper attributes those words to Fernanda Abreu, one of the first singers from outside the funk scene to appropriate the style. In other words, given that O Globo is an important news source for Rio de Janeiro's higher and middle classes, Fernanda is saying that it does not matter whether a person likes funk or not, she will have to cope with it, as anyone has to cope with anything that they do not like about their bodies. The impossibility to "refuse" brings to the fore this relationship of denial, almost shame.

Certain urban areas or sites have cultural capital attached to them. People know those areas for their parties, historical figures associated with music and other arts, or local artists. Therefore, considering funk and its relationship to

space allows a comprehension of how funk, together with other localized musicalities, produces an affective and embodied sense of space.

Studies on Afro-Brazilian practices, such as *capoeira* (Delamont and Stephens 2008) or samba (Paiva 2013), have already used habitus as a central concept. Within this literature, the embodiment of social practices connects to racism and its reproduction. This occurs because black bodies became associated with an essence. These are bodies “willing to *ginga* [a movement in *capoeira*], to play football, to dance” (Paiva 2013, p. 92, author’s translation). Garcia (2009) studied the relationship between areas of the city, poverty and self-declared colour, finding high levels of correspondence. Simply walking through the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro seemed to reaffirm those statistical results. The concept of habitus is useful for the comprehension of how prejudices and assumptions regarding the “black body have their historical roots in modern slavery” (Paiva 2013, p. 92, author’s translation).

Embodied dispositions associated with a certain habitus inhabit physical and social spaces which are mutually exclusive (Bourdieu 1999), in the sense that positions are distinct from each other. Social and geographical position roughly correspond as well (Bourdieu 1999). However, social structures do not simply cause dispositions, the latter also have the capability to change the surrounding environment:

It is through this material inclusion (...), and what follows from it, the incorporation of social structures in the form of dispositional structures, of objective chances in the form of expectations and anticipations, that I acquire a practical knowledge and control of encompassing space.

(Bourdieu 2000, p. 130)

When we consider culture and its placement, poor areas inhabited mostly by blacks (Garcia 2009) exhibit cultural vibrancy and cultural capital. More markedly, the dynamics found in those areas seem to reinforce the propagation, and even in some instances the dominance, of culture originated or developing in working-class areas.

Many creative popular agents coming from the *favelas* and suburbs transform their cultural capital into other kinds of capital, such as economic or social capital. This transformation is also frequently precarious and unstable. In this context, another question becomes relevant: are there other kinds of value created by funk besides economic, social or even cultural results?

Nettleton puts forward a critique of Bourdieu's different capitals by proposing the term "existential capital". According to her, using the vocabulary of capitals leads to ignoring "the nature of relations and commonalities that might be forged within specific fields" (Nettleton 2013, p. 201). Of course, this critique does not force us to omit an investigation of how different forms of capital articulate, but it certainly suggests that something is missing. Analysing funk reveals that distinction and segregation mark social and geographical space. However, despite the exclusivity of geographical and social space or, in other words, despite distinction, or segregation, what many people have in common is a passionate engagement with funk; and people share this passion. Therefore, funk also generates existential capital, based not on what people compete for, but on what people share.

One can think that boundaries are "passionately defined" (Nettleton 2013). In this context, the study of affective communities as proposed by Gandhi gains currency. People that may not necessarily meet face to face form affective communities; they share an affective connection and cultivate skills and habits,

communicate through ways of dressing, and produce new ways of talking using new vocabularies.

To stress those bonds, referring to affect reaffirms the importance of thinking in terms of habitus, which is also a generative embodied system. Being positioned in the world affects the production of dispositions, and the effects those dispositions have on the world are also conditioned by affect. Affective communities engage in aestheticism (Gandhi 2006), this is certainly visible in funk politics. However, sociologists often conflate aesthetics with pure aesthetics (Zangwill 2002). Since Bourdieu sees aesthetics mostly from a critical perspective, concentrating on pure art as a bourgeois category, one has to go beyond Bourdieu to understand the aesthetics of popular culture.

DJ Marlboro at LOV.E

DJ Marlboro, one of the first DJs to produce funk music in Portuguese, believes funk's development inside *favela* communities – partially isolated from mainstream industry appropriations – allowed it to acquire distinctive features. During the 2000s, funk started to have clearly identifiable beats, such as *tamborzão*. This beat has a rhythmic similarity to liturgical music from Afro-Brazilian religions. In this kind of music the beat usually comes from *atabaques*, long drums made of wood and animal skin, played by hand or with sticks. In funk, DJs use samples or a beat box, a technique for producing beats using the mouth.

This apparent movement of funk beats towards becoming increasingly local, recognized as an electronic style from Brazil, does not necessarily translate as nationalization. DJ Marlboro, for example, thinks that national boundaries are

not so relevant for music: “I don’t really believe in political boundaries when it comes to music. Imagine for example M.I.A. using samples from a song produced by me. What is that? Brazilian music?” An international singer based in London, M.I.A. sampled “Injeção”, produced by DJ Marlboro with Deize Tigrone, for her song called “Bucky Done Gun”. The song was quite successful when released. Even though Marlboro offers it as a personal opinion, his ideas resonate with debates conducted within academia regarding the interaction of local and trans-local creativity (Bennet 2004).

When DJ Marlboro told me about his travel to play funk in Japan, I asked him how people dance over there. He drew a parallel between Brazil and Japan, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. For him, it would be good to do the same thing there, in Japan, as he did when involving *baile* goers from São Paulo. In his words:

We have to do there [Japan] what I did in São Paulo. I took funk to São Paulo when I did Lov.e. After I did those international tours, funk gained international respectability. After that, I started to do the temple of electronic music in São Paulo, Lov.e. I did it every Wednesday. It was full of people every time, success. But everyone found it very hard. Nobody knew how to dance as people do in Rio de Janeiro. I started to pay for a bus for the *paulistas*, to show them the *bailes* in Rio de Janeiro. I would start the night by taking them to Complexo do Alemão, after that Tijuca, ending up in Hard Rock Café. Showing them how funk includes different social classes and ages, how versatile funk is in the city. Here in Rio de Janeiro, I would get *funkeiros* from rival communities, Rocinha, dominated by Comando Vermelho, other people from areas dominated by ADA, for example, Dendê, and more people living in areas controlled by Terceiro Comando. I took all those *funkeiros* to São Paulo, to Lov.e, so

they would know about *baile* in São Paulo. After I started doing that, the people at Lov.e started to learn how to dance, to have more rhythm, exchange telephone numbers, to know each other. (...) When people dance, they are socializing. Dancing is one of the best ways to socialize.³⁰

In 2004, when DJ Marlboro began his fortnightly funk event in Lov.e, it was also when the middle classes started to appropriate the rhythm more fully. Marlboro believes that his activities with funk can bring together people living in areas dominated by armed factions who prohibit its inhabitants from going to other areas informally controlled by enemy groups. Moreover, people from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo could meet each other and teach things to one another, such as dancing funk.

Therefore, the movement of funk across boundaries resulted in completely different possibilities of engagement. In a first moment, when *baile funk* was associated more with Rio de Janeiro, simply moving sounds from Rio de Janeiro city to São Paulo already allowed different forms of funk's appropriation and engagement.

³⁰ Tem que fazer lá o que eu fiz em São Paulo. Eu que levei o funk para São Paulo, quando eu fiz a Lov.e, que é o templo da música electronica em São Paulo. Quando eu fiz essas turnês internacionais e o funk ganhou mais respeitabilidade. Eu comecei a fazer o templo da música eletrônica em São Paulo que é a Lov.e nas quartas feiras. Lotava para caramba, um sucesso, mas todo mundo duro. Aí o que eu fiz? Eu peguei, eu mesmo bancava do meu bolso. Bancava um ônibus de paulista para vir conhecer o Rio de Janeiro. Eu começava no Complexo do Alemão, ia com esse ônibus para a Tijuca e terminava com esse ônibus lá no Hard Rock Café. Eu mostrava para eles o quanto o funk inclui diferentes classes sociais, faixas etárias e de versatilidade pela cidade. Aqui no Rio, eu juntava um monte de gente de favelas rivais, Rocinha, Comando Vermelho, com ADA que era do Dendê, e pegava outra do Terceiro Comando, aí eu pegava esse bando de funkeiro e levava para São Paulo, para a Lov.E, para eles saberem como é um baile em São Paulo. Aí fazendo isso, as pessoas no Lov.e começavam a dançar, começavam a ter mais suingue, trocar telefone, a se conhecer. Quando as pessoas estão dançando, elas estão socializando. Uma das melhores maneiras de socializar é dançando.

DJ Marlboro believes that what happened to funk during the 1990s was a process of contained development which, according to him, helps to explain funk's particularity and even its good image abroad. Arguably, this process is also a sign of socio-economic and spatial segregation with strong racialized contours.

Moreover, the idea that funk was developing in complete isolation inside impoverished communities is not completely true, since Marlboro himself was responsible for bringing funk to national television in the Xuxa children's show in the 1990s. According to him, funk's presence in the Xuxa television show (a very popular show at the time) helped to diminish the prejudice against the style. Even though certain producers, MCs and DJs were able to break into the mainstream, funk developed in relative isolation from foreign eyes and ears.

For Marlboro, not many people would take foreigners "up the hill" to hear funk and generate expectations among music specialists around the globe about what kind of local electronic scene would emerge from Brazil. However, this process of relative enclosure supposedly allowed funk to develop its own peculiar style. Before being restricted to *favela* communities, funk was still very close to Miami bass, its development inside the *favelas* allowed the style to change towards what it is today. Therefore, according to Marlboro, just like when you want to "reduce a sauce", funk's sauce was reduced and had its taste improved inside Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*.

Nevertheless, instead of trying to find virtue in funk's isolation, one can also think that, despite segregation, there is something about certain spaces, such as many *favelas* and suburban neighbourhoods, that favours cultural capital marked

by embodiment and distinctiveness. Those local cultural practices do not depend on isolation to develop authenticity; rather, they reach out for recognition as culture on equal terms to any other kind of aesthetic or cultural product.

The space of the *favela* is sometimes transformed and mediated by established artists. One example is the appropriation by Helio Oiticica, a known artist from Brazil, of the aesthetics of the *favela* to produce art installations (Berenstein Jacques 2003). The aesthetics of the *favela* is intimately connected to habituses and cultural practices. One could say that the favelas possess a culture of their own, pervaded by a sense of otherness, when considered from the perspective of those living in the wealthy parts of Rio de Janeiro (Berenstein Jacques 2003).

There is a long-lasting and widely accepted notion, reinforced by the work of Vianna on samba, narrating the encounter of *sambistas* and intellectuals, that the *favelas* irradiate cultural and artistic practices that are central to the identity of Rio de Janeiro (Vianna 1995). In part because of its former position as a capital city, its beautiful landscape, its touristic importance and the fact that the biggest television network in Brazil, Globo Television, has its headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, the city is commonly regarded as an important cultural reference for Brazil.

According to this rationale, the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, despite poverty and prejudice, are at the centre of attention when it comes to culture. This became evident with the belief (today highly contested) that the police managed to pacify the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. This process led to an explosion of events in those areas. Mostly middle-class individuals from Rio de Janeiro attended those parties, rather than the locals (Uol 12/10/2013).

One article, from the portal Uol News, had the following title: “In favelas with UPP, *bailes funk* are replaced by ‘playboy parties’”. The article discussed

the fact that while policemen prohibited local *bailes*, the UPP allowed a range of other events that excluded local dwellers (Uol 12/10/2013). It is meaningful that one UPP Commander interviewed for this research expressed a fear that, with the belief that the *favelas* were pacified, many people would go up the hills of the city to enjoy *baile funk*. This was his justification for the prohibition of *bailes*. *Favelas* are centres of culture irradiation reaching the whole country and other parts of the world.

Funk possesses a sense of urbanity. According to Savage, building on the idea of an urban cultural capital, “cities are now lived and consumed as resources for cultural capital because our aesthetic relationship to things has profoundly changed. It has become all about participation, instead of retreat and introspection” (Savage and Hanquinet 2012, p. 6).

This connection between cultural capital and space also has a negative dimension, as acknowledged by Savage. Certain areas recognized as centres of culture have raised their prices, hence local people not used to paying the new prices often move out and give way to newcomers searching for intense and sometimes idealized affective and aesthetic experiences, a process widely described as gentrification. Many informants suggest that some of Rio de Janeiro’s *favelas* are going through a similar process. The most cited example is Vidigal, already mentioned in this chapter, known for its culture and fantastic view of famous beaches (Carta Capital, 14/04/2014).

Government control and market dynamics produce what one informant called “*remoção branca*”, meaning that besides forced evictions conducted by the government, *favela* dwellers are also under economic pressure to leave certain communities because of rising prices. This creates a conflict situation and stimulus for a kind of resistance closely linked to urban and local dynamics.

Besides this indirect eviction, caused by rising prices for instance, the government has forcefully evicted many families from their homes in many different areas for projects of revitalization, including the port area (Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro 2012). Raquel Rolnik, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on housing, has denounced those evictions. Her statement, published on the Amnesty International website, goes as follows:

Stop planned evictions until dialogue and negotiation can be ensured (...)

We recognize that Rio de Janeiro's authorities need to install adequate infrastructure to ensure the success and safety of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics (...) But this must be carried out in a spirit of consultation and collaboration with the affected communities, to ensure that their rights are protected in the process. (Amnesty International Website, 14/11/2011)

Therefore, the prohibition of funk is only one among many facets of governmental intervention into popular spaces, especially in so-called communities or *favelas*. Nevertheless, even though one might think that funk's repression is a secondary problem when compared with forced evictions, it is actually part of the same context of exclusionary public policies. Denying the recognition of practices created and cultivated by working classes as culture means hindering the conversion of cultural capital into other forms. However, more than this, it means hampering the development of ways of being, or dispositions in Bourdieu's vocabulary. It means denying funk's "existential capital" and its capacity to create memorable and affectively intense accounts of the world, which link to the creation of spaces of conviviality.

5.8. Conclusion

Funk music has been strongly associated with *favela* communities for the last two decades. This association has helped to forge a distinctive style, called funk, through soul parties happening since the 1970s in Rio de Janeiro, which preceded the *baile funk* parties of today. *Baile funk* music influenced various producers nationally and internationally during the 2000s. Now, pop artists and producers of club and rave parties adapt funk to suit different tastes. This translation of *baile funk* music into pop or club languages is an aesthetic process intimately linked to spaces of the city. Both aesthetic and socio-economic processes condition this association between *baile funk* and *favela* communities.

Moreover, those parts of the city have been traditionally associated with other popular forms of expression; samba schools are often located in *favela* communities and have strong links to these places. Studies often overlook the influence of local traditional styles that influence both the beats and melodies of funk music. This is probably because of an old quarrel between *funkeiros* and *sambistas*, in which funk was accused of being an instrument of alienation and Americanisation.

Yúdice (2003) argued that *funkeiros* challenged many of the common-sense conceptions of Brazilian social life, such as cordiality and racial tolerance, therefore challenging national identity itself. Dowdy even classified funk as being anti-samba. Since 2008, through APAFUNK, a different discourse seems to have been articulated, a discourse that harks back to Brazilian history itself and the common practice of repressing popular culture, two examples being *sambistas* and *capoeiristas*. *Samba* and *capoeira* are traditional forms of expression, dating back to the end of the nineteenth century and/or the beginning

of the twentieth, historically repressed by police and accused of vagrancy.

However, APAFUNK's political conception does not support the "myths" regarding Brazilian's assumed cordial and tolerant conviviality (Yúdice 2003).

Sound and its repression are not simply a legal matter, but a matter of power assertion and control. A comprehension that understands space and its connection with creative engagement shines a different light on funk disputes. Spaces are aesthetically determined and determining at the same time, because creativity emerges from interaction between individuals and environmental contexts. Changing space means changing music, both in terms of formal and aesthetic characteristics, in terms of the affective communal sense it creates.

Chapter 6: Autonomy and politics in carioca funk music

Is it possible to propose an aestheticized political path for those marginalized within a Bourdieusian framework? Social positionality makes it hard for the poor and all of those excluded from the mainstream to attach value to the cultural capital they possess (Skeggs 2004).

In sum, those in underprivileged positions would find it difficult to enter the game of distinction, since their practices do not possess value according to parameters imposed by the dominant classes. Spivak (2010) also puts forward a similar argument, considering the representation of subalterns and the impossibility for them to speak using their own voices.

Returning to Bourdieu, for those in lower social positions, developing an “adequate” habitus valued by the higher classes is very hard, given the difficulty of acquiring certain dispositions, such as having a cultivated eye. Moreover, for Bourdieu, agents incorporate certain ways of being and end up having “complicity in the maintenance of the *status quo*” (Mihai 2014, p. 9).

Following this line of thought, when discussing the relative autonomy of a field, including the case of the art field, the term autonomy has little to do with freedom or self-determination. Struggles for relative autonomy are usually at the expense of other groups and part of power struggles. Bourdieu described aesthetic autonomy “as an instrument of bourgeois domination” (Gandhi 2006, p. 149, see also Bourdieu 2010). In this context, aestheticism became a form of conservative politics. The only options remaining for the underprivileged were the politics of materialism, historicism and realism (Gandhi 2006).

Autonomy is a theme crossing two different cases, as discussed later in this chapter. However, the kind of autonomy investigated here is different from the

relative autonomy of a field (Bourdieu 1993, Maton 2005). Regarding aesthetic autonomy, which he compares with the relative autonomy of a field, disinterestedness, historical self-referencing and distance from daily life are central elements:

The autonomy of art and the artist, which the hagiographic tradition accepts as self-evident in the name of the ideology of the work of art as ‘creation’ and artist as uncreated creator, is nothing other than the (relative) autonomy of what I call a field, an autonomy that is established step by step, and under certain conditions, in the course of history. (Bourdieu 1993, p. 140).

This citation stresses that artistic autonomy is part of a social and historical process. In order to understand change, and “intellectual or artistic revolutions” (Bourdieu 1993, p. 142), it is key to consider that fields are only partially autonomous and that dependence and articulation between fields are part of the game (Bourdieu 1993). Moreover, hegemony relates to the capacity of a certain artistic or political trend to affirm and struggle for its own autonomy.

Despite aesthetic autonomy’s description as disinterestedness towards social issues and worldly life, it has a role in struggles for power. In other words, it is possible to discuss aesthetic autonomy in political terms. The events analysed in this chapter show that struggles for full citizenship and equal rights are associated with discussions regarding the aesthetics of funk music.

Narrating perceived, lived or imagined situations becomes a strategy to deliver political ideas and affect through funk music, but it can also motivate the imprisonment of MCs singing about criminal factions. In the first case, activists use art, seeking emancipation from control by the police. In the second case, the police arrest MCs for describing the routine of drugs warfare in Rio de Janeiro.

Does *baile funk* artists' portrayal of criminal activity differ significantly from other forms of depicting violence, as seen in movies and other songs? How does the realism of *baile funk* lyrics enhance the power of songs aiming for political effect? This chapter will consider two different cases that enact different kinds of engagement with the style in order to shed some light on this question. Those cases involve a variety of groups, including activism groups, the police force, government, media and, of course, funk artists.

Cases considered:

- 1) Funk is a Culture movement composed of different civil-society actors aiming to legitimize funk, politicize funk artists and raise consciousness of inequality and social exclusion.
- 2) The arrest of funk MCs: Six MCs were arrested in 2010, they were accused of inciting crime because of their lyrics about conflicts involving criminal factions and the police, this style of funk is known as *proibidão*.

A context of violence

Many deaths result from conflicts between police, criminal factions and paramilitary militias. In Rio de Janeiro, life is valued differently depending on the area of the city (Fernandes, 2009). "Life's value and citizenship" varies between *favelas* and *asfalto*, areas of the city that are not *favelas* (Fernandes 2009, p. 26, author's translation). DG was one of the dancers killed in this "war" (Fernandes 2009, p. 26, author's translation). In April 2014, a policeman shot him in Pavão-Pavãozinho, a *favela* located in Copacabana, one of the most touristic areas of Rio de Janeiro.

According to the United Nations, youth is the population between the ages of 15 and 24. Most *passinho* dancers are part of youth, a group suffering disproportionately from homicides in Rio de Janeiro. In 2012, the homicide rate in Rio de Janeiro for the youth population was 56.5 per 100,000 people (Waiselfisz, 2014). For the whole population the rate was 21.5 per 100,00. For the black youth population, the rate jumps to 75.4 per 100,000 (Waiselfisz, 2014). Therefore, being black and young more than triples the chances of being the victim of a homicide. In certain areas, violent crime decreased after the UPPs, which installed their first unit at the end of 2008 (LAV-UERJ, 2012). Nonetheless, homicides have been in decline since at least 2002.

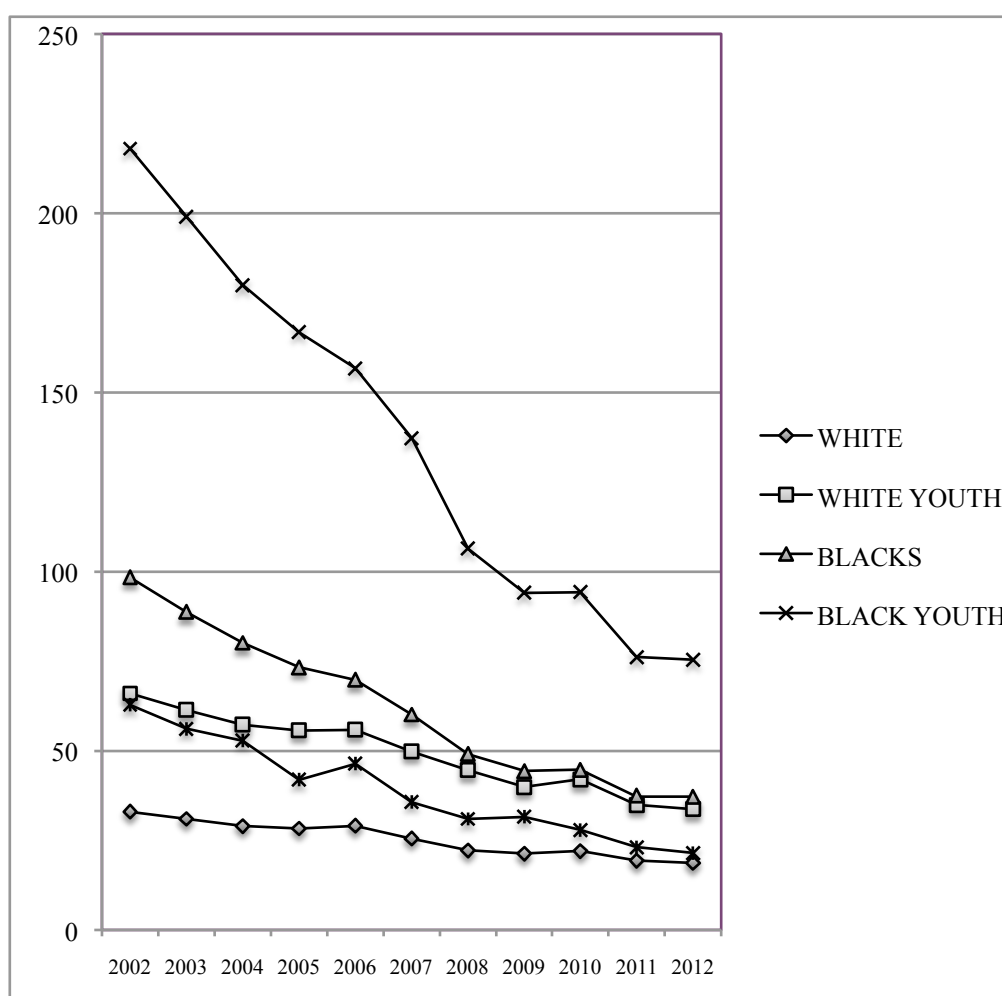


Figure 16 Homicide rates (per 100,000) for Rio de Janeiro city for the period 2002–2012.

(Source: Brazilian Ministry of Health, data found in Waiselfisz 2014)

It is still not clear what exactly caused this decline. Apart from the causes and despite the disproportional drop in homicide rate among black youth, the differences are still significant. If one considers incarceration statistics for Brazil, again the differences are noticeable: 56 per cent of those behind bars are aged between 18–29; 67 per cent are black, a major difference from the average Brazilian population (51 per cent of the Brazilian population is black) (DEPEN 2014).

Undoubtedly, those numbers are the result of historical and established structural problems, such as racial and economic inequality. Nevertheless, the organization of conflict in the Brazilian cities changed from a more “socio-democratic model” (Facina 2014, p. 2) to a more repressive attitude towards the end of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s (Facina 2014). During the 1990s, in at least three different localities in Rio de Janeiro’s metropolitan area, Acari, Candelária and Vigário Geral, death squads, including policemen, killed groups of people and even children (Facina 2014). During this same period, the incarceration rate started to skyrocket, growing by 143.91 per cent from 1995 to 2005 (Facina 2014).

In 1992, the press used the word *arrastão* to describe the clashes between groups of youngsters on the beach during a sunny weekend. The word *arrastão* refers to group robberies but it is still not clear what happened that day. According to Facina (2009), groups performed on the beach the same fights they were accustomed to perform in the *bailes*, singing war chants such as “Bonde do Mal! Vigário Geral!” (Facina 2014, p. 13), something like “Evil Gang!” followed by the name of a *favela* called Vigário Geral.

It is no coincidence that, during the nineties, funk emerged as a trend and quickly became associated with this context of growing “urban violence”. The press often present this kind of violence as a spectacle. Funk became part of this spectacle and began to represent a “new enemy, the ‘*traficante*’” (Facina 2014, p. 4, author’s translation). The word *traficante* normally describes the black and the poor when caught dealing or simply carrying drugs.

According to Zaccone (2007), the so-called *traficantes* are not among the most powerful agents in the drug-trafficking chain. In fact, according to him, they represent the most fragile part of the business. Orlando Zaccone is an experienced police deputy in Rio de Janeiro. In his book, he affirms that the judicial system selects certain individuals and punishes them for the crime of drug-trafficking. This selection occurs according to criteria that have little to do with justice, such as the colour of one’s skin, social class or locality of the arrest. Moreover, the individuals going to prison because of drug-trafficking are normally those that transport the drugs from one point to another, the ‘mules’. Zaccone describes them as “shareholders” in nothing. Despite participating in the activity, they are not the ones who profit the most from these operations.

Many funk fans and artists are black, young and come from impoverished areas of the city. They grew up in a period with an overwhelming presence of repressive apparatuses in the *favelas* and violent conflicts between different factions. Many funk songs also refer to a life in crime but also the “collective trauma of losing a brother, a father, a friend” (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation). Carioca funk describes those lost lives in epic, tragic, heroic and sublime ways, without resorting to sentimentalism (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation).

Palombini (2011) and Penglase (2011) employ the idea of “public secret” to understand how the upper classes live with this “highly unequal distribution of violence in Rio de Janeiro” (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation). When threatened by stray bullets the upper classes feel that this “unpredictable risk” represents a “disruption of class (and civilizational-racial) order” (Penglase 2011, p. 430). This public secret shared by those living in wealthier areas contrasts with the public secret shared by those dwelling in *favelas*, the secret that drug traffickers are “indeed a source of violence, frequently breaking their own rules” (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation).

Favela dwellers recur to conversations about stray bullets to criticize the violent ways of both *traficantes* and police (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation). At the same time, Comando Vermelho (CV, in English, Red Command), one of the first criminal factions in Rio de Janeiro, acquired what Palombini describes as a “symbolic heritage” (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation). This heritage links to the faction’s “origins in the struggle, necessarily violent, for solidarity in prison, against the oppression of the State” (Palombini 2011, p. 81, author’s translation).

Many songs praise those who have died fighting for a criminal faction. MC Orelha’s track “Faixa de Gaza” (Gaza Strip) is one example. Nevertheless, MC Orelha is also Gustavo Lopes, the MC, and according to him, Comando Vermelho, the criminal faction he sings about, does not represent the war anymore but a kind of affective resource (Palombini 2011). It represents for him “unity and force” (Palombini 2011, p. 80, author’s translation).

The origins of organized criminal factions in Rio de Janeiro can be traced back to a period between 1969 and 1975, during the military dictatorship in Brazil, when the regime mixed political prisoners with common criminals in Ilha

Grande prison. The interaction between common and political prisoners allowed an exchange of ideas and outlaw tactics. After realizing the mistake of mixing different kinds of inmates, the government relocated political prisoners incarcerated in Ilha Grande. Nevertheless, this governmental strategy proved wrong once more, since this decision allowed the ideas developed in Ilha Grande to spread. Ilha Grande prison houses the seeds of Comando Vermelho, and in another prison, called Prison Frei Caneca, are the seeds of Terceiro Comando (Third Command).

Those are two of the biggest criminal factions in Rio de Janeiro; a third relevant faction is Amigos dos Amigos (ADA – Friends of the Friends). Those groups mainly grew through the drugs business, which obtained its initial capital in illegal gambling schemes. The factions also managed to gain control over different territories across Rio de Janeiro, territories in constant dispute, defended or attacked with heavy-war weaponry. This situation resulted in the fragmentation of Rio de Janeiro's territory, and fear was widespread across the whole city. Residents in certain areas would not go to other areas, fearing aggression by local faction members, even if they had no contact with drug-dealing whatsoever (Perlman 2010, Amorim 1993, Misse 1995, Dowdney 2003).

Complexo do Alemão used to be one of the headquarters of Comando Vermelho, before police occupation by an UPP unit. The effects of territorial domination by drug cartels in Complexo do Alemão are still part of the population's lives and imaginaries, even after police occupation and the setting up of the UPPs. To what extent those factions are still operating in "pacified" territories is still hard to tell. From evidence found during fieldwork, by reading the news and talking to *favela* dwellers it is possible to affirm that factions are still operating. By talking to dwellers in Complexo do Alemão, it was also

possible to see that the dynamics of drugs traffic still influences life in the community.

6.1. Autonomy or identity politics?

How music associates with the formation of identities is a question largely explored in the sociological literature (Frith 1996, Bellavance 2008), including research on funk (Yúdice 2003), especially its connections to racial identities, and the contradictions between local, national and international identities (Yúdice 2003, Lopes 2011). However, questioning this straightforward association of styles and identities is crucial, for it assumes that certain groups are immediately associated with certain styles (Sansone 2007). By thinking through identities, creative work is thought of as the fusion of different cultural traits associated with groups marked by identifiable characteristics, such as ethnicity, clothing, dance moves, location and musicality. A problem with this approach is that it assumes beforehand, to a greater or lesser extent, a group cohesion called identity (DeNora 2003, Sansone 2007).

In this research, music creation is by itself about fusing, mixing and citing sounds. How to bind this creative work and repertoire, stylistically, geographically or in any other terms, has to do with the active engagement of music lovers. Therefore, one should not evaluate acts of appropriation based on formalistic principles that dictate what kinds of appropriation are possible and acceptable. Instead, it is crucial to take into account practices and their association with existing communities, and not identities.

Even though there are many critiques of the term identity, it became part of many non-academic vocabularies as well. Therefore, we should differentiate its

use inside the social sciences from local uses. Sometimes, these local uses are extremely important, as they create an imaginative cohesion that can be crucial in political struggles. Nevertheless, one should also bear in my mind that the instrumentalization of concepts such as culture and identity has increasingly served very diverse purposes, including the exclusion of historically excluded minorities (Yúdice 2003; Butler 2008; Bhatt 2008).

According to Gandhi, states are ready to recognize claims for identity, even though they cannot tolerate “that singularities form a community without affirming an identity, that humans co-belong without any representable condition of belonging” (Gandhi 2006, p.26).

Focusing on identity politics can lead to the exclusion of those who refuse to play this game (Bhatt 2008), or simply just cannot. This has happened to a certain extent to funk artists and fans who, by not explicitly articulating funk with politics, sometimes even refusing to do so, have been criticized by other artists and social movement activists, who argued that they were alienated and alienating (Essinger 2005). Thus, the concept of identity is not the best one to describe and analyse funk politics. However, if the events described here are not about identity struggles, how are we to comprehend funk politics?

Aesthetics and politics

The process of seeing art as an autonomous sphere intensified towards the end of the eighteenth century. According to Middleton, this process resulted in the “growth of that monstrous superstructure of meanings surrounding musical processes today” (Middleton 2000, p. 59). Even though acknowledging the

historical construction of autonomy is indeed indispensable, letting this specific experience guide all discussions on art's autonomy is not necessary.

Instead of praising historicity as opposed to aesthetics, as in Bourdieu's critique of Kant's disinterested artistic judgement, this chapter considers a different perspective regarding the issue of aesthetic autonomy. By departing from aesthetics as a conservative and disinterested form of judgement, the analysis benefits from the use of the expression "interested autonomy" (Gandhi 2006).

Aesthetic autonomy is for Bourdieu a "bourgeois trope", accused of "imbricating all subsequent aestheticism with a surreptitious will-to-power" (Gandhi 2006, p. 152). Curiously enough, one can also find in Kant the basis for another comprehension of autonomy, one representing "a sudden deflection, *contra* Bourdieu" (Gandhi 2006, p. 153). Kant associated aesthetic judgement with an "uncompromising 'separateness' of nature" (Gandhi 2006, p. 153). This "separateness" is also a "burden". Experiencing beauty – associated by Kant, and Bourdieu, with pleasure or displeasure – involves dealing with the limits of "knowledge and desire" (Gandhi 2006, p. 154).

Nevertheless, "categories of cognition" cannot fully grasp beauty (Gandhi 2006, p. 154). The "subject of judgement" can only hope to find "intelligibility". Hence, the aesthetic involves a certain submission to the "realm of difference", in Kant's words a "dwelling-space" or "domicilium", marked by "nature's ineluctable contingency" (Gandhi 2006, p. 154).

Dwelling in this space means challenging or affirming the autonomy of the "legislative realm" dominated by "cognitive concept-categories" (Gandhi 2006, p. 154). Kant quickly returns to his most well-known conception of autonomy, marked by a separation from nature. He points out that aesthetic judgement

might resist co-optation by cognition, but if it has any ambitions for “meaningfulness”, it will necessarily submit to the project of mapping out empirical regularities (Gandhi 2006).

Nonetheless, Gandhi takes this short moment in which Kant recognizes the possibility of resisting reason to develop her concept of “interested autonomy”, based on an “ethics of domicilium”. Studying the struggles of funk artists and activists while insisting on the idea of bourgeois art’s autonomy would, from the very beginning, clash with participants’ grievances. Political movements using funk and opposing classism, as well as other forms of inequality and discrimination, are far from the art for art’s sake paradigm. Nonetheless, their claim involves the recognition of funk as art and culture.

Funk artists are struggling for equal rights. Those struggles include claims for cultural rights. For instance, the notion that funk music is not a serious kind of aesthetic endeavour affects the capacity of agents to exercise full citizenship, because their cultural practices are not legitimate in the eyes of mainstream groups. Social theory, instead of being neutral towards this state of things, tends to reinforce it by reifying highbrow and lowbrow. Therefore, determinism appears to be a characteristic of Bourdieusian models. To what extent determinism gets confused with an evaluation of the specific moment when Bourdieu conducted research is not clear.

In this context, the only possibility for change is the emergence of groups combining the right habitus with the right social position to question structural inequalities. The intellectual appears as an important agent of change. In this context, a “multitude of threats” (Mihai 2014, p. 11) endanger the autonomy of the cultural field, leaving to the intellectuals the role of changing the world. They

can supposedly reveal “the exclusions hidden by common sense and propose alternative visions” (Mihai 2014, p. 11).

Intellectuals have the capacity to “step back from one’s dispositions and control the first impulse of the habitus by consciously inhibiting it” (Mihai 2014, p. 11). Curiously, even Bourdieu, who sought to propose an alternative to reason as an explanation of social action, relied on a certain level of reflexivity to explain how things might change.

In both cases analysed in this chapter, intellectuals played important roles. University professors and researchers participated in debates and mobilizations to defend funk from official repression. Nonetheless, “there is hope beyond the scientific community” (Mihai 2014, p. 16). Social movements are not dependent on intellectuals and research cannot ignore the “habitus of social activism” (Mihai 2014, p. 16). In this sense, theory and intellectual critique are only part of a broader social mobilization. For instance, social analysis should not discard aestheticism as just conservative politics. Following Mihai, I believe that “good stories and art are possibly more apt than social science to disrupt” (Mihai 2014, p. 34) domination.

In sum, the opposition between the politics of materialism and aesthetic politics is not a necessary one. Activists dealt with this ambiguity in order to organize their protests. While the police prohibit *bailes* in many *favelas*, the authorities allow MCs to sing in those localities because of the political motivations implied. Since Rodas de Funk are politically motivated they do not need permission to run, as would be the case with a normal *baile funk*. Artists and activists resorted to their constitutional right of political reunion in public spaces. They received the support of lawyers or law students participating in the Funk is Culture movement.

6.2. Event I: Funk is Culture protests

Many laws since the 1990s have sought to regulate or define *baile funk*. In 1995 the Câmara Municipal do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro's municipal chamber) decided to start an investigation of funk and close one of the most successful and diverse *bailes* of Rio de Janeiro, the *baile* in Chapéu Mangueira (Facina 2009).

In 1996, a law known as “Law Pitanga”, because of its author, Vereador Antonio Pitanga (a representative in the municipal chamber), seemed to establish funk as a cultural practice. This law stated, for instance, that the “executive power had the responsibility to assure the occurrence of funk parties” (City Law 2518).

In 1999, another investigation of *baile funk* led by a legislative chamber began, this time the Assembleia Legislativa do Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ, the state chamber) led the investigation. The motivation alleged by the representatives for this initiative was evidence, provided by the press, of drug use and alcohol abuse among teenagers at *bailes* (Facina 2009).

At that moment, one representative even proposed a law prohibiting *baile funk* (Facina 2009). The final outcome of the investigation was a law, number 3,410 (2000), stating that every *baile* to take place should be approved by the military police. According to the law, this institution should also assign policemen to stay on guard from the beginning to the end of a *baile funk*. In 2003, the state instituted law number 4,264, also defining funk as a cultural practice and imposing on producers the responsibility to provide security and adhere to existing laws.

State law number 5,265 (2008) established specific requirements for *baile funk* and rave parties, including one masculine and feminine washroom for every fifty people and the installation of cameras and metal detectors. This law also restricted the length of events, establishing a maximum of twelve hours. Moreover, it required a number of documents, including one proving that the venue had proper sound isolation. This law also required promoters to notify the police at least thirty days before an event. In 1994, the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland also produced specific legislation aimed at controlling rave parties. In this sense, “*baile funk* once shared with UK raves the privilege of being fed by a music governed by specific legislation” (Palombini 2010, p. 103).

APAFUNK, an organization existing since 2008, started to struggle against law 5,265. Relying on a network of connections across academia, the media and politics, the movement Funk is Culture managed to get this law repealed. In 2009, two new laws were approved, law 5,544, repealing law 5,265 (2008), and law 5,543, defining funk as a cultural movement. The latter also prohibited the enactment of new laws discriminating against *baile funk*. It also recommended that official institutions dealing with culture should regulate the interaction between *baile funk* producers and the state. This recommendation was a response to requests from activists who argued that institutions dealing with security, such as the military police, should not be managing culture.

Agents involved with funk music celebrated the approval of those two laws in 2009 (5,543 and 5,544). They resulted from popular pressure led by the Funk is Culture movement. Nonetheless, as argued by one of its leaders, MC Leonardo, “a law is only a piece of paper”. According to him, “the fight is not over”. One of

the reasons for the struggle to continue is a remaining legal requirement, Resolution 013, regulating cultural events in Rio de Janeiro.

Despite the general character of this resolution, activists and also Adriana Facina (2009) have argued that its application is much stronger in certain *favelas*. The political events described in this section sought to raise awareness of the resolution, debate it and criticize it. Fundação Getúlio Vargas' (FGV) law department produced a report analysing the resolution and including two main critiques.

First, while the resolution apparently aims to regulate big events it does not mention the size of venues or the number of people attending an event. Consequently, the resolution is applied to smaller events, forcing producers to address a long list of requirements. Another article in this resolution also states that competent authorities have the discretion to include or suppress requirements without needing to justify their actions.

Secondly, another problem that the report identified has to do with the short time span, eight days is specified in the resolution, between the moment when the competent power authorizes an event and the day it takes place. According to the report, eight days is not enough to organize an event; and in the case of a negative response, cancelling an event at short notice is problematic. It might involve cancelling contracts with other companies providing services, as well as returning money to those who have already purchased tickets.

As a result of these two problems, two results emerge. Either the producer does not want to risk investing, and may make illicit payments to middlemen to resolve those bureaucratic hurdles, or the event will remain informal. From this informality stems less safety for the audience and a stronger repressive

apparatus. Moreover, those who pay to facilitate bureaucratic procedures will have a significant advantage when staging events in certain areas.

Politics and funk: exclusion and empowerment

Those engaged with APAFUNK are either veteran MCs, DJs and producers or university students and other volunteers or activists members of institutions, such as MEURIO and Direito pra Quem. Activists also use social networks to access politicians and seek support for their struggle against the prohibition of *baiões*. Therefore, they mobilize both cultural capital and social capital in their struggles, as well as grassroots politics in a more conventional political approach, resorting to traditional instances of representation.

The Rodas de Funk organized by *funkeiros*, a slang term embracing funk artists, producers and fans, combine performances of MCs singing about the problems suffered daily by the poor and blacks in Rio de Janeiro with political speeches. Most of the time, songs are either explicitly political or stories about people that live in *favelas*. These songs are accepted and enjoyed because of their political character. On the other hand, the police criminalize realistic stories about routine gang warfare from the perspective of the drugs business or other criminals, which is common in *proibidão* style.

According to Sansone, “in funk carioca, politics is never explicit” (Sansone 2007, p. 178, author’s translation). Considering the experiences of funk artists in the Funk is Culture movement generates the need to question to what extent this statement is still true. This movement clearly connects the struggles of funk artists with political action. They engage in an explicit kind of politics and are clear about the political intentions of their actions.

Even though different social groups enjoy funk, those engaging with funk, especially the poor or blacks, are sometimes at risk of prejudice or even military repression. Regarding the production of *baile funk*, this repression is stronger in the *favelas* and among those who are not well enough connected or informed to find their own way through the state bureaucracy in order to stage an event with legal approval. In sum, in Rio de Janeiro, while the state tries to strengthen its control over certain *favelas* with security measures, it is easier for groups with established networks to organize funk parties across the city, including *favelas*. This is not surprising, but it points to a situation in which certain agents that are historically connected to funk lose importance. *Equipes de som* – sound companies that organize funk parties – are an important example. Producers have stressed the decline in the number of *equipes de som*.

Roda de Funk in Cantagalo – 27/04/2012

I arrived in the Cantagalo community around 4 pm. From the Mêtro Rio station (the underground in Rio de Janeiro) located in Copacabana I took a newly built elevator up Cantagalo *favela*, which is on a hill, near the court where the Roda de Funk was about to start. Inside the elevator, teenagers were carrying surfboards, clearly coming from the beach, talking loudly and singing about types of marijuana. A few metres ahead I saw uniformed policemen, certainly mobilized to the area because of the UPP (Pacifying Police Units), a new government programme which aims to bring “peace” and “order” to *favelas*.

A small child living in the community led me to the court. I believe the boy approached our group because we were clearly not from there. “Where are you from?” was the first thing he asked. The way we walked and talked, and also our

appearance, certainly exposed us as outsiders. I found out about the Roda de Funk through an acquaintance, Guilherme. He collaborates with the APAFUNK group and works in the State Legislative House, aiding Marcelo Freixo, a State Representative and ex-candidate for mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Because of the ban on *bailes*, it was not possible to hold the Roda de Funk in the court. When I arrived there, people were having lunch. They ate *feijoada* – a bean stew with different sausages and meats. From the stairs of the court, I could see the street, towards where the speakers were facing. As the daylight faded people began to join the party and more policemen began to arrive.

The policemen stayed down the hill, near a bend, standing next to their motorcycles. They watched the movement attentively. Close to the PA boxes, there was a bar selling soft drinks, beer, sweets and other things to eat. MC Leo, president of APAFUNK, was worried because the laptop they needed had not arrived and the MP3 player was losing its charge. In fact, the battery ran out before the computer got there. Luckily, Sany Pitbull arrived, and they continued playing music using his iPhone. He played beats for other MCs using his mobile phone equipped with an application developed by him together with Red Bull. In the app, you can choose samplers associated with different well-known funk and hip-hop MCs.

The street was almost full of people. Children started dancing on top of the stairs that led to the court. After dancing on stage for a long time, they seemed tired and went into the corner with their toys. In the street, other people also danced. Every now and then, a car honked as it struggled to drive through the people while being greeted amicably. A police car also passed through the crowd several times, causing some discomfort. The police passed with menacing sirens turned on and many of the officers carrying rifles.

Late in the afternoon, when it was already dark, a team from MEURIO managed to bring Sany Pitbull to the court for an interview, which I captured with my camera. The conditions were not ideal because the sound was extremely loud in the street below us. However, I could understand his concern about the ban on dances and the need to negotiate, so that the parties could make a fresh start. He answered regarding the issue of noise, and considered options such as limiting the hours of *bailes*.

During the descent from the community, someone told me about the location where they used to sell drugs on the hill. We arrived in Ipanema to have dinner with members from MEURIO and some friends. After dinner, we went to the terrace of a building in Arpoador, where one of the members from MEURIO lived. From there, we could see Cantagalo community, and we had a view of Dois Irmãos, Corcovado and the Pão de Açúcar hills.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 17 Dancing during a Roda de Funk demonstration at Aterro do Flamengo (Source: Author 2012)

Some of the material gathered during field research became a short documentary about the difficult relationship between police and funk producers in Rio de Janeiro. Almost two years later, after the Roda de Funk in Cantagalo, police still held the same position regarding the local *baile*.

During the World Cup in 2014, Eva, a journalist working for a German television network covering the event, asked me, after watching the video, if I could put her in contact with APAFUNK. She wanted to report on the issue of *baile funk* and needed to interview a funk producer struggling with funk's official repression. She talked to Guilherme, from APAFUNK, who introduced her to DJ Lorão. I discuss more of the interview with DJ Lorão in Chapter 6. His arguments against the closure of the local *baile* included: the financial loss to local commerce; the lack of local entertainment, forcing people to go to other communities to enjoy funk; and lastly, Lorão said that he had lost contact with friends he used to meet during *bailes*.

The journalist also wanted to know the other side of the story. I went with a cameraman, Jean-Marie, and Eva to talk with the local commander of the Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho UPP. We arrived at the UPP unit from *favela* do Cantagalo before lunch; during our ascent, we saw some policemen pointing their guns in the air. The people in the car felt a bit threatened. After arriving at the unit, the policemen at the station said that they were just making an arrest, “nothing serious”, that the community was “peaceful”.

After learning about the subject of the interview, the policemen we talked to were a bit troubled. They advised that the UPP Commander did not like to talk about this issue. The policemen also said that he was not there, because he had to

attend another meeting. Hence, they asked us to wait. We went to the top floor of the building, where the cameraman wanted to shoot a few images for the report. I also filmed and photographed the *favela* landscape with its red houses, including a few boys flying their kites.



Figure 18 View from the top floor of the Cantagalo Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) showing the proximity between the *favela* and the surrounding upper-/middle-class neighbourhood (Source: Author 2014)

After waiting for more than an hour, they said that the local commander would not be able to attend the interview. Instead, we talked with Lieutenant Maurício:

Lieutenant: We did not receive any requests to organize *bailes* funk recently, we received requests for other events but not for *baile* funk. There is no prohibition on *baile funk* events. The position now is that after pacification started, the Security Department issued a resolution to organize *baile funk*, to regulate *baile funk*. The majority of the communities are not regularized yet. It is just a matter of creating adequate conditions.

German Journalist: (...) What would you say to those people arguing that the UPP is prohibiting and menacing *baile funk* culture in the *favelas*?

Lieutenant: The UPP is not in the community to stop anything or the culture of the community, our aim is to fight crime and bring peace to the good population that lives in the community. There are norms that must be followed for every event, everywhere in the city, by everyone, and the *favela* is no exception; it has to follow the rules. The majority of communities do not fit into those norms.³¹

This excerpt from the meeting provides a good summary of the conversation with the lieutenant. According to him, it is not the UPP's fault, it is just a matter of adapting conditions to fit the rules. Nonetheless, there is one meaningful contradiction in his speech. First, he affirms that the resolution issued by the Security Department aims to "regulate *baile funk*". But later he affirmed that the resolution applied to everyone in Rio de Janeiro, which is in fact the reality in formal terms. The problem is that activists question the way this resolution is selectively applied, since in the end UPP commanders have discretion to decide what kinds of events can go ahead.

³¹ **Tenente:** Nós não temos recebido muito pedido de baile funk ultimamente não, temos recebido alguns pedidos de evento, mas de baile funk não. Mas assim, não existe nenhuma proibição quanto ao evento baile funk em si, o que existe, depois de iniciado o processo de pacificação, foi feito pela Secretaria de Segurança uma resolução para organizar o baile funk, para regulamentar o baile funk, mas a maioria da comunidades não conseguiu ainda se adequar a essa resolução. Por esse motivo, algumas comunidades não estão tendo baile funk, é só uma questão de adequação mesmo.

Jornalista: Você responderia o que para as pessoas que argumentam que o baile funk está proibindo e ameaçando a cultura dos bailes funk na favela?

Tenente: A UPP não está na comunidade para proibir nada, nem para acabar com qualquer coisa que seja que tem na comunidade. Nosso objetivo é só combater o crime e trazer a paz para a população de bem que vive na comunidade. O grande problema é que existem normas que tem que ser seguidas não só pelas pessoas da comunidade, mas qualquer casa de show, qualquer evento que se faça pela cidade, em qualquer lugar do Rio de Janeiro. E com o baile funk não é diferente, tem que seguir essas normas. A maioria das comunidades ainda não conseguiu se adequar às normas.

In 2011, there was a hearing in the Rio de Janeiro State Assembly to discuss conflicts surrounding the production of *baile funk* in the *favelas*. During this meeting, state representatives, funk producers, police officers and a lawyer debated the topic. Before the hearing, I managed to talk with Col. Robson Rodrigues, at the time general commander of the UPPs. He mentioned the same problems as the lieutenant, suggesting that the pacification process would bring more people to the *favelas*, in case a *baile funk* was to happen, and that “those communities are not prepared to receive large numbers of people safely”³².

According to Luiz Moncau, a lawyer at Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) who also spoke during the public hearing held at ALERJ, he learned about those problems with APAFUNK through a series of conversations. Those motivated him to study the legislation, including a comparison with other states in Brazil. He reached the conclusion that:

The current regulatory regime imposes a series of bureaucratic steps, requiring culture in general to seek approval from police for events to occur. Mainly, our work at the FGV involves tracing the history of those state decrees, for instance decree 39,355, concerning previous decrees; this decree slowly expanded the competences of the Security Department.

(...)

In the case of funk, we have an even bigger problem, because there is a historical background of a style that suffers stigma. Simply because it

³² Estas comunidades não estão preparadas para receber um grande número de pessoas com segurança.

comes from the *favelas*, it is subject to repression, just as samba did in the past.³³

The journalist asked Lieutenant Maurício in Cantagalo if the prohibition had anything to do with criminality involving *baile funk*, he replied that he had never attended a *baile funk* in a *favela*. Nevertheless, he had heard people saying that criminals used to walk freely in the *bailes*, “but with UPP this is over”.

A number of contradictions involving what the police say, and what activists and specialists in security in Rio de Janeiro describe, are noteworthy. First, policemen deny any specific persecution of funk, even though many activists have reported that the police allow other events in communities to proceed, while specifically prohibiting funk. Moreover, activists describe negotiations with local commanders as if the liberation of *bailes* depends on individual will, while policemen describe the problem as a matter of following norms. In sum, they describe the situation as a bureaucratic problem, while activists point to structural issues, such as racism, classism and the stigmatization of funk.

Roda de funk in Central do Brasil – 14/06/2012

In the nineteenth century, Central do Brasil was the first train station on the Railroad Dom Pedro II, part of an interstate network. This station eventually joined the transportation network of the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro

³³ O regime legal que a gente tem hoje cobra uma série de etapas burocráticas, o que faz com que a cultura em geral tenha que passar pelos órgãos de segurança antes de poder se realizar. Então basicamente o trabalho que fizemos lá na FGV foi basicamente traçar um histórico destas normas que regulam, os decretos estaduais, e hoje o que a gente tem é o decreto 39355, que em relação ao decreto anteriores, a gente vê que o decreto vai paulatinamente ampliando as competências dos órgãos de segurança. (...) No caso do funk a gente tem um problema ainda maior, por que existe um histórico de um estilo que sofre preconceito. Simplesmente porque vem das favelas, sofre preconceito, como o samba sofreu no passado.

with the decline in interstate rail services. An enormous number of people go through this station everyday, and that is why they decided to organize the *Roda de Funk* there.

I arrived a few minutes early and the organizers were connecting the PA system. Some municipal guards approached to see if there was authorization for the event. The organizers showed a document to the guards who queried whether that was the right place for the demonstration. After the document passed among the guards, the *roda* was set up and nothing changed. Some municipal guards even asked for funk CDs from the group organizing the event. After receiving some CDs they went back to their colleagues, singing funk beats.

After a few minutes, a group of young people arrived. It was, apparently, a mixed group of Brazilians and foreigners. Guilherme introduced me to them, and I found out that they were a group of foreign students who had come to Brazil to make a film for a cinema course in New York. They filmed the demonstration and distributed leaflets opposing Resolution 013, together with the MEURIO group. Regarding this resolution, MC Leonardo said the following day:

It is not a law, it is a resolution, this resolution was not voted on by the legislative power, the executive power imposed it. It gives autonomy to the police, who have the power to approve or deny any cultural event, this is not right. The weakest side is the one suffering because of it. We want something very simple; we want the Culture Department to start taking care of culture in our state, so that the Security Department can actually persecute real criminals. The police should be dealing with crime, not culture. Cultural matters should be left to the culture departments; we have two, one for the city and another for the state. The police must be warned that, in a certain place, at a certain hour, there will be a certain

number of people, and then the police can provide security. But, if we start to accept that an officer from the military police is the one responsible for saying yes or no to any event, we are going backwards in terms of Brazilian history. We cannot go back, many people were tortured, disappeared and no one knows where they've gone, so that we could have the freedom to sing, to write, to occupy spaces. To have the freedom to move across the city with our culture, this is what APAFUNK wants, among other things.³⁴

When the Roda de Funk began, a large number of people gathered around the MCs: MC Leonardo, MC Junior, MC Calazans, Mano Teko and MC Dolores. It was one of the largest Rodas de Funk I had attended in terms of the number of participants, many spontaneously attracted by the music. They sang old and new songs. At one point, MC Leonardo started talking about the dance of one of the protest attendees. He made fun of the fact that the boy was dancing in a feminine way. He said that, in his time, "that kind of dance was a bit strange". Leonardo quickly affirmed his acceptance of homosexuality, claiming not to be prejudiced.

It was not only funk that was at stake. Among the movement's concerns were: racialized boundaries and class; the "modernization projects" for Rio de Janeiro;

³⁴ Não é uma lei, não foi o poder legislativo que fez, foi o poder executivo. Essa resolução ela da plenos poderes a policia para permitir ou liberar qualquer evento. Isto está errado po. Porque é o lado mais fraco que vai sofrer com isso. Oque nós estamos querendo é muito simples, que a secretaria de cultura trate da cultura do Rio de Janeiro. Para que a Secretaria de segurança vá cuidar de criminoso, de crime. A polícia tinha que estar lidando com o crime, não com a cultura. A cultura tem que ser deixada com os departamentos de cultura, existem duas, uma para o município outra para o estado. A polícia tem que ser avisada que um determinado local, em um determinado horário, vai ter um determinado número de gente, e a polícia que se vire para dar segurança para todo mundo. Mas se a gente aceitar que um official da PM libere ou não libere um evento qualquer a gente esta regredindo na história do Brasil. Não poderom ir para trás, muitas gente foi torturada, desapareceu e ninguém mais sabe para onde foi, para que pudessemos ter a liberdade hoje de escrever de cantar, de ocupar espaços. Ter a liberdade de transitar pela cidade com a nossa cultura. É isso que a APAFUNK está cobrando, entre outras coisas.

and the UPP, regarded by the movement as a militaristic, incomplete and often even a vile solution for the *favelas*. Bringing back the *bailes* to the *favelas* and at the same time establishing funk as a legitimate form of cultural expression were the main objectives of the Rodas de Funk. More than simply an end, funk was also a means in a broader struggle.

APAFUNK, MEURIO, Direito para Quem and other groups involved in political mobilization articulated popular pressure, leading the state assembly to implement two laws recognizing the cultural relevance of funk, at the same time revoking a former discriminatory law imposing strict administrative procedures specifically on funk and rave parties. APAFUNK publicized its actions via videos posted by activists on social media; mainstream media also gave some attention to the protests.

Those actions might have helped to reduce the widely-held idea that *funk* is politically alienating. The movement also attracted individuals from completely different social backgrounds, all united against the hindrance to *baile funk* in “pacified” communities. Negotiation between APAFUNK and UPP commanders also allowed the discussion of some issues regarding the production of *baile funk* in occupied *favelas*: the timing of events; the loudness of the speakers; and, lastly, the vetoing of songs about criminal factions or with sexually explicit lyrics.

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Figure 19 MC Leonardo and photographers at Roda de Funk in Central do Brasil Station (Source: Author 2012)

Roda de funk at the People's Summit 20/06/12

In the month of June the Rio +20 conference took place in Rio de Janeiro. It aimed to address issues related to ecology. The meeting brought together heads of state and other government officials who were attempting to reach an agreement to reduce the effects of climate change. In parallel to Rio +20, there was the People's Summit, an event where civil-society groups presented alternative solutions to environmental issues. The People's Summit was an alternative event focused on social movements.

MCs Junior and Leonardo began the event by explaining the purpose of the Rodas de Funk movement. Leonardo began by discussing the design of the UPPs, comparing this process with the period of the military dictatorship in Brazil. He said he wanted the presence of police in *favela* communities, but behaving in the same way as they do in Leblon (a rich neighbourhood in Rio de

Janeiro). This comment led one of the activists to take the microphone to make a comment about the police. According to her, the police dispersed a group dancing in a square with pepper gas during the People's Summit. After she spoke, MC Leonardo and MC Junior sang the song *Tá Tudo Errado* (Everything is Wrong):

Comunidade que vive à vontade
 Com mais liberdade tem mais pra colher
 Pois alguns caminhos pra felicidade
 São paz, cultura e lazer
 Comunidade que vive acuada
 Tomando porrada de todos os lados
 Fica mais longe da tal esperança
 Os menor vão crescendo tudo revoltado
 E não se combate crime organizado
 Mandando blindado pra beco e viela
 Pois só vai gerar mais ira
 Na gente que mora dentro da favela
 Sou favelado e exijo respeito
 Só são meus direitos que eu peço aqui
 Pé na porta sem mandato
 Tem que ser condenado
 Não pode existir

Tá tudo errado
 É até difícil explicar
 Mas do jeito que a coisa tá indo
 Já passou da hora do bicho pegar
 Tá tudo errado
 Difícil entender também
 Tem gente plantando o mal
 Querendo colher o bem

In a community that lives at ease
 With more liberty, there is more to harvest
 Some of the paths to happiness
 Are peace, culture and leisure
 A community that lives in fear
 Taking blows from every side
 It is further away from hope
 And the little ones grow up revolted
 You cannot fight organized crime by
 Sending tanks into alleys and streets
 It will only generate more anger
 Among those living in *favelas*
 I'm from a *favela* and demand respect
 Those are only the rights that I demand
 Breaking into homes without a court order
 Has to be condemned, it cannot happen

Everything is wrong
 The way things are going
 It is more than time for things to turn bad
 Everything is wrong
 It is hard to understand
 There are people sowing evil
 Others trying to harvest goodness³⁵

³⁵ Song recorded during fieldwork.

Leonardo argued that Public Policy Units should replace Pacifying Police Units, and that the police should be “part of the project of pacification, not the project itself”. Otherwise, in his words, it becomes a “total dictatorship”. Before calling his partner and brother, Junior, to join him on stage, he said that a boy in a *favela* today could still sing Chico Buarque’s song about the dictatorship period and the political critique would make sense, he then started singing the song:

‘Today you’re the boss/ It’s said and done/ There is no reason to argue.’

However, the boy, instead of singing the original chorus, would sing:

‘Despite the UPP, tomorrow will be another day.’³⁶

Chico Buarque is a famous composer of bossa nova music, known for his position against the dictatorship imposed on Brazil in 1964. Curiously, funk might be at the opposite end of the spectrum to *bossa nova* in terms of public perception. Research has connected *bossa nova* with the educated middle classes. According to Ulhôa (2007), *tropicália* and *bossa nova* are musical styles that managed to maintain “prestige” internalizing elements from classical music. She considers the articulation between *bossa nova* and tropicalism, leading to a situation in which “the position formerly occupied by classical music was occupied by MPB [Brazilian Popular Music]” (Ulhôa 2007, p. 88).

MPB became a broad term referring to different cultural products, which maintain a certain monopoly over “quality”, including technical skills, “in opposition to all other popular genres” (Ulhôa 2007, p. 88). MPB also works on mediating “rusticity”, transforming “traditional” forms into cultural products

³⁶ ‘Hoje você é quem manda/ Falou está falado/ Não tem discussão’. Mas o garoto invés de cantar o refrão original, ele cantaria: ‘Apesar de UPP, amanhã há de ser outro dia’.

(Ulhôa 2007). In this context, both “traditional” and “classical” kinds of music also retreat into enclosed communities (Ulhôa 2007).

During the Rodas de Funk, MC Leonardo commonly refers to other styles of music, this time he cites Chico Buarque, admired by the so-called educated middle classes. He is a composer in the tradition of *bossa nova*, marked by intricate harmonic structures. It could be that MC Leonardo decided to make this remark influenced by the location of the *roda* that day, near Flamengo, a wealthy neighbourhood. It was perceivable that, comparing to other *rodas* de funk, the audience was whiter and more affluent.

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Figure 18 MC Junior, audience and photographers at the People's Summit, during the Rio+20 conference. (Source: Author 2012)

State funding of funk

MC Leonardo told me that one of the main objectives of APAFUNK was to introduce funk as part of a cultural discussion, not a security matter. In fact, the state Culture Department provided new opportunities for funding directed to

funk projects, and according to Adriana Facina, an activist from APAFUNK and a professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, this was a direct result of APAFUNK's mobilizations.

On two occasions, the Culture Department selected projects involving funk. The first was when Marcus Faustini was Manager of Culture and Society. During an interview, he described the selection process to me. His objective was to create a selection process involving questionnaires and oral presentations, facilitating access to those who do not dominate the bureaucratic procedures of normal public selections. Faustini believes that academic studies on the theme often overlook its aesthetic potential:

The *baile funk* is often analysed as a recreational event, for meetings, for sociability, as the only chance of entertainment. But, *baile funk* has very close links to what Living Theatre did in the 1970s, bringing together everyone in a stadium, where each one had their function in the spectacle. The *baile* is this, the centre is everywhere, not only in the singing artist. There is the guy who dresses up, who gives dance performances, the *baile* is aesthetic expression. (...) We start considering funk as art, something creative, or we continue framing the poor as the 'other' of the world, those who need to be studied, 'Look how he can create that despite being so fucked up.'³⁷

³⁷ O baile funk ele é muitas vezes analisado como um lugar apenas recreativo, de encontros, de sociabilidade, como a única chance de diversão. Mas o baile funk tem uma ligação enorme com o que o Living Theatre fez ali nos anos 1970 que era reunir todo mundo num estádio, as pessoas tinham sua função dentro do espetáculo. O baile é isso, o centro está em toda parte, não está só no artista que canta. Tem o cara que se veste, que faz performances com dança, o baile é uma expressão estética. (...) O funk ou é reconhecido como arte, como algo criativo, ou a gente vai continuar enquadrando os pobres como o outro do mundo, como alguém que deve ser estudado, 'olha como ele pode fazer isso apesar de ser fodido'.

Faustini also created what he called caravans across the suburban areas and *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, trying to attract other actors engaging with funk, besides the conventional agents, such as MCs, DJs and producers. In another moment in the interview he also affirmed:

(...) Those fields, *favelas*, cultural centres, digital culture, are part of a larger field experimenting with different ways of creating culture in this country. The State doesn't know how to read this. In terms of cultural policy, the state still concentrates on fomenting artistic expression and not cultural practice. My objective there was to contribute to an experience indicating new paths for the state.³⁸

Faustini also sent a straightforward message to those studying funk, stressing the importance of recognizing funk as an aesthetic experience, not simply a by-product of social forces. The selection organized inside the Culture Department had the objective to affirm that funk is art:

It was an attempt to (...) create flexibility, recognizing social actors who are not recognized as creative actors. We wanted to create tension; at the same time, this State is the same State that represses the *bailes*. This State is not monolithic, it is a disputed field, we have to create tension, and we made the selection with this objective.³⁹

Adriana Facina, who participated as a judge in the selection of winning projects, sees the funding of funk projects by the State Government as a direct

³⁸ Estes campos, as favelas, centros culturais, cultura digital, são parte de um campo de experimentação hoje de modos de fazer cultura no país. E que o estado ainda não sabe ler isso, o estado na relação da política cultural ainda é muito formatado para o fomento da expressão artística e não da prática cultural. Meu objetivo ali era contribuir para criar uma experiência que indicasse novos caminhos para o estado.

³⁹ Era uma tentativa de flexibilizar, reconhecendo atores sociais que normalmente não são reconhecidos como sendo atores criativos. Nós queríamos tencionar. Ao mesmo tempo, o estado é esse mesmo estado que reprime os bailes. O estado não é monolítico, é um campo em disputa e nós temos que tencionar. Nós fizemos esta seleção tendo este objetivo.

result of the Funk is Culture movement. In 2011, the State Legislative Assembly recognized the grievances of artists, producers, fans and activists, affirming funk's status as culture. She also stressed the problems raised by Faustini, such as difficulties regarding the funding of popular arts by the state, as bureaucratic impediments that exclude many important agents, who often do not have any formal education and/or specific knowledge of how to write a project. She also pointed out other problems of a bureaucratic nature, such as the requirement that applicants cannot have debts. According to her, this is a "reality among the lower classes"⁴⁰ and this requirement would take "many important people from funk out of the dispute"⁴¹.

Conventional cultural capital conditions the access to funding from government institutions, such as knowing how to write a project application; or else, it involves having social capital, such as knowing the people who can help them to write one. As argued by many of those involved, the state does not know how to address culture produced and enjoyed throughout Rio de Janeiro by the popular classes. According to Faustini, this occurs because those doing funk do not fit into constructed conventions and images associated with culture:

Dancers of *passinho do menor* are grabbing the camera in the afternoon, putting it in the street, and filming themselves dancing. This is an urban intervention, if you think about it a little bit. This is also video art, because they are expanding time and there is no author creating a representation of the world, even though it is not slow. This is kuduro, funk, contemporary dance. A problem for it to be recognized as culture is

⁴⁰ Uma realidade entre as classes mais baixas.

⁴¹ (...) muitas pessoas importantes fora da disputa.

that those actors are not wearing scarves, referencing a certain identity, that is the mode we use to identify culture.⁴²

Besides his experience in government, Marcus Faustini is a sociocultural agitator. In addition to managing and mediating culture, Faustini also makes his own movies. The way he found people was by putting up banners in Nova Iguaçu, a neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, banners that resemble the ones used to publicize *baiões*. Actually, the casting process was part of the movie itself, which shows people talking and singing on a stage for a director.

It is clear in this film that people showing up to sing in the movie dream about becoming a MC. One of the characters, when questioned about why he chose to wear specific clothing, answered: “Because MCs dress like this.” Another character, a boy, said his preferred style was *pagode*. However, in case he did not succeed as a *pagode* singer, he would happily become an MC. He also said that taking part in this movie would help him progress towards his objectives.

Faustini believes funk is extending beyond the music scene, in his words: “Funk is in a moment in which it ceases to be only music, it becomes an element of audiovisual in Brazil. (...) Funk is not only a musical genre; it traverses many experiences of ways of living in popular territories.”⁴³ Additionally, he said: “Funk goes beyond actors traditionally involved with it.”⁴⁴

⁴² Os dançarinos do passinho do menor eles estão pegando a camera botando na rua no final de tarde se filmando dançando. Ali tem intervenção urbana, se você for pensar. Ali tem video arte, porque tem dilatação de tempo e não tem um autor só filmando e construindo uma representação de mundo, só não é lento. Ali tem Kuduro, funk, dança contemporânea. O problema é que a gente não reconhece aquilo como cultura é porque aqueles autores não estão vestidos de cachecol, de algum modo identitário que é o modo que a gente costuma usar para reconhecer.

⁴³ O funk está em um momento em que ele deixa de ser apenas música para se tornar um elemento do audiovisual no Brasil. (...) Funk não é só um gênero musical, ele atravessa muitas experiências de modos de viver em territórios populares.

⁴⁴ O funk vai além dos atores tradicionalmente envolvidos.

Emílio was another judge in this public selection for funding interviewed for this research. He also stressed the contradiction in the fact that the State government funds projects involving funk, but still criminalizes funk events. It is important to note that this first selection of projects did not award funding for events, while the police (part of the Rio de Janeiro State government) still prohibited many *bailes* in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, even though Faustini acknowledged the importance of extending state attention towards other mediations, beyond the traditional actors involved with it, Rio de Janeiro State Government stifled one of funk's main sites of development, the *baile*. A more recent selection occurred in 2013 and awarded funds to *baile funk* events.

Funk's example also draws attention to existing critiques of identity politics, and how certain groups do not play this game, possibly even refusing to do so. Because funk fans and creators do not get organized in terms of delimited identities or necessarily associate with established "expressive machines", as described by Faustini, those doing funk strive for recognition. Therefore, instead of talking about identity politics the term "politics of recognition" (Fraser 1999, p. 25) seems to do a better job of pointing to the relevance of difference.

This research corroborates the arguments of Fraser, who has stressed the importance of combining redistribution and recognition. According to her, authors have often dismissed one or the other due to a "false antithesis" (Fraser 1999, p. 26).

Without access to basic education and resources, enjoying opportunities such as obtaining state funding becomes more difficult, due to bureaucratic requirements that many of those involved with funk cannot fulfil. Those from the lower classes artistically involved in funk should have access to funding in order to develop and experiment with art. But, as illustrated in this work, this is not

enough, they still need to struggle on other fronts, such as funk's recognition as culture, and access to tools facilitating their access to opportunities appearing as a result of funk's legitimization.

In this case, two options are usually involved when it comes to recognizing funk as culture and art. First, funk is co-opted, transformed into a tool for other aims. Political or economic utility associated with funk generates recognition and legitimization as a by-product; hence, co-optation and appropriation might contribute to funk's recognition, sometimes in a conflictive way. Moreover, funk's appropriation often responds to passing concerns, such as promoting a certain brand. Paid work as a dancer or singer certainly constitutes an important source of income, but one of the most important issues facing funk is to guarantee that economic and social empowerment generated by funk's production is not something fragile or ephemeral.

In this sense, funkeiros struggle for recognition of their culture and denounce difficulties emerging from structural differences, such as the existence of material inequality and a lack of cultural recognition. They also struggle for the acceptance of differences, such as embodied manners and ways of talking, solidified in habitus, and the recognition of affective and aesthetic communities created by everyday engagement with music.

Photographing funk's activism: Maria Buzanovsky

A photographer from Rio de Janeiro called Maria Buzanovsky was a successful applicant in the aforementioned selection. Her project involved an exhibition of pictures taken during Rodas de Funk. She also worked at Batalha do Passinho in 2013 – dance competitions taking place in different *favelas* in Rio

de Janeiro in 2011 and 2013. She said that, despite the “simplicity” of this selection, there were still problems regarding the democratization of access. According to her, however, this selection allowed many who had never participated in a selection like this to compete and obtain funding for a variety of projects. She mentioned a choir with funk songs, movies and a blog, Funk de Raiz (roots funk). Adriana Lopes (2011) mentions this blog in her research; she refers to it as an important source of information. The name of the blog reveals a certain preference and even the creation of a classification praising funk songs from the 1990s. It seeks to establish a relationship between the anteriority of those kinds of funk and a certain foundation for carioca funk music. It is part of a process of inventing a tradition (Lopes 2011).

One of the first sentences Maria said during her interview, which took place in an apartment where she lived at the time with her mother in Niterói, was: “My images have a political dimension; I don’t want my images associated with things that have nothing to do with what I think.” I first met Maria at an APAFUNK Roda de Funk in Cantagalo. I only talked to her briefly that day, as she was moving around a lot to capture the event.

Maria said that she was an activist before becoming a photographer. After photographing a few Rodas de Funk, she also started to take pictures of social events, such as weddings, birthdays, proms etc. Thus, she developed two parallel strands of work, one that she associates with political activism, and the other aimed at sustaining her economically. She also attributes the decision of the government to fund funk to the pressure exerted by the Funk is Culture movement:

We got law 5,265 [a law specifically referring to funk, creating a number of legal hurdles for the organization of funk parties] repealed, and then

we made them approve this new law recognizing funk as a cultural movement. APAFUNK also started to demand that government public policies implement this recognition in practical terms. We managed to apply pressure for this call for projects, I called Leo and said: ‘Leo, I want to create an exhibition about the activities of APAFUNK.’ I had to contact him because the selection required that the applicants were already part of the funk world. Leo gave me a written reference to send, and I was chosen. I had to send a proposal and attend an interview. It is not much, R\$ 20,000 reais for one year. But it is a help.⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that Maria considers her activity as a photographer to be political. Hence, she attempts to control the use of her images, trying to stop their use to convey ideas that might oppose hers. Moreover, the constant use of “we” in her speech demonstrates she considered herself part of the Funk is Culture movement. This sense of belonging is essential to obtain good photographs, according to her, an idea which became clear when she attempted to describe why she managed to take good pictures of *capoeira*, another of her interests as a photographer.

According to her, because she trained in *capoeira* for a while, even though she does not consider herself gifted in it, she learned its embodied logics. In her words, people who do not know *capoeira* – a mixture of dancing and fighting of Afro-Brazilian origin – can “watch, but they do not really see, for example,

⁴⁵ A gente derrubou a lei 5265 e fizemos eles aprovarem essa nova lei reconhecendo o funk como um movimento cultural. A APAFUNK também começou a cobrar do governos políticas públicas para que esse reconhecimento ocorra na prática. A gente conseguiu pressionar para este edital eu liguei para Leo e falei: ‘Leo eu quero criar uma exposição sobre as atividades da APAFUNK’. Eu tive que falar com ele porque a seleção exigia a gente já tivesse no meio. Leo me deu a referência para eu mandar, aí eu inscrevi e eu fui escolhida. Eu tive que mandar uma proposta, ir numa entrevista. Não é muito, R\$ 20 mil reais para um ano, mas ajuda pelo menos.

things such as a discreet blow with the elbow, something like that”.⁴⁶ Another important thing to know to get a good picture in *capoeira* is proximity and the ability to be inside the circle of sited people delimiting the *roda* of *capoeira*. Normally, a *roda de capoeira* is composed of people sitting around the space where the game (or *jogo* in Portuguese) is played. Normally, the *bateria* (people playing the music) are in front of the place where the game happens. *Roda* is a Portuguese word for circle; the same one is used for certain settings to play *samba* and, as introduced by APAFUNK, to sing funk.

This sense of belonging is also noteworthy, considering Maria’s social position. She is part of an educated middle class and graduated from a prestigious university in Niterói. During my conversations with her, she also told me that she liked a variety of funk songs, but she did not consider herself a *baile* goer. Even without close proximity to funk in terms of practice, she considered it important to engage in the struggle for accessible entertainment in the *favelas*:

I never went to *bailes* when I was younger, when other people used to go. I was not a *funkeira*, I didn’t listen to it at home. (...) I entered APAFUNK because of activism; Adriana introduced me to it. And that is when I started to realize the process funk is going through, the criminalization of poverty. That’s why I’m involved in it, because I think it’s a fight that belongs to me as well. It’s not only a struggle of *funkeiros* or *favelados*. It is prejudice that we have to fight. I don’t think I fight *for* them, I fight *with* them. I fight for a world that I dream of for me, for my sons. And now I love funk, I like it more everyday. I still prefer those

⁴⁶ (...) olhar, mas podem não ver, por exemplo, coisas como uma cotovelada discreta ou algo assim.

politicized songs about daily life in the *favelas*. But, I also like the others as well, even the *putaria* I like. At a *baile*, you know, I like it.⁴⁷

Maria's focus is not the *baile*. She intends to show the "institutionalization of funk" and the "struggle for rights" through her pictures. According to her, there are photographers already working on this embodied side of funk and sensuality, while she wants to show "another side of funk". She refers, for instance, to pictures of children in *bailes*, of old people, countering the idea that only the youth appreciate funk. Maria argues that both strands of work, one showing the sensuality and embodiment of funk and hers showing this "other side", have their role in "registering and creating memory".

Women as friends of funk in APAFUNK

Most women participating in the Funk is Culture movement were not directly involved in creating funk music. They were academics, such as Adriana Facina and Adriana Lopes. Maria Buzanovsky, for example, was a photographer. Alessandra and Daniela Orofino worked for MEURIO, a mobilization network working with both online and on-site activism. Women also got involved in the Funk is Culture movement for political reasons and for their love of funk songs, especially conscious songs. Maria, for instance, cites a number of women

⁴⁷ Nunca frequentei bailes quando eu era mais nova, quando o pessoal ia mesmo. Não era funkeira, não escutava em casa. (...) Entrei na APAFUNK mais por causa da militância, Adriana me apresentou a eles. E fui entendendo o contexto do funk dentro deste processo de criminalização da pobreza. E aí eu me engajei nisso, porque eu acho que é uma luta que também é minha. Não é só do funkeiro ou do favelado. Esse preconceito precisa ser vencido. Eu não acho que eu luto para eles, eu luto com eles. É um mundo que eu também sonho para mim, meus filhos, enfim. E acabei adorando funk, gostando cada vez mais. Eu gosto mais desses funks com letras mais politizadas, que falam do cotidiano das faveals. Mas eu gosto de todas, até do putaria eu gosto também. No baile eu gosto.

participating in APAFUNK, stressing that most women were not funk professionals:

In APAFUNK everyone is welcome, but regarding the participation of women there is still a lack of them. (...) There are many women participating actively in APAFUNK: me, Adriana, Pamela, Dani, Lidiane, there are many women helping, but they are not funk professionals. This situation reflects what funk is as a whole. Until today I think very few women from funk actually engaged in APAFUNK, I think Tiane participated, for instance, but ended up disengaging as well. (...) This is work APAFUNK must do, create mechanisms to bring in more funk professionals who are women.⁴⁸

Even though Maria feels welcome to participate in APAFUNK, despite her social position, the first encounters between Adriana Facina, MC Leonardo and other funk professionals to articulate APAFUNK raised suspicions. MC Leonardo told this story during a rehearsal for Bloco APAFUNK, *bloco* is a name referring to a group composed of a large number of different drummers, *bloco* presentations are very common during carnival. Bloco APAFUNK selects people to learn how to drum and integrate into this group, which also participates in protests and other presentations, combined with the singing of MCs.

Before the rehearsal, MC Leonardo, Lidiane and Guilherme talked about APAFUNK, stressing its history and objectives. On the day of the rehearsal,

⁴⁸ Na APAFUNK todo mundo é bem vindo, mas em relação à participação das mulheres ainda falta. Tem muitas mulheres participando ativamente da APAFUNK, eu, Adriana, Pamela, Dani, Lidiane, muitas mulheres ajudando, mas elas não são profissionais do funk. Essa situação reflete o universo do funk como um todo. Até hoje eu acho que poucas mulheres do funk mesmo se engajaram na APAFUNK, eu acho que a Tiana participou, por exemplo, mas acabou dispersando também. (...) Este trabalho a APAFUNK precisa fazer, criar mecanismos para trazer mais profissionais do funk que são mulheres.

Lidiane stressed that she was warmly welcomed in the association, even though she was white and had blue eyes and blond hair. She acknowledged “learning a lot” in APAFUNK:

I am not a funk professional, I am familiar with a completely different area of expertise, I’m white, with blue eyes and straight hair, but nobody ever used that against me. And I am a woman, organic in the movement, I think there are only a few of us.⁴⁹

MC Leonardo referred to his first visits with Adriana Facina to Rocinha, a *favela* between Gávea and São Conrado, two rich areas of Rio de Janeiro, where he grew up:

Appearance is not everything, otherwise there is no science. We are there in Arpoador watching the sun go down, but the sun is not going anywhere; no, we are the ones moving. The earth is round but we see it as flat, there is no point in concentrating on appearance. Where is this guy from? Where are these people from? The Bloco must be darker. No! I don’t agree with this idea. I think that if this place is full of people from the *favela*, then great, if it is full of people from asfalto [wealthy areas of the city], also great. We need people. I like to diverge. But I also like to be with the people, in order to debate, so if we are to diverge, we can diverge together. Let’s debate together, to diverge with each one in your own place, it doesn’t work. People would say: ‘Look, you walk around with this blond girl.’ I walked with Adriana Facina in Rocinha without any pre-established agenda or intentions, Facina would leave Niteroi, I

⁴⁹ Eu não sou uma profissional do funk, eu venho de uma área de especialização bem diferente, sou branca, olhos azuis, cabelo liso, mas ninguém nunca usou isso contra mim. E eu sou mulher, orgânica do movimento, acho que são poucas.

would leave Taquara to meet in Rocinha, we did not have an agenda, only to debate utopia.⁵⁰

During an interview for this research, Adriana Facina narrated a situation in 2006 when, during a party, some of her students jokingly said that she was part of the “manipulated mass” because she was dancing funk. They also argued that funk was sexist. She questioned how Rap da Felicidade was sexist (the DJ was playing this song at that the moment), arguing as well that the DJ had already played many other sexist songs and nobody questioned anything. The lyrics for “Rap da Felicidade” are as follows:

<p>Eu só quero é ser feliz, Andar tranqüilamente na favela onde eu nasci E poder me orgulhar, E ter a consciência que o pobre tem seu lugar. Fé em Deus, DJ! Minha cara autoridade, eu já não sei o que fazer, Com tanta violência Eu sinto medo de viver. Pois moro na favela E sou muito desrespeitado, A tristeza e a alegria aqui caminham lado a lado. Eu faço uma oração para uma santa protetora, Mas sou interrompido à tiros de metralhadora. Enquanto os ricos moram numa casa grande e bela, O pobre é humilhado, esculachado na favela.</p>	<p>I just want to be happy Walking calmly in the <i>favela</i> where I was born And also to be proud Being conscious that the poor people have their place Faith in God, DJ! My dear authority I don't know what to do With so much violence I'm afraid of living I live in a <i>favela</i> And I suffer from disrespect Here happiness and sadness walk together I'm praying to my protector saint, Just to be interrupted by shotgun sounds While the rich people live in a big and beautiful house The poor are humiliated in the <i>favelas</i></p>
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⁵⁰ Aparência não é essência senão não há ciência. A gente está lá no Arpoador vendo o sol se por, mas o sol não vai a lugar nenhum, não, é a gente que está se movendo. A terra é redonda mas a gente vê ela chata, não faz sentido concentrar na aparência. De onde veio esse cara? De onde são estas pessoas? O Bloco precisa ser mais negro. Não! Não concordo com essa ideia. Eu acho que se esse lugar esta cheio de gente da favela, ótimo, se está cheio de gente do asfalto, ótimo também. A gente precisa de gente. Eu gosto de divergir. Mas eu gosto de estar com as pessoas, para debater. Assim se vamos divergir, a gente pode divergir juntos. Vamos debater juntos, porque divergir cada um em seu lugar, não funciona. As pessoas diziam: ‘Olha, você fica andando aí com essa mulher loira’. Eu andava com Adriana Facina na Rocinha sem nenhuma intenção ou agenda pré-estabelecida, Facina saía de Niterói, eu saía da Taquara, para encontrar na Rocinha, não tinha nenhuma agenda, só para debater utopia.

Já não aguento mais essa onda de violência, Só peço a autoridade um pouco mais de competência.	I cannot stand all this violence anymore I just demand from the authorities a little bit of competence. (MC Cidinho and MC Doca) ⁵¹
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They answered that this song specifically was not sexist, but represented a “timid political platform”. Her reply was: “It is a timid political platform for you, you don’t live in a *favela* and you don’t know how important it is to be able to walk calmly in your own neighbourhood.”⁵² Facina told me that Rap da Felicidade is one of her favourite funk songs. During the interview, she affirmed, “Happiness is the most advanced of all grievances.”⁵³ Afterwards, she asked: “What is the sense of struggling, if not to see everyone happy?”⁵⁴

Rap da Felicidade argues, that in the *favelas* “happiness and sadness walk together”. They walk together because of specific social issues considered by the two MCs, Cidinho and Doca. They list different difficulties that *favela* inhabitants face in wanting to be happy: disrespect, authorities’ neglect, violence, poverty and inequality.

This song is a very representative one, sung in a variety of situations, by people of completely different class backgrounds. According to Facina, most of her students who questioned the political message contained in “Rap da Felicidade” engaged in helping APAFUNK. At several Rodas de Funk, I could witness people from a variety of social contexts singing: “I just want to be happy and walk calmly in the *favela* where I was born.”

⁵¹ Lyrics found on the video, “Eu só quero é ser feliz!”, available on the YouTube, see Table 3 on Chapter 3 for the link and other information.

⁵² É uma plataforma política tímida para você, que nunca morou numa favela e não sabe o quanto importante é poder andar em paz no seu próprio bairro.

⁵³ Felicidade é a mais avançada das causas.

⁵⁴ Qual o sentido de lutar, se não for ver a todos felizes?

Therefore, people empathize with the message in this song, because everyone wants to “walk calmly” in the surroundings of their home, whether in a *favela* or in a wealthy neighbourhood. According to Bourdieu, when describing how habitus sought to produce the context for its own “fulfilment”, affections and tastes combine in order to create an “environment in which one feels ‘at home’ and in which one can achieve that fulfilment of one’s desire to be, which one identifies with happiness” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 150).

According to Adriana Facina, many of the students who questioned her enjoyment of funk started to support APAFUNK. Therefore, as widely commented on by activists, APAFUNK managed to politicize many people, while breaking down the prejudice against the style among university students and other activism groups. Inside APAFUNK, those who are not funk professionals participate as “friends” of funk music. Considering the lack of female professionals in APAFUNK, most women are friends of funk. There are some restrictions regarding this difference as well, meaning that funk-music professionals have the right to be elected as part of the management of the institution.

Paradoxically, this restriction addresses one distortion – funk artists are politically underrepresented, but they should not be underrepresented in the institution fighting for their rights – while introducing another one. Because women are underrepresented within funk, their role in APAFUNK is usually as friends of funk. Therefore, there is a restriction regarding their participation in any decisions. The board of directors elected in 2008, when APAFUNK started, only had one woman, MC Tiana. Comprising the board were the president, MC Leonardo, at the time, a vice-president, Mano Teko, two secretaries, two treasurers and a fiscal council, composed of three people.

In sum, those struggling for funk's recognition as culture are not only those producing funk, but also other mediators, among whom women play a relevant role. Within Rodas de Funk, women are usually in APAFUNK as friends of funk music, or they participate through other institutions, such as MEURIO.

In Leela Gandhi's words, "'friendship' (...) is one name for the co-belonging of non-identical singularities" (Gandhi 2006, p.26). Therefore, those women, friends of funk music, are also, to a certain extent, non-identical to the world of funk, but they choose to participate in its struggles for equal rights and citizenship. Women's adherence to the Funk is Culture movement is even more surprising given funk's dominance by men (FGV 2008).

6.3. Event II: MC arrests, freedom of expression and the recognition of *baile funk* music as art and fiction

In December 2010, the police arrested six MCs following the occupation of a complex of *favelas* known as Complexo do Alemão by military forces. The arrested singers' names were MC Ticão, MC Max, MC Smith, MC Frank, MC Dido and MC Galo. The arrest operation was conducted by the Delegacia de Repressão aos Crimes de Informática (DRCI), a police department specializing in tackling computer-related crime. The majority of the arrested MCs were either inhabitants or people with strong connections to Complexo do Alemão. Most of the arrested MCs had also filmed performances on YouTube singing and praising Comando Vermelho.

MC Frank, one of the arrested MCs, told me in an interview that police used a video posted on YouTube to accuse him of crime incitation, a video recorded during a *baile*. According to him, the deputy alleged that the recording was made

inside Complexo do Alemão, but he confirmed to me that the party actually happened outside the *favela* complex, at an event produced by a policeman. He told me that the police accused him of trying to mislead the investigation by improvising lyrics during the party claiming that the gang leaders from Complexo do Alemão escaped to Rocinha, another *favela* in Rio de Janeiro. Rocinha was at this time controlled by a rival faction, and according to MC Frank, he was trying to suggest during his performance that the drug lords were uniting to fight the UPP programme. He argued that he had no actual information about the location of the drug dealers sought by the police, and that it was all nothing but a prank.

The organization Freemuse concentrates on investigating and publicizing threats to artistic freedom, which according to their latest report is “under extreme pressure in far too many countries” (Freemuse 2015, p. 7). The report does not include the repression of funk music in its figures for 2015, but it does mention the arrest of funk MCs. Since the arrests did not occur in 2015, this is arguably the reason for their absence in the main statistics:

Currently, the Brazilian authorities, especially at the local level, maintain the position that Brazilian funk lyrics glorify and praise drug violence, thus meaning that criminal gangs in the *favelas* are promoting crime. The authorities also believe that funk music is an active way to recruit new gang members. Brazilian funk musicians – especially those who perform its more explicit version, “forbidden funk” – disagree with the authorities and claim their lyrics talk about their lives in the slums. (Freemuse 2015, p. 40).

Accounts of the repression of funk artists by the police have circulated since the first journalistic article on soul parties in the seventies. Activists, artists and

lawyers compare the repression funk suffers to the repression of other popular cultures throughout history. Police systematically repressed *capoeira*, samba and Afro-Brazilian religions, practised by the lower classes and blacks at the beginning of the twentieth century.

According to Ricardo Sidi, the lawyer defending the MCs, they were temporarily arrested accused of inciting crime, association with drug traffic and association to commit crime. The legal provision allowing for temporary arrest has its origins in another provision from the dictatorship period called *prisão para averiguação* or imprisonment for enquiry. In the past, during the dictatorship period, starting in 1964, the authorities used this law to imprison individuals without the need for judgment; such imprisonment often resulted in torture or even death. In 1989, law number 7,960 established a number of criteria regulating the possibility of temporary arrest. Still according to the lawyer, he managed to obtain a writ of habeas corpus, since the accusations pending against the MCs did not justify their temporary arrest. He also confirmed that despite all the “ideological discourse” introduced by the defence, the “technical argument” was fundamental for the judge’s decision to grant habeas corpus.

Freedom of expression is guaranteed by the Brazilian constitution of 1988, in article five, line nine: “there is freedom of expression for intellectual, artistic, scientific and communication activities, independent of censorship or permission” (Constituição Federal 1988).

In the past, the police have used Articles 286 and 287, respectively, relating to “advocating crime or criminals” (in Portuguese, *apologia ao crime* or *ao criminoso*) and “incitement to crime” (Freemuse 2015, p. 40), to censor musical expression in Brazil. In 1997, a band called Planet Hemp was arrested accused of inciting the use of marijuana. The police arrested the band members *in flagrante*

delicto during a show, but released them a few days later (Agência Folha, 13/11/1997). Another example involved the censorship of a video clip from Facção Central, a rap group from São Paulo. The judge, Maurício Lemos Porto Alves, confiscated the tape and prohibited showing the video, “Isto é uma Guerra” (“This is a War”), on the MTV television network, arguing that it incited a range of different crimes such as robbery and kidnapping (Agência Folha, 29/06/2000).

Those cases indicate a tendency of the authorities to frequently use the law of crime incitation to censor songs or videos that portray the reality of violence or criminal activity. Are there any legal limits to freedom of expression in Brazil? According to one lawyer, one should consider whether a certain form of expression conflicts with the rights of another group or individual. In the case of crime incitation, he argues that people do not join criminal factions because of funk songs and that those singers are simply describing the reality they live with.

Repression of popular culture

There is a visible tension within the funk scene and it does not seem to diminish with funk’s popularity. Instead, it seems to continue, caused by a combination of factors including empowerment generated by funk’s emergence as a cultural and economic force, in contrast with persistent forms of exclusion such as classism, racialized boundaries and spatial segregation.

Many *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro are located within the most touristic and wealthy areas, usually in a zone known as *Zona Sul*, or the south zone. The occupation of those areas by police preceded the increasing repression of funk.

This process was part of a programme called Pacifying Police Units (UPPs), which managed to reduce the power of drug traffickers in several areas.

To receive a document with all the pictures
contained in this thesis, please send an email
to bmuniz@gmail.com

Figure 20 UPP policemen in Cantagalo community. (Source: Author 2012)

This strategy of permanent occupation of *favela* communities by the police produced negative reactions among funk fans and artists. Following the occupation of most of the *favelas*, *bailes* remain prohibited until further notice. The State's efforts to control funk might support two different and even opposing conclusions. It is possible on the one hand to say that the repression of funk occurs because of marginalization and prejudice. But on the other hand, this effort of control also brings to the fore funk's political relevance, raising a second option.

Why would the state try to systematically regulate funk for more than two and a half decades, if not for political reasons? Unless the idea of funk as a menace to social order is accepted, an image many times conveyed by mainstream media (Herschmann 2001), we cannot ignore the possibility that funk must have something to do with power dynamics.

More than issues with the State, social-movement activists and educators also ignored or even hated funk. Even among activists normally concerned with the struggles of the marginalized, funk was in the margins. This situation prompted Hermano Vianna to say that funk is “the excluded of the excluded” (Vianna 2005, n.d., para. 3, author’s translation).

According to him, the marginalization of funk led to the creation of *proibições*. This style was the result of funk’s move into the *favelas* prompted by state repression. According to Vianna, the state action delivered funk into the hands of faction leaders. “We gave the gold to the bandits” (Vianna 2005, n.d., author’s translation) says the title of Vianna’s article. According to him: “The police, politicians, journalists and carioca elite are responsible for the association between funk and drugs traffic in Rio de Janeiro’s *favelas*” (Vianna 2005, n.d., para. 1, author’s translation). He also argues that:

With everyone supporting the good side of funk – via simple actions such as providing security for *bailes* (the police, instead of closing the *bailes*, should help to protect them) – this music can still help to take Rio de Janeiro out of the dark times we are living in, and become a source of pride for the carioca, a face of happiness for all the city. (Vianna 2005, n.d., para. 7, author’s translation).

Vianna is not the first to think of music in terms of its capacity to change a certain social situation in Rio de Janeiro. The argument for the substantial social relevance of different music/ dance settings to Rio de Janeiro concerns different expressions of popular culture since the beginning of the twentieth century. Expressions such as samba and *capoeira* are two good examples (Siqueira 2012). All of those expressions link to associations or groups where people meet and

socialize, evidenced by examples such as the *escolas de samba* (samba schools) and *capoeira* groups, with their hierarchies and rules.

Moreover, many samba songs referred to *favelas* as places with a strong sense of community and widespread happiness, despite the hardness of life, which is common in funk songs as well. However, funk developed in a very different time to *capoeira* and *samba*, during a historical period marked by violent gang warfare. A moment in which portraying *favelas* as idyllic places, as *samba* did in its early days, was not so easy, given the violent conflicts in those areas.

Outlawing proibidões

Is it possible to ignore the politics underlying *proibidões* and affirm that those songs are nothing more than criminal activity? Independent of the hideous deeds of gang leaders, drug factions are to a certain extent political organizations. The origins of the gangs themselves lie in the dictatorship period, when political and common prisoners cohabited, in Ilha Grande prison.

The degree of legitimacy of those criminal groups within *favela* communities today is highly questionable. According to research, many *favela* dwellers use the terms “us” and “them” when referring to drug dealers, clearly trying to establish some separation from criminal activities (Machado and Leite 2007). Evidence shows that *favela* dwellers feel oppressed by both the police and drug traffickers (Machado and Leite 2007). Even though the state often neglects those areas, it is not completely absent. Therefore, it is not true that the drugs traffic results in a “parallel state” (Perlman 2010; Machado and Leite 2007), a term sometimes used by journalists. Nevertheless, those dwelling in the *favelas* are prone to discriminatory association with criminality, *proibidões* singers even

more so. Sometimes public policies reinforce this situation by treating *favela* youngsters as potential criminals (Machado and Leite 2007, author's translation).

If mainstream media portray *bailes* as places where criminals show off their big guns, and where immorality thrives, the interviews and field research provided me with a completely different impression of those places. According to Sansone:

Despite more than a decade of media insistence that *funkeiros* are troublemakers and that *baile funk* stimulates violence, it is extremely important to be cautious about any direct or a priori association between hatred, rebellion, violence, factions and funk. (Sansone 2007, p. 182, author's translation)

During the field research, most of the interviewees who were in the habit of attending *bailes* described those events as important places for socialization and entertainment within the community, where people can meet, chat, dance and get to know each other. MC Leonardo told me that the local authorities conducted a poll inside the Ladeira dos Tabajáras community, asking the population's opinion about the return of *bailes* after their prohibition by the UPP. According to Leonardo, the overwhelmingly positive response led the commandant of the UPP to negotiate the return of the *bailes* with APAFUNK, an organization involved in the Funk is Culture movement.

Crime, art or politics?

Passinho dance is a rich collage of international and national steps. Producers and journalists identify *passinho* as a "good" expression of funk, without coarse language or references to explicit sexuality. Therefore, this dance style is a good

counterpoint to the arrest of MCs who compose *proibidões*, considered outlaws by media and government. Television networks and newspapers promote *passinho*, referring to it as a “light” form of funk:

The *batidão* (strong funk beat) went down, down, until it reached the floor of the best addresses in Rio de Janeiro. The rhythm of funk, brought by a new generation of MCs and groups – *bondes* for the initiated – definitely broke out from the *favela* ghettos and reached an enchanted middle class with this new well-behaved style of songs and choreography. The defence of weapons, drugs and criminal factions are now becoming history. (...) They (the MCs) are giving a straight message to Zona Sul youth: funk light is the new trend in Rio’s nightlife. (O Globo – 26/05/2013, author’s translation)

At the same time, many research participants criticized this divide between “good” or “light” funk and “bad” funk. Indeed, evidence found during this research suggests that, apart from commercial and political interests, this division is quite arbitrary on the funk scene. Many Funk is Culture movement participants, for example, were very critical of this divide – “good” versus “bad” funk – but they were also critical of *proibidões* as well. Mano Teko, for example, said the following during an interview:

From James Brown until now the scene has changed, the music has changed, the way people dress has changed, but the name has remained the same. You can say *pancadão*, *batidão*, *proibidão*, but in the end it is funk. With nationalization, people started to give funk different names, funk *proibidão*, funk *putaria*, funk *consciente*, more recently, funk *ostentação*. But in my view this has been happening for a long time. (...) I’ve been alerting some MCs from Rio de Janeiro to this, not to

appropriate this context, or this text of good funk and bad funk. (...)

Regarding *proibidão*, *putaria* here in Rio de Janeiro, in this case, I'm against the excesses. There are the right places for you to hear certain things. I'm shocked with certain things I see.⁵⁵

MCs and DJs, usually senior members of the funk scene, have also considered the negative consequences for funk's image caused by the violent, sexualized and sexist content of certain lyrics. However, some funk professionals who criticize *proibidões* have also stressed that funk is to be understood as culture and art.

Therefore, they demand freedom to sing about issues affecting their daily lives, even if it involves describing violence. The Funk is Culture movement believes that MCs should have the autonomy to sing about violence or sex without censorship. Mano Teko also acknowledges that MCs singing *proibidão* or *putaria* (funks about sex) are reproducing things they see everyday, not only in their physical surroundings but also through TV and newspapers. Content portraying sexual interaction is easily available on computers or simply by watching TV, as observed by Mano Teko.

In the United Kingdom the same criticism was directed at mainstream popular music, as a poll conducted by Netmums Forum found out that 80 per cent of its respondents worried about their children repeating sexualized moves or expressions without knowing their meaning (The Guardian, 07/11/2013). There

⁵⁵ De James Brown até hoje, a cena mudou, a música mudou, o jeito que as pessoas se vestem mudou, mas o nome se manteve. Você pode dizer pancadão, batidão, proibidão, mas no final é tudo funk. Com a nacionalização, pessoas começaram a dar ao funk outros nomes, funk proibidão, funk putaria, funk consciente, mais recentemente, funk ostentação. O que na minha visão já vem acontecendo a muito tempo. Eu estive alertando alguns MCs do Rio de Janeiro para não se apropriarem deste contexto, esse texto de funk do bem e funk do mal. (...) Com relação ao proibidão, putaria aqui no Rio de Janeiro, nesse caso, eu sou contra os excessos. Tem lugar certo para ouvir certas coisas, eu estou chocado com certas coisas que eu vejo por aí.

were similar preoccupations with “gangsta music”, that supposedly leads children to adopt violent behaviour.

Most interviewees, including Funk is Culture movement participants, criticize the manicheistic depiction of funk, opposing “good funk” against “bad funk”. What they say is that there is only one funk. However, as aforementioned, funk is indeed quite heterogeneous. How is it possible to reconcile funk’s unity and heterogeneity? First, there is the passionate engagement with the style shared by many fans and artists. Is this a weak link? It certainly is not. However, this passionate engagement has to do with another important thing – art’s autonomy. Despite the many uses and attributes of funk, despite the many good and bad consequences cited by lovers and detractors, the main question remains: Is funk considered an art form? What are the consequences of considering funk to be an art form?

In order to prosecute artists because of certain lyrics, the police take for granted funk’s effects on sociability. For example, funk can, allegedly: lead children into a life of crime; encourage people to have sexual intercourse without protection; incite criminal acts against the police. The list is endless.

The police can only persecute funk by denying it is an art form, by considering that MCs are not describing fictional, but realistic, perspectives and characters. However, from the moment you recognize the fictional character of funk lyrics, the discussion becomes more complicated. What are those “dangerous” lyrics really about? Are those lyrics about crime incitation? Are they about describing the reality of MCs’ lives? Are they poetic fictional work, the fruit of creative minds? Are those lyrics political? How does one discern what is advocating crime from artistic creations or political statements?

One habeas corpus writ from the defence lawyers for the MCs, arguing for their release, considered all of these questions. This legal document includes many images and references to other art works exhibiting or describing violence. Two relevant images used by the lawyers are part of a collection of images drawn in charcoal by the artist Gil Vicente and exhibited at the 29th São Paulo Art Biennial. This set of images show the artist pointing guns at different important people, such as the Pope, the former president of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Queen Elizabeth II, Ahmadinejad, Ariel Sharon and George W. Bush; for Lula's assassination he curiously chose a knife. This work was part of an exhibition stages in a public space and supported by a respectful institution – the São Paulo Art Biennial. The writ of habeas corpus cited all those images, along with other examples such as numerous song lyrics and poems talking about violence.

The writ of habeas corpus suggests that social position and legitimacy regulate the right to exhibit violence in symbolic terms, leading to the question: why is funk being censored for artistically portraying violence yet other artists doing exactly the same thing do not face major problems? Regarding the drawings by Gil Vicente, for instance, the habeas corpus writ says:

After many discussions, it was decided that the works exhibited in the Biennale should be kept on show for the public. Intelligently, it was recognized that there is a boundary between reality and art works, leaving art's censorship to the critical judgement of the spectator.

The habeas corpus writ also draws a parallel between poverty, misery and a lack of recognition of the poetics of funk music. According to the lawyers, since the lyrics are artistic and fictive creations, one cannot interpret them literally. Gil Vicente, for example, clearly states his objective of drawing political figures as

realistically as possible, so that people viewing the work will immediately recognize them. However, despite being realistic depictions of different possible scenes, those images are clearly not real, everyone can recognize their fictive character. People attending the exhibition knew that Gil Vicente did not actually point guns or knives at anyone.

Why do the authorities ignore this fictional nature of funk songs? Part of the answer lies in the criminalization process of *favela* dwellers, as noticed by research on the issue (Machado and Leite 2007, Misse 2009). The people living in *favelas* are at constant risk of being associated with crime, this is seen in the way policemen defend themselves from killings perpetrated by them in those areas. Internal police investigations explore family relationships, friendships and other kinds of links in order to incriminate individuals that died during police operations and associate them with criminal factions (Misse 2009).

The most important function of a writ of habeas corpus is to convince a judge to free arrested individuals because of a lack of evidence or the unconstitutionality of an action. In this case, along with the writ, before exposing the most important legal argument (the one about the unconstitutionality of imprisonment), the lawyers seemed to posit a historical responsibility to the judge. The lawyers seemed to ask: are you going to criminalize funk, as others did in the past with samba and *capoeira*? The lawyers explained, in the writ of habeas corpus, that *capoeira* was a forbidden practice until 1940. They also remembered that police targeted *sambistas*, accusing them of *vadiagem*, or vagrancy. The fact that those expressions of music, like funk, are produced by the “city’s miserable” was raised more than once in the habeas corpus writ, which affirmed: “The MCs (funk singers) who live in deprived communities sing the reality of those excluded from society, including their ‘bandit’ neighbours.

Inevitably, their songs are about criminal events happening in *favelas* and their surroundings.”

6.4. Autonomy and “anti-communitarian communitarianism”

In the case analysed in this chapter, the issue of aesthetic autonomy links to other structural elements such as classism, racism and prejudice against spaces of the city, establishing a bridge between politics and aesthetics. During an interview, I asked Adriana Facina about her hopes for the future regarding *baile funk*. She hopes that, one day, people will consider funk as art and only art, mentioning the difficulty of funk artists to call themselves musicians.

The link between politics and aesthetics emerges precisely because the state constantly hampers the production of *baile funk*. Producers feel that the state limit their right to freedom of expression and the use of spaces inside their communities, resorting to arrests and the prohibition of *baile funk* in *favelas*. This situation suggests that Bourdieu (2010, see also Mihai 2014) is at least partially right regarding his acknowledgement of the constant threats to the autonomy of the cultural field. Does it mean that intellectuals are in a better position and have the right habitus to promote social change after all?

Following Gilroy (1995) and Bauman (1989), one should, in this case, consider different roles for the intellectual. For Bauman (1989), intellectuals have fulfilled the roles of legislators and interpreters throughout history. The legislator tries to impose a single truth while interpreters mediate and translate knowledge. Gilroy proposes a third role, fulfilled by a “caste of black intellectuals” (Gilroy 1995, p. 195) or “organic intellectuals” (Gilroy 1995, p. 76), associated with the “invented traditions” (Gilroy 1995, p. 193) of black

expression. Those intellectuals guard a certain body of knowledge and affirm the importance of aesthetic interventions to produce social change.

One relevant consequence of the Funk is Culture movement is the articulation of agents that one could describe as organic intellectuals. MC Leo, for instance, told me spontaneously that he only studied until the fifth grade, seven years before completion of normal schooling in Brazil. Nonetheless, he is a skilled speaker and writes articles for blogs and printed newspapers for national circulation. MC Calazans, also a participant in the movement, studied at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) and participates in organizations for political activism. Mano Teko participated in the organization of poetry soirées, where poets would read poetry involving political themes, racial discrimination, classism and other social issues.

Instead of only praising literacy and the capacity to articulate political discourses, one should also stress the contribution of organic intellectuals to organizing forms of political articulation relying on the aesthetics of the body and the voice. Words and meanings are relevant. Representation is an important component of APAFUNK protests. However, they also include pre-representational instances, such as pleasures, affects, emotional attachment to city spaces and even a certain nostalgia for old times in the funk scene (Lopes 2011).

Intellectuals associated with research institutes and universities participated in both cases discussed above. Nevertheless, they are not leading the process of articulation and mobilization, even though Adriana Facina occupies a place of importance in the movement. For instance, activists decided to restrict the administrative positions inside APAFUNK to funk-music professionals.

Funk is Culture movement and the process behind the release of the six MCs reveal the articulation of different individuals and different habituses. It is mainly artists who are involved with the production of funk music that comprise APAFUNK. Those individuals have strong links with the *favelas* and often come from poorer backgrounds. Yet, MEURIO, another organization participating in the Funk is Culture movement, brings together mainly middle- or upper-class young individuals aiming to promote social change. They bring together on-site and online mobilization, raising awareness and organizing action, tackling issues as different as urban mobility, lack of basic sanitation, education and cultural rights.

I drew the term “affective communities” from the book of the same name written by Leela Gandhi (2006). In this book, she argues for a critique of the epistemological realism espoused by post-colonialism and other subjects in the humanities, she is responsible for ferocious attacks against the idea of aesthetics autonomy, which is criticized for its political conservatism. However, according to the author: “art discloses its radical provenance precisely in its defiant flight from the realm of the real”. Theory has associated politics with rationalistic thinking through the creation of a permanent suspicion regarding the “erratic agency of ‘vision’ and ‘imagination’” (Gandhi 2006). Therefore, by integrating “vision” and “imagination” into funk’s sound politics, this work tries to comprehend the formation of “affective communities”.

This chapter has investigated the bonds that appear in the events described throughout this text, bringing people dwelling in very different geographical and social spaces together. Hierarchy does not necessarily mark those relationships. The term professional does not fully describe how people relate to one another in

those events. The events described above brought together people with very different individual and class habituses.

People establish affective communities with particular ethics and aesthetics. It happens through embodied performances and affective links, created either through face-to-face encounters at parties, through social media, or in protests against the prohibition of *bailes*. The two cases introduced throughout this chapter interconnect beyond discussions of what is “good” or “bad” funk.

Many Rodas de Funk happened in prisons, one of them had a few of the arrested MCs in attendance. RJ Record, a news show from Rio de Janeiro, reported the event: “We’ve seen here in RJ Record that six MCs were arrested accused of advocating crime. Today we are going to see those same funkeiros singing ‘*funk do bem*’ [“good” funk].”

The reporter walks amidst the detainees towards the stage. Many MCs are up on the stage wearing yellow APAFUNK T-shirts. The group opens to reveal Marcelo Yuka, the drummer of a well-known band in Brazil who became a paraplegic after being shot during an assault. According to the journalist, he is a “victim of Rio de Janeiro’s violence”; when asked, “What are you doing here?” Yuka answered: “What happened to the MCs was a mistake [the arrest], (...) I’m here, first of all, not to agree or disagree with what they say, I’m here to defend their freedom of expression.”

This event reveals a few contradictions. The usage of the expression “good” funk by journalists seems to clash with what some members of APAFUNK think. A number of interviewees from APAFUNK questioned whether this division of funk is actually beneficial, because it acts to marginalize certain discourses describing existent violence in different parts of Rio de Janeiro. Yuka

affirms during the broadcast: “I believe that the artist is indeed responsible, but art cannot be a crime, never”.

After describing the conditions of violence that *favela* dwellers “are forced to endure”, the journalist asks: “Must the message of funk change?” Yuka responds:

There are funk songs narrating everything, narrating love, narrating happiness, the need to be together, but they narrate violence as well.

Because art in the end reflects both the positive and the negative, in a few years we will see that those songs narrated, almost in an anthropological way, the life of the *favelas*.

Therefore, journalists introduce MCs singing “good funk”, even though they might not even recognize this label, as the interviewees made clear. Mano Teko, for instance, argues that there is only “one funk”. So, does a funk identity exist after all?

Different from identities, the Funk is Culture movement seems to suggest an “anti-communitarian communitarianism” (Gandhi 2006), since it does not work with the idea of a community based solely on equals. At the same time, engagement with funk does not work “exclusively on the principle of reciprocal recognition” (Gandhi 2006, p. 24). Exclusion and misappropriation do occur in different stances on funk production. Nonetheless, momentary articulations among different groups – with different habituses and coming from different social classes – are possible at funk events.

There is another common issue crossing the two sets of events considered in this chapter. Funk artists argue that the state or producers, to a greater or a lesser extent, undermine their autonomy. This grievance over autonomy might be solely artistic, or it might demand a more literal autonomy, one allowing

performance without the risk of criminal persecution. According to MC Leonardo, raised in Rocinha, one of the biggest *favela* communities in Rio de Janeiro:

When I describe what I see and what I feel, I'm not in the realm of rights, it is actually a duty. I've been a composer for more than twenty years, to say that the songs that I wrote are mine only is very egotistical, you cannot say this. Because inspiration is something that cannot be explained, it does not belong to you. You have to give yourself to inspiration, in every single field of the arts. You cannot dominate inspiration. The guy in the *favela*, he has inspiration. The guy in the *favela* won't have another kind of inspiration, if not derived from what he is seeing and living. (...) In a few years time, when people will want to know what was going on in the *favelas* regarding music, only funk will serve this role. If I ask myself, does *proibidão* harm funk? It does, it does harm funk because everyone sees funk as an instrument of traffic, but regarding their right, they have the right.⁵⁶

MC Leonardo seems to suggest that what is good for funk might not always coincide with the necessity to preserve "rights". Therefore, apparently, APAFUNK compromises first with the protection of rights, including freedom of

⁵⁶ Quando eu estou dizendo o que eu estou vendo e estou sentindo você sai da questão do direito para a questão do dever. Eu componho a vinte anos, dizer que as músicas que eu fiz, que eu escrevi, são minhas somente, é muito egoísmo, o artista não pode dizer isso. Porque a inspiração é algo que na minha opinião, é algo inexplicável, não pertence a você. Você tem que se doar para a inspiração, em todos os campos das artes. A inspiração é algo que você não domina. O moleque da favela, ele tem inspiração. Ele não pode ter outro tipo de inspiração que não aquela que ele está vendo e está sentindo. (...) Daqui a alguns anos, quando forem querer saber o que estava acontecendo dentro das favelas cariocas no campo da música, só o funk vai estar cumprindo esse papel. Se você me perguntar se o proibidão ele prejudica o funk, prejudica. Prejudica porque todo mundo fica vendo o funk como um instrumento do tráfico. Só por isso. Agora na questão do direito, ele tem o direito.

expression, before defending funk as a whole. However, MC Leonardo starts this citation by referring to his feelings, suggesting that it is not only a matter of equal rights.

Is it about autonomy?

There are two kinds of autonomy, as Maton (2005) has described: positional autonomy and relational autonomy. In the first case, assessing autonomy means questioning what agents occupy relevant positions within a field and whether those agents “originate from or are primarily located in other fields” (Maton 2005, p. 697).

The second kind of autonomy, relational autonomy, refers to principles and whether they emerge within a specific field or emanate from other fields. Therefore, a field occupied or dominated by people who started in other fields has a lower positional autonomy (Maton 2005). A field in which principles emanating from other fields predominate has a weaker relational autonomy.

One could characterize pure art’s aesthetic autonomy as a kind of relational autonomy, since it reinforces the autonomy of the art field in terms of its principles of creation. Artists also defend their positional autonomy by reacting to interference from other fields. In the case of funk, the military police and journalists, who are not primarily located in the field of funk music, have strong influence. Funk agents react to this situation.

Nevertheless, when MC Leonardo talks about the “duty” to create one has to consider the intersection between political and aesthetic autonomy. Positional and relational autonomy fail to fully describe the kind of autonomy sought by funk activists. It is not a matter of insulation, or occupying the field only with

agents who started in that same field, but it is not a matter of promoting autonomous principles either.

The term autonomy also refers to self-determination. Struggling for equal rights and full citizenship is indeed part of the process. However, the discourse underlying the project of the UPPs also relies on guaranteeing citizenship and equal rights. Moreover, the police argue that the regulation used to prohibit *baile funk* is the same as that applied all over Rio de Janeiro state. They seem to suggest that funk artists and producers actually want the privilege to produce noise after a certain hour despite regulations.

Saying that Regulation 013 is selectively applied does not solve all the problems. Equal rights and full citizenship are not fully objective concepts. Intellectuals also work to create notions of citizenship (Pardue 2011). These notions of citizenship rely on ways of being that are associated with class and race divisions.

Therefore, two options seem to be available. Artists can either resist or accept prevailing notions of citizenship, as producers seem to require from *passinho* dancers. However, the aesthetic practices of funk music provide a third possibility, adaptability and improvisation.

Many times, the habitus of funk artists clashes with citizenship ideals associated with *brasilidade*, as Yúdice suggests (Yúdice 2003). Nonetheless, artists also recreate those notions (Sneed 2008). There are moments in Brazil's history when popular culture becomes culture, in the sense of enjoying respectability. Therefore, culture in Brazil is not synonymous with highbrow culture. Nevertheless, in the process of acquiring respectability and becoming culture, autonomy does not thrive. Instead, in the case of samba, during the first half of the twentieth century, the government appropriated popular culture,

transforming it into a national symbol (Avelar and Dunn 2011, Siqueira 2012, D'Angelo 2015).

Nevertheless, the context of funk is completely different from that of samba. In the last few years, before the UPPs gained a poor image, the affective and political control of funk music by the government did not seek to create national cohesion. Instead, it aimed to create a sense that *favelas* are peaceful and cultural places where everyone wants to go.

The ideas of positional and relational autonomy do not completely explain what funk activists want. Institutions appropriate discourses surrounding the notions of equal rights and citizenship as a strategy to affirm hegemony. The notion of interested autonomy becomes important at this point, since it reconciles the “autonomist working class practices” (Skeggs 2011, p. 509) of funk artists without presupposing insulation from or lack of involvement with the political aspects of aesthetic creation.

According to Lütticken, diverse “philosophical pronouncements” (Lütticken 2014, p. 91) consider the “aesthetic and the political” (Lütticken 2014, p. 91) incompatible, “in so far as they involve different ‘autonomies’” (Lütticken 2014, p. 91). However, according to him, although the two autonomies do not always “converge”, “some acts may function in different registers simultaneously” (Lütticken 2014, p. 91).

6.5. Conclusion

For Bourdieu, the limits of a certain field are not only determined internally, but also externally. Autonomy varies in relationship to the extent that this external determination occurs. This means that if the judgements and criteria for

the assessment of artistic practices are internal to a field, it is reasonable to assume that that field has a greater capacity for auto-determination.

People who probably have a very weak relationship with the field of culture judge *proibições*, such as police deputies, lawyers, judges and other public authorities. The production of *baile funk* seems to face a similar problem, since producing *bailes* in *favelas* is highly dependent on decisions emanating from those outside the field of culture. Funk producers in *favelas* tend to believe that they depend, more than most actors engaged with culture, on decisions emanating from institutions that do not normally deal with culture – such as the police – to develop their work. The funds given to funk provide an example in which this situation changes, even though activists credit this change to their pressure.

Funk is a relevant part of life in the *favelas* and a fruitful field for understanding culture's appropriation and the struggle for autonomy in Rio de Janeiro. Engagement with funk produces affective communities, sometimes revealing differences and clashes, but co-habiting, with conceptions of autonomy not experienced in isolation from aesthetics but through an “interested autonomy”. Just the existence of affective connections does not exclude conflicts, especially because different kinds of autonomy mark those communities.

This chapter argues that political engagement and claims for autonomy do not necessarily exclude each other, as disinterested autonomy would imply. It also introduces a paradoxical relationship between affect and power (Anderson 2010) or, when it comes to engagement with funk, between affective communities and official repression. The social sciences consider affect to be marked by “immeasurability” and “autonomy”, conveying it as an “ontological foundation”

for a new comprehension of culture and art. However, affect can also be “targeted, intensified, and modulated in new forms of power” (Anderson 2010, p. 162).

The consideration of cultural practices, and how people use them, with contradictory purposes through different affective connections, is key to comprehension of the ambiguities found in engagement with funk. Understanding funk, including the social relations and mediations surrounding it, helps the comprehension and deconstruction of dichotomies associated with the consumption or production of culture also employed to analyse funk, such as: high and low; mainstream and marginal; and “good” and “bad”, terms used politically or aesthetically. The struggles over which practices are legitimate and allowed reveal diverse processes of control and resistance.

Still on the relationship between power and affect, the latter is not simply to be “recovered” (Anderson 2010, p. 164) by the sociological literature. Affect is an “inescapable element within an expanded definition of the political” (Anderson 2010, p. 164). Both the powerful and the underprivileged rely on affect, attempting to control or manage it, in order to act politically and aesthetically.

Chapter 7: Affect and dance in funk: performing gender and sexuality in Rio de Janeiro

Do dance performances in funk challenge or reaffirm gender and sexuality structures and normativity? This chapter combines theoretical perspectives on affect and gender's performativity theory, also stressing parallels with the dispositional model proposed by Bourdieu. It argues that music and dance are part of aesthetic and affective interchanges that simultaneously challenge and reproduce structural norms relating to gender and sexuality.

It is important to note that the aforementioned contradictions are not only due to the fact that funk includes a variety of different practices. Contradictions and conflicts also emerge straight from performance, through an evolving affective interaction between embodied aesthetic practices and their reception. The focus is on passionate engagement with music and dance, and on conflicts emerging from this interaction. Nonetheless, passion does not refer solely to negative or positive feelings, as will be discussed; affect remains ungraspable by those dichotomies (Massumi 1995).

Theories on affect seem to point towards an unpredictable relationship between social structure and affect. While, for instance, Massumi considers affect as a fleeting force, Bourdieu privileges the notion of habitus, marked by stability. Therefore, introducing the disturbing idea of affect seems to complicate assumptions of a stable habitus.

However, this is only a problem if one understands habitus as a reproductive instance of a social structure, forgetting its generative dimensions, or if one considers affect only as a fleeting force. Bourdieu does not aim to explain how subjectivities solve structural problems, which would mean recurring to

dichotomy subjectivity versus objectivity. The dispositional model, based on habitus, actually provides an explanation of how individuals manage to find solutions to problems emerging from their social insertion in the world, despite the irregular relationship between affects, emotions, desires and social norms:

The set of positive or negative verdicts pronounced on the child (...) would not be so powerful or so dramatic if they were not charged with desire and, through repression, buried in the deepest level of the body where they are recorded in the form of guilt, phobias, or, in a word, passion. (Bourdieu 2000, p. 167)

Even though passion is commonly associated with a “positive” engagement, such as a passion for music (Benzecry 2011), in this case it appears to be linked to “negative” emotions, such as guilt or phobia. Nonetheless, to talk about “positive” or “negative” already takes into consideration some degree of structuration, analogous to “high” and “low”, when accounting for the legitimacy of music, for instance. Affect does not follow those binary classifications. Studies have found that pleasure, or the lack of it, does not accompany other oppositions, as one might expect, such as happiness or sadness (Massumi 1995).

The literature considers affect as a volatile force (Massumi 1995, Watkins 2010), but it can also accumulate as capacity, even though affect as capacity also depends on affect as force (Watkins 2010). According to Watkins, in applying affect theory to pedagogy, affective moments of recognition work as a force producing self-worth as a capacity. Watkins seeks to rescue the notion of recognition in the sense that, despite having a role in pedagogy for Bourdieu, it could also represent an “egoistic quest for the approval of others” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 166), also stimulating symbolic violence and dependence (Bourdieu 2000, Watkins 2010).

This chapter does not intend to introduce the idea of recognition as a “positive process” (Watkins 2010), nor does it subscribe to Bourdieu’s “negative” understanding of the term. Instead, it argues that it is more congruent with other findings given that affect, as either force or capacity, remains in excess to those oppositions. Moreover, understanding recognition (beyond its stabilization as positive or negative) is key to avoiding presupposing that actions or performances have stable and unequivocal effects.

Stressing the role of affect in the dispositional model allows a better comprehension of how habitus works, creating coercion and enabling agency at the same time. This is because affect does not co-relate to language or social structure in a linear fashion. In fact, both influence each other in contradictory ways (Massumi 1995).

7.1. Displays of femininity and sexuality

Habitus is that “potential energy, the dormant force, from which symbolic violence, and especially that exercised through performatives, derives its mysterious efficacy” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 169). Henceforth, habitus explains why certain associations seem “natural”, it explains why symbolic violence is so effective, because both dominators and dominated believe in a similar state of things, and act accordingly. Both dominators and dominated seem to agree on what is high and low, negative or positive.

Those distinctions directly affect the display of sexuality and its social judgement. Lucy Green (1997) found a relationship between a “delineated display of the body” (Green 1997, p. 88) and a supposed “lack of commitment to the music’s autonomy” (Green 1997, p. 79). According to her, artistic

judgements of female musicians do not necessarily occur in terms of their bodily displays, because they perform a supposedly disinterested autonomous music.

Nonetheless, as we move towards popular culture, body display gains in prominence, attention turns to clothes, the use of make-up, and exhibition of the body and its movement (Green 1997). In popular culture, the way women present their bodies affects their status as musicians and how their music is engaged with: “Where the music lacked any claims to high autonomy, this meant feminine delineation could more readily enter into the listening experience” (Green 1997, p. 62).

An affirmative feminine display can also be a strategy to achieve popularity. According to Green, for female soloists of classical music, using a feminine display is to a certain extent an option. In popular music, performances involving bodily displays are almost unavoidable (Green 1997). Green proposes a relationship between music and the extent of its popular status with a “fetishistic celebration of [feminine] delineation” (Green 1997, p. 79). The closer to popular music a practice is, the more “affirmative feminine sexuality” (Green 1997, p. 79) contributes to an embodied display of femininity. Green observed that what people commonly perceive as a commitment to music’s autonomy relates inversely to displays of femininity. Considering that this form of mediation is extremely widespread in popular music, a woman in this field is constantly “labelled as a lesser musician” (Green 1997, p. 79).

Funk as a popular artistic practice does not escape Green’s remarks regarding displays of femininity and sexuality. However, Green still takes for granted the division between highbrow and lowbrow, the latter in this case represented by popular music. If one considers this opposition as a given it is extremely hard to acknowledge how funk could present any claims for aesthetic autonomy.

Moreover, aesthetic autonomy when defined as disinterestedness does not really serve to explain funk's artistic practice. Hence, one of the central points of this thesis is that, to understand autonomy in funk, one must depart from two assumptions: first, that the idea of autonomy is limited to highbrow art; second, that art's autonomy is disinterestedness.

Gandhi's (2006) idea of interested autonomy aims to do exactly that, stressing affective inclusion in the world, instead of art's formalism. She aims to understand how people relate to the world aesthetically and affectively, while still pursuing expressive autonomy and the capacity to fly from the real (Gandhi 2006).

In this context, it is important to explain that funk performances are not an attempt to escape from reality, but rather a way of creating aesthetic and fictional accounts that make people engage with a range of social situations, raising affects and meanings. Affects and meanings interact in unexpected ways, creating contradictory accounts of social norms regarding gender and sexuality.

7.2. Bodies, affect and images

Coleman reflects on "how bodies are experienced through images and on how these experiences limit or extend the becoming of bodies" (Coleman 2008, p. 3). This discussion relies on a departure from the attempt to comprehend the social effects of images and prefers a systematic approach to affect (Coleman 2008). Instead of focusing on how images produced by the media have specific effects on people's self-perceptions of their bodies, one can approach these relationships from a relational perspective. Bodies have affective impacts on other bodies, those continuing and multiple relationships point to the fact that images are not

interacting with already existent and preformed bodies. According to Coleman: “bodies become through images” (Coleman 2008, p. 26).

However, more than only images, one has to account for their interaction with music and sociability. In audiovisual accounts of funk, lyrics and sounds articulate with music and talk in order to produce affective intensity, political mobilization and notions of space. Funk’s creativity does not stop at practices associated solely with music making, it also extends across other domains such as politics, fashion and the creation of audiovisual accounts.

Many funk artists independently produce images of themselves. Those images are very important indicators of value, and how aesthetics, sexuality and economic power merge. Those videos, often home-made videos, provide access to popular imagination and aspiration, as locally imagined and produced. Those engaging with funk are not alienated in their consumption. Funk fans do not simply consume funk, they easily become creators themselves. e.g. by producing different representations, such as audiovisual material with dance performances.

The concept of representation is one already extensively discussed in the sociological literature (Spivak 2010). Spivak, for instance, separates claims for political representation from aesthetic representation, as contained in theatre for instance. She stresses the connection between a semiotic sense of representation and a political one, arguing that “otherness” and its consequences are to an extent impossible to avoid.

Considering music and image-making from the perspective of both aesthetic and affective allows considering an alternative possibility regarding social action. Affect is pre-representational. Its apprehension in terms of words or images is always incomplete and possibly unsatisfactory. In sum, indeterminacy marks affect (Massumi 1995, Clough 2010). Nevertheless, people still attempt to

grasp its significance by resorting to words, translated into emotions, e.g.

happiness or sadness, or by using images to convey affect.

O’Sullivan attempts to provide a theoretical account capable of considering affect and its importance in the engagement with art, while avoiding an aesthetics of transcendence or sticking only to representational accounts. He elaborates on the idea of attention (O’Sullivan 2001). Attention, for him, involves the suspension of a regular motor interaction with the world, affording a perception of reality as composed by different “planes”. In this sense, art is “immanent” to this world (O’Sullivan 2001, Gandhi 2006). It creates a space where unexpected events can occur and a site where “one might encounter affect” (O’Sullivan 2001, p. 127).

Art is representational and, simultaneously, a “fissure” in representation (O’Sullivan 2001). To understand this, it is useful to explain what Deleuze has called the actualization of the virtual (Deleuze 1988, Coleman 2013, O’Sullivan 2001). The virtual is not opposed to the real, as would be the case with the idea of the possible, which undergoes realization. In opposition to the “realization of the possible”, the virtual when actualized does not necessarily resemble the real, it undergoes transformation (Deleuze 1988, Coleman 2013, O’Sullivan 2001).

How do those ideas of actualization and the virtual help us to understand audiovisual mediations of funk? First, one can think about those images as actualizing virtual dimensions of engagement with funk, stressing undervalued potentialities of working-class youth. On the other hand, it considers that the virtual, and its actualization by art, involves more than representation. It involves “exploring the possibilities of being, of becoming, in the world” (O’Sullivan 2001, p. 130).

Images allow affect’s transmission in a way that it is not representational.

Videos convey embodiment more effectively than words, “images address the body directly, intensively, and affectively” (Coleman 2013, p. 36). Thinking in terms of affect is also a way of challenging so-called “representational thinking” (Coleman 2013, p. 26). Representationalism establishes a “distinction between a pre-existing world to be described, and its description” (Coleman 2013, p. 37).

The term “images of transformation” accounts for images that influence the present through embodiment processes (Coleman 2013). Coleman does not assess those images in terms of feasibility and likelihood. Their most important feature is to work through the body (Coleman 2013).

7.3. Dispositional model and embodiment

Bourdieu conducts a critique of Cartesian thinkers and their lack of understanding regarding processes of embodiment. Along the same lines, Massumi has argued that “there is no cultural-theoretical vocabulary specific to affect” (Massumi 1995 p. 88). Both denounce a lack of attention towards bodily engagement with the world, beyond assumptions of determinism or an illusory freedom of bodily and spatial constraints. Both seem to believe in the necessity of directing attention towards “non-conceptual forms of organization” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 136).

According to Massumi, emotion is something different from affect. For him, emotions are already the translation of affect into words, hence qualified affect. Here one can find another similarity to Bourdieu. While describing how children incorporate the social, he affirms that this occurs “in the form of affects, socially coloured and qualified” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 167).

Nonetheless, this act of translation or qualification is not a straightforward, linear relation, according to Massumi (1995). Affect and “signifying orders” do not necessarily co-relate, they are not opposed to each other either. This process of transforming affect into structured orders such as language reveals unstable relations: “The relationship between levels of intensity and qualification is not one of conformity or correspondence, but of resonance or interference, amplification or dampening” (Massumi 1995, p 86).

Those ideas provide the basis to understand that some contradictions involving funk performances are not only the result of their consumption, related to group belonging, institutional co-optation or subjectivity. Theories on affect propose that people perceive images on a number of levels, providing an initial path to understanding how art can also convey and enact conflicts between habitus and structure.

Habitus results from “long, continuous and imperceptible” processes involving “half-conscious compromises and psychological operations” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 165). In this context, sudden changes, or even any change at all, are not likely to occur, unless there is a lack of fit between habitus and structure (Fowler 1996, Sweetman 2003). This lack of adjustment leads to a confrontation of dispositions (Emirbayer and Goldberg 2005).

Bourdieu is quite sceptical regarding reflexivity’s role. He seems to prefer the term “embodied knowledge” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 170). According to him, there is a “false choice” between “mechanical coercion” and “deliberate submission” or “consent to reasons” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 170). This is a false choice because the objective of proposing a dispositional model is to overcome the differences between objectivity and subjectivity (Bourdieu 2000).

Therefore, presupposing a detached subjectivity that objectively reflects on its

conditions implies separating body and mind. Nevertheless, dispositions structured through habitus are not easy to scrutinize:

The effect of symbolic domination (sexual, ethnic, cultural, linguistics, etc.) is exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousness but in the obscurity of the dispositions of habitus. (Bourdieu 2000, p. 170)

Even so, Bourdieu has also affirmed that symbolic violence “loses all its mystery as soon as its quasi-magical effects are related to the conditions of production” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 169). However, one can suppose that even under this demystifying and rational attack, symbolic violence still results from dispositions affectively constituting habitus. In this case, dominated and dominators share a belief, a specific kind of belief intimately connected with the embodied accumulation (Watkins 2010), translation and qualification (Massumi 1995) of affect.

It is impossible to say if funk as a whole works to strengthen or weaken symbolic domination. The most obvious reason for this is that funk is a large universe. Therefore, one cannot make such a general statement. Nonetheless, this chapter will show that even in specific events, one cannot say, in certain cases, if dance and music promote or challenge symbolic violence.

Does this uncertainty mean that one cannot say when there is symbolic violence or not? No, it means that performances introduce alternative and conflictive possibilities, telling stories, transmitting affects and raising emotions. Art can be a way of introducing a utopic situation, as well as proposing a dystopia. Dance can be a sign of both freedom and optimism for some and coercion for others (Lopes 2011). It can be feminist for some, or an objectification of women for others.

MCs and dancers aesthetically suspend the connection between objective conditions and subjective possibilities. They introduce a range of possible conditions of existence, in which the artist creating it is directly implied. Therefore, the artist remains interested in reality, even though art still represents “a liberation from the prosaic sameness of imperial realism”. (Gandhi 2006, p. 161)

Art provides a way to handle those contradictions, not necessarily solving them, despite claims for culture’s utility as analysed by Yúdice (2003). In fact, funk performances extract force not from solving contradictions, but by introducing them through different perspectives, raising enthusiasm and happiness or outrage and accusations of vulgarity.

7.4. Funk in Rio de Janeiro: performances of gender and “sensuality”

At parties where people dance funk, as is the case with other genres loved by youth, there is a playful experimentation with sexuality. Youths from everywhere in Rio de Janeiro attend *bailes* or other kinds of funk music parties. These are often important places of socialization, where people learn to come to terms with their bodies.

Images of male dominance are not exclusive to funk or popular culture. They are rather part of a broad geographical and historical process, in which gender hierarchy becomes natural through the biologicization of social norms (Bourdieu 2001). The analysis of Kabyle androcentric culture, which has features in common with Mediterranean societies, leads Bourdieu to affirm that:

Manliness, virility, in its ethical aspect, i.e. as the essence of the *vir*, *virtus*, the point of honour (*nif*), the principle of the conservation and increase of honour, remains indissociable, tacitly at least, from physical virility, in particular through the attestations of sexual potency – deflowering of the bride, abundant male offspring, etc. – which are expected of a ‘real’ man. (Bourdieu 2001, p. 12)

This biological/physiological justification and construction of gender support a binary comprehension of sexuality based on masculinity and femininity (Bourdieu 2001). This dichotomist discourse also supports a symbolical scheme, articulating the intervention of different authorities in people’s bodies and sexuality (Foucault 1990, Gandhi 2006). In Bourdieu’s words: “This embodied social programme of perception is applied to all the things of the world and firstly to the *body* itself in its biological reality.”

Nonetheless, despite all the structuration and naturalization associated with embodied differences, feminist studies affirm that gender is not definitive: it is not a stable condition or identity. Actors perform and constitute gender through a “stylized repetition of acts” (Butler 1988, p. 519). Following Butler: “bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self” (Butler 1988, p. 519). Moreover, this constitution is not necessarily internally continuous. The possibility of transgression, or breaking the repetition necessary to gender enactment, cannot be ignored. This is visible, for example, in dance styles accompanying funk.

The relationship between gender, sexuality and funk marks two different arguments (Lopes 2011). On the one hand, many see funk as objectifying women or even corrupting minors. On the other hand, female funk artists, such

as Valeska Popozuda and Anitta, have defended feminism, revealing what one could analyse as a new kind of feminism (Lopes 2011, Lyra 2006).

According to Lopes, both arguments are problematic. She questions whether funk does indeed represent a new kind of feminism. Funk lyrics still separate the ‘faithful woman’ from the ‘lover’, or the ‘midnight snack’ (Lopes 2011, p. 156, author’s translation), and masculine identity is constantly associated with having multiple partners and being a “young macho lover” (Lopes 2011, p. 156, author’s translation). MCs describe a “gender war” (Lopes 2011, p. 156), where men and women assume conflicting roles, shown in fictional fights described in lyrics.

The performances of sexuality contained in dance are similar to theatrical interactions, as proposed by Butler’s performative approach. According to her, physiology should not be a definitive criterion to define gender (Butler 1988). Instead, gender also has to do with the cultural constitution of bodies. Furthermore, bodily materiality is constantly changing, as a “continual and incessant *materializing* of possibilities” (Butler 1988, p. 521). Embodiment is simultaneous to its possibilities, in the sense that there is not an “I” embodying or being embodied. The body is a flux of materialization and change, and the possibilities it can afford are not anterior to embodying processes.

‘Queer studies’ provide an example of how scholars choose a certain name normally used to shame in order to denominate a strand within the social sciences, while questioning the constancy of gender’s performativity (Butler 1993). At the same time, considering queer studies in a “chain of historicity” also stresses agency limitations and divisions. Those limitations affect even performativity’s “most enabling conditions” (Butler 1993, p. 174).

One of the most basic limitations concerns the fact that no one escapes “gendering”, or the “embodying of norms”, and that gender is an “assignment” (Butler 1993, p. 176). Nonetheless, that assignment is never “carried out according to expectation” (Butler 1993, p. 176). Even performances and actions, supposedly promoting the autonomy of gender and sexuality representations of groups and individuals outside positions of privilege, are bound to this assignment.

Butler also elaborates on the tension explored above using theories of affect, between “linguistic categories” and their attempt to “‘denote’ the materiality of the body” (Butler 1993, p. 67). She affirms that linguistic categories are “troubled by a referent that is never fully or permanently resolved or contained by any given signified” (Butler 1993, p. 67). In this context, “materiality” retains its “constitutive condition”, since it cannot be completely apprehended by language (Butler 1993, p. 68). Additionally, it also indicates that language cannot grasp “radical alterity” (Butler 1993, p. 68).

Nevertheless, those remarks do not suggest that the body is solely “linguistic” or completely determined by “materiality” (Butler 1993, p. 68). Instead, attempts to convey “materiality” using a “signifying process” are also material, because “language” and “materiality” are not opposed, even though they are not identical either: “what allows for a signifier to signify will never be its materiality alone; that materiality will be at once an instrumentality and deployment of a set of larger linguistic relations” (Butler 1993, p. 68).

Therefore, displays of femininity or sexuality in funk can contribute instrumentally to the promotion of feminism or sexism, heterophobia or tolerance of homosexuality, among other contradictory consequences. This is not only the result of heterogeneity in the funk scene, one single performance

might have different instrumentalities that support and work against normativity.

7.5. Twerking: dancing funk and performing sexuality

People commonly use this idea that dancing funk is something almost irresistible, DJ Bruno, or DJ Lorão (meaning “very blond”), gave the following answer when asked by a German TV reporter about the importance of *baile funk*:

When you talk about *baile funk*, you must talk about prejudice. For us, here in the favela, *baile funk* is the music we like, the music we love. It’s a contagious dance, a sweet thing.⁵⁷

I met DJ Lorão in Cantagalo, accompanied by my girlfriend, Patrischa, a journalist working for a German TV network, Eva, and a French cameraman. Cantagalo is a *favela* community located near Copacabana. He showed us around his community, including the court where *baile funk* happened before police prohibition. While walking from the court towards DJ Lorão’s house, we passed by a group who asked us in a harsh manner to put our cameras down. While the men in the alley complained, my girlfriend, Patrischa, who had helped me during fieldwork, was photographing a wall with graffiti of DG, a dancer killed by policemen in Cantagalo community. As we hastened they accompanied our movement with their eyes, while DJ Lorão commented: “It is incredible that they are still there,” referring to those people selling drugs, not really expressing surprise in his words.

⁵⁷ Quando você fala de baile funk, você tem que falar de preconceito. Para a gente, aqui na favela, o baile funk é a musica que a gente gosta, que a gente ama. É uma dança contagiante, uma coisa gostosa.



Figure 21 Graffiti of DG with a drawing of a *favela* behind and the name of his dance crew, Bonde da Madrugada (Dawn Crew) (Source: Patrischa Grundner, 2014)

In order to get to his house we climbed a few narrow steps, while a dog barked at us: “He is like this with everyone, don’t worry, he cannot come down here,” said the DJ. Entering his small square living room, we could see his family watching television. They promptly turned it off and quickly moved to another room so that we could interview him, while making jokes about DJ Lorão becoming famous. The DJ quickly grabbed his iPad while also using a laptop. He showed us a little bit of what he plays inside the *baile*.

It is almost a consensus among artists that sex sells. According to many interviewees, without references to sexuality, or “sensuality” as funk producers say, the possibilities of selling music are very small. Of course, there are many exceptions, songs about love, about criminality, protesting against a situation or simply describing what it is to live in a *favela*. Baianinho and Wanderson, key dancers in the *passinho* scene but also producers of songs about sex, explained their music to me in the following way:

Baianinho: We do what funk asks, melody, romantic, sex *apologia* [*apologia* in Portuguese means to praise or to defend something, in this case, it means praising sex]. Everything. We release a light version and a ‘prohibited’ version. The funk world asks for this. It is not our will to do *apologia*. The world of funk asks for it. There is no point in making a really nice song, with no *apologia*, going to the radio station for them to say no.

Bruno: What is *apologia*?

Wanderson: We are talking about sex *apologia*, not crime. When you say *apologia* many people think about crime, we do a sex *apologia*. It is music with sensuality, sit there, shake like this, I’ll do this, I’ll do that...

Baianinho: It basically says what you are going to do with a woman. But there are different kinds as well, songs about pederasty, there are beautiful songs about love, funk has everything.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, “sensual funk”, as DJ Lorão, Baianinho and Wanderson call it, certainly represents an important part of the market. Regarding this, DJ Lorão affirmed to us that:

The kind of funk we like in Rio de Janeiro is the sensual type, some people call it a heavy style, but we like sensual funk. In the *baile funk*, because it is sensual, there are many beautiful women, what we see is that. Women dress up to go to the *baile*, in beautiful clothes, sensual

⁵⁸ **Baianinho:** A gente faz o que o funk pede, melody, romântico, apologia ao sexo. Tudo. A gente lança versão light e versão proibida. Porque o mundo do funk hoje pede isso. Não é a gente que quer fazer apologia. É o mundo do funk que pede isso. Não adiana a gente lançar uma música maneira, sem apologia nenhuma, mas chegar na porta da radio e eles dizerem não.

Bruno: O que é apologia?

Wanderson: É apologia ao sexo, não é apologia ao crime não. Quando fala apologia as pessoas pensam logo no crime, a gente faz apologia ao sexo. É música com sensualidade, senta aqui, dá uma tremidinha, faz isso, faz aquilo...

B: Basicamente o que você vai fazer com a mulher. Mas tem vários tipos, tem as músicas pederasta, tem música bonita, sobre amor, funk tem de tudo.

clothes, and this attracts the attention of men. It is a meeting, we meet friends from every corner of the city, without the *baile*, we lose contact with our friends.

Eva: What makes funk sensual, is it the lyrics, the music?

(...) Sensual funk stimulates a girl to go to the *baile* looking good, with make-up, in skimpy clothes. In sum, what men enjoy, because they go to the *baile* looking for beautiful women. In the *baile* people make out, form couples, each one goes to their corner. That is it.⁵⁹

The most obvious remark regarding both interviews' excerpts above is how DJ Lorão, Baianinho and Wanderson position men as a reference, with women dressing up to impress them. In fact, men also dress up to go to the *baile* and they too seem to care about how they look (Mizrahi 2006). Nonetheless, the gaze and actions remain positioned and directed from men to women in those descriptions, even though women do challenge the predominance of the male gaze.

This idea of the *baile funk* as a place for flirting and sexuality is also present in a film called 'Women in Funk'. It shows a group called Bonde das Pretas (Black Girls Crew), a group of women who perform funk songs, dance and sing. One of their songs is a response to another song from an MC, who suggests in one of his lyrics that he is going to have sex without consent with a girl if she

⁵⁹ **DJ Lorão:** O tipo de funk que a gente gosta no Rio de Janeiro é o funk sensual, algumas pessoas vão dizer que é pesado, mas a gente gosta do funk sensual. No baile funk, porque é sensual, tem muita mulher bonita, o que a gente vê é isso. As mulheres se vestem para ir ao baile, com roupa bonita, sensual, e isso atrai a atenção dos homens. É um lugar de encontro, a gente encontra amigos de tudo quanto é canto da cidade, sem o baile a gente perde contato.

Eva: Mas o que faz o funk ser sensual, as letras, a música?

DJ Lorão: O funk sensual faz a mulher ir para o baile bonita, com maquiagem, roupas curtas. Resumindo, como o homem gosta, porque eles vão para o baile procurando mulher bonita. No baile as pessoas ficam, formam um casal e vai canda um para o seu canto. É isso.

sleeps. Bonde das Pretas' response states that, "all the women in the *baile* want to have sex awake". In one of the scenes, a dancer called Patricia says the following in the movie:

Men are very sexist. They say that the man is the hunter, but the one who chooses is the woman. It cannot be like this, you will do it sleeping. What is that? Will you take her by force? It cannot be like this. (...) The man is at the bar, at the *baile*, he drinks, becomes drunk. He will flirt with many women. And it's fine, isn't it? Because he is a man. So, it is time for the women to forget censorship. I'm in the *baile* very drunk as well and I don't care anymore. (Mulheres no Funk 2013)

Identifying whether a certain lyric has explicit content or not is seldom a hard task. Many lyrics explore paronomasia and puns are very common in funk music, but it is not usually hard to identify double entendres in songs. On the other hand, dance is not as marked by stable meanings as in spoken and written language.

Funk is an arena for the construction of femininity and masculinity. Valeska Popozuda, for instance, embodies one kind of body being sought by the male gaze and body conventions associated with funk. Instead of subjugation, her words expose the exact opposite. By being attractive, she can also exert power. On the other hand, some analyses suggest that even though Valeska claims to be a feminist, she is actually not, thus raising a problematic situation in which, while offering a critique of objectification, a journalist judges Valeska's choice regarding a political position because of the way she dresses and moves.

To receive a document with all the pictures
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Figure 22 Valeska Popozuda looks at her own poster in a video clip in which she seeks help in an automobile repair shop (Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VhY33_1j3Vw&list=RDVhY33_1j3Vw#t=20)

To receive a document with all the pictures
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Figure 23 Valeska's poster in an automobile repair shop attended by Valeska in her video clip, called "Eu Sou a Diva que Você Quer Copiar" (I am the diva whom you want to copy). (Source: YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VhY33_1j3Vw&list=RDVhY33_1j3Vw#t=20)

For example, Raquel Sherazade, a recognized conservative journalist in Brazil, suggests that Valeska is being objectified and is not a feminist: "It sounds like a joke, she sings unpronounceable lyrics for an hour and presents women as objects, funkeiras are far from feminism." She also questions whether a master's study being conducted by Mariana Vedder can be based on funk, doubting that

funk has enough depth for an academic study. Sherazade also associates the existence of this study with the popularization of university teaching in Brazil, almost as if this is a bad thing.

After finding this video on the SBT network where Sherazade speaks about YouTube, it is possible to see a number of comments, to be precise, 1,134 comments with 226,961 views when I accessed it. These comments show a variety of positions. Some Internet users argue that everyone has the right to like whatever they want, others say funk is trash, while many commenting on the video also defend funk. Many comments note the association between funk and sexuality, stressing that funk introduces sexuality to children at too early a stage.

One blog called *Mingau de Aço* (Steel Porridge) posted a text called “Feminism as marketing”, citing Baudrillard and Debord. Alexandre Figueiredo (2014), the author, also attacks Valeska Popozuda, saying she is a pseudo-feminist, and that intellectuals in Brazil do not see this spectacle and media-oriented society as a problem, but as a solution.

Adriana Facina, an anthropologist and historian interested in funk, said in an interview for this research that Valeska has the right to be a feminist. Still according to Facina, no one has the right to say if a woman is a feminist or not: “Can’t she show her butt and be a feminist?” she asks. Facina recognizes that Valeska might represent an “empowered” woman in this world dominated by men, but she stresses that her manager and others around her in the industry are mostly men.

FGV’s research on the funk industry, conducted in 2008, could not find one single women working in *equipes de som* (sound companies) or as a DJ. While 84 per cent of MCs were men, the greatest concentration of women participating in funk worked selling CDs or DVDs on informal stands called *camelôs*,

totalling 36 per cent. When considering common occupations associated with funk, such as MCs, DJs, dancers or producers, men dominate the industry. This is especially true for occupations associated with technology or management, as women mostly sing or dance. Therefore, as argued by Bradby, any claims for post-feminism or challenges to sexism in dance music must also address the fact that technological mastery has long been associated with masculinity (Bradby 2008).

A “new man” from the favelas

In June 2014, I attended a *baile funk* in Rocinha called Emoções da Rocinha, literally translating as emotions from Rocinha. The same journalist who interviewed DJ Lorão in Cantagalo contacted me to ask for help with a story about funk. Eva was working for a German network, during the World Cup. The cameraman wanted images of people dancing and I suggested this *baile* in Rocinha, as it was easy to access and considered safe. Moreover, I knew Tojão, the producer of the party. We got there at midnight on a Sunday, but the party was empty. The doorman told us: “There was some trouble up there today, the movement is not that strong. But usually it only starts at one or half past one anyway.” We decided to go to a bar and wait. At half past one, we went back, and the party was only starting.

Before the *baile*, we talked to its producer, Tojão, who told us that for more than thirty years people doing funk suffered prejudice, “because it is music made for poor youths”⁶⁰. The German reporter asked: “Because it is for the poor the

⁶⁰ (...) porque é uma música feita para os pobres.

police don't care?"⁶¹ He replied: "They don't care, the government as a whole, they don't care."⁶² She also asked if this persecution of *baiiles* had to do with people thinking "*funkeiros*" are drug dealers. Tojão said: "We already know this. This is taken almost as a fact, people think *funkeiros* are bandits, full stop."⁶³

He made a T-shirt for his *equipe de som* saying 'funk is the beat', but he was ashamed of wearing it. In his words, "We end up with low self-esteem, it's normal."⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he said that, now, it is not like this anymore: "Now, I'm really proud, even if people think we are bandits, I'm not, I'm a worker like any other."⁶⁵ After talking to Tojão we entered the *baile*.

There was a strong light attached to the camera. The cameramen illuminated wherever he pointed his lens, sometimes raising protests from the dancers. However, some dancers, men and women, clearly enjoyed being in the spotlight, performing for the camera. He approached groups of people dancing with their friends, and a few girls twerking with their partners or boyfriends standing behind them. One couple allowed the camera to film them for quite a long time, the girl, who was white, rubbed her back against the man's genitalia. The man was black and well dressed for the occasion, wearing sunglasses. The woman wore a black dress and looked defiantly into the camera. This was an almost private moment (since the nightclub was extremely dark) until the cameraman appeared.

⁶¹ Porque é feito para os pobres a polícia não liga?

⁶² Eles não ligam, a polícia como um todo não liga.

⁶³ A gente já sabe disso. Já é tido como um fato, as pessoas pensam que funkeiros são bandidos, ponto final.

⁶⁴ (...) a gente acaba com uma auto-estima baixa, é normal.

⁶⁵ Mas agora eu sou muito orgulhoso, mesmo que pensem que somos bandidos, eu não sou, sou um trabalhador como outro qualquer.

Funk fans constantly stress the importance of dressing well to go to the *baile*, affirming it as a crucial occasion in their social lives. It is a place where they can “see and be seen”. At the same time, many would also say that they go to the *baile* to lose themselves, and to dance without thinking about anything. It is exactly for this reason that nightclubs are usually dark. It allows people to experience freedom, since vision and hearing are limited.

The light of the camera clearly disturbed this weak equilibrium involving low light, eye and body contact. At the beginning, most of the groups I could see dancing in the *baile*, and clearly attracting the attention of the cameraman, were women or couples. Women mostly performed dances involving their hips. However, a few men suddenly attracted the attention of the French cameraman – they were dancing *passinho*.

The *passinho* upsurge did challenge a few assumptions about masculinity. For instance, some *passinho* dancers question the dominant dress code of funk, according to which men wear large clothes (Mizrahi 2006). They kept the cap, very common in funk, but a few dancers started to wear stretch trousers, more characteristic of women.

Men in *bailes* used to dance using group choreographies, from the beginning of the funk scene, when the music was still North-American soul. During the nineties, semi-staged fights in *bailes* gained media attention (Chechetto 1997, Essinger 2005, Herschmann 2005), the so-called *bailes de corredor*, with *galeras* (groups of youngsters) aiming to protect the honour of their neighbourhoods and affirm their masculinity (Chechetto 1997).

The same territorial logic also applies to *passinho*; despite the lack of physical contact, a strong competitiveness is perceivable among dancers. *Passinho* dancers constantly debate who is the best in each community, and they duel for

this position. Dancers gave me descriptions of those encounters. For instance, Baianinho and Cebolinha, two dancers pointed out by producers and other dancers as important for the scene, described the day they first met, in Jacaré (a *favela* community in north Rio de Janeiro) during a *baile funk*:

Cebolinha went to Jacaré, but I was already very renowned for doing shows with my former group Os Atraentes [The Attractives], and I was late for the *baile*. The other guys had that thing of running to me every time there was someone new dancing in the *baile*. I'm from Jacaré, there is someone in Manguinhos, someone in Complexo do Alemão, someone in Rocinha, I'm the best in Jacaré, but each community has its own best dancer. But if this guy comes here I have a duty to protect the community, and to continue to be the best one there. That day Cebolinha came to Jacaré, I arrived at the show and they all came to me, 'Look that guy is duelling with everyone.' I arrived, very humble, he was even with his girlfriend, and I started dancing. Who wants to duel, don't arrive calling for a duel, just start dancing, and provoke, that's what I do. Today I don't duel anymore. I start to dance and a circle opens in the crowd, every time I dance it happens. (...) For many people it was a draw, for

others I won, it doesn't matter, I don't care. But it was good to meet him, today I have him as a brother. I love that guy from my heart.⁶⁶

Cebolinha gave me a very similar description of this meeting, and both highlighted the excitement of local dancers in the *baile*, urging Baianinho to duel against Cebolinha in order to defend the neighbourhood's pride. Moreover, dancers become references, not only for other dancers of the same age, but also for younger dancers and television producers, who hire them for television shows.

Rafael Dragaud, one of the producers of *Batalha do Passinho*, a series of dance competitions in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, described to me what he called the emergence of a "new man" in the *favela*:

You have a new strong man in the *favela*, a man who is an artist, a man who dances, who wears earrings. A man who dances, this is extremely beautiful. To earn visibility in a place so associated with violence.⁶⁷

These new "new men" "wear earrings" and dance in a 'gay way', maintaining their capacity to produce recognition despite structural prejudice against

⁶⁶ Baianinho: Cebolinha foi no Jacaré, e eu era muito falado já, muito falado. Aí eu tava fazendo o show, que eram os Atraentes, e cheguei tarde no baile. Aí os moleques tinham mania, de que quando chegasse alguém assim dançando, os moleques ficavam tudo no meu ouvido. É tipo assim, eu sou do Jacaré, tem outro no Manguinho, outro do Complexo, outro na Rocinha, entendeu? Eu sou o melhor do Jacaré, aí o outro é o melhor dali, o outro daqui, o outro de lá. Mas se esse melhor veio na minha favela, eu sou o melhor, eu tenho o dever tipo de proteger. Tipo de continuar como melhor dali. Aí o Cebolinha veio na minha favela. Eu cheguei do show, aí veio geral unindo, 'aí tem um moleque lá que está duelando com todo mundo'. Aí eu como? Cheguei na simplicidade. Ele tava até com a namorada dele o Cebolinha, aí comecei a dançar. Porque eu tenho um ditado na minha cabeça que eu tento passar para todo mundo que dança passinho. Que quem quer duelar não chama pro duelo, quem quer duelar sai entrando na roda e provoca. Hoje eu não duelo mais. Mas sempre que eu danço abre uma roda, toda vez que eu danço acontece (...) Para muito foi empate, para outros eu ganhei, não importa, eu não ligo. Mas foi bom encontrar ele, hoje eu tenho ele como um irmão. Eu amo esse cara de coração.

⁶⁷ Você tem um novo homem forte na favela, um homem que é um artista, um homem que dança, que usa brincos. Um homem que dança, isso é extremamente bonito, ganhar visibilidade em um lugar tão associado com a violência.

homosexuality (Fleury and Torres 2007). Nonetheless, they are not likely to be women. Even though *passinho* disputes do not involve violence, they reproduce a pattern already found by Chechetto, when studying violent encounters between *galeras* in *bailes* during the 1990s. *Galeras*, groups at the time identified with areas of the city, would fight in *bailes* to affirm their masculinity and to protect their neighbourhoods, by acting with courage and demonstrating virility (Chechetto 1997).

According to Wanderson, men did not really dance before *passinho*. Perhaps the problem is not that men did not dance funk, but rather that the media and government, as well as almost everyone, did not see the way men moved in *bailes* during 1990s as dance, but as fights (Essinger 2005, Herschmann 2005). Nonetheless, Essinger (2005) describes an interview in which one *funkeiro* compares the fighting in the *bailes* with *capoeira*, a Brazilian practice that mixes elements of dance and martial arts. Therefore, those attending corridor *bailes* did see a ludic dimension in their fights.

Passinho also points to a desired future situation, in which men do not hold guns, but dance. A “new man” who, symbolically or even sexually, with his hybrid masculinity, challenges local faction leaders with his dance:

When you take out, even if only for a short period or symbolically, the owner of the *morro*, who always used the *baile* as his moment for exercising power, you open space for another important symbolic character who is profoundly sexual. Today you have boys who are the idols of girls from the *favelas*, and they are *only* [stressed by him] dancers. Boys that use online social networks very skilfully to publicize

their images and participate in television shows, in the news, or their own shows.⁶⁸

Being infused with sexuality is not something distinctive in men's dance performances, according to Mizrahi (2006). Wanderson, a *passinho* dancer, also told me that “before *passinho*” it was not so common to see men dancing with “sensuality”. According to him, the *passinho* trend partially transformed this situation, reducing the stigma associated with men twerking, for instance.

This section considers one specific move within dance settings in carioca funk music, the *rebolado*. In English, an expression has been created to describe this move, i.e. twerking. Attending *passinho* events allowed me to see twerking performed as part of a “masculinity” performance. *Rebolado* in *passinho* also gained specificities, dancers started to concentrate on stomach muscles, raising their T-shirts to reveal their abdomen, holding their shirts with their mouths. *Passinho* dancers call this move *quadrado*.

However, it seems to me that *rebolado* has a broader meaning than twerking, since the English word seems to refer to a specific move, dancing with arched legs in a “squatting stance” (Oxford Dictionary Online 2015). Nonetheless, in *rebolado* the hands can be free, with the knees or the arms straight ahead. The hips can move as well, either up and down or in circular movements. People use the word *rebolado* as almost synonymous to confidence or control of a situation. Therefore, when someone loses their *rebolado* (*perde o rebolado*) it is because he or she is in an embarrassing situation.

⁶⁸ Quando você tira mesmo que momentaneamente ou simbolicamente o dono do morro, que sempre usou o *baile* como o momento dele para exercer poder, você abre espaço para um outro importante personagem simbólico que é profundamente sexual. Hoje você tem garotos que são ídolos para garotas de favelas e eles são apenas dançarinos. Garotos que sabem usar muito bem redes sociais para divulgar sua imagem e participação em programas de televisão, nas notícias ou seus próprios shows.

Dance occurs in a variety of contexts, with a bigger or smaller audience, which determines performance. If a certain move happens on a stage or among a crowd in the dark, it has very different consequences. Certainly, it has different objectives and motivations as well. Dancing sensually can serve as a way to be in proximity to another person, or it can be a dance routine performed every week on many different occasions as part of a show.

Performances of masculinity and femininity in carioca funk

The analysis of funk's clothing conducted by Mizrahi (2006) reveals a logic of "disambiguation", in which gender is clearly marked, with men wearing large T-shirts and shorts, and women wearing tight clothes. The literature seems to indicate that funk music works by deepening the gender division, and this is certainly not false in many contexts. Nevertheless, new ways of dealing with gender and sexuality performances start to be evident in funk, especially among dancers. Dancers aesthetically recreate and perform through dance what they see as masculinity, femininity and homosexual mannerisms. *Passinho* steps, a new form of dance mixing hip-hop's break dancing with Brazilian dances, such as samba and *frevo*, reveal that experimentations with gender performances do occur in funk.

The term "hybrid masculinity" usually describes the embodiment and appropriation of subordinate and feminine identity markers by men in a condition of privilege: "Contemporary transformations in masculinity have primarily been documented among groups of young, heterosexual-identified, white men." (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, p. 253). Nevertheless, white and straight men are not

the only ones performing hybrid masculinity, as Bridges and Pascoe also acknowledge (2014).

Within this literature, those performing hybrid masculinities among the higher classes often regard blacks, the working class and immigrants as possessors of “regressive masculinities” (Bridges and Pascoe 2014). The literature frames those hybrid masculinities as an adaptation of hegemonic masculinity, which has some degree of malleability, thus contributing to its power and pervasiveness. Dancers spontaneously stressed their heterosexuality when asked about why they dance in a gay way. At the same time, this trend works to soften prejudices, such as the association between youths from the *favelas* and violence and criminality, attaching to these youths a more delicate and non-threatening face.

In this context, producers (and even dancers themselves) put dancers in a position of symbolically challenging the dominance of so-called “drug traffickers”. This term almost acquired a life of its own in Rio de Janeiro. It became a character inhabiting the *favelas*, carrying an AK-47 (an assault rifle), possibly wearing humble clothes, and ready to enter into conflict with the police. Of course, “drug traffickers” exist, some of them carry guns, and live a routine of violence. The point is to remember that much of this discussion is part of a symbolic dispute and the need to find a scapegoat for structural problems. A variety of groups and individuals practise violence: the state, militias, faction members and private security (which can get confused with militias), with a range of different but somehow interlinked agendas, normally involving an attempt to establish territorial control.

Dancers explained their ‘gay way’ performance to me in different ways. It can be a form of provocation to the dancer you oppose, it can be understood as a way of saying that your opponent is gay. Therefore, homosexuality in this case could

also be a form of denigration. Apparently, the point is not so much to suggest that your opponent is gay, but to make him feel uncomfortable. In one video from the 2011 Batalha do Passinho posted on YouTube this situation is visible. While Gambá is dancing, shaking his buttocks provocatively close to another dancer, his opponent seems disconcerted. All the other dancers surrounding the duel laugh at the situation, possibly adding to the awkwardness.

There are other reasons given for this trend of dancing in a ‘gay way’. One dancer, for example, argues that this trend started in Jacaré, with a group who just decided to start dancing like that in *bailes*. At the beginning, people “dancing like gays” were shamed and ridiculed but, with time, many others started repeating those moves. Therefore, in this account, dancing in a ‘gay way’ is something purely entertaining.

Girls in passinho

During a TV show on Globo network, Regina Casé introduces the “girls from *passinho*”, saying:

In the beginning, only boys could do it, *passinho* was already famous, everyone was talking about it, but it was only for boys, girls couldn’t dance it, they didn’t get into Batalha do Passinho, now, the girls are coming with everything!

Regina Casé asked Marcelly why so many girls did not want to dance, she answered: “It is because, you know, the boys had a prejudice, they thought that every girl dancing *passinho* was a *sapatão* [a word for lesbianism].” Curiously, both Emílio and Maria, respectively a film director and a photographer working

with *passinho*, associated the lack of girls in *passinho* with the effort required to dance it. The clue given to Marcelly provides a complementary explanation.

The problem is not exactly that women cannot dance *passinho* because it is physically demanding. It seems that the connection between sexualisation and women dancing is so entrenched that any suggestion of sexuality sticks. One female dancer once told me: “Men can twerk and show their belly, but if women do the same it is erotic.”⁶⁹ During an interview, Maria Buzanovsky who worked as a photographer at Batalha do Passinho, also affirmed:

I think that *passinho* is a thing, I don’t know ... the people organizing it already ask not to use pornographic music, *proibidão*, they want to be framed as stimulating funk’s acceptance, that thing about ‘good’ funk, which is also framed by a standard that is morally accepted. What happens with funk is an inversion of values. What they attribute to funk is the sexualisation of youth, violence among youngsters, as if everything was caused by funk. As if funk is stimulating this, not the opposite. It seems that it is not the society’s problem or the government’s problem. They think it’s the opposite, that funk is to blame. There are sectors within funk that want to escape this prejudice, and they are already framing funk so that the elites can accept it.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ O homem pode rebolar e mostrar a barriga, mas se a mulher faz o mesmo é erótico.

⁷⁰ Eu acho que o *passinho* é uma coisa, não sei... as pessoas organizando já pedem para não botar música com pornografia, *proibidão*, eles querem ser vistos como estimulando a aceitação do funk, essa coisa do funk do bem, que é também parte de um padrão moralmente aceito. O que acontece com o funk é uma inversão de valores, o que eles atribuem ao funk, a sexualização da juventude, a violência dos jovens, que tudo isso é causado pelo funk. Como se o funk estivesse estimulando isso, não o oposto. Parece que não é um problema da sociedade, do governo. Eles acham que é o oposto, que a culpa é do funk. Tem setores dentro do funk que querem escapar desse preconceito e já estão mudando o funk para que as elites possam gostar.

One film about women in funk called “Sou Feia Mas Estou na Moda” (I’m Ugly But I’m Trendy) argues in interviews that when many funk MCs were younger, during the 1990s, songs from artists in Brazil already showed sexuality in an explicit manner. Those groups supposedly inspired the funk artists of today. One group called É o Tchan even had a woman dancing above a bottle, slowly going down by bending her knees.

There are expectations of the way men should show or move their bodies in different spaces of funk music. However, those limitations are increasingly losing their importance with *passinho*’s upsurge, especially because of *passinho*’s satirical character in which a man can dance “like a woman” or in a “gay way”. At the same time, women still suffer prejudice and feel that their autonomy is limited regarding bodily expression because of the inevitable sexualisation.

After talking with the “girls from *passinho*”, Regina Casé asks MC Duduzinho and MC Beyonce to sing, so the girls can dance. MC Duduzinho starts by saying, this is the “*duelo das gostosas*”, or the duel of tasty women, roughly translating. According to the lyrics, “wherever they go, they attract attention”. He also sings, “I called her ‘*gostosa*’ and she answered, ‘normal, my mum spread sugar over me’.” While he sings this, one of the girls moves her hand over her body, going down in a split move.

When MC Beyonce (she uses the same name in homage to the North-American singer Beyoncé Knowles) takes the microphone, she sings about an envious girl, who criticizes her own “hair and make-up”, calling this girl “repressed” and a “wet rat”. She also states that, “whatever I do becomes fashionable”, expressing self-confidently her role in creating new trends.

Dance is not solely visual. There are many situations in which dance is performed, possibly even causing sexual arousal, without any touching occurring between the dancers. Hanna skilfully describes this possibility of dance developing lust when the “sense of sight mediates the sense of touch” (Hanna 1988, p. 15). Certain dance performances produce touch-like reactions in the audience without any touching actually taking place between performers, with staged performances being good examples.

Batalha do Passinho is an event occurring in many different communities of Rio de Janeiro, in which youngsters compete with each other in dance duels. In-between duels, there is a show from Serginho e Jayla X-Tudão. Serginho, an MC from Jacaré, has a show in which he pairs up with a large-sized lady dubbed a “fatty”. This “fatty” lady moves her hips, “twerking” to the ground, while the singer seems to demand those movements from her, saying: “Go fatty! Go down a little bit, shake the booty.” He also tells us that “when the fatty twerks she even trembles the ground”. He sings other lyrics as well, such as: “I live deep in Jacaré [a *favela* community], you can come to see how it is. Here we are humble, we are all brothers.”

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Figure 24 Jayla dances at Batalha do Passinho (Source: Author, 2013)

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Figure 25 Jayla lunges at one of the judges from Batalha do Passinho, while the audience, judges (on the left) and Julio Ludemir, one of the producers, laugh. (Source: Author, 2013)

Towards the end of one of the songs, the singer, Serginho, invites one of the judges from the Batalha do Passinho competition onto the stage to dance together with Jayla X-Tudão. At the end, she jumps on top of him amidst artificial smoke, and a noise comes from the audience, as if they are feeling the pain as well, followed by the laughter of judges and audience.

X-Tudão is a cheeseburger recipe mixing different ingredients. “Tudão” includes just about everything. This trend of calling women the same as food started with references to the gluteus of dancers. The most famous is Mulher Melancia, or Watermelon Lady. When asked if she liked her nickname during an interview given to a blog called *Gordinhas Maravilhosas* (Wonderful Fatties), she said that she loves it, because X-Tudo, the sandwich, “has all the ingredients everyone wants” (Gordinhas Maravilhosas, 2009). Many questions concern her condition as an obese person, and she affirms very strongly that she does not want to be slim: “There is nowhere for a man to hold,” (Gordinhas Maravilhosas, 2009) she said.

After singing over a remix of Gangnam Style, from the South Korean singer Psy, Serginho invites a member of Bonde Rosa (or pink crew) onto the stage. According to Baianinho, those who founded this group were among the first to dance in a ‘gay way’. Nike, the announcer at Batalha do Passinho, also confirmed this story, saying during the event that Bonde Rosa inspired Gambá to dance in a ‘gay way’.

To have the large lady up on the stage dancing with such energy was certainly one of the most impacting images conveyed by Serginho’s new show. Serginho used to pair up with a transsexual dancer in the past, called Lacreia, who died aged 34 years in May 2010 from unknown causes, although her promoter, David, mentioned tuberculosis.

One can read Jayla’s performance as an expression of autonomy, despite structural prejudice against fatness. At the same time, one can also see it as a spectacle organized mostly by men exploiting obesity in a comical and objectifying way. According to a newspaper article, Jayla X-Tudão was operated on because she had “morbid obesity”.

Certain countries consider rising obesity to be a social and health problem (Crossley 2006). Crossley argues that most people are surprised when they notice an increase in their weight. Despite its treatment as a pathology and its association with a number of health problems, Jayla affirms that she is content with her body. Therefore, not everyone is extremely self-aware about fatness or monitoring their weight and diet, as Crossley also notes (Crossley 2006). Still according to her, the “image of societies populated by self-policing or self-creating social agents has to be toned down” (Crossley 2006, p.78).

In this case, even though Crossley refers in her text to sociologists, the necessity of self-policing is enforced daily on television, in women’s magazines and in a number of other kinds of media (Coleman 2013). Jayla’s performance operates as an act of rebellion against an enforced self-policing necessity, which involves an “affective orientation to the future in the present” (Coleman 2013), instrumentalized through diet and exercise. This is not a linear future, but a future as “potential”, already actualized in the present (Coleman 2013).

Authors proposing a so-called “reflexive modernity” introduce the flexibility of modern life, also attributed to reflexivity, as a new emerging condition identified with a reflexive project of the self (Giddens 1991, 1992). Individualization and the decreasing importance of “big groups”, such as class, also accompany this reflexive modernization (Beck 2010). This idea has been critiqued in that those authors are not actually describing a modern condition marked by an enhanced capacity for auto-modification, but rather a “classed individual”:

(...) middle-classness can come to dominate images of transformation and how an understanding of images as felt and lived out through their affective appeal may help to explore the immanent and empirical

experience of those bodies that are caught up in the imperative of transformation. (Coleman 2013, p. 9)

It is significant that both Serginho and Jayla embody representations of a working-class ethos, expressed in lyrics through the idea of a welcoming brotherhood of Jacarezinho. It is not the point that the imperatives of transformation described by Coleman do not affect working-class people in Brazil.

Nonetheless, there is evidence for cultural peculiarities and material limitations regarding the diet of *favela* dwellers and working-class individuals in Rio de Janeiro (Ferreira and Magalhães 2011). According to interviews conducted by Ferreira and Magalhães, dwellers from *favela* da Rocinha constantly argue that the “rich people” eat less, “lighter” and better-quality food. Numbers indicate that, in Brazil, 70 per cent of those considered obese are females. Low-rent females have a 30 per cent higher chance of developing obesity, when compared with the total obese female population (Ferreira and Magalhães 2011).

Therefore, obesity is not only a class issue but also brings together class and gender. Hence, a comic performance involving a fat woman dancing on a stage might not be a conscious act of resistance, although it certainly deals with a possible contradiction between “imperatives of transformation”, associated with middle-classness, and material limitations affecting the diet of working-class women.

Another artist, MC Carol, also had her body shape stressed by journalists. In one story published on a news website called *Uol*, they comment on a competition for Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) involving different *favela* communities of Rio de Janeiro. According to the title of the reportage, “MMA

Event has ‘plus size’ ring girl”, the ‘plus size’ ring girl being MC Carol. The first sentence of the article says: “The slimness norm is being challenged by the ascension of a number of ‘plus size’ models. What about having larger ring girls as well?”

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Figure 26 MC Carol as a ring girl, as published in a blog called Cintura Larga (Source: Cintura Larga, <http://cinturalarga.com.br/2013/03/mc-carol-a-nova-ring-girl-plus-size.html>).

MC Carol commonly poses in lingerie or in bathtubs, constantly making references to sex. In one of her songs, MC Carol narrates a situation in which a guy apparently intends to make a girl pregnant without assuming responsibility

for the child. But in the song, the woman is “smart”, suing the man: “I put you behind bars, I destroy your life, if you leave me pregnant.”

In another interview, given to *O Globo* newspaper, MC Carol also comments on the lack of *bailes* in *favelas*, saying that after the police started to prohibit *baile funk*, she does not sing in *favelas* like she used to: “It must be almost a year that I don’t sing in *bailes de favelas*, only nightclubs and music venues” (O Globo, 11/04/2015). She says that there are expressions in funk that one could call “vulgar”, but that during carnival there are parades with “naked people and nobody says anything” (O Globo, 11/04/2015). She also affirms: “My songs are about everyday life” (O Globo, 11/04/2015).

In this same story, a dancer, known as Sheick, stresses the importance of funk for his body. He stresses that funk, or dance, can be a way to learn about your own body, to change it, and also a form of learning how to deal with it, including its image, despite the difficulties faced by those producing this music:

We don’t live. We survive. Funk is a form of expressing our culture, people don’t understand. Funk changed my life, my body, my health. I was asthmatic. Dancing *passinho* give me a new physical condition. Funk changed the way I see the world. (O Globo, 11/04/2015)

7.6. Music and dance as a “flight” from the real

Art seems to have the function of introducing desires, contradictions and conflicts by proposing situations one can “experience” without actually inhabiting them. Art can challenge symbolic violence by proposing a state of utopia, even if only a fleeting one, or “the desire for a better way of being” (Levitas 2010, p. 221). According to Anderson, music introduces affections that

emerge from the “elusory folding of bodies with the non-representational qualities of sound” (Anderson 2002, p. 220). He also refers to an enabling kind of utopia, which is influential in the present, even if it does not come into being.

Both Watkins (2010) and Anderson (2002) stress, using different arguments, that affect can be enabling, allowing one to let hopes for a better future affect the present or accumulate it as self-worth. Both propositions are helpful to understand the field descriptions and interviews introduced throughout this chapter. Funk music and dance are part of the creation of a desired future:

It is the favela heightened, or the transformation of the favela sounds and realities into music, in which people from *favelas* come together to lift themselves up emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually in the face of the harshness of the conditions of their lives in a largely informal, socially excluded community, through their own stubborn insistence to keep dancing, loving, and living, to a feeling of what it would be like to live in a better world. This better world of the bailes funk is not just any better world, nor is it simply the better world of the Brazilian middle and upper classes, as such. In the better world of people from *favelas*, no apologies are made for the colour of their skin, their culture, or their poverty. (Sneed 2008, p. 78)

Sneed (2008) considered the utopianism of funk by adapting Dyer’s remarks about entertainment and utopia. According to Dyer (1999), music is a most suitable medium for utopian practices, because of its embodied quality. In Sneed’s words: “The musical dimensions of practices like American musicals and Brazilian funk involve participants in extra-rational, intensely emotional experiences that embody utopian feelings through a series of nonrepresentational signs” (Sneed 2008, p. 65).

In musicals, *baile funk* or even opera (Benzecry 2011), the literature has stressed an embodied or passionate attachment to musical practices. Nevertheless, Sneed also points out that Dyer's ideas on utopia have to be adapted to account for *baile funk*. Different from musicals, studied by Dyer, and opera, *baile funk* does not involve the separation of consumption and production. In *baile funk* the audience is an "inseparable part of the actual spectacle" (Sneed 2008, p. 66).

Dyer also associates entertainment with escapism, a flight from everyday life. In funk's case, a similar interpretation would mean affirming that funk fans want to escape the harsh reality of everyday life in the *favelas*. However, more than a form of escaping reality, funk is also a space of struggle and for mediation of contradictions. According to Sneed, in spaces for funk music, hierarchies can be momentarily suspended or even inverted, "the *baile* is one of the few places in Carioca society where middle-class and rich young people can have extensive contact with young poor people on [a] somewhat equal footing" (Sneed 2008, p. 77).

This chapter provides evidence that funk mediates other kinds of power relations besides class, involving gender, sexuality and bodily displays. This mediation is highly affective, as it provides just a passing image of other possible worlds, in which 'gay-like' dancing and being fat do not generate prejudice or disdain.

Considering *passinho*, Jayla's performance and the existence of self-declared funk feminist singers, do they mean that funk is a territory of aesthetic struggles for autonomist practices regarding the contestation of structural gender roles and enactments of sexuality?

After considering funk performances within their social context, and accounting for structural elements, one might be in doubt regarding what those movements and their images actually afford, since those affordances might seem to oppose each other.

In all the situations described in this chapter, one can think that someone is supposedly reinforcing symbolic violence, or at least, reinforcing the norms sustaining it. For instance, Jayla pairs up with a man who guides her dance, tells her when to turn and how to move her body. Regarding *passinho*, explanations of dancing in a “gay way” are often ambiguous and do not allow a definitive reading of it as confirming homophobia, or challenging it. Dancing in a gay way is possibly a provocation directed at another dancer. Moreover, as already argued, *passinho* can also be an affirmation of masculinity and territoriality. Lastly, a journalist from *SBT* (Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão or Brazilian System of Television), a major channel network, criticized a female MC because she declared herself a feminist, arguing that funk contributes to the objectification of women.

How does one account for the evidence that specific forms of engagement with funk, even a single performance, afford contradictory reactions? According to Jenkins, albeit defending the overcoming of subjectivity versus objectivity duality, Bourdieu still seems to rely on a certain separation between both, e.g. when considering the relationship between “subjective expectation” and “objective possibilities” (Jenkins 1982).

Nevertheless, what Bourdieu does is not exactly to separate both, but rather to assume a certain linear co-relation that is not accurate for every social context. For instance, he affirms that, “desire for fulfilment is roughly measured by its chances of realization” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 150). These “chances of realization”

are associated with field dynamics enabling a certain individual habitus (Bourdieu 2000).

One hypothesis of Bourdieu is that actors adapt their “subjective expectations” to “objective possibilities”. Otherwise, they risk misrecognizing “objective power” (Bourdieu 2000, Jenkins 1982). Therefore, there are limits to the comprehension of the world. Beyond those limits, expectations become inaccurate: “Habitus is this ‘can-be’, which tends to produce practices objectively adjusted to the possibilities” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 217). Nonetheless, power is not universally determined, even though Bourdieu (2000) takes as a given this tendency of adaptation between expectations and objective chances.

Considering prejudice against fatness (Crossley 2006), one could see Jayla’s performance as an act of ignoring existent “objective power”, to use Bourdieu’s words. However, by stating that she believes her body to be beautiful, using both words and dancing on the stage, she is directly challenging symbolic violence since, according to Bourdieu, the strength of symbolic violence rests solely on belief. Of course, this dance act is not isolated from the world but inserted in a system still dominated by men and sexist assumptions. Furthermore, its impact is probably very limited in terms of producing a substantial change with regard to social conventions.

One important hypothesis to explain the contradictions exposed in this text is that, as argued by Massumi, there is a “gap” between content and effect, or between quality and affect. Therefore, what one sees in a dance performance, and interprets in terms of language, is not necessarily congruent with affect. The reception of images can be “multi-level, or at least, bi-level” (Massumi 1995, p. 2012).

Massumi is talking about a split between affect and quality, which he roughly equates to language or even sees as a proxy for social structure. According to his interpretation of research on the reception of images, referring to a split does not mean no relationship at all but that content or effect are not linked “in any straightforward way”.

This approximation between contrasting affects or emotions also appears in Perlman’s analysis of *favela* chic, a trend of selling *favelas* as a culturally vibrant place to be: “The term ‘favela chic’ is ensconced in the lexicon of international fashion, nightlife, art, and music” (Perlman 2010, p. 329). Tourists come to Rio de Janeiro and tour the city in jeeps; artists and entrepreneurs introduce the *favelas* as place of “otherness”, authenticity and “libidinal energy” (Perlman 2010, p. 329). Despite recognizing that *favelas* can convey beauty, and that many of the ways of *favela* dwellers are indeed very admirable, Perlman affirms that: “The glorification of favela residents as models of utopian sustainability (by the likes of Stewart Brand) does as much de-service to them and the challenges they face as does the vilification by the media” (Perlman 2010, p. 333).

In 2005, an exhibition showed images of *favelas* in a Parisian Métro station, Luxembourg, the objective was to introduce the beauty of *favelas* while remembering Parisians’ privilege (Perlman 2010). In this exhibition, one could feel doubly rewarded for being both economically privileged and well positioned vis-à-vis *favela* residents, while also extracting pleasure from looking at photographs of *favelas*.

It is partly in this contradiction between experiencing the *favela* and its representation that the binary split described by Massumi lies. Funk songs, YouTube videos and other artistic objects involving images of *favelas* provide an affective and distanced setting in which one can “experience” the *favela*. The

images and fictional accounts of *favelas*, provided by funk producers or others, also transform violence and deprivation in pleasure. This is visible not only in funk or artistic objects, but in a variety of films portraying *favelas*, such as *City of God* or *Elite Squad*.

While language captures emotion, affect remains a reference to something beyond, an autonomous fleeting force. If we follow Massumi's narrow definition of affect – that fleeting moment in which our body is impressed but consciousness is not yet active – affect is indeed somehow independent from language (Massumi 1995). Those fleeting affective moments translate into emotions and accumulate (Watkins 2010), contributing to produce individual habituses.

In this case, there is no strictly plastic or rational being, because we are all literally affective beings as well, struggling to decode affects by using names and classifications, which remain insufficient. This insufficiency points simultaneously to limits and potentials of the self, because one can both succumb to impossibility or attempt efforts to convey it. Conveying this insufficiency aesthetically is not a matter of disinterestedness; quite the opposite, it is a matter of “comprehension in the world”, to use Bourdieu's words.

7.7. Conclusion

One cannot define sensuality outside its articulation with affect, and its interpretation in terms of emotion. In this case, performances produce an affective interaction with their audience which one can translate as sensual, sexual or erotic. Nonetheless, if we are to follow Massumi, each one of those words, at any given moment, might refer to very different affective states. This

thesis has not sought to prove this possibility. Massumi's remarks regarding the split between affect and social structure or language appear as a hypothesis, allowing this work to investigate the implications of this idea when empirically applied to understanding music and dance.

One can say that Bourdieu, despite attempts to complexify the Cartesian division between body and mind, always ends up with ideas introducing a split between objectivity and subjectivity, as criticized by Jenkins (1982). This occurs because structuring affects in language are already part of a split creation. Analysing dance as a non-conceptual form of communication provides an opportunity to investigate the creation of meanings, norms and sexuality performances without relying solely on verbal interactions.

This chapter has analysed specific empirical cases. It has looked at how funk dances are capable of expressing a desired future or self-confidence and a sense of self-worth, while simultaneously challenging and reinforcing norms of sexuality and gender.

As already argued, domination through symbolic capital exists as long as people believe in its existence (Bourdieu 2000). Nonetheless, this belief is deeply entrenched, associated with a certain habitus, cultivated since one's early years by education. When using the word "belief", Bourdieu also includes the affective embodiment of dispositions occurring through education and the repression of desires.

It is congruent with Bourdieu's thoughts to propose that habitus works by solving inevitable contradictions emerging from erratic interactions between affect and social norms. Therefore, when trying to adapt expectations and objective possibilities one is troubled by contradictory signals, first experienced

in the body (Massumi 1995), a body that is constantly open to different perceptual information (Massumi 1995).

Regarding symbolic violence, the conclusions above do not point to a paralysing complexity attenuating its exclusionary effects. Instead, the aim is to stress that one cannot counter symbolic violence solely with rational arguments or reflexivity, since it emerges in the first place because of affective interactions and its translation as emotion.

Funk's stigmatization occurs through a moralistic discourse, associating for instance feminine body displays with vulgarity and cultural illegitimacy. People experience specific body movements as sexual. Circular movements of the hips, known as twerking, represent one such step. The quality of being sexual is already a representation of an affective state associated with a body movement performed in a specific context, including gender, space, dress codes, music and so on. Nevertheless, this representation does not necessarily accurately describe the initial affective impression caused by a dance move, it might simply fit into accounts already following existing structural expectations. However, the affective experience is not lost because of inaccurate translation, it accumulates and influences ways of being, or the habitus of individuals.

For instance, affect's accumulation as capacity does produce recognition (Watkins 2010) which is not detached from gender and sexuality normativity, but not necessarily determined by it either. Therefore, the accumulation of affect as capacity is a form of theoretically explaining how practices might challenge symbolic violence, without necessarily resorting to reflexivity or discursivity.

Conclusion: funk, entrepreneurship and interested aestheticism

“the most effective strategies (...) are those which, being the product of disposition shaped by the immanent necessity of the field, tend to adjust themselves spontaneously to that necessity, without express intention or calculation” (Bourdieu 2000, p. 138)

Music works as an allegory or a “simulacrum of how one might seek to organise knowledge about the world” (DeNora 2003, p. 152). In other words, doing music is also a learning experience about the materiality of the world and how to engage with it. DeNora’s reading of Adorno provides an important account of how, despite pure art’s ambitions, music is interested in the world; or in DeNora’s words, it is a “moral medium”, it has “consequences for the doing and handling of (...) extra-musical concerns” (DeNora 2003, p. 152).

Therefore, to dissociate a “pure aesthetic approach to art” from “the aesthetic” is essential (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Pure aesthetics seems to presuppose that art can be isolated from its context, having solely “aesthetic properties or purposes” (Zangwill 2002, p. 446). Pure aesthetics is also associated with high art and bourgeois aestheticism (Zangwill 2002). On the other hand, the concept of “interested autonomy” proposed by Gandhi (2006) manages to achieve two important objectives. First, it shows that aesthetics should not be confused with pure aesthetics. Secondly, it is part of a broader argument regarding the role of aesthetics in the creation of affective communities (Gandhi 2006).

Different agents interviewed for this research, including those using funk to promote a more historicist political approach, mentioned the difficulty that

political activists, many to the left of the political spectrum, had in accepting funk. According to Hermano Vianna (2005) and informants interviewed for this research, those activists expressed widespread prejudices also found in the press and elsewhere. In fact, changing this prejudiced view was arguably one of the most important aims achieved by the Funk is Culture movement led by APAFUNK, a group of politically engaged funk artists and activists considered throughout this text. Activists of funk achieved this not solely through discourse or rational argument, but by mobilizing and integrating affective communities composed of people in different social positions using music.

In this thesis, I have argued for the importance of developing different lenses to understand aestheticism and struggles for citizenship and equal rights among those commonly named subaltern or underprivileged. It has analysed funk's practices, and how creators and mediators deal with the aesthetic, affective and political dimensions of funk. In this context, dance and music reveal important ambiguities when it comes to congruence with structural determinants. For example, the same themes that raise accusations of vulgarity or even moral outrage also, according to funk artists, foster political activism and commercial success.

While producers complain about police repression and stricter rules when it comes to running funk parties, academics also point to a historically negative portrayal of funk in written and television journalism (Herschmann 2005). Focusing on the delegitimizing consequences of government's or news agencies' actions serves as a form of critique. Nonetheless, this text has also addressed how artists, activists and entrepreneurs counter those delegitimizing efforts. These agents use funk for political mobilization, entrepreneurialism and a vibrant artistic scene, without leaving aside the aesthetic dimension of their practices.

Main findings

People from completely different backgrounds create and produce funk. Social and economical differences do play an important role in funk's aesthetics. Therefore, ignoring stratification is not an option, and Bourdieu's ideas provide conceptual tools to understand how art produces and transforms differences of all sorts. This thesis has employed the concept of habitus in order to comprehend how so-called dispositions interact with artistic production.

This thesis focuses on producers of funk rather than its consumers. This choice reinforces the connection between creativity and economical structures, without attempting to decode broader patterns of cultural consumption in Brazil or Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, analysing entrepreneurialism (see Chapter 4) does not mean reifying this notion as an ideal associated with citizenship (Ong 2005) and current capitalistic values, including as well mobility and flexibility. According to Ong, the prevalence of those values can even “undermine the democratic achievements of American liberalism based on ideals of equal rights” (Ong 2005, p. 698).

Applying the concept of habitus by considering its elaboration as a classification, manifested in the idea of an entrepreneurial habitus for example, must combine attention to the individual expression of dispositions and their articulation with personal trajectories. Hence, proposing an entrepreneurial habitus is not equivalent to accepting a necessary relationship between entrepreneurship and citizenship, as many entrepreneurs producing funk still face official repression and stigmatization.

A key debate among scholars studying *baile funk* music is whether it reinforces or challenges ideas about citizenship in Brazil and *brasilidade*. This work moves this debate forward in two ways: first, by affirming funk's association with the practices of African diaspora using the term Black Atlantic. Therefore, *baile funk* artists do not necessarily compromise with creating a unified notion of *brasilidade*.

Yúdice (2003) has noticed a conflictive relationship between *baile funk* music and established notions of what it means to be Brazilian. However, it is not always the case that *baile funk* music challenges *brasilidade*, which takes us to the second point. The relationship between the production of *baile funk* music and social structures is not direct or devoid of contradictions. *Baile funk* affords the manipulation of affect as a fleeting force but also as a structuring instance, visible in the constitution of habituses. Nevertheless, one cannot fully grasp affect in terms of stable structures.

The notion of habitus is helpful in this thesis, since it allows a nuanced comprehension of processes linking social structure and agency. Nevertheless, I know that I could not benefit from this conceptual tool referring only to different classes of habitus. One needs to move back and forth between individual habituses and sets of habitus associated with structural dimensions. By doing this one can elucidate some of the contradictions involving funk without recurring to plurality.

In other words, I want to argue in this thesis that one cannot explain the contradictions involving funk only by resorting to the argument that there is a variety of groups engaging with it. The production of *baile funk* is the result of dispositions associated with structural issues, individual trajectories and affective attachments, and not simply heterogeneity. One example is the idea of an

entrepreneurial habitus. Different individuals share an entrepreneurial habitus, meaning that they have accumulated different kinds of capital. They mobilize the capital they possess to obtain better positions in the field of funk-music production.

The entrepreneurial self normally compromises with hegemonic exchange value, quantification and accumulation (Skeggs 2010). However, a funk producer is not a typical entrepreneur. Producers, MCs, DJs and dancers are not completely submissive to market imperatives. Creating funk is also a way of establishing affective attachment to spaces of the city, affective communities and heterotopias. In turn, institutions appropriate this non-hegemonic component of funk to convey convenient and optimistic images of the future, e.g. the future of peace conveyed by Rio de Janeiro's state government using children dancing *passinho*.

What happens when one moves towards individual habituses? Interviews and ethnographic observation have revealed that middle- or upper-class individuals have a different way of relating to multiple musical influences when compared to working-class artists. Interviews with dancers, producers and MCs with working-class origins reveal that despite acknowledging a reality of mixing, they are also concerned with appropriation. Curiously, the practice of bringing together different music styles does not exclude a defence of tradition. In this case, tradition does not mean an unchangeable practice with roots in the remote past, but rather a cultural practice affectively and materially attached to a certain community (Vargas 2007).

Those with less economic and social capital showed a more protective attitude to the emerging cultural capital they control. These conclusions are not exactly surprising. In this case, the interesting finding is that working-class producers try

to reconcile struggles to legitimize funk music and obtain equal treatment with existent hegemonic discourses of mixture in Brazil.

One of the main strategies to deal with this contradiction is improvisation. In musical improvisation, musicians give up “complete control over the final ‘product’ in exchange for certain advantages that interpersonal and intercultural contact create” (Stanyek 2004, p. 95). Stressing dispositions and improvisation allows a better comprehension of the contradictory relationship between the production of funk and social structures.

Associating improvisation and habitus moves the focus from necessarily coherent and established meanings (such as unified notions forging national identity) towards “adaptation, speculation, and transformation” (Stanyek 2004, p. 96). Improvisation is part of a “collective mode of diasporic consciousness” (Stanyek 2004, p. 95) affording dialogues, collaboration, communal ties and social critique.

Therefore, even though a certain entrepreneurial habitus is widespread among funk producers, meaning that the necessity to reconcile fitting in and standing out in order to move positions in the field is perceivable among all participants, one has to analyse the results of those entrepreneurial actions in terms of individual habituses marked by improvisation. The results of this research suggest that agency is not the same as control over individual actions’ outcomes. It is rather the capacity to interact and modulate meanings and affects, without ignoring the co-existence of distinct world views, personal trajectories and structural influences.

In funk, cultural entrepreneurs have an acute and embodied sense of what attracts attention and makes people move. There is almost a consensus that sex and violence sell, a pragmatic conclusion reported with a certain disappointment

by MCs aiming to bring a political face to funk. On the other hand, cultural entrepreneurs usually say the same in order to justify what they do, since they have to sustain themselves economically.

Entrepreneurial habitus involves actions aiming to “fit in” and “stand out” (De Clercq and Voronov 2009). Frequently, standing out relates negatively to fitting in, especially when someone attracts attention for attitudes seen as excessively transgressive of established social norms. Balancing both involves reasoning, but it also involves an aesthetic and embodied perception of the world, which is associated with dwelling in an urban space and having access to and mobilizing cultural capital. The *passinho* scene illustrates this conflict between fitting in and standing out very clearly. Dancers constantly monitor each other regarding their manners and what they say, also assessing each other constantly in terms of dance creativity.

One can analyse structural change using habitus. Balancing fitting in and standing out in funk involves improvising moves and sounds which actively interact with habitus’ creation and existing structural constraints. More recently, Crossley has suggested that more attention should be directed towards “innovative actions by embodied agents”, which “can both modify existing structures and generate new ones, breaking the ‘circle’ of reproduction” (Crossley 2003, p. 44).

Habitus presupposes an embodied knowledge, a generative and learned grammar that allows different courses of action and decision-taking, congruent with social positioning (Bourdieu 2000). As already mentioned, two models aiming to explain social action oppose each other in this case: the Cartesian and dispositional models. Cartesian philosophy is alive today in rational-choice models, assuming the figure of *homo oeconomicus*, which seeks to maximize

profit through conscious calculation. Bourdieu, on the other hand, based himself on a “dispositional” philosophy of practice (Bourdieu 2000).

Sociologists researching music have criticized Bourdieu, accusing him of determinism (Jenkins 1982, Prior 2008). This work argues that this critique misses the point. A thorough reading of his work reveals that his theories are also capable of explaining social change (Fowler 1996). For example, a lack of fit might exist between habitus and field, leading to unexpected social actions and the transformation of society (Fowler 1996, Sweetman 2003).

Recent literature connects this lack of fit between field and habitus to reflexivity, which despite habitus’ non-cognitive nature can occur during a “crisis” (Sweetman 2003). Sweetman, building upon Bourdieu’s ideas, argues that certain kinds of habitus are intrinsically reflexive. He also argues that reflexive or flexible habituses are “increasingly common” due to “cultural shifts” and the blurring of boundaries between fields. Consequently, contradiction between habitus and field creates “permanent disruption” (Sweetman 2003).

I want to argue that a reflexive habitus alone cannot account for social change, which does not necessarily arise from a supposedly reflexive attitude characteristic of modernity, but also from affective connections and embodiment. Nonetheless, in this case, another split appears. While in models considering reflexivity the difficulty is to integrate objectivity and subjectivity (Crossley 2003), when it comes to affect and emotion the division appears to be between embodiment and language (Massumi 1995).

Individuals do not translate affect into language in a straightforward manner. In fact, both seem to interrelate in ambiguous ways. Considering the “primacy of the affective in image reception” (Massumi 1995, p. 84) poses a question going beyond the interpretation of images by cognition. There is something relevant

going on when one receives information from the world before any mediation by words occurs. However, one cannot really express what is going on precisely. One cannot assume that what is being felt in the body is actually being translated accurately (Massumi 1995).

Social research is to a certain extent bound to use the vocabulary of emotions when analysing interviews or song lyrics. This is one of the reasons why this research included the use of video and the analysis of embodied practices, more precisely dance. The literature considers dance to be a way of communicating affect, even though it also transmits meaning (Huntington 2011).

Activists, as well as individuals and institutions, creating, appropriating or adapting funk do what the literature calls ‘affective labour’. In this case, affect is not actually the property of a single individual, it has to do with the “capacity of the labourer” to channel and modulate “social connections, ideas, and feelings” (Carah 2014, p. 348).

The freedom to take or mediate also co-relates to a sense of belonging (Feld 2000), which is not immune to further challenges and criticism. It is by being “exposed to the world, to sensation, feeling, suffering, etc.” (Bourdieu 2000, p.142) that our bodies elaborate dispositions to “anticipate the course of the world” (p. 142), generating actions that are not socially determined but adequate for a certain field (Bourdieu 2000).

At the end of the eighties, hip-hop from the United States was so embedded in spaces of popular entertainment in Rio de Janeiro that people felt free to appropriate it. In this case, a sense of belonging developed among people in different cities and different countries, despite linguistic barriers.

Today, funk entrepreneurs use the emerging cultural capital they now possess to transform it into other kinds of valuable resources, such as economic and

social capital. However, if funk producers and dancers feel empowered because of the widespread consumption of funk, they also feel good doing it, they acquire a sense of affective and aesthetic satisfaction from creating funk. In sum, funk also creates “existential capital” (Nettleton 2013). People engage with funk for the sake of it, because they extract happiness and plenitude from this interaction.

Thus, “existential capital” is also central to funk’s reproduction, since it describes practices capable of generating intrinsic value, without the need to refer to other uses or consequences. Those engaging with funk are bodily and cognitively attached to it. Singing and dancing are skills that *funk* artists and fans value and are essential for their place in the world.

Artists, scholars and activists argue that funk has an intrinsic value in the struggle against criminalization, stigmatization and repression. Nonetheless, the acknowledgement of “existential capital” in funk’s reproduction seems to be very underrated. It became clear during research that singing, producing, dancing or any other activity associated with funk seems to require a certain explanation, a defence based on social determinants that could potentially legitimize funk. The fact that cultural agents feel the need to stress that funk is indeed culture, art, entertainment or a form of creative economy, indicates that its acceptance is still incomplete.

Yet, existential satisfaction deriving from funk is key to understanding its importance and the struggles for equal rights and full citizenship. Dancers do not necessarily start engaging with funk to become rich or famous, but because they like listening and dancing to it in the company of friends. *Funkeiros* organize themselves in affective communities, which have aesthetic particularities that funk fans and producers create and propagate. Those particularities are rooted in specific localities and habituses.

Indeed, funk entrepreneurs engage in embodied calculations, attempting to maximize affective intensity. However, unlike the emotional work observed in stores trying to sell a certain experience to consumers (Carah 2014), funk's affective labour leaves plenty of room for improvisation and self-expression.

Since habitus generates actions that are adequate for a field through improvisation (Bourdieu 2005), improvisation in music is not a different phenomenon from the one discussed by Bourdieu, because musical performance is also a form of social practice (Chapter 7). Stanyek's (2011) discussion regarding the association between *brasilidade* (Brazilianness) and improvisation makes this very clear.

Following the dispositional model, a certain way of being does not emerge solely from reflexivity. In other words, habitus does not emerge from a detached subject reflecting on objective conditions. Instead, people develop ingrained dispositions associated with a variety of capacities allowing decision-making without the constant need for such a detachment. Agents take decisions cognitively and through their bodies. They do take into consideration social position and trajectory, but agents also improvise and act in response to embodied and affective exchanges, roughly translated as emotions, such as desire, fear, affinity, hope and so on.

Institutions also try to manage affect, together with expressions of funk music, to support political and marketing campaigns. For example, political marketing used scenes of *passinho* dance, aiming to convey an image of Rio de Janeiro as a happy city. It also introduced *passinho*, a kind of dance performed by children to funk beats, as associated with security policies introduced since 2008 aiming to "pacify" the city.

One consequence of the pacification process was the prohibition of *baile funk*, a central place of interaction and conviviality and one for “existential capital’s” reproduction. One of the reasons given by the authorities for this prohibition is that the sound leaking from *bailes* results in complaints, even though activists dispute this allegation, saying that the police selectively persecute funk. Many famous funk songs are narratives about the integration of different *favela* communities and neighbourhoods through attendance at *bailes*; other songs speak of love stories happening in *bailes* across town.

Both funk *ostentação*, in which MCs sing about showing off wealth, and *passinho* dance are movements emerging from practices rooted in various localities. Internet access connects different spaces through dance, with both forms of expression promoted by online tools. Yet, MCs and dancers do not abandon references to geographical space, such as neighbourhoods, suburban areas or *favelas*. Hence, one cannot say that the culture industry created those more palatable forms of doing funk, or that they achieved popularity by political co-optation. Those are genuinely spontaneous developments fostered by online connectivity and local sociability.

Those doing funk *ostentação* do not convey the objective of being rich. They introduce themselves as already being rich. This is an important difference, in the sense that their music aims to transport others to the same imaginary of plentiful leisure and wealth. On the other hand, those enjoying and creating funk are often living in underprivileged conditions. In this context, when creating music, MCs normally choose to either transform their reality into something else, a place of plenty, or to describe what they see and live, i.e. poverty, violence and governmental neglect.

The cultural capital mobilized by funk producers conveys people’s realities as

something valuable, despite critiques and prejudice. This research also finds that many see funk simultaneously as their work and a source of happiness.

Moreover, funk, as well as samba, *capoeira* and a number of practices associated with popular culture in Brazil, contributes to widening the range of possibilities available to those who do not live a life of plenty. This contribution is, however, not solely social in a strict sense, meaning that it derives from social determinants which are noticeable in the common-sense idea that the poor dance to forget their problems (even though a few interviewees did make this argument). Those forms of popular culture create affective communities relying on interested aestheticism. In these communities, certain dispositions are valued, changed and copied, relationships are established, and cultural, social and economic capital are created.

In this sense, as Marcus Faustini has stressed, people in areas marked by poverty are not “deprived” but “potent”. For Faustini, who idealized the selection of projects involving funk and receiving funds from State Government, looking at their culture as culture made by “poor” people still fosters domination and subjugation.

It is impossible to ignore that poverty is in fact a reality that affects how people harness potentialities and dispositions. The representations of the “poor” described by Bourdieu show them as “phantasms which feed on emotional experiences stimulated by more or less uncontrolled words and images, such as those conveyed in the tabloids and by political propaganda or rumour” (Bourdieu 1999, p. 123). Studying funk by stressing its aesthetic potentialities, mediations and affordances is important to exorcize those “phantasms” mentioned above, deriving as well from clouded judgements regarding popular art and culture.

By addressing struggles for equal rights and citizenship, while considering interested aestheticism, this thesis has attempted to show a glimpse of how social structures can also be enabling. Structural conditions do not simply constrain funk producers. Funk producers, dancers and MCs (singers of funk and crowd animators) appropriate images of blackness, poverty, *favelas* and sexuality, attaching value to them while referring to affective labour and political activism.

Heteronomy – or the limits of autonomy felt by funk producers – is not a given. Funk producers do not overcome constraints in the same way as a runner who clears hurdles while trying to win a race would do. They also perform those constraints, or aesthetically imagine situations in which those limitations do not exist, using them as instruments to afford a broader range of possibilities, including community integration.

Funk producers expand their material and political possibilities, recurring to practices that might simultaneously reinforce and challenge structural constraints. To do so requires using the body, activating affects and displaying images to mobilize people in a context marked by inequality and segregation.

Future developments: comparative research

In my master's dissertation I wrote about the appropriation of dub mixing techniques by Brazilian producers creating remixes of “traditional” music. What was evident during that research was the importance of remixing techniques in Jamaica for the development of hip-hop in New York (Veal 2007). In turn, hip-hop was an important influence for the creation of funk music in Brazil. It is not correct to treat this history in linear terms. Instead, we should be talking about permanent exchanges, inspired for instance by concepts such as the Black

Atlantic (Gilroy 2001) or an affective community (Gandhi 2006), concepts transcending methodological nationalism.

After collecting interviews, ethnographic and documental data about *baile funk* music, comparing this context with other forms of musical practices would, in my opinion, be extremely fruitful. More than a comparative approach, I plan to explore these connections, and the extent to which they form affective communities, regardless of territorial or national boundaries.

A scene very popular in the Brazilian state of Pará called *tecnobrega* shares many characteristics with *baile funk*: the importance of the sound equipment; independence; and the stigmatization of and association with specific social classes accompanied by subversive adaptations to please the middle and upper classes (Lemos and Castro 2008). One hypothesis is that *baile funk*, *tecnobrega*, the dancehall scene in Jamaica and the production of hip-hop have very similar structures.

Those similarities point to a very different assemblage (Born 2005) than that of pure art, connected to an immutable and finished work of art and considering the artist as a creative genius, the one at the top of the hierarchy of art creation. In this context, considering the possibility of the emergence of a new musical assemblage begs at least one important question: How does the appearance of this assemblage associate with emerging forms of cultural capital?

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Batalha do Passinho (2012) Rio de Janeiro: Osmose Filmes.

Mulheres no Funk (2013) Rio de Janeiro: PUC-RIO.

Chumbo Quente (1978) B.H. Produções

Appendix I – List of Interviewees

- 02/03/2011 – Ricardo Sidi (lawyer defending MCs arrested by police for singing *proibições*)
- 24/03/2011 – MC Leonardo (MC, activist and ex-president of APAFUNK)
- 08/05/2011 – Luiz Moncau (lawyer and researcher from Getúlio Vargas Foundation, produced a legal report about Resolution 013)
- 31/05/2011 – short interview with Col. Robson Rodrigues (at the time UPP Commander)
- 14/06/2011 – MC Frank (MC accused of crime incitation for singing *proibições*)
- 17/08/2011 – Zé Black and Reginaldo (funk producers and owners of *equipes de som*)
- 28/03/2012 – Guilherme Pimentel (activist from APAFUNK)
- 17/05/2012 – Marcus Faustini (led the creation of a fund for funk projects, including the selection process)
- 07/05/2012 – Marcel Beiner (activist from MEURIO)
- 07/05/2012 – João Pessanha (activist from MEURIO)
- 26/05/2012 and 22/08/2014 – Prof. Adriana Facina (activist, APAFUNK member and professor at Museu Nacional – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)
- 01/06/2012 – Daniela Orofino (activist from MEURIO)
- 31/05/2012 and 25/03/2013 – Emílio Domingos (directed a film about Batalha do Passinho)
- 22/02/2013 – Leo Justi (DJ and musical producer)
- 06/03/2013 – Mano Teko (MC, activist and ex-president of APAFUNK)
- 09/03/2013 – Maria Buzanovsky (activist, photographer from Batalha do Passinho and Rodas de Funk)
- 11/03/2013 – Leandra and Cebolinha (*passinho* dancers)
- 01/04/2013 – Tojão (radio host, producer from baile Emoções da Rocinha and activist from APAFUNK)
- 18/04/2013 – Wanderson and Baianinho (*passinho* dancers)
- 20/04/2013 –Interview over Skype with Rafael Dragaud (producer from Batalha do Passinho)
- 04/06/2013 – DJ Marlboro (DJ and producer)

Appendix II – Events attended

- 30/05/2011 – Public Hearing in Rio de Janeiro’s State Assembly (ALERJ)
- 17/08/2011 – Rádio Nacional, weekly *baile funk* show led by MC Leonardo and Tojão
- 31/08/2012 – Roda de Funk in Complexo do Alemão
- 27/04/2012 – Roda de Funk in Cantagalo
- 18/05/2012 – Marcus Faustini’s lecture in Studio X
- 22/05/2012 – Preparations for Roda de Funk in Chapéu Mangueira
- 26/05/2012 – Roda de Funk in Chapéu Mangueira
- 14/06/2012 – Roda de Funk in Central do Brasil
- 20/06/2012 – Roda de Funk in Cúpula do Povos, during Rio+20.
- 29/08/2012 – Visit to Centro Cultural Waly Salomão from Afroreggae in Parada de Lucas and conversation with Sany Pitbul
- 16/02/2013 – Debate followed by roda de capoeira in Cais do Valongo with MC Junior, MC Leonardo, and poet Sérgio Vaz
- 27/03/2013 – Tojão and Guilherme Pimentel discussing Funk is Culture movement in Instituto Federal do Rio de Janeiro (IFRJ)
- 23/02/2013 – Debate followed by Batalha do Passinho movie in Favela da Providência.
- 28/03/2013 – Batalha do Passinho in Complexo do Alemão
- 13/04/2013 – Batalha do Passinho in Jacarezinho followed by *baile funk* party on the streets
- 07/06/2014 – Favela do Cantagalo and conversation with DJ Lorão
- 07/07/2014 – Visit to UPP Cantagalo-Pavão-Pavãozinho and conversation with Lieutenant Maurício
- 07/07/2014 – *Baile funk* Emoções da Rocinha
- 18/08/2014 – Rehearsal from Bloco APAFUNK

