Economic Aspects of Brazilian Popular Music: The Baile Funk Circuit

Simone Pereira de Sá and Gabriela de Oliveira Miranda

Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, Brazil

sibonei.sa@gmail.com | gabirilla@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper aims to deepen the discussion of the production, circulation, and consumption of Brazil's musical genre funk carioca, identifying its main agents in the music field, besides the figures and the practices that move their businesses. Since its consolidation, funk has created both a sustainable and autonomous pioneer circuit in relation with the major's label model, which allows us to sketch a model of the popular music economy in Brazil, based on practices such as technological appropriation and authorship flexibility, with an emphasis on the live performance instead of selling material supports. This is a model that introduces strategies to deal with the record industry crisis.

Keywords: funk carioca, music business, technological appropriation, copyright flexibility

Introduction

For almost thirty years, funk carioca has been one of the most favorite musical genres among the working class youngsters in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This is a form of electronic dance music, originally based on Miami freestyle, which is normally abbreviated by its participants as 'funk'. Funk is the soundtrack for everyday life in *favelas* ("shanty towns") and outskirts, and going to a *baile funk* ("funk ball") is a favorite night entertainment activity during weekends and holiday and the *baile funk* circuit is one of the most important ramifications of the city's creative industry. Nonetheless, consolidation of funk as a musical expression of Rio de Janeiro's suburbs and *favelas* does not imply a wide cultural acknowledgment. The musical genre is one of the most persecuted and stigmatized by the media, the police and 'opinion makers' who repeatedly demonstrate moral panic arguments to analyze the phenomenon[1], which is often regarded as music of bad taste, associated with unrestrained sex and violence. This is the main reason why simple questions, such as how many balls are held weekly, how much revenue do they generate, or what is the number of repeat visitors, remain unanswered. As a result, the economical dimension of this phenomenon has been given less attention than its sociological, aesthetical, or even moral aspects.[2]

Seeking to fill this gap, this paper aims to deepen the discussion on aspects of the production, circulation, and consumption of funk carioca and *baile funk*, identifying its main agents, their activities, and positions in the music field, as well as the figures and the practices that motivate their businesses. The premise is that since its consolidation in the 1980s, funk has created a sustainable independent and pioneering circuit in relation to the major label model, which allows us to sketch a model of the popular music economy in Brazil, based on practices such as technological appropriation, flexible authorship an emphasis on live performance and valorization of local social

relationships instead of selling material supports. This is a model that introduces innovative strategies to deal with the record industry crisis since the decline of material products like CDs and DVDs.

We try to demonstrate how, in the context of funk carioca, a flexible application of copyright, by its producers is not the result of an ideological agenda and neither the result of a 'rational' consciously taken decision. Much of funk carioca music production is made in home studios and there is an intense exchange of music sample files between the artists via the Internet. The distribution of this production is free and is made by specialized websites, or by the artists during their performances. In this case, the music recording, on CD, works as a business card; its main role is not to generate profit through the collection of copyrights but to make visible the work of artists who can do more in live venues. The horizontal production chain and the valorization of labor, local social relationships, and the informal market are central elements to new music businesses, justifying its inclusion as a solid example of creative solutions within today's entertainment chain.

To address the above mentioned issues, this article is organized in three main sections: the first briefly addresses the development of *bailes funk* in Rio de Janeiro; the second is focused on identifying the main agents of funk – the sound system crews, the DJs and MCs – their activities, their positions in the music field and the tensions between them. Finally, the third section will discuss the dilemmas associated with the technological appropriations that allow this sub-genre's use of production and circulation and niche media (such as the balls themselves, community radio stations, pirate CDs, websites, blogs, and social networks), focusing the discussion around the independent music category. It is important to note that this article presents the partial results of broader research (Miranda, 2012)[3] and that the interviews that inform this paper are part of the qualitative, ethnographic fieldwork, coupled with participant observation of the *baile funk*.

Our key informants, interviewed by Miranda, were the DJs Batata and Sany Pitbul, and MC Serginho. DJ Batata joined the funk scene in the early 1990s, and artists like Tati Quebra-Barraco and Bonde do Tigrão feature among his main musical production works. He has also worked with DJ Marlboro and was part of the Furacão 2000 sound crew. Sany Pitbull is one of the DJs with greater visibility, whose reach extended beyond the *baile funk* events. Currently, he is participating in the Red Bull Studio project along with cultural group *AfroReggae*, and often travels on tour outside the country. MC Serginho became known as the author of a highly successful hit of the early 2000's – *Eguinha Pocotó* – which opened doors for his concerts, including large national festivals such as Salvador and Tim Festival. Currently, he takes part in the Via Show Digital crew TV shows, broadcast by CNT TV station. For this work, we have also interviewed Furacão 2000's team of DJs and producers.

Contextualising *baile funk*

Carioca funk can be defined as a type of electronic music that emerged from the slums, outskirts and balls around Rio de Janeiro, keeping close links with its home territories, even though fertilized by an intense movement of global musical flows. It is produced in the studio with the use of drum machines and samplers, and played at balls by sound systems crews that include DJs and MCs. The aesthetic value of this dance music must be enjoyed on the dance floors, with its loud bass grooves, amplified and enhanced by the speakers (Sá: 2006, the *baile funk* circuit extends its reach to virtually all areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro).[4]

Balls can be made quite simple, like the ones held on a weekly basis in several *favelas*. In these areas, a sound speaker system on the street, a microphone, and a laptop are enough to start the party and engage the public. Generally sponsored by small sound systems, wherever there is a sports or samba school court within the

neighborhood, this kind of public facility can be used; alternatively, the ball lasts all night long in the street itself, full of great energy and without problems. In spite of the danger in these so-called 'risk areas' (areas where criminal gangs control drug dealing) the community-sponsored balls are always crowded and they keep on attracting outside frequenters, including people from the 'asphalt',[5] such as soccer world celebrities, for instance, whose presence in the funk parties is highly publicized by the press.[6] The balls are deeply important, because they promote meetings between local residents, welcoming the performance of both old and new funk stars, offering the opportunity for new releases to become smashing hits, and distributing their own CDs, also enabling economic activities indirectly connected to funk music such as beverages and food sales for profit.[7]

Outside the boundaries of the *favelas*, clubs and dance hall owners seeking big crews to organize balls in their own venues have become commonplace, due to the wide appeal of the musical genre among young people, ensuring a profitable attendance for nightclubs. Therefore, *baile funk* events are held every night of the week in nightclubs, especially around the north and west zones (*Zonas Norte e Oeste*) of the city. Clubs, concert halls and samba courts charge an entrance fee that usually costs between R$2.00 to R$10.00,[8] depending on the size of the place and features of the day. The fee for men and women may vary in price; there may even be free entrance for women until a certain time of the evening. One of the reasons why the balls attract frequenters from the working classes is because it is precisely a low cost, or totally free, leisure activity in the case of open-air, courts, and streets balls in the communities. Drinks are usually very cheap, including beer and other alcoholic beverages. Patrons drink caipirinha double shots for the price of one, which increases attendance.

The main funk agents and their business network

In this section, we will first unpick the roles of sound system crews, DJs and MCs before addressing how, in their creative practice, they engage with copyright issues in a flexible manner. The main agents within funk's production chain are the sound system crews, which are responsible for the sound system, and the music played at *baile funks*. The success of a crew is measured by the amount and potency of sound speakers, usually piled up against the *paredão* ("big wall") of the ball, and by visual effects such as strobe lights, that are highly valued by the public. In general, the crews rely on a hired group of DJs and MCs to enliven the parties. Among the most famous ones there is the Big Mix, led by DJ Malboro, and the Furacão 2000, owned by Rômulo Costa, both the biggest names on funk music. Other names, like Espião and Curtisom-Rio, are also well known in the funk scene.

The Furacão 2000 appeared in 1974, and since then, is one of the biggest crews in Brazil. The company began its activities by providing sound systems for balls, like so many others, and has managed to significantly expand its business by creating its own record label to release the crew's albums, besides music production and management for funk artists. They provide the sound system for its forty weekly balls, using one of the thirteen sound systems they have in each place. Besides supporting an extensive circuit of balls, a group of twenty employees – including presenter, camera man, lighting and sound technicians, TP operator, editor, and so on – produces in its own TV studio and editing room for five TV shows per week, which are broadcast throughout Brazil by means of rented time on the Bandeirantes TV Network, from Monday to Friday.

Radio is another vehicle for promotion. About eight employees, among announcers and DJs (who also play at the crew's balls) work at the crew's radio station - 107 FM - and are also in charge of keeping the high audience ratings accomplished by the Furacão 2000 after the program aired by FM radio station O Dia, one of the most popular radio station in Rio de Janeiro. The crew also built a website that hosts content

related to the ball's weekly schedule, video clips from TV shows, interviews, images of the balls, new songs, web radio, artists' contacts, and free downloadable MP3 tracks.

The music tracks released by the crew's label are produced in three studio headquarters equipped with high-tech computers, mixing consoles and drum machines. Besides recording production, some of those who work at the studio and radio station also perform as DJs at the balls under the crew's name, and play with Furacão 2000's MCs during their presentations. Along with the record label, music publishing is a significant part among the businesses undertaken by the crew, which records and releases its own artists. Currently, its structure surpasses that of other crews by far, not only with regard to the amount of balls that it promotes but also in relation to the activities addressed above.

The funk DJ is connected to the sound crew. Their function is the same as many other DJs in different electronic dance music styles: to combine music tracks for the dance floors. As DJs gained greater marketable visibility throughout the 1990s, some DJs decided to pursue an independent career, working for different crews and charging high fees, as well as broadening their professional scope by producing music. However, as pointed out by our informants, it is nevertheless difficult to succeed as an independent professional and pursue a career outside a sound crew. To begin with, the crews have little interest in inviting independent DJs to their parties. Moreover, even though it is fully acknowledged that music production is an essential activity, required to build a solid and profitable career beyond being only a funk DJ, there is the difficulty of having a well-equipped recording studio at hand that makes the work of many professionals dependent on the structure of a crew. In spite of the advantages for producing electronic music following the declining costs of personal computers and software like Acid, Sound Forge, and Fruity Loops, being unaffiliated with any crew hinders the distribution of music at balls and to radio programs, especially for beginning DJs, which will be discussed further, below.

In addition to music production, DJs expand their work to the artistic management of MCs. DJ Batata is a good example; between 1997 and 2002 he was, along with DJ Dennis, one of Furacão 2000's highlights. He was working with DJ Marlboro, the most famous funk DJ, but left the job in order to join the tours of female MC Tati Quebra-Barraco, whose blockbuster album, Boladona, he produced. Batata next set up his own production studio and became the artistic manager for the young male MC Mingau, among others. He also attends law school, specializing in copyright issues, since this is one of the controversial topics in the world of funk, which will be addressed further detail in the discussion below.

In the funk universe there are three types of music track: (i) the assembled mash-ups, exclusively made for DJs, in which sound samples are taken from different vocal lines and pasted onto instrumentals – a common aesthetic approach in electronic dance music culture; (ii) the *melôs*, with short lyrics full of double meanings; and (iii) rap music, composed and performed by MCs, who often speak of the problems of violence in the *favelas*, calling for peace in communities and balls (Sá, 2008). The latter also contain more romantic lyrics, as in the 'funk melody' style. The MC is the agent who is similar to the role of performer/singer in the traditional music industry, MCing the funk *melôs* and raps at specific moments during the balls.

A successful MC usually performs up to five gigs in different balls in a single night; this is possible because the performances are usually short, lasting no more than thirty minutes. In this context, they spend much time in vans going from one place to another around the city, and may be accompanied by the respective DJ and dancers. The payment per gig varies between R$150 and R$300 in Rio de Janeiro, but is much higher outside the state, reaching up to ten times this amount, which considerably helps the MCs achieve autonomy. The biggest names in funk, that is, the ones who have managed to build a solid career, or get into the spotlight for a brief moment,

receive numerous proposals for performing in other states or even outside the country, either at Brazilian or other electronic music festivals.

Besides the DJs and MCs, the *bondes* ('streetcars') – a group of young men or women similar to the boy band model – are also very successful. For this kind of group, dancing is a fundamental performance element as is the choreography performed to a specific song, as well as fashion. According to Batata, the success that was achieved in 2001 and 2002 by Bonde do Tigrão, both inside and outside the country, opened many doors for this kind of set. It became a watershed in the history of funk, on the one hand, for projecting the artists, and, on the other, for generating large economic returns, which resulted in fights and separations.

Generally, the figure of the MC either emerges from the slums or the outskirts of metropolitan Rio. The connection between the MC and his place of origin is revealed in the lyrics they perform, and by their long-term involvement in their community, even after achieving fame. Usually, they balance other jobs with their music career, or return to their old job after a very brief period of fame. There are countless cases where this situation repeats itself, which reveals that, despite the breadth of the funk scene, a career in it poses many difficulties, including the fact that it is likely to be quite ephemeral and possibly underpaid. The respondents attribute this to several factors. Sany Pitbull and Serginho, both DJs interviewed for this paper, point out the MCs' (and DJs') "lack of information" on the value of their own work, mentioning the "lack of knowledge about copyrighted works and the need for royalty payments to use samples" as illustrative examples. Being unaware of such issues results in legal disputes, or cases of MCs and DJs having no corresponding financial return on their own hits. According to Serginho, those who have more information try to manipulate the new artists in order to exploit their work and receive most of the profit from copyright and pay for their live performances.

In contrast, we rely on the assumption that the funk sound system crews are local versions of 'brands'. Thus, the MCs subordinate their own images to that of the crews, and after launching new fashion trends in dancing and clothing, which are necessarily ephemeral, they are also quickly replaced by other MCs. Therefore, this business model is not based on the notion of individual artistic career (as much as the notions of work and authorship, as discussed below) but in the collective, performance-based entertainment experience that enhances sociability and dancing, where the MC is just one attraction among many. While they add value to the festival and attract regulars, it is the sound crew that creates more durable loyalty among fans.

Technological appropriations and dilemmas

Four years ago, DJ Batata set up his own home studio with equipment to produce the rhythmic electronic tracks and record the voices of the MCs with the aid of the software Pro-Tools. We interviewed him in 2011. The home studio is considered, in DJ Batata's words, a "conquest": it was built by an expert, William, the same person who created Furacão 2000 and DJ Dennis' studio; he carefully planned such aspects as sound insulation or the position of the sound speakers. According to DJ Batata (2011), it has "everything he needs to produce good quality funk music".

At the time of writing, however, the goal of music production is not to sell albums, as is traditionally the case in the major music industry. Instead, the aim is to produce a good technical quality track that becomes a hit at the balls, thus allowing the DJ/producer and MCs to earn higher income per gig. On the question of how important record sales are for the funk market, DJ Batata replies that he owns a label, but that "it has been a little neglected" because the only record label owners who also manage sound crews, like Rômulo Costa and Marlboro, who respectively owns Furacão 2000 and Big Mix brands, make money out of record sales, which are sold at their own crew balls, on radio and TV shows, as well as in the form of a collection under their labels.

However, for musicians such as DJ Batata, who do not have their own crew, the album works as a kind of business card, helping to promote the DJs, whose work then becomes widely known. As Batata observes that:

> Today, artists aim to make a hit out of one song to play more gigs, so it is difficult to negotiate anything else. The correct way should be making a hit, selling albums, and playing gigs. But nowadays they are only interested in performing live.

For the same reason, the peddlers' pirate CD market is no longer so strong, and is not mentioned by the DJ, who affirms the following on this kind of distribution: "it is good and bad at the same time, if on one hand music circulates more through piracy, on the other hand, the works copyright money is not collected". In this case, the DJ believes that music distribution over the Internet works in tandem with the CD market (legal or pirate), and with radio, all united in the service of disseminating funk hits, although the ball is the real thermometer:

> Once, the path to success for a song was to become a radio hit, and then a hit at the balls. There was an inversion; now the music becomes a hit at the balls, mainly in the communities of Mangueira and Complexo do Alemão,[9] only then reaching the radio and the Internet.

Batata points to the website Funk Neurótico (http://www.funkneurotico.xpg.com.br) as the most popular distribution vehicle employed by artists, independent producers, and the public. Here there are DJs/producers and MC profiles, as well as free downloadable MP3 files. Exchange of music files, or samples, among the DJs via MSN occurs daily. Other ways of using the Internet include direct distribution of music files to potential 'disseminators' who, in this case, are other DJs, as well as their own websites, Facebook and Twitter profiles, where each one has about 5,000 followers.

Finally, DJ Batata mentions the importance of mobile phone music sales; especially ring tones for the funk business, citing as an example Tati Quebra Barraco's huge success. The track 'Boladona' that was part of the Globo TV Network's soap opera America's soundtrack in 2005, collected about R$120,000,00 in ring tones sales during its first month on the air. Three months later, it was possible to collect over R$110,000, and then R$80,000 However, according to DJ Batata, this system still requires adjustments, since the recording industry and ECAD (Central Office of Collection and Distribution) took too long to alert the artists to the money they were earning from the ringtones. Another example of how mobile phones provide funk with visibility is the iFUNK-SE application, developed by Sany Pitbull, in partnership with Red Bull and released in August 2011. It is a digital sampler with exclusive content produced in meetings between DJ Sany Pitbull and MCs from the hip-hop scene. The app allows users to edit and create their own music and beats, with a ready-made musical background as the base and shall be used by 99% of smart phones, tablets, and computers. It is a multi-platform tool that can be connected to Facebook and Twitter, providing users with more storage and sharing capacity. It is worth also noting that the MPC (Music Production Center) is commonly used as equipment in live musical production, combining samples and electronic beats in real time. According to DJ Sany Pitbull (2010):

> the MPC has been in funk for over twenty years, since the festivals of the 1980s. When we started the montages (live mash-ups), people called us crazy. Today thanks to our funk, it is a worldwide well known technique, and used in several musical styles.

Based on these initiatives, we can briefly describe the modes of technological appropriation performed by funk agents as innovative and creative, characterizing a flexible business model that is also open to the digital music market's new experiences and opportunities. By leaving CD sales behind, they anticipate one of the current musical business' most important strategies: looking for other strategies to make their own musical work sustainable. An additional aspect (and tension) of this model is the registering of recorded works and copyright issues. According to DJ Batata, many

beginner artists are only interested in "making a hit", ignoring any information regarding intellectual property. DJs and MCs usually sell their rights over the records they produce, aiming to get a more immediate financial return for the new work. Or, they take advantage of the circulation channels the new owners have, through which they can make the song become more widely heard and potentially a hit, and consequently, this helps artists to increase the number of gigs they get. Another common practice includes the use of lyrics and digital compositions on demand, when the rights to the record can also come to be owned by whoever requested the work. In the Furacão 2000's case, the DJs who produce the new track for the company have no copyright investment in it, for in fact they are regular employees, and so are already paid for this job (besides using the equipment that belongs to the company). As a third example, there are the usual cases of MCs who record a new track, register it with a crew's record label, then record the same lyrics with another song. According to Batata, this kind of situation leads to many disputes, especially if the song becomes a huge success.

Batata affirms that after building his studio, he used to charge anyone willing to pay for his recording and production work. Currently, however, he prefers to invest his time writing lyrics, precisely because it is the most profitable activity of the production chain. Still, on many occasions, he, as most funk artists do, needed to sell his author's rights to a record label connected to the crews, due to the difficulty of getting the songs into circulation. Yet he understands that the trade can be interesting, for while he gives up the rights to the work, he keeps the work's relational rights, under the category of accompanying musician. For all these reasons, we understand that the notion of 'individual authorship' is relative, flexible, and makes for a tense set of industrial relations, where the actors negotiate accordingly to quotidian needs, social circumstances, and 'practical reason'.

Copyright issues in *baile funk*

When discussing the business model of tecnobrega,[10] an electronic dance music genre, particularly popular in the State of Pará, North Brazil, Lemos and Castro (2008) indicate its innovative elements. Firstly, the appropriation of production technologies (in home-made studios), and reproduction by local agents. Secondly, the replacement of musicians and record labels by 'equipment' – giant DJ sound structures that became the dominant agents in this market, organising the circuit parties, promoting its repertoire, and bands, and occupying radio and TV shows. Thirdly open use of copyright, with authors often renouncing their own rights, in favor of visibility, and more possibilities for record deals and gigs. Fourthly, a social network of kinship and proximity, based on trust, which supports the business. Lemos and Castro (2008) state that:

> The constant technological innovation, the sound potency, and the ability to draw the public, release and consolidate talents, are some of the equipment's trumps. More than this, the mastery of technologies and the very performance skills of the party spectacle, assure the conquering of space and market leadership. Not only size, but the social network itself directly influences the hierarchy between equipments, main circuit agents, on which the MCs, composers, and DJs rely. (184)

Lemos and Castro (2008) explored tecnobrega as a "new musical business model" emerging in the 1990s, framed here by the authors as an "open businesses". Among this model's features, they emphasize that:

> … economically feasibility, copyright and intellectual property flexibilization, production horizontalization, generally in a network; the extension of cultural access; technological contribution for the extension of this access, and the reduction of intermediators between the artist and the public. (21)

In his analysis of the electronic forró circuit Trotta (2010) stresses these same strategies, common to the circuits of funk carioca and tecnobrega: in the first place, the

idea of 'brand', managed by professional businessmen, who make decisions in every aesthetic and commercial phase:

> they choose repertoire, arrangements, sound styles, musicians, performance venues, marketing and publicity strategies, support the whole commercial structure (which includes several payments to suppliers, radio stations, producers, and technicians in general), also managing the whole financial part and logistics, aiming to improve the profits. (259)

Trotta continues to state that, "the audience identification with the band's singers is an important element, but it is the brand's sound experience" itself that expands it; "what explains the fact that the replacement of vocalists does not hinder the admiration towards the band or the gig's audience." (ibid.) In addition, there is the resistance to making a copyright application, once the "main publicizing and musical experience vector is not the album, but the live performance" (ibid.: 258). This way, managers invest highly both in the recording and publicity of their products in commercial radio stations, but do not worry about selling records, allowing and even encouraging the free circulation of their music on the Internet – whether through fan communities or the bands' official websites. A final issue raised by the Trotta – and one that seems germane to the funk and tecnobrega circuits – concerns the sociological meaning of the notion of independence. In each case, although the production, circulation, and consumption circuit has been constituted in an autonomous way regarding major record companies and the mainstream media circuit, the notion of 'independence' lacks elements opposed to the system, either in ideological and economic terms.

Conclusion

In *baile funk*, the sound system crews are central agents in shaping the circuit. They determine a business network that includes DJs, MCs and their *funkeiros* ("funk participants"). In the context of technological appropriation, they steer the relative flexibility of copyright applications, whereby the position in the social network and their connection with the community are crucial. Based on discursive insights provided by our interviewees, it is clear that copyright's flexibility is neither an ideological 'flag' nor the result of a 'rational' decision, consciously taken. Rather, it is the result of negotiation and dispute between MCs, DJs, and sound crews. In these three roles, the main goal is the reward for their investment and work. What takes place is the negotiation, case by case, based on the practical reason of everyday life.

In this way, we can single out a business model tied to the wider Brazilian popular music economy, which, despite each scene's own specificities, approximates funk, tecnobrega, and the electronic forró, based on the dimensions mentioned above. This is a model that, ironically (for these styles' detractors), introduces strategies currently described as innovative to deal with the record industry crisis since the decline of material products like CDs and DVDs and the rise of digital forms of production, distribution and consumption.

Thus, even acknowledging that there is no longer one single formula for success in the music businesses today, we have found the following processes are central to new music businesses: innovative technological appropriation, copyright flexibility; the emphasis on the live performance instead of selling material goods; horizontalization of the production chain; and the valorization of labour; local social relationships; and informal markets. These processes are prophtically foreseen by these electronic dance music genres, and, as a result, justify their inclusion as salient examples in finding creative solutions to changes in today's entertainment milieu.

Endnotes

[1] For further details on the notion of moral panic applied to funk, see Freire Filho and Herschmann (2011).

[2] The exception is the groundbreaking research, Configurações do Mercado do Funk no Rio de Janeiro, published as a report by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in 2008, presenting quantitative data on this genre's production chain, numbers, agents, and the business model of funk.

[3] See the M.A thesis, The appropriation of technologies in circuit funk carioca, by Gabriela Miranda (2012) at Communication Post-Graduation Program at Federal Fluminense University (PPGCOM-UFF).

[4] Among the most consecrated and traditional community balls, we can list the Chatuba, at Vila da Penha; the Mangueira, at Maracanã (close to the Soccer Stadium) and the one held at the Rocinha slum, bearing the same name, in the fancy district of São Conrado. After communities were occupied by the police force in 2008, implementing the Pacification Police Units (the UPP - Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora), the parties were officially forbidden in these areas for security reasons. In 2010, the first community ball under the UPP occupation was held at the Ladeira dos Tabajaras in the Copacabana neighborhood, and then in the hills of Santa Marta in the nearby Botafogo district and Cantagalo. Copacabana were also able to have their balls back.

[5] The term 'asphalt' is used by slum dwellers, or the homeless, primarily to refer to the middle class, who live in buildings and homes and have greater financial resources.

[6] Among the most consecrated and traditional community balls, we can list the Chatuba, at Vila da Penha; the Mangueira, at Maracanã (close to the Soccer Stadium) and the one held at the Rocinha slum, bearing the same name, in the fancy district of São Conrado. After communities were occupied by the police force in 2008, implementing the Pacification Police Units (the UPP - Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora), the parties were officially forbidden in these areas for security reasons. In 2010, the first community ball under the UPP occupation was held at the Ladeira dos Tabajaras, in the Copacabana neighborhood; then the hills of Santa Marta – in the neaby Botafogo district and Cantagalo. In Copacabana that were also able to have their balls back.

[7] According to the survey conducted by Fundação Getúlio Vargas (2008), there is an estimated average of six peddlers per ball, selling mainly food (snacks and sandwiches), beverages, and candy on street carts, a total of 284 people working on a weekly basis in the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro.

[8] One Brazilian Real is the equivalent of around half a US Dollar.

[9] Mangueira is one of the most famous slums in Rio de Janeiro where big names in old school samba have emerged. Over the last decade its funk ball was well known as the best. Its structure consisted of four different sound crews until banned by the police in 2011, as many slums' funk balls are nowadays.

[10] Tecnobrega and forró eletrônico are favorites genres among youngsters in the north and northeast Brazilian territories. Like funk, they are stigmatised and associated, by middle-class musical critics, with 'bad taste' music.

References

Essinger, Silvio (2005) *Batidão: Uma História Do Funk*, Record, Rio de Janeiro.

Freire Filho, João; Herschmann, Micael (2011) 'Funk Music Made in Brazil: Media and Moral Panic'. In AVELAR, Idelber; DUNN, Christopher (eds) *Brazilian Popular Music and Citizenship.* Durham: Duke University Press: 223-240.

Fundação Getúlio Vargas (2008) Configurações do Mercado do Funk no Rio de Janeiro, *Survey Rio de Janeiro,* Fundação Getúlio Vargas Press.

Lemos. Ronaldo and Castro, Oona (2008) *Tecnobrega: O Pará Reinventando O Negócio Da Música.* Aeroplano, Rio de Janeiro.

Miranda, Gabriela. (2012) *The Appropriation Of Technologies In Circuit Funk Carioca.* M.A. thesis. PPGCOM-UFF, Universidade Federal Fluminense.

Sá, Simone—

(2003) Música eletrônica e tecnologia: Reconfigurando a discotecagem n Lemos, André and Cunha, Paulo (eds.) *Olhares Sobre A Cibercultura.* Sulinas, Porto Alegre: 153-173.

(2007) Funk carioca: música popular eletrônica brasileira?! *Revista E-Compós,* 10, http://www.compos.org.br/seer/index.php/e-compos/article/view/195 Accessed: Feb 2011.

(2008) 'Som de preto, de proibidão e de tchutchucas: o Rio de Janeiro nas pistas do funk carioca in Prysthon, Angela and Cunha', Paulo (eds.) *Ecos Urbanos: A Cidade E Sua Articulações Midiáticas*. Sulina, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro: 228-247.

Simas, Marcelo (2008) *Configurações Do Mercado Funk No Rio De Janeiro*. Escola Superior de Ciências Aplicadas. Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.

Trotta, Felipe (2010) 'Autonomia Estética E Mercado De Música: Reflexões Sobre O Forró Eletrônico Contemporâneo' in Sá, Simone (ed.) *Rumos Da Cultura Da Música: Negócios, Estéticas, Linguagens E Audibilidades*. Sulina, Porto Alegre.

Vianna, Hermanno (1987) *O Mundo Funk Carioca*. Jorge Zahar, Rio de Janeiro.

Interviews

DJ Batata (2011) Interviewed by Gabriela Miranda, Rio de Janeiro, 12 February 2011.

MC Serginho (2011). Interviewed by Gabriela Miranda, Rio de Janeiro, 3 March 2011.

Pitbull, Sany. (2010) Interviewed by Gabriela Miranda, Rio de Janeiro, 31 October 2010.