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ARTICLE

Favela won! – Resistance conveyed in *bregafunk* music videos

André Luiz Maranhão de Souza-Leão [1]
Mariana Almeida de Souza Lopes [1]

[1] Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (UFPE), Recife – PE, Brazil

Abstract

Music production accounts for spreading ideologies since music genres are intrinsically linked to political discourses. *bregafunk* is a music genre that fulfills this role in the music scene of Recife, Brazil. The genre's video production portrays the city's favelas as places of sociability and affection, as well as of ambition for better social and economic conditions. Based on the Foucauldian theory, favelas are an emblematic example of resistance. Thus, this study is guided by the following research question: how does the production of *bregafunk* music videos evidence favelas' resistance? Foucauldian discourse analysis was applied to 777 *bregafunk* music videos posted on Youtube between September 2012 and September 2020. Results have evidenced a discursive formation showing higher favela representativeness in society. This discursive formation is characterized by the appreciation of favelas and their citizens' efforts to empower minorities. These findings have evidenced favelas' resistance by representing political identities inserted in this social space. This process reveals a specific and alternative *ethos* challenging the status quo by supporting political discourses with acts against those considered socially normal.

Keywords: *Bregafunk* music. Favela. Music videos. Resistance. Foucauldian discourse analysis.

Favela venceu! – Resistência veiculada em videoclipes de bregafunk

Resumo

A produção musical é responsável pela veiculação de ideologias, uma vez que gêneros se encontram intrinsicamente atrelados a discursos políticos. Na cena musical recifense, o bregafunk cumpre esse papel, retratando, em sua produção de videoclipes, a periferia como um espaço de sociabilidades e afetividades, bem como de ambição por melhores condições sociais e econômicas. Com base na teoria foucaultiana, consideramos a favela um exemplo emblemático de resistência. Com base nisso, a presente investigação se orienta pela seguinte questão de pesquisa: como a produção de videoclipes de bregafunk evidencia uma resistência da favela? Para tal, realizamos uma Análise de Discurso Foucaultiana de 777 videoclipes de bregafunk postados no Youtube entre setembro de 2012 e setembro de 2020. Os resultados evidenciam uma formação discursiva que alude a uma maior representação da favela na sociedade. Por um lado, essa formação discursiva é caracterizada pela busca de empoderamento de minorias e pelo próprio cidadão da periferia; e, por outro, pela valorização da favela. Esses achados evidenciam uma resistência da favela por meio da representação de identidades políticas circunscritas nesse espaço social. Esse processo revela um *ethos* particular, que, ao ser alternativo e resistente ao status quo, revela uma sublevação, ao sustentar discursos políticos a partir de atos de contra conduta ao que costuma ser considerado socialmente normal.

Palavras-chave: Bregafunk. Favela. Videoclipes. Resistência. Análise de discurso foucaultiana.

¡Favela venceu! – Resistencia difundida en los videoclips de bregafunk

Resumen

La producción musical es responsable de la difusión de ideologías, ya que los géneros están intrínsecamente ligados a los discursos políticos. En el escenario musical de Recife, *bregafunk* cumple ese rol, retratando, en su producción de videoclips, la periferia como espacio de sociabilidad y afectividad, así como de ambición de mejores condiciones sociales y económicas. Con base en la teoría foucaultiana, consideramos a la favela un ejemplo emblemático de resistencia. A partir de ello, el estudio presente se orienta por la siguiente pregunta de investigación: ¿cómo la producción de videoclips *bregafunk* evidencia la resistencia de las favelas? Con este fin, realizamos un análisis foucaultiano del discurso de 777 videoclips de *bregafunk* publicados en Youtube entre septiembre de 2012 y septiembre de 2020. Los resultados muestran una formación discursiva que alude a una mayor representación de la favela en la sociedad. Por un lado, esta formación discursiva se caracteriza por la búsqueda de empoderamiento de las minorías y de los propios ciudadanos de la periferia; y, por otro, por la valorización de la favela. Estos hallazgos muestran una resistencia de la favela a través de la representación de identidades políticas circunscritas a este espacio social. Este proceso revela un *ethos* particular que, al ser alternativo y resistente al *statu quo*, revela un levantamiento, al sustentar discursos políticos a partir de actos de contra conducta a lo que suele considerarse socialmente normal.

Palabras clave: *Bregafunk*. Favela. Videoclips. Resistencia. Análisis foucaultiano del discurso.

Article submitted on May 05, 2022 and accepted for publication on December 12, 2022.
[Original version]
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1590/1679-395120220124x

INTRODUCTION

In addition to its function of amusement provider, the entertainment industry has been constantly including a discursive construction in its production process, influencing the ideological formation of society – (Giles, 2017; Morrison, 2017; Straubhaar & Davis, 2018), which can be observed in the dissemination of the American way of life by Hollywood cinema (Jung, 2018) or, more recently, in the growing interest in South Korean culture, derived from the popularization of its audiovisual and musical production (Ng & Chan, 2020).

Regarding the phonography industry, one can understand that musical production accounts for a broad ideological discourse; since the 1950s, countercultures have emerged or been closely related to music, such as the hippie, punk, and grunge movements, to name a few (Romero, 2022). Specifically, musical genres are intrinsically linked to political discourses. For example, Rap is seen as "art of identity" in the United States, since artists take into consideration their own behavior at the time to develop this genre (Lauger & Densley, 2018), whereas hip-hop played central role in the formation of a generation of marginalized individuals who used it to express themselves (Harlow & Benbrook, 2019). On the other hand, Brazilian funk music often contributes to the way male and female funk music artists manage both their careers and lifestyle (Moreira, 2017).

Bregafunk music also appears to contribute to the formation of a different ideology in the music scenario of Recife. The city is characterized by deep social inequalities: while it has the 13th GDP of Brazil (Borba, 2022), more than 50% of its population is considered low-income (Santana, Medeiros, & Monken, 2022). On the other side, Recife is a cradle of a popular culture of nationally established rhythms, such as Frevo (Spanos, 2019) and Manguebeat (Mendonça, 2019). Most music videos belonging to this genre, which derive from the outskirts of the aforementioned city, present favelas both in their settings and lyrics (Bento, 2021a; Gericó, Souza, & Pereira, 2020).

Brazilian favelas are the main representatives of the major socioeconomic difference faced by the Brazilian population (Klôh et al., 2020). They emerged by the end of the 19th century, with the abolition of slavery, which forced former slaves to seek housing close to urban centers, a phenomenon that extended into the 20th century, with a growing movement of rural exodus. Thus, they are often featured as spaces harboring the pooring and illegal squatters of land (Motta, 2019). It is evident, therefore, that the favela represents the segregation between social classes in the country (Maia, Teixeira, & Kalaoum, 2020).

In addition, for a long time, they were seen as violent places lacking the State's presence (Carvalho & Cabral, 2021; Gonçalves & Malfitano, 2021; Muniz & Oliveira, 2014) – which, in turn, led the favelas to form their own socioeconomic and political arrangements (Menezes & Mano, 2020). However, the imaginary of the favela as a place of ills appears to be under deconstruction, since they started to be portrayed by their communities as places of pride (Gonçalves & Malfitano, 2020). In this sense, cultural manifestations within favelas represent a political position of resistance against the negative stigma associated with these spaces (Dinardi, 2019).

Accordingly, favelas are herein seen as emblematic *loci* where occurs what Foucault's philosophy calls resistance: i.e., practices established as counterpoint to the exercise of established power (Foucault, 1988), which is exercised through heterogeneous elements (e.g., discourses, institutions, doctrines) focused on regulating knowledge established in society; according to Foucault (2014b), these elements constitute power devices. Thus, based on the Foucauldian perspective, we herein understand that practices focused on celebrating, valuing, and showing pride towards favela are representatives of the resistance to the segregation imposed on this social space by a dominant social and economic power device.

Bregafunk music proclaims a speech of praise according to which favelas are not inferior to the richest zones in the city; on the contrary, attention is drawn to how its music video production portrays the outskirts of Recife City as place of sociability and affection, as well as of ambition for better social and economic conditions (Albuquerque, 2018b; Tavares, 2020). We herein understand that, by portraying the favela from a positive naturalistic gaze, *bregafunk* music videos promote discursive practices focused on showing favelas' resistance to the dominant device forcing the representation of the marginalized society upon them. Thus, they also act as discursive propagation agent, since their wide promotion enables conveying political or ideological acts that go beyond the entertainment factor (Chen, Wang, & Qiao, 2021; Rademacher & Kelly, 2019; Van Klinken, 2018; Zanette, Lourenço, & Brito, 2013). Based on this perspective, the current study is guided by the following research question: **how is favelas' resistance represented in *bregafunk* music video productions?**

The current research is in compliance with the investigation field known as Consume Culture Theory (CCT). It addresses a massively mediated market ideology (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 2007; Gaião, I. L. Souza, & Souza-Leão, 2012) that presents a small number of studies produced in this field, despite being one of the topics defined in it, either because it does not directly address consumers, or due to its potential to be used for critical perspectives. On the other hand, the current study is part of an investigative pathway of increasing importance within the CCT field, namely: using the Foucauldian theory and method, mainly at the time to investigate resistance acts aimed at, or in the context of, consumption (Denegri-Knott & Tadajewski, 2017). Finally, the investigation of a cultural phenomenon locally rooted meets a current trend of CCT, which is the advancement of theoretics on local consumer culture (Arnould & Thompson, 2015; Steenkamp, 2019).

THE CONCEPT OF RESISTANCE IN THE FOUCAULDIAN THEORY

According to the Foucauldian theory, resistance is described as the opposition to the exercise of power in a given socio-historical context (Foucault, 1988). Based on Foucault, this power cannot be owned, but rather exercised in a relational manner (Foucault, 2008, 2014b). Therefore, power only exists when it is exercised over someone, in order to set behaviors. Those subjected to the action of power produce transmutations capable of influencing the configuration of established behaviors by performing acts of resistance (Camargo, Souza-Leão, & Moura, 2021). Thus, based on Foucault (1988), resistance appears in a symbiotic relationship with active power by coexisting with it in an intrinsic way, as counterpart to power, be it explicit (e.g., institutional regularities or society's practices) or implicit (e.g., in internalized concepts) (Demangeot et al., 2019).

According to Foucault (1988, 1995, 1999), every power relationship presupposes resistance, otherwise it would not be power, but domination, which, based on the aforementioned author, escapes the order of power. Thus, one can state that resistance comes along with the exercise of power, as well as follows its scope and intensity (Cherrier, 2009; Lee, Motion, & Conroy, 2009). Thus, resistance is a mutable force capable of constantly reformulating itself in order to change along with power relationships, which also experience constant changing processes (Cavalcanti, Souza-Leão, & Moura, 2021b; Maciel, 2014).

Exercises of power are established through what Foucault (2014b) called power devices, which refer to a network of heterogeneous elements (e.g., discourses, institutions, doctrines) capable of establishing or maintaining power relationships. These elements represent the relationship between knowledge and power presented by Foucault: while all knowledge is forged in the midst of power relations, all power depends on knowledge to be exercised. Thus, on the one hand, these elements are formed by discursive practices (e.g., scientific knowledge, legislation), that represent how knowledge is established and disseminated; on the other hand, by non-discursive practices (e.g., institutions, architecture), that works as ground of power.

Thus, power devices regulate knowledge established in society as truthful or untruthful, as well as establish what is understood as truth (Cavalcanti, Souza-Leão, & Moura, 2021a, 2021; Thompson, 2017). On the other hand, they are established by, and based on, knowledge instituted and validated in society (Camargo et al., 2021; Costa & Souza-Leão, 2017; Johnsen, Lacoste, & Meehan, 2020) in order to set and support power relationships (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1995; Souza-Leão, Ferreira, Camargo, & Moura, 2019).

Knowledge and exercise of power are intrinsically linked to each other, and it means that no knowledge is neutral: it perpetuates power relationships, which, in their turn, need knowledge to remain in place (Zanette & Brito, 2019). Therefore, acts of resistance are featured as contestation, or even denial, of what is operated by power devices, as well as emphasize the struggle of certain social groups or formations (Moraes, Shaw, & Carrigan, 2011).

MUSIC VIDEOS SEEN AS IDEOLOGY PROMOTERS

The music video language comprises a set of sound and image resources that, altogether, form an audiovisual narrative (Duda, 2019; Jones, 1988). More than promoting music, music videos use images as source of tones and textures that complete their melodies and play fundamental role in the construction of this language (Gow, 1994; Hansen, 2017). Thus, music videos act as a set of technical and aesthetic elements that, in combination, convey what music wants to express to its consumer (Van Klinken, 2018, Vernallis et al.; 2021).

More than conveying a narrative, these music videos are one of the main tools used to promote both bands and artists who get under the spotlight through these productions (Doré & Pugsley, 2019; Holt, 2011; Johansson, 1992). Therefore, music videos act as communication tools capable of massively influence their consumers by promoting these artists (Kanozia & Ganghariya, 2021; Kelly & Currie, 2021; Suh, Davies, & Burnasheva, 2021). Based on the role played by music videos, we herein advocate that they end up having advertising function, since they promote a given product and convince the target audience to participate in this market, just as it is done by any other promotional marketing tool (Godefroit-Winkel & Peñaloza, 2020; Ulver, 2019).

This advertising function is analyzed in the CCT field based on how massively mediated communications promote products in order to influence consumers' choices (Bajde, 2014; Gürhan-Canli, Sarial-Abi, & Hayran, 2018). Because they are promoted in a persuasive manner, these communications end up articulating certain ideological aspects in order to trigger identification processes in consumers (Rokka, 2021; Schmitt, Brakus, & Biraglia, 2022). The purpose of this ideological burden is to make consumers see themselves represented (Kolyperas, Maglaras, & Sparks, 2019). Thus, this communication addresses specific ideological projects that spread cultural discourses aimed at meeting their audiences' interests (Chen et al., 2020; Rademacher & Kelly, 2019; Van Klinken, 2018; Zanette et al., 2013).

Consumers, in their turn, receive these messages through interpretive schemes linked to cultural contexts associated by them with the presented content (Crockett, 2017; Zhao & Belk, 2008). Thus, it is possible saying that music videos convey messages linked to the worldview and experiences of a certain audience, as well as to their expectation of seeing themselves represented in these audiovisual elements; thus, they may even perform a certain social and political function that is relevant to this audience.

BREGAFUNK MUSIC SEEN AS REPRESENTATION OF RECIFE CITY'S OUTSKIRTS

Bregafunk music, which derives from Recife City's outskirts, is a mix of *brega* (traditional local melodic rhythm, with slower beat and lyrics focused on romance) and *funk carioca* (rhythm deriving from Southeastern Brazil, which is featured by fast beat and lyrics addressing drugs, trafficking, and ostentation) (Albino, 2020; J. Santos & Ramires, 2017). This genre emerged in the 1980s (Abramus, s.d.) and presented local repercussions until it gained national prominence in 2018 (Ortega, 2018; Palomares, 2021; E. H. Santos, Lopes, & Soares, 2018). Since then, an increasing number of artists have launched productions belonging to this genre, which became increasingly popular in the country (Albuquerque, 2018a; Prado, 2019; Prisco, 2019). The ease of sharing music over the Internet and the streaming of music made *bregafunk* go beyond the borders of Recife's periphery and gain national scope (Macambira, 2022).

The audiovisual language of *bregafunk* music enables dynamic editing based on fast and successive cuts that value the outstanding beats of its rhythm. In addition, it presents typical choreographies, mainly the so-called *passinho* (small dance step), which is a dance move based on moving the hips forward while the hands perform a backward movement in order to simulate sexual intercourse (Rocha, 2020; Silva, Félix, & Araújo, 2021). These productions can either have amateur origin, which appears to prevail in the older music videos, or result from the work of well-established producers focused on this genre (e.g., Kondzilla, Thiago Gravações) - it features the most recent videos, mainly the ones produced after the genre got popular at national level (Bento, 2019). These music videos have been mainly promoted on Youtube, either through small channels often associated with personal and nominal accounts, or through production companies' channels; thanks to its popularity, the aforementioned platform enabled *bregafunk* artists' productions to get millions of views (Bento, 2019, 2021b).

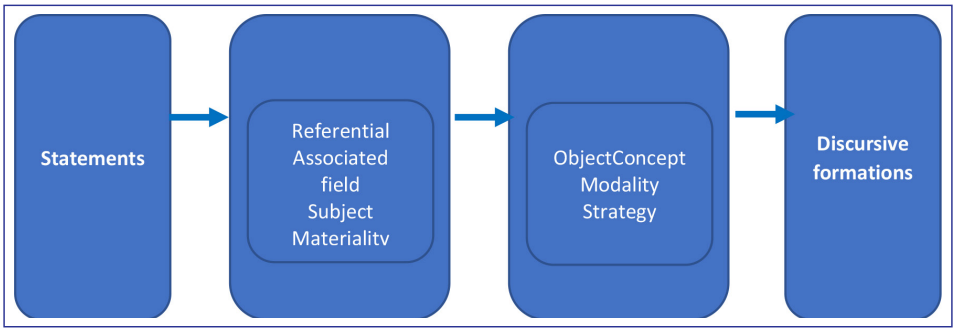
Besides presenting aesthetic features more closely associated with the genre itself (e.g., rhythm, dance), *bregafunk* music videos approach some topics in common, such as social ostentation, large parties, as well as relationships – be them of affective, friendship and, above all, of sexual nature (Miranda, Lima, R. P. Souza, V. M. Santos, 2015). These topics often take as background a wide variety of scenarios that, above all, range from the outskirts of Recife City to luxurious mansions, and pass-through paradisiacal beaches on the coast of Pernambuco State and through iconic places in the city (Folha de Pernambuco, 2021).

The overlapping of topics and scenarios appears to simultaneously reveal the outskirts' reality and peoples' desire for a better life. Similar to what happened to other genres (e.g., rap in the United States; funk music, in Rio de Janeiro, for instance), *bregafunk* music appears to represent the vocalization of the social and economic context in outskirts of Recife (Bento, 2021a; Gericó et al., 2020), as well as the ostentation funk represents the economic and social context propagated by the favelas of Rio de Janeiro (Abdalla & Zambaldi, 2016), for example. Despite being close to downtown areas, outskirts are often seen as the outcome of historical stigmatization and oppression processes, in a social context separated from that of urban centers (Carvalho & Cabral, 2021; Gonçalves & Malfitano, 2021; Muniz & Oliveira, 2014). Thus, the popularization of *bregafunk* music accounts for spreading the culture of Recife City's outskirts, both to the rest of the city and countrywide (Albuquerque, 2018b; Bento, 2021b; Tavares, 2020).

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The present qualitative research adopted a semi-inductive approach that underpinned our research problem and worked as lens to improve results' interpretation (Flick, 2008; Souza-Leão, Mello, & Vieira, 2009). The Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) was herein used as research method. According to Foucault (2014a), discourses refer to sets of statements that are formed from a same system of knowledge; his method of discourse analysis assesses how discursive productions enunciated in a given context, time, and space, show certain regularities. These productions form a set of data, called archive, which is defined based on the identification of a certain event, which is associated with a certain time interval that features a certain phenomenon to be investigated.

Figure 1
Analytical Process of FDA



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

The analysis of the aforementioned archive starts with the identification of statements in order to unravel discursive formations; such statements, in their turn, highlight certain functions, whereas discursive formations are established based on certain rules. It is worth to say that statements are identifiable in the signs of language, not being restricted to written texts, which allows them to be elicited from other types of texts, such as audiovisual ones (Foucault, 2014a). This analytical process is illustrated in Figure 1. Analytical categories, which form the basis of FDA, are defined in Box 1.

Box 1
Analytical Categories of FDA

Statements			
Statements are elementary discourse units observed in sign-related elements (e.g., written texts, images) of the research archive (i.e., dataset). They represent discursive practices that are circumscribed in it and ground the discursive formations.			
Enunciative Functions			
Since discourse is understood as practice, enunciative functions concern how statements perform certain functions in discourse. They are based on four criteria (referential, associated field, subject, and materiality) observed in statements that, combined, reveal the enunciative functions in an archive.			
Referential	Associated field	Subject	Materiality
Referential regards the subjects and topics addressed in statements, pointing what about is being said.	Since discourses are produced within certain knowledge domains, statements emerge within knowledge associated fields.	Subjects stands for speech positions (e.g., social, cultural, political), from where statements are produced.	Materiality refers to the means (e.g., conceptions, illustrations, representations) by which statements are manifested.
Formation Rules			
Formation rules reveal how functions performed by statements support the constitution of discursive formations. As with the enunciative functions, they are also defined by four criteria (object, concept, modality, and strategy) that are analogous to the ones observed in enunciative functions.			
Object	Concept	Modality	Strategy
Objects refer to the limitations and specifications circumscribed in the statements' referentials.	Concepts correspond to certain ideas and notions developed within the associated fields adopted in statements.	Modality concerns the way (e.g., manner, style) individuals make statements from certain subject positions.	Strategies reveal purposes (e.g., aims, intentions) observed in statements' materiality.
Discursive Formation			
Discursive formations concern discourses located in a certain time and space, through regularities evidenced in the statements of certain archives. They represent the set of bundles of relationships established between statements, enunciative functions and formation rules.			

Source: Adapted from Foucault (2014a).

The system suggested by Souza-Leão (Souza-Leão & Costa, 2018; Souza-Leão & Moura, 2018), which establishes a logic of bundles of relationships among analysis categories, was herein adopted for research operationalization purposes. The analysis was based on statements' inference, according to the qualitative coding logic, by taking into consideration the understanding of what actually features a statement. Based on this process, it was possible identifying associations among statements. Subsequently, criteria associated with functions observed in these statements were analyzed by identifying the syntagmatic chains that enable the definition of enunciative functions. Thus, statements can have different functions, just as a single enunciative function can be linked to more than one statement – that are typically related to each other, at least in part. Enunciative functions' criteria are used to analyze formation rules' criteria analogous to the first ones by identifying the syntagmatic chains that enable the definition of formation rules. Finally, the way rules are established, as well as the convergence of bundles of relationships in all categories, enable identifying discursive formations.

In order to form the herein analyzed archive, searches were carried out on Youtube, between June and September 2020, based on keywords relevant to the topic (e.g., *bregafunk*, *bregafunk* music video, Recife's *bregafunk)*. It was done by using a newly created account to prevent the search from being influenced by videos recommended on the platform. In addition, channels showing recurrent incidence of these music videos were also explored in order to exhaust the archive. The collection procedure was interrupted when Youtube only recommended music videos that had already been collected or those associated with other musical genres. The collection of all videos from channels posting recurring *bregafunk* music videos was also taken into account.

The collection procedure resulted in initial 1,300 unique music videos – the number of files was higher, as since Youtube is an open platform, it allows different channels to publish the same videos; although we found most of the music videos on professional accounts (i.e., of the artists themselves, of the video producers), several of them were published in two or more accounts, including personal profiles. Then we carry out a process of debugging the selection of the videos that underwent two rounds: the first round aimed at certifying that no music video in the archive was repeated, whereas the second one aimed at investigating the archive by excluding all music videos deviating from *bregafunk* (e.g., previously collected *brega*, *forró*, or rap music videos), based on the authors' expertise on the genre. Thus, the final research archive comprised 777 *bregafunk* music videos, which were posted on Youtube between September 2012 and September 2020. The beginning of the analyzed production time interval was marked by the first music video belonging to the genre that was posted on the platform and featured our discursive event.

The videos comprise 581 different artists, based on feats and collaborations between those artists within the genre. Some music videos gathered up to six artists, and it has considerably increased the number of participants. The music videos' locations were predominantly the outskirts of Recife Metropolitan Area, but also famous tourist spots in the city, as well as, in some cases, in other locations on the coast of the state. It is worth mentioning that only the videos were collected; the comments posted about them were not archived, since they were not object of analysis.

For analytical purposes, each of the 777 videos were viewed at least twice before their formal analysis, in order to the researchers have an immersion in the archive as a whole. On the other hand, while one researcher performed the first round of analysis of the videos, the other verified and validated such analysis, in a triangulation process, understood as a quality criterion of qualitative research (F. G. Paiva, Souza-Leão, & Mello, 2011).

RESULTS' DESCRIPTION

Analysis results enabled identifying a discursive formation that was herein called **favela won**. This term was selected because it is an expression often used by Brazilian outskirts' dwellers to refer to the higher representativeness of favelas within society, to the resistance of these communities to the difficulties imposed on them, as well as to their achievements (Gomes, 2021).

This discursive formation was identified based on two fronts featured by formation rules. The first formation rule is called **empowerment** (R01), since it shows activism actions taken by minorities to get more space within and outside the genre. These actions bring along the defense of political positions (e.g., defense of sexual diversity, women's freedom or favela's pride) reflected on music videos, either through the presence of individuals belonging to these minorities (e.g., women, LGBTQIAPN+ individuals) or through the presence of objects referring to these positions (e.g., LGBTQIAPN+ flags, makeup worn by men,

clothes carrying phrases such as "favela has arrived"). This discourse reveals that minorities are proud of their genders, sexual orientation, looks or origins; such a pride is evidenced by these minorities in the way they use their bodies or these objects. Overall, these actions take place in two different ways, namely: in empowerment resulting from the sexualization of these artists' bodies or in empowerment actions embodying political acts.

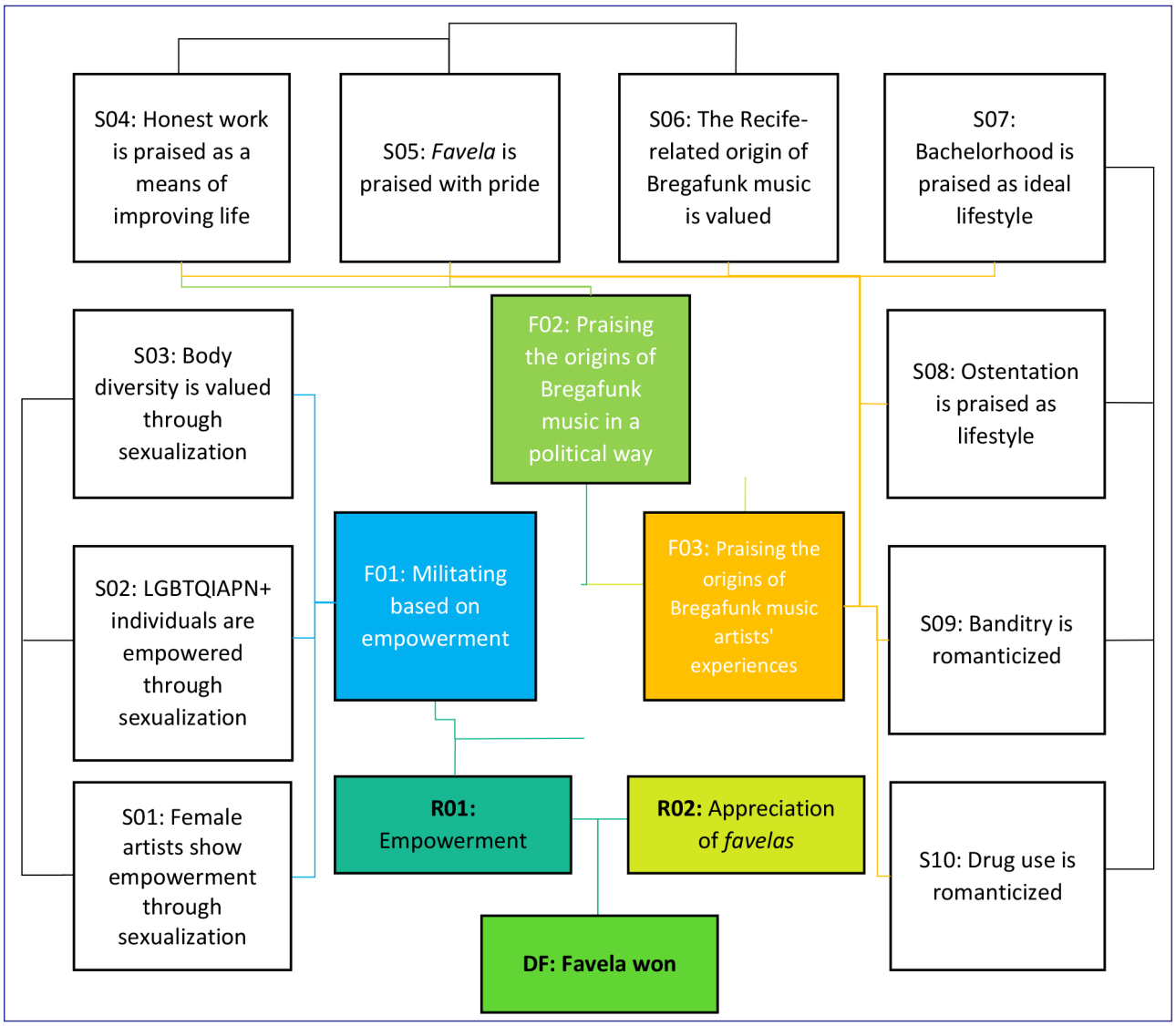
This formation rule focuses on *representativeness* (object), which emphasizes the way artists belonging to the investigated genre bring up political agendas associated with women, favela population or with the LGBTQIAPN+ community. This aspect highlights the pursuit of *self-affirmation* (strategy), since it is possible perceiving that these artists aim at establishing their place within the genre by using their freedom to express themselves as they wish and out of rhythm, when they advocate for these political positions; this aspect evidences a *struggle* (modality). The herein described process shows the *activism* (concept) of these individuals, who aim at transforming the reality of the context they are inserted in through political actions presented in music videos.

The second formation rule was called **appreciation of favelas** (R02), since it evokes behaviors associated with routine practices or experiences lived in Recife City's favelas in the music videos. The emergence of favelas – either in the setting or in practices portrayed in music videos – shows artists' appreciation towards this context, since they show how they are proud to belong to these places.

The aforementioned formation rule focuses on the *ethos* (object), when it addresses the social context *bregafunk* music derives from in its scenarios, practices, and aesthetics. This *ethos* is based on three different practices, namely: *identity* (concept), which connects these individuals to experiences lived by both the favela and Recife City, based on practices or tokens presented in the music videos (e.g., *frevo* parasols and Pernambuco State flags observed in these productions, or narratives evoking the daily life at the *favela* as a form of storytelling in music videos); *social ascension* (concept), which reveals artists' behaviors that approach the appreciation of favelas; and *party* (concept), which shows partying practices, ostentation attitudes or the romanticized view of drug use or firearm possession in the rhythm seen as *bregafunk* music aesthetics. These practices evoke *party* (modality) attitudes by revealing behaviors that portray an idealized lifestyle based on the idea of ostentation, non-committed life or on the romanticized view of drug use; *infringing* (modality) attitudes by pointing towards the way artists sexualize children through sexualized interactions between women and boys, or towards the romanticization of illicit behaviors such as illegal firearm possession; and *fighting* (modality) behaviors by addressing practices that show appreciation of favelas or of the *bregafunk* music locality in Recife City. These discursive practices focus on *distinction* (strategy), on the particularization of *bregafunk* music artists and of its lifestyle reflected on this genre, in order to consolidate practices held in this place based on the rhythm; they also focus on the *appreciation* (strategy) of favelas by building an imagery of these environments as places of value within the city.

Results were herein presented in three subsections based on the enunciative functions linked to these formation rules. The choice for this organization was due to the fact that we identified that this level of analysis allowed a better dialogue with the theory, as well as a more accurate demonstration of the data. Following the logic of bundles of relationships of the adopted analytical method (see Figure 1), each subsection begins with the description of its respective enunciative functions, followed by the way in which they are configured by their constitutive criteria – just like we did in the description of the formation rules (above). Finally, we present the statements within each bundle of relationships discussed. It is at this point that we present and contextualize research data, based on the analyzed music videos. Figure 2 presents the map with all bundles of relationships leading to the herein identified discursive formation.

Figure 2
Map of analyzed bundles



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

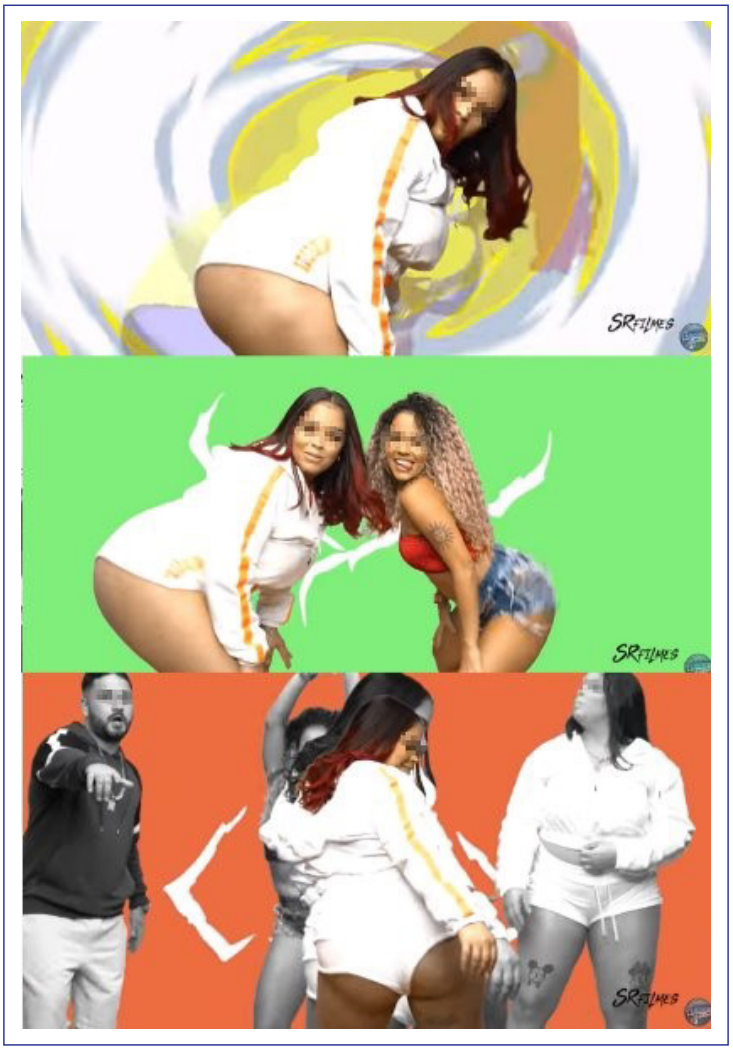
Militating based on empowerment

The first enunciative function evidences militancy put in place based on empowerment, thus, linked to the formation rule regarding empowerment (R01). It can be observed in music video scenes where minorities (be them women, LGBTQIAPN+ community or non-standard individuals) place themselves as subjects of their own sexualization. These videos often show individuals dancing with alluring moves or in actively sexualized acts, or at least naturally inserted in such contexts like those.

By evoking these acts, this enunciative function encompasses a *political action* (referential), since sexualization attitudes shown by the artists themselves become political acts when they express their freedom to use their own bodies. This *political action* is carried out by *activists* (subject) who take the position of fighting for the freedom of expressing this sexuality; or by *sympathizers* (subject) who support this sexual freedom position, although they are not part of the minority group depicted in the music video. These discourses are established based on the *erotica* (associated field), when they evoke sexuality as demonstration of these individuals' power and empowerment; or on *politics* (associated field), when they evoke principles reflecting these individuals' freedom. These actions are presented through the *activism* (materiality) observed in music video productions, which show a plurality of individuals in self-acceptance contexts.

This enunciative function is associated with three statements. When **female artists show empowerment through sexualization** (S01), one can see the practices of *bregafunk* music singers who empower themselves by taking their place within a social context and a genre that traditionally exploits women. These artists express themselves as subjects by using their own bodies to show power through sensual dances, alluring moves, sexy body mannerisms, and sexualized discourses to validate their sexual freedom. In Figure 3, it is possible to see that the singer (in a white jacket) performs a provocative dance, with another woman by companion and the presence of a man with whom she interacts without any sexual connotation. In Figure 4, in turn, the singer (with a cap) demonstrates her sensuality through her body mannerisms and in the way she gazes at the camera. Again, another woman dances sensually, while a man participates without interacting with them in a sexualized way.

Figure 3
Female empowerment through sexualization



Source: Research archive.

Figure 4
Empowerment through activism



Source: Research archive.

On the other hand, when **members of the LGBTQIAPN+ community are empowered through sexualization** (S02), one can observe that those who escape the heteronormative pattern are empowered by establishing themselves as attractive individuals in music videos. It is possible seeing this sexual activism in moves that emphasize these individuals' self-love, such as flipping their hair, looking at someone in a seductive manner, and dancing for the camera or in the presence of symbols that refer to LGBTQIAPN+ rights, such as flags or female accessories used by men (e.g., makeup, women's clothing, or wigs). In Figure 5, a person who escapes the cis heteronormative pattern presents themselves spontaneously – unlike the very commonly caricaturized way adopted to represent LGBTQIAPN+ people – appropriating the typical dance of the genre (i.e., *passinho*) in a sexually attractive manner.

Figure 5
LGBTQIAPN+ empowerment through sexualization



Source: Research archive.

Finally, **body diversity is valued through and amidst sexualization** (S03) when men and women with old people, fat bodies, dwarfism or some type of body disability appear in contexts that also show their pride in these productions. This diversity can be seen both in artists who escape the socially accepted body standard and in individuals with different body shapes who are shown in music videos produced by artists presenting "standard" sexy bodies. The first situation can be evidenced by the singers shown in Figures 3 and 4, while the latter through images in Figure 6. In the first image (Figure 6A), a fat teenager dances the passinho sensually; below it (Figure 6B), a man with dwarfism is placed among women who represent standard female bodies; in another image (Figure 6C) an elderly woman is inserted in an environment where young people dance to the *bregafunk* music rhythm; finally, a physically disabled person participates in the music video on his wheelchair beside a women that also represents a standard female body (Figure 6D).

Figure 6
Empowerment of body diversity through and amidst sexualization



Source: Research archive.

The statements in this enunciative function reveal how *bregafunk* presents the favela as a space of inclusion of identities and bodies that are commonly socially segregated. Foucault (2010) argues that socially dominant subjective constructions can develop discourses of "abnormalization" of those who are different from them; as a result, they undergo a process of marginalization by these positions of domination (Gicquel, 2017), since they can threaten their status quo (Milkidis, 2018). Thus, the representation of these identities and bodies reveal a resistance to segregation discourses, through the demonstration that they are as "normal" as any others.

Praising the origins of *bregafunk* music in a political way

The second enunciative function praises the origins of *bregafunk* music in a political manner. This is done by characterizing the genre as coming from the favela, by presenting its daily life, experiences, habits, and customs in a positive way, going against established stereotypes in relation to the outskirts.

This enunciative function evokes *political action* (referential) in actions emphasizing individuals' pride towards the favela and honest work as way of life within these outskirts. These political actions are advocated by *brega-music* artists (subject) who, like funk-music artists or rappers, are inserted in a certain collectivity and emulate the daily behaviors and practices typical of that social context. These political actions are evidenced when artists *praise* (materiality) these behaviors in their music videos; such a behavior is supported by a given *politics* (associated field) that emphasizes principles capable of leading these individuals to express their pride towards favelas.

Two statements make up the present enunciative function, each linked to one formation rule. Related to empowerment (R01) **praising honest work as means of improving life** (S04), approaches the narrative presented by *bregafunk* music artists, according to whom, hard work enables overcoming obstacles faced by poor individuals who live an honest life. These actions can be seen in the narratives presented by these artists in their music video productions, whose characters are autonomous workers (e.g., individuals selling popcorn at the traffic light) or employees working in small commercial establishments located in the favela – their jobs are presented with dignity.

Such statement is represented in Figure 7, which music video presents the narrative of a character who works hard as vegetable seller in pursuit of a better life; his daily life is shown through the paths he travels through the alleys of the favela and the people he meets on the way.

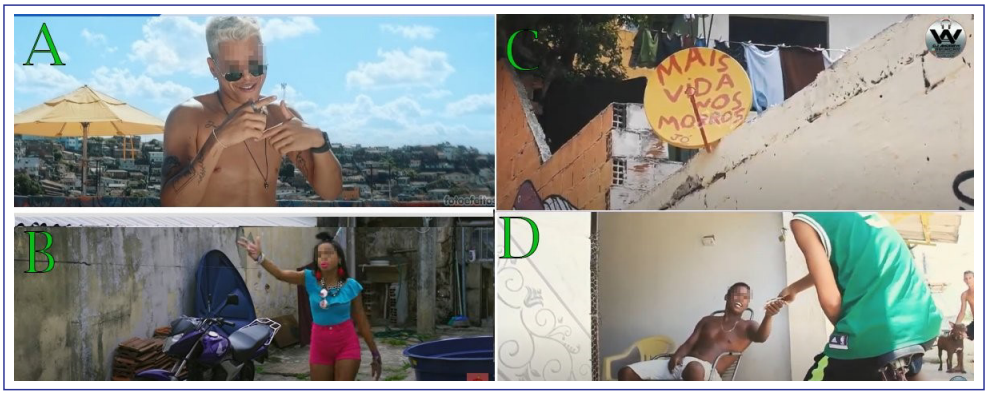
Figure 7
Empowerment by praising hard work



Source: Research archive.

The second statement associated to the present enunciative function evidences how **favelas are praised with pride** (S05), since it shows that experiences lived in the outskirts are used in media productions' aesthetics and narratives. This discourse brings artists' speeches of pride towards favelas, when they praise Recife City's outskirts by using them as recurring scenario in their music video productions, or by using their experiences as storytelling tool. Figure 9 illustrates it. Its first image (Figure 8A) shows an artist with the favela in the background, characterizing him as a local resident; below it (Figure 8B), a frame of a music video whose narrative presents the favela by the steps of a resident who walks through the place; in another image (Figure 8C) a political phrase ("more life on the hills") calls for better conditions for living as a demand for respect for the favela and its residents; finally, the artist of one of the music videos walks through the favela interacting with residents of the community (Figure 8D).

Figure 8
Appreciation for the favela origins of *bregafunk* music



Source: Research archive.

The way such statements are configured in the present enunciative function indicates a resistance to the image of the favela as a place of marginalization, when, before that, it represents the very precariousness of human life due to the absence of effective state action (Bastos et al., 2020). This aspect refers to what Foucault (1998) characterizes as state racism, a characteristic production of biopolitics – i.e., life regulation politics –, which reveals how the state hierarchize the value of human life, by relegating some populations to vulnerability. In this line of reasoning, life in the favela seems to represent what Agamben (2004) characterizes as "naked life", deprived of rights, and excluded from society.

Praising the origins of *bregafunk* music artists' experiences

The third enunciative function lies on praising *bregafunk* music artists' experiences and is linked to the appreciation of favelas (R02). Such enunciative function presents a series of situations that seek to legitimize the *bregafunk* music artists' vision of the world and their way of life.

The praise of these experiences is based on *location* (reference), since it depicts the collectivity *bregafunk* music originated from, either by praising the favelas or by referring to objects and locations that represent Recife's culture; or on *lifestyle* (reference), since it depicts practices and experiences in favelas, which praise certain behaviors as "ideal" or present a romanticized view of illicit attitudes. These experiences are depicted by *bregafunk music artists* (subject) who are inserted within the social context of favelas and, consequently, manage to portray the local practices in their music videos; thus, they *praise* (materiality) these practices in their productions. These practices, in their turn, are based on the *local culture* (associated field), since they are associated with the set of knowledge involving objects or practices typical of Recife City; or on "favelas" (associated field), since they bring the set of knowledge underlying the daily routine of individuals who live in these places.

In total, seven statements present the behaviors associated with the appreciation of favela-related practices evidenced by this function. The **praise of honest work as means of improving life** (S04) and the **favela pride** (S05) were previously presented. However, when associated with the present enunciative function, these statements demonstrate, respectively, how the artists themselves have succeed through their art and hard work, despite the difficulties inherent to their socioeconomic context (S04), and how proud they are of having come from the favela and being able to propagate it (S05).

This situation can be illustrated through Figure 9, in which *bregafunk* music artists dress up in t-shirts that print watchwords (i.e., "favela arrived" and "favela won"), while singing about themselves as undervalued favela youths who succeed by means of the genre's art scene.

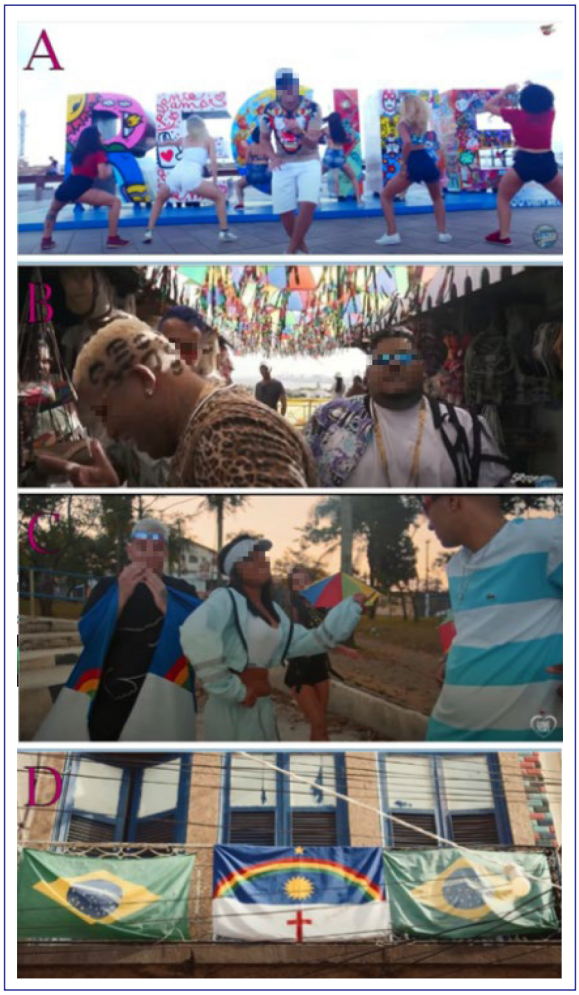
Figure 9
Appreciation of favelas by success on the scene



Source: Research archive.

The appreciation of the Recife-related origin of ***bregafunk*** music (S06) shows that artists are proud of their hometown, as well as of the local origin of this genre, since they use local typical scenarios as locations for music videos or as part of the scenery. The images shown in Figure 10 illustrate this. In the first one (Figure 10A), a singer and dancers perform in front of the city's name sign, located at Praça Rio Branco, ground zero of Recife, one of the most recognized tourist and cultural points of the city. In the sequence (Figure 10B), an artist is in one of the city's public markets, which are traditional commercial and gastronomic strongholds in Recife. The third image (Figure 10C) shows a dancer of frevo – a local rhythm recognized as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – dressed in the characteristic dance outfit, which includes a typical parasol. Finally, the Pernambuco State flag – from where Recife is the capital –, which is one of the symbols most used by the locals as a demonstration of pride for their origin, is used by a person as a mantle in the same image (Figure 10C) and appears between Brazilian flags in the following one (Figure 10D).

Figure 10
Appreciation of the Recife-related origin of *bregafunk* music



Source: Research archive.

On the other hand, **praising single life as the ideal lifestyle** (S07) refers to the idealization of what single life is for these artists, since they claim that the uncompromised lifestyle is the ideal one. This discourse is shown in music videos through narratives evoking a life of partying associated with bachelorhood or the annoyance of these artists with the idea of commitment. Figure 11 shows a scene of a man between two women, in a context in which he would like to be with both instead of dating one of them; in the background, the song's lyrics refer to a woman who doesn't want to commit, preferring parties and drinking and thus making men suffer for her.

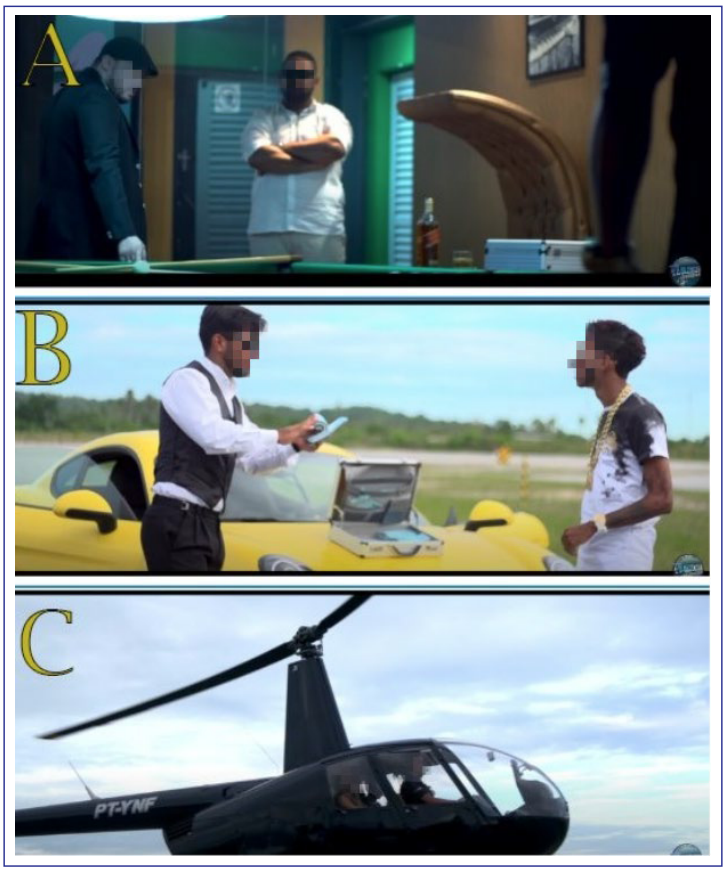
Figure 11
Appreciation of single lifestyle



Source: Research archive.

These music videos also depict the **praise of ostentation as lifestyle** (S08), since they associate the life of partying with the ostentation shown by artists through objects brought to the music videos. Figure 12 features frames from a music video that shows the ostentation of these artists through large amounts of cash, luxury clothes, jewelry, expensive drinks, a fancy car, and a helicopter. In the lyrics of the song, the relationship between the favela and a life of ostentation is evident: "for a long time I lived with sadness in my eyes, [...] I went to bed poor and woke up rich/I had my watch set with a diamond/and the pendant has the letter of my name".

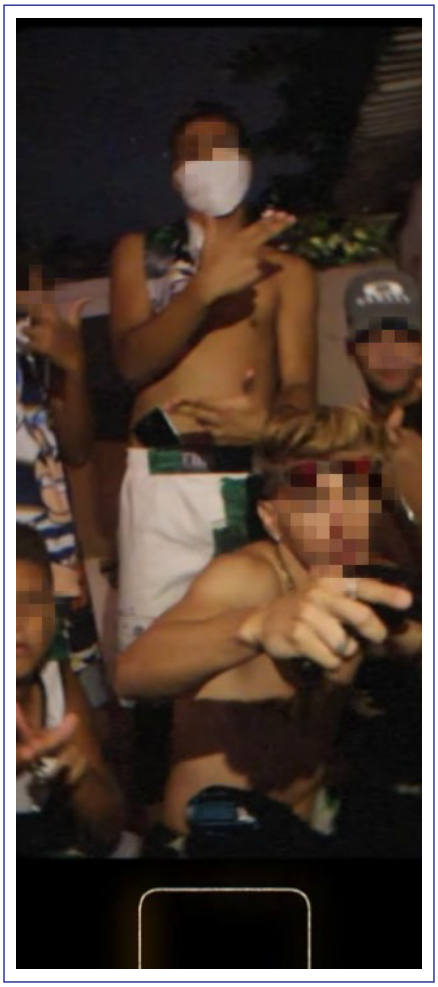
Figure 12
Appreciation of ostentation as lifestyle



Source: Research archive.

The **romanticization of banditry** (S09) also shows an idealized perspective in these music videos since it brings the idea of carrying weapons as demonstration of power and social status by these artists. Figure 13 presents a scene (originally horizontal in the music video) that show this aesthetic, in which firearms are simulated with hands in an intimidating way.

Figure 13
Romanticization of banditry



Source: Research archive.

Finally, the **romanticization of drug use** (S10) depicts a romanticized view of drug use in music videos, since it associates the consumption of illicit drugs as a lifestyle related to power, elegance, and sensuality. This behavior can be illustrated in the way a singer lets out the smoke from her mouth in the image presented in Figure 14.

Figure 14
Romanticization of drug use



Source: Research archive.

The characteristics evidenced by the statements of the present enunciative function may suggest a certain contradiction or some ambiguity when seen in perspective or even raise some value judgment. However, they seem to show a way of life that is typical of the *bregafunk* music artist, which resists the impositions that have been determined to them, without losing sight of their roots; thus, it brings together the reality of life in the favela and a projection of overcoming the difficulties encountered there. We understand that this characterizes a particular *ethos*. According to Foucault (2005), an *ethos* corresponds to a lifestyle associated with a given code of conduct practiced by individuals in their daily lives. Thus, the *ethos* reveals the nature of individuals based on the way they act (Freitas, 2013). Individuals end up building and strengthening their own identities by practicing a given *ethos* (A. L. Paiva, 2017).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The current findings enabled understanding that the production of *bregafunk* music videos shows favelas' resistance through the representation of political identities circumscribed in this social space. It happens because identity politics represents how historically segregated identities act in a political manner in order to be represented (Beltran, 2010; Whisman, 2012), based on a multiculturalism logic that advocates for cultural diversity (Meer, 2010).

On the one hand (according to empowerment formation rule), this phenomenon is manifested through the will to empower minority identities, herein represented by women, by the LGBTQIAPN+ community and by those who do not fit conventional body standards, as well as by the working-class resident in the favela as excluded citizens. These people are praised for their pursuit of dignity in the place they live in, whereas minorities present themselves as subjects through sexualization performances. On the other hand (according to the formation rule on appreciation of favelas), favelas are constituted as identity spaces. The way the outskirt appreciation discourse is build is based both on the feeling of belonging associated with the pursuit of a better life and with the pride of the favela and of the *bregafunk* music itself; and on the emphasis given to particularities of the daily life experienced in this environment.

Back to the Foucauldian theory, the way these identity representations evidence a favela resistance process depicted in *bregafunk* music video productions can be problematized. The identity politics process identified in the current research reveals how different identities mobilized in the analyzed audiovisual production have ultimately evidenced an *ethos* of

favela – beyond the *bregafunk* music artists *ethos* previously discussed. Based on this interpretation, this *ethos* itself shows the combination of different positions and discursive practices that are both coexisting, despite their particularities, and complementary.

Because this *ethos* is alternative and resistant to the *status quo*, it evidences an insurgency process, since it supports specific political discourses based on acts of counter-conduct to what is often seen as socially normal. According to Foucault (2019), individuals struggle for subjectivity, and this process is featured by insurgencies associated with actions (e.g., uprisings, riots) that represent irruptions of forces opposing the dominant power. It is a movement according to which a certain social group rebels against the way they are represented (i.e., subjectivized) by a certain power in place and decide to build for themselves a collective subjectivity based on their own subjectivation acts (Grabois, 2011).

Thus, bregafunk music videos show a favela that resists social marginalization and the abandonment of the state, presenting a way of life of beauty, inclusion, and ambition. This picture seems to paint the favela as a heterotopia, a space of otherness that brings together multiple layers of relationships and meanings, which works as an alternative to established hegemonic structures and discourses (Foucault, 2013).

Such idealization seems to evidence the coexistence between a social vision of collectivity and a capitalist economic perspective. This aspect aligns with the notion of neoliberal governmentality. According to Foucault (2008), capitalism has established a decentralized power, in which different levels of social structures perform self-government, in line with neoliberal premises. Thus, this governmentality ends up naturalizing thoughts and practices of an imminently economic nature to ordinary social practices and behaviors.

In this regard, it is worth reflecting on how "resistant" the favela's identity movement is reflected in the production of bregafunk music videos. According to Foucault (1988), resistance is an integral and constitutive part of power, not its annulment; it acts not as a way for nullifying power, but for not letting oneself be dominated by it. Therefore, in a society ruled by neoliberal governmentality, resistance practiced by this same logic does not seem incoherent.

The current research has contributed to knowledge in the CCT field by exploring the production of massively mediated market ideologies (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 2007; Gaião et al., 2012), with emphasis on some aspects, namely: (a) although most studies based on this perspective focus on advertising productions, the present study focused on music video productions in order to expand the scope of this topic; (b) thus, the herein presented results have established the interface between the investigated topic and studies about consumer identities, which is the subject matter most widely explored in this field; (c) in addition, it focused on the entertainment industry, most specifically on the phonographic industry, as empirical clipping of growing interest in the field; (d) by doing so, it innovated by analyzing a product of local nature, which is strongly featured by the culture it is inserted in; (e) finally, results in the current study enable thinking about the Foucauldian approach to resistance from the production perspective. In addition to these theoretical aspects, the present study was also justified by its potential social contribution, since it highlighted a marginalized social phenomenon by giving voice to the production developed by one of its agents.

The functionality of Youtube was a limitation of the present study. Although music video collection was carried out in an exhaustive manner, there is no guarantee that it included all *bregafunk* music videos posted on the platform, since these videos can be deleted, private or not emerge in search engines. However, we are sure that this procedure covered the available material and that it was representative of the investigated phenomenon. Most specifically, it was possible seeing the likelihood of investigating the representativeness of stereotypes in the analyzed music videos; this aspect was observed at data analysis time, but it was out of the research scope.

Finally, further studies similar to the herein conducted one can help broadening knowledge about this phenomenon. Considering a certain similarity in the proposal of the genres, a comparative study between Recife's *bregafunk* and Rio de Janeiro's Funk in terms of how they represent the favela as a space of resistance could expand the discussions herein presented. On the other hand, the way the *passinho* is performed, especially by women and LGBTQIAPN+ people, deserves a specific study from

the point of view of gender performativity (Butler, 2018) as a practice of resistance (see Thompson & Üstüner, 2015). In this regard, it is worth noting that, just as several music videos show the inclusion of gender identities (see the first subsection of the result description), many others present women in an objectified way and LGBTQIAPN+ people in a caricatured way. This clipping was left out of the present article due to the research problem herein investigated; however, focusing on this particular aspect of the phenomenon would be enriching to understand it more broadly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors are grateful to Pernambuco State Science and Technology Support Foundation (FACEPE) and to Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) for supporting the research that led to this article.

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André Luiz Maranhão de Souza-Leão
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7660-5845
Ph.D. in Administration from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE); Associate Professor in the Department of Administrative Sciences (CCSA). E-mail: andre.sleao@ufpe.br

Mariana Almeida de Souza Lopes
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7079-8893
Graduated in Administration from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). E-mail: mariana.aslopes@ufpe.br

AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

André Luiz Maranhão de Souza-Leão: Conceptualization (Equal); Data curation (Equal); Investigation (Equal); Methodology (Lead); Project administration (Lead); Resources (Lead); Supervision (Lead); Validation (Lead); Visualization (Equal); Writing- original draft (Equal); Writing- review & editing (Equal).

Mariana Almeida de Souza Lopes: Conceptualization (Equal); Data curation (Equal); Formal Analysis (Lead); Investigation (Equal); Visualization (Equal); Writing- original draft (Equal); Writing- review & editing (Equal).