
Musical Performances in Digital Audiovisualities

A Case Study of the Brazilian Singer Pepita

ABSTRACT This study discusses modes of appropriation of television genres for the constitution of new audiovisual dynamics in a digital context, based on performatic strategies of the Brazilian funk singer Pepita, who is known for her LGBTQ+ activism. Based on a methodology that articulates studies about media genres and performance, we try to understand how television conventions and characteristics of YouTube and Instagram are appropriated for the constitution of what we call performances of empowerment. We conclude that Pepita's movements exemplify a broader phenomenon, associated to a complex articulation between audiovisual materialities and digital platforms, and to confluences between genre conventions and their transformations.

KEYWORDS Audiovisualities, Television genre, Performance, Digital Platforms, Videoclip, Materialities

INTRODUCTION

Digital environments in the music world are characterized by increasingly complex production and consumption dynamics that encompass multiple audiovisualities, such as videoclips, recordings of shows, backstage scenes, and programs. This scenario reinforces the arguments of various authors¹ concerning the challenge of thinking about videoclips in the digital culture. The forms of making and consuming music are shaped by an increasingly heterogeneous network of productions that spread through other platforms, encompassing multiple audiovisualities. In this context, the performance of artists goes beyond strictly musical content, and has particular characteristics that can only be understood if we look more carefully at the specificities of these environments.

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1. Diane Railton and Paul Watson, *Music video and the politics of representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011); Edmond Maura, "Here We Go Again: music videos after YouTube," *Television & New Media*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2014); Carol Vernallis, *Unruly Media: YouTube, music video, and the new digital cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Simone Pereira de Sá, "Cultura digital, videocliques e a consolidação da Rede de Música Brasileira Pop Periférica," in *Revista Fronteiras* (online) vol. 21, no. 1 (2019); Tomás Jirsa and Mathias B. Korsgaard, "The Music Video In Transformation: Notes On A Hybrid Audiovisual Configuration," in *Music, Sound And The Moving Image* vol. 13, no. 2 (2019).

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While production, circulation and interactions on digital platforms have growing importance for artists of different styles and genres, this phenomenon becomes more relevant in the case of artists from marginalized situations, who have less access to mainstream media and use social media to produce visibility and engagement in favor of activist agendas regarding gender, ethnicity, and defense of minority rights. This is the case of Brazilian singer Priscilla Nogueira, known as Pepita, whose audiovisual performance on digital platforms will be analyzed in this article. Part of a pioneer generation of Brazilian trans and transvestite *funkeiras*, (Brazilian funk music artists), Pepita repeatedly raises questions of gender identities in her shows, lyrics, videoclips and posts on social networks, appropriating the platforms for LGBTQ+ activism. Although she has thousands of fans on Instagram, until recently she was excluded from spaces legitimated by large media corporations, and largely still is.

Throughout the article, we argue that Pepita's visibility on the music scene was built from a set of strategies that combine videoclips exposing her body, provocative lyrics and other audiovisual content that, despite not being strictly musical, contributes decisively to her performance. One of these "products" is #CartasPraPepita [Letters for Pepita], a series of audiovisual episodes formatted like a TV show and focused on counseling and witnessing daily experiences related to issues of gender and sexuality. Thus, we will argue that it is from these multiple audiovisual productions, which apply the conventions of the music video and the TV show to digital platforms, that Pepita builds her performative strategies within Brazilian funk and the LGBTQIA+ movement.

It's important to note that "Funk carioca"—or simply "funk" in Brazil—is a dance music subgenre different from what is called "funk" in the rest of the world. It is a hip-hop-influenced style that has its origins in the slums and favelas of Rio de Janeiro, blending funk with rap subgenres Miami Bass, Freestyle and Gangsta Rap. Melodies are usually sampled,² and its lyrics, written in Portuguese, discuss topics as varied as poverty, sex, violence, and social injustice. The parties where people go to dance funk carioca are known as "bailes funk," characterized by loud music played over powerful speakers, with emphasis on the low tones of the funk beats and dancing with exaggerated hip movements.³

Along its trajectory, and despite its growing popularity in different segments of Brazilian society and its spread through social networks, funk has been the continuous target of persecution by the media, the security forces of the State and middle-class opinion leaders, who repeatedly stir up moral panic in reference to the funk phenomenon.⁴ Whether because of the critique of eroticism and sexualization or the frequent association of funk with violence and drug trafficking in the *favelas*, the history of funk is marked by

2. "Planet Rock" by Afrika Bambaata and Soulsonic Force; "Let the Music Play" by Shannon; and Kraftwerk's album *Trans-Europe Express* are among the most sampled works.

3. Simone Pereira de Sá, "Funk carioca: música eletrônica popular brasileira?!" *E-Compós (Brasília)*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2007).

4. João Freire Filho and Micael Herschmann, "Mídia, pânico moral e o funk carioca," in *Comunicação, Cultura & Consumo. A (des)construção do espetáculo contemporâneo*, ed. João Freire Filho and Michael Herschmann (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. E-Papers, 2005), 241–54.

episodes of stigma, prejudice, and “demonization,”⁵ for it is a music style that originated among lower-class populations in the outskirts of Brazil’s major cities, notably Rio de Janeiro⁶.

We analyzed a sample of Pepita’s work consisting of her videoclip “Chama a Beleza” (Calling Beauty) and the program #CartasPraPepita” (Letters for Pepita), closely observing three episodes on YouTube and three on Instagram posted between November 2019 and February 2020. Based on a theoretical-methodological approach pertaining to studies about media genres and performance, we sought to understand how the materialities of YouTube and Instagram, in dialogue with different television conventions, are appropriated by Pepita to constitute what we call performances of empowerment. Our main questions are: what performative strategies does Pepita adopt on YouTube and Instagram?; how does this funk singer appropriate television conventions for the production of #CartasPraPepita? and how do they dialogue with her videoclips in the context of digital culture?

We argue that the videoclip and the program have the same performative strategy or trait, related to the idea of empowerment, that is, the performance invests strongly in self-help, counseling and representation of peripheral and minority bodies, and particularly addresses the LGBTQ+ public.

This essay will focus on the materialities of the audiovisual forms on digital platforms, which include a description of the image, the scenarios, camera shots and framing, sounds, graphics, and comments from Pepita and her fans. The voices of the singer/presenter and her followers are the object of our analysis. With this approach, we are not interested in the results of interviews with workers in the production field or polls on how Pepita’s work is received, but seek to understand the performative strategies and sensory effects of the media forms she employs.

This investigative route begins with a discussion of the meanings of television genres and performance seen as categories of analysis of digital audiovisualities, with special attention given to the phenomenon known as the post-MTV videoclip. The idea is to argue in support of the productivity of the concepts of genre and performance as useful analytical dimensions of this audiovisual production which permeates the digital platforms and reveals continuities and ruptures of the television forms. We then present our case study, which analyzes how Pepita revises television conventions and applies them to the materialities of the platforms in her empowerment performances. We were interested in analyzing how the specificities and connections among different platforms and various television conventions activate performances that move through various audiovisualities, thus seeking to contribute to the discussion about aspects of the relationship between music, television and digital audiovisualities.

5. Michael Herschmann, “As imagens das galeras funk na imprensa” (Images of galeras funk in press), in *Linguagens da violência* (language of violence), ed. Carlos Alberto M. Pereira (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2000); Simone Pereira de Sá and Simone Evangelista, “Haters beyond the Hate: Stigma and Prejudice against Funk Carioca on YouTube,” *Journal of World Popular Music* vol. 4, no 1 (2017).

6. The word “carioca” is the adjective for a Rio de Janeiro native or for something related to the city, and is used to identify the birthplace of Brazilian funk music.

More broadly, this article presents a dialogue between media and communication studies and popular music scholars, particularly with recent work on the music video, seeking to contribute to the discussion on music and political activism. We discuss the role of mediation in political activism and illustrate the potential of multiple digital audiovisualities to mobilize political engagement on digital platforms.

1. GENRE AND PERFORMANCE AS ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

The concept of genre is an important reference for the study of communication and its transformations in contemporary culture. A vast tradition of research about media genres, with critical production work in cinema, television, music, journalism etc., has advanced in search of more complex definitions and methodological approaches that can account for the interrelationship among various media, and their transformations and peculiarities. In television studies, authors such as Jane Feuer;⁷ Jason Mittell;⁸ Gary Edgerton and Brian G. Rose;⁹ Steve Neale;¹⁰ and Itania Maria Mota Gomes,¹¹ reinforce the methodological productivity of the concept of genre—a fluid concept, whose coherence results from a process of construction. Thus, it is constituted not of fixed taxonomic references but of textual and contextual elements in constant transformation.

When Edgerton and Rose¹² problematize the concept of genre to think about television, they emphasize principles fundamental to the analysis: the consideration of texts; the articulation of these texts in various contexts; the understanding of genre as process, because it is found in constant change; and the distinct cultural practices constitutive of TV, which involve the corporate world, technologies, aesthetic and economic strategies, and expectations of reception. Its mediatic, discursive, and cultural specificities derive from an “interrelationship between an assortment of creative, technological, industrial, institutional, and reception-related practices.”¹³ Similarly, Mittell¹⁴ affirms that genres emerge from multiple relations and operate through textual and cultural domains of media corporations, audiences, politics, criticism, and historic contexts.

Jeder Janotti Jr. and Simone Pereira de Sa¹⁵ also position genre as an important analytical key in the field of communication, indicating its resonances in the environment of digital platforms. The authors invest in a revision of these approaches by conducting an articulation based on sociabilities and materialities of mediations, affirming that genres

7. Jane Feuer, “Genre Study And Television,” in *Channels Of Discourse, Reassembled*, ed. Robert C. Allen (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: The University Of North Carolina Press, 1992).

8. Jason Mittell. *Genre and television: from cop shows to cartoons in American culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).

9. Gary R. Edgerton and Brian G. Rose, “Thinking Outside The Box,” in *A Contemporary Television Genre Reader*, ed. Gary Edgerton and Brian Rose (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008).

10. Steve Neale, “Studying Genre,” in *The Television Genre Book*, ed. Glen Creeber (London: The British Film Institute, 2008), 3–4.

11. Itania Maria Mota Gomes, “Gênero Televisivo Como Categoria Cultural: Um Lugar No Centro Do Mapa Das Mediações De Jesús Martín-Barbero,” in *Revista FAMECOS: Mídia, Cultura E Tecnologia* vol. 18, no. 1 (2011).

12. Edgerton and Rose, “Thinking Outside The Box.”

13. Ibid.

14. Jason Mittell, *Genre and television*.

15. Pereira de Sa, “Cultura digital, 21–32.

activate divisions, disputes and negotiations, involving dynamic processes of mediation that point to continuities and ruptures.¹⁶ In these contexts, the concept of genre is used in this study to analyze audiovisual transformations and their relation to television, music and new media.

Understanding how materialities of YouTube and Instagram, in dialogue with conventions of television genres, are appropriated by artists of popular music for the constitution of their digital persona, at first implies a shift in the notion of audiovisual product and communication media as localized and stable concepts. Contemporary studies about the post-MTV videoclip appear to us to be useful to this debate.

In the effervescent context of music television in the late twentieth century, the videoclip was characterized as a hybrid audiovisual form, a type of extension of the traditional two- to three-minute “single” recording, which served to promote sales and pop chart success.¹⁷ Among the genre conventions highlighted by Andrew Goodwin¹⁸ were the relationship between visual aspects and musical genres, an emphasis on close-ups, medium shots, focus on the performer and the intertextual dynamics that involve cinema, television, radio, pop music and other videographic forms. Its intertextual vocation, in formal terms, can be located in the product (the video) and in marketing terms, in its interdependence with the television and phonographic industries. In the current digital context, we are immersed in the superabundance, proliferation and flow of images and sounds.

The post-MTV videoclip, as Mathias Korsgaard affirms, implies a recognition of new logics of production, circulation and consumption related to digital culture. Korsgaard highlights an “inevitable ‘multiplication’ of images”¹⁹ linked to the modes of consuming videoclips on platforms such as YouTube, whether by following related videos or by searching for other videos based on discussions in the comments etc. “It has become a highly popular laboratory of digital innovations and new media experiments reaching an ever-growing audience.”²⁰

Using this thesis, the implications of the videoclip in the digital context have been explored in various parts of the world. Carol Vernallis²¹ located videoclips in circulation on YouTube in the context of what she calls unruly media, emphasizing a type of audiovisual turn, which includes formal, structural and stylistic transformations. Maura Edmond²² analyzes the impact of digital convergence on music videos, attentive to new

16. Jeder Janotti Jr. and Simone Pereira de Sá, “Revisitando a noção de gênero musical em tempos de cultura musical digital,” in *Revista Galáxia* vol. 41, no. 1 (2019).

17. Roy Shuker, *Vocabulário de Música Pop* (São Paulo: Hedra, 1999).

18. Andrew Goodwin, *Dancing In The Distraction Factory: Music Television And Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

19. Mathias Korsgaard, *Music Video After MTV: Audiovisual Studies, New Media, and Popular Music*. (London: Routledge, 2017), 101.

20. Tomás Jirsa and Mathias B. Korsgaard, “The Music Video In Transformation: Notes On A Hybrid Audiovisual Configuration,” in *Music, Sound And The Moving Image* vol. 13, no. 2 (2019).

21. Carol Vernallis, *Unruly media: YouTube, music video, and the new digital cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

22. Maura Edmond, “Here We Go Again: music videos after YouTube,” in *Television & New Media* vol. 15, no. 4 (2014).

strategies for construction and monetization, as well as media conventions both reiterated and resignified on the platforms. Diane Railton and Paul Watson²³ explore videoclips as expressions of identity politics, with special attention to issues of gender identity, sexuality and race.

In keeping with these authors, we understand the idea of the post-MTV videoclip as an audiovisual form in transformation in the digital context which is in flux, within a tangled network of music videos and other media products that encompass audiovisual fragments which also have heterogeneous origins that go beyond traditional forms of videoclips. These new videoclips involve multiple audiovisualities that range “from video of a show posted by a fan, to an infinity of parodies, tributes and homages and even reach ‘professional’ videos, that promote new songs by singers with (more or less) established careers”²⁴.

These audiovisualities articulate affective modulations that offer modes of inhabiting the world, forms of staging the characters who constitute narratives of self in the universe of popular music.²⁵ This finding prepares us to convoke performance, along with genre, as an analytical category of this audiovisual form in transformation. Thus, in an articulated manner, genre and performance assist the communicational analysis of media conventions and their resignifications in digital contexts, indicated by the shifts and reiterations of television and audiovisual forms. It is based on this perspective that we seek to understand movements of performances in digital environments.

The notion of performance is polysemic, with discussions that range from its epistemic character²⁶ to the social dramas involved in performative gestures.²⁷ According to Richard Schechner,²⁸ to perform is to emphasize “an action for those who watch.” Thus, all manifestations of daily life are imbued by performative actions, given that all of our gestures correspond, in some way, to what the author classifies as “restored behaviors.”²⁹ These behaviors reiterate gestures, norms and sayings that are learned and placed in order during life. Schechner dialogues directly with the perspective of Erving Goffman,³⁰ which uses the theatrical metaphor to analyze roles incorporated in social interactions. Goffman’s seminal work has also been the object of various recent studies about forms of self-representation in digital social networks.³¹

23. Diane Railton and Paul Watson, *Music video and the politics of representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

24. Simone Pereira de Sá, “Cultura digital, videoclips e a consolidação da Rede de Música Brasileira Pop Periférica”. *Revista Fronteiras* (online) vol. 21, no. 1 (2019).

25. Jelder Janotti Jr. and João Alcantara, “Análise das mediações do pop-popular do videoclipe Flei,” *Revista FAMECOS* vol. 25, no. 2 (2018).

26. Diana Taylor, *O arquivo e o repertório. Performance e memória cultural nas Américas*. (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2013).

27. Victor Turner, *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play* (Nova York: PAJ Publications, 1982).

28. Richard Schechner. *Performance studies: an introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2006), 28.

29. *Ibid.*, 34.

30. Erwin Goffman, *A Representação Do Eu Na Vida Cotidiana* (Rio De Janeiro: Vozes, 1975).

31. Jessalynn M Keller, “Virtual Feminisms: Girls’ Blogging Communities, Feminist Activism, And Participatory Politics,” in *Information, Communication & Society* vol. 15, no. 3 (2012). Bernice Hogan, “The Presentation Of Self In The Age Of Social Media: Distinguishing Performances And Exhibitions Online,” in *Bulletin Of Science, Technology*

With this understanding, two emphases appear central to us for the analysis of performances on digital platforms: 1) Reiteration, the restored behaviors, whose strength of resignification resides precisely in the recognition of repetition, pattern, convention and cliché; and 2) Interaction, given that a performance does not occur and is not grasped by the analyst based on an “object” but through relational spaces. In these terms, through performances, we can access processes of transformations of conventions, which do not take place simply through “differences” or “changes.” These processes can only be seen as ruptures because their permanences are recognized.³² Thus, to observe the frame, or as Taylor³³ prefers, framing, the script through which the performance takes place as a narrative, is a central methodological aspect of our discussion.

As Zizi Papacharissi³⁴ recalls, communication technologies potentialize the production of performances, whether through the expansion of networks of relations, or by the pluralization of “stages” for self-presentation. Our argument, by relating performance and media genre, points to the second as an important analytical concept for the observation of performances in at least two aspects: as a strategy for visibility amid the multiplication of images on digital platforms and as a guideline to performances on different platforms, to avoid performative incoherences in these environments.³⁵

We thus consider that the articulation among artists, platforms and media genres is essential to what we are calling performance of empowerment by Brazilian artists on peripheral musical scenes,³⁶ like Pepita. Without failing to recognize the problematic of the commercial appropriations of the term empowerment today, we use it to mark both strategies to gain visibility on digital social networks and a possible emancipation of marginalized populations.

& *Society* vol. 30, no. 6 (2010). Beatriz Polivanov, *Dinâmicas identitárias em sites de redes sociais: estudo com participantes de cenas de música eletrônica no Facebook* (Rio de Janeiro: Multifoco, 2014). Susan C Herring and Sanja Kapidzic, “Teens, Gender, And Self-presentation In Social Media,” in *International Encyclopedia Of Social And Behavioral Sciences* vol. 2, no. 1 (2015). Zizi Papacharissi, *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Andrea N. Geurin-Eagleman and Lauren M. Burch, “Communicating via photographs: A gendered analysis of Olympic athletes’ visual self-presentation on Instagram,” in *Sport management review* vol. 19, no. 2 (2016). Florencia García-Rrapp, “The Digital Media Phenomenon Of Youtube Beauty Gurus: The Case Of Bubzbeauty,” in *Ijwbc* 12, no. 4 (2016). Amanda A. Antunes, “O Extraordinário Sujeito Comum: Um Estudo Sobre Influenciadores, Dinâmicas De Identidade,” Ph.D. diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica-Rio (2018).

32. Juliana F. Gutmann and Jorge Cardoso Filho, *Performances em contextos midiáticos: MTV BR & Rock SSA*. (Salvador: Edufba, 2022).

33. Diana Taylor, *O arquivo e o repertório. Performance e memória cultural nas Américas*. (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2013).

34. Zizi Papacharissi, *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

35. *Ibid.*

36. Our use of the notion of periphery in this study is distinct from an essentialist premise or one that supposes an overlapping of equals between territories, social classes and musical genres. It first involves a strategic use, which perceives provisional and unstable alliances between physical and symbolic locations, seeking to point to the crossings, ambiguities, and above all pluralities of popular staging. In this sense, by mentioning peripheral musical genres, we refer to a set of musical expressions that share broad aesthetic meanings and are negatively valued by layers of audiences and critics in Brazil, as is funk music. Simone Pereira de Sá, *Música Pop-periférica brasileira: videoclipes, performances e tretas na cultura digital* (Curitiba: Appris, 2021).

The word empowerment gained prominence in the civil rights struggles of women, Blacks and homosexuals in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century.³⁷ In this context, empowerment has expressed, above all, a strengthening of self-esteem, adaptation to a situation, and the creation of mechanisms for self-help and solidarity³⁸.

With advances in the debates at the heart of these emancipatory movements, criticisms arose of individualist stances and of capitalist appropriations of empowerment, which strongly promote consumption as a means to support self-esteem. Sarah Banet-Weiser has identified a notable convocation for the individual to “empower oneself, especially in the context of neoliberal capitalism and the privileging of the entrepreneur as the identity to aspire to”³⁹.

In this sense, Nelly Stromquist⁴⁰ opportunely proposes to think about empowerment in four dimensions, ideally articulated for the effective promotion of broader transformations. These dimensions are the cognitive, involving a critical vision of reality; the psychological, linked to a sense of self-esteem; the political, related to an awareness of inequalities of power and the ability to organize and mobilize; and the economic, associated to an ability to generate independent income. Although the cognitive and psychological dimensions are not enough on their own to lead to significant change, we argue that they involve fundamental steps in the process by which individual changes can lead to collective changes. Thus, we believe that the way that Pepita combines affective relations with strategies to give visibility to LGBTQ+ bodies developed on digital platforms are configured as possible spaces for the promotion of forms of empowerment through these dimensions. We also dialogue with Paulo Freire,⁴¹ for whom the incentive to self-emancipation of subjects could improve the living conditions of a certain community, which confers an individual and collection dimension to the term empowerment.

In the case of Pepita, this performative dimension is constructed both from the valorization of her self-esteem and from the defense of the diversity of bodies and by appropriations and resignification of media conventions, as we will now analyze.

2. PEPITA, PERIPHERAL POP MUSIC AND DISSIDENT BODIES

The transfiguration of Priscilla Nogueira into Pepita is decisively permeated by visibility on digital platforms. According to a release from her press agent, the artist became a “frequent meme in the gay community”⁴² in 2014 after a video of her dancing to

37. Rute V. A. Baquero, “Empoderamento: Instrumento De Emancipação Social?—uma Discussão Conceitual,” *Revista Debates* vol. 6, no. 1 (2012).

38. Adriane Roso and Moises Romanini. Empoderamento individual, empoderamento comunitário e conscientização: um ensaio teórico. *Psicologia e Saber Social* vol. 3, no. 1 (2014).

39. Sarah Banet-Weiser, *Empowered: Popular feminism and popular misogyny* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

40. Nelly P. Stromquist, “Romancing the state: Gender and power in education,” *Comparative education review* vol. 39, no. 4 (1995).

41. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1986).

42. Available at <https://www.cartasrapepita.com.br/#author>, accessed July 25, 2022.

Brazilian funk music grew popular. The relationship with this musical genre, strongly associated to the peripheries of Rio de Janeiro, the second biggest city in Brazil, and still stigmatized, even in the digital media,⁴³ is not fortuitous.

Meanwhile, the association between funk and other musical genres that rose in the peripheries, and the emergence of artists who challenge gender stereotypes, has become constant. Pepita integrates a music scene made up of dissident bodies, which tension experiences of gender and sexuality in a way articulated to race and class in Brazil. Since 2016, it is possible to recognize a movement of artistic expressions that articulates Brazilian funk, pop, rap, and MPB and is characterized by the strong presence of trans artists, transvestites, drag queens, gays, and non-binarians. Also included are artists who act in this scene as counter-hegemonic bodies within the gender power structures in the field of popular music.⁴⁴

These artists include Pablo Vittar, the world's most popular drag queen on Instagram in 2020, who has more than 10.8 million followers, and whose mixture of pop and peripheral music genres took her to the top of national pop charts. In more alternative circuits in the country, artists are using funk, rap and other genres to constitute a queer musical scene that flourishes despite the political prominence of the far right in Brazil.

Three aspects appear to be central to the visibility of these artists: 1) their articulations between notions of peripheral that congregate different categories of excluded populations and are articulated by means of musical genres; 2) the fluidity with which they engage different peripheral genres, always in dialogue with pop conventions; and 3) the visibility conquered from circulation in digital media, leveraged by the use of these spaces as platforms for social mobilizations and different forms of activism.⁴⁵ In terms of the latter aspect, the post-MTV videoclip appears as an element central to the popularity of these queer performances, in which corporality frequently dialogues with the music in the elaboration of alternative forms of existence.

In this context, Pepita's visibility in the musical scene is more associated with the modes of circulation on digital media than with the production of big hits. Her voluminous forms, sexy outfits and exaggerated performances are the target of insults from haters who associate funk with "immoral" and her body with "monstrous." The singer's image became associated with the production of memes, a dynamic of replication of ambivalent meaning: at the same time used in a jocular and ironic tone, it creates engagement and visibility. It is within this typical logic of social media that Pepita constitutes her communicational strategies: videoclips that become popular for the exposure of her body and provocative lyrics that bring up sex, prejudice, and the production of other audiovisual products, such as the program #CartasPraPepita [Letters for Pepita],

43. Simone Pereira de Sá and Simone Evangelista, "Haters beyond the Hate: Stigma and Prejudice against Funk Carioca on YouTube," *Journal of World Popular Music* vol. 4, no. 1 (2017).

44. Artists such as Linn da Quebrada, Liniker, Pablo Vittar, Mc Xuxu, Gloria Groove, Aretuza Lovi, Ventura Profana, Pepita, and others are part of this group.

45. Zizi Papacharissi, *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Tim Highfield, *Social media and everyday politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).

focused on counseling and testimony of daily experiences related to issues of gender and sexuality.

Therefore, Pepita's passages through different audiovisualities are analyzed as part of a broader process of reconfiguration of the Brazilian musical scene, which occurs amid the popularization of digital media in the country and the consequent disputes for visibilities of gender identities.

This context is also marked by the popularization of LGBTQ+ artists in advertising campaigns in Brazil. In 2021, Pepita was one of the stars of a beer ad promoted on the country's largest television network. On one hand, the visibility of these artists can be linked to what Banet-Weiser classifies as "the ambivalence of brand cultures," meaning that "not all cultural practices are spaces of possibility but rather that some carry more potential than others, that some cultural practices are easier to brand than others."⁴⁶ On the other hand, despite this facility to link self-esteem with products and services, the singer goes beyond the individual dimension of empowerment and is an active voice in defense of LGBTQ+ rights, and has even criticized "pink money" initiatives by brands and artists that do not have true commitment to the cause.⁴⁷ In addition, the singer established her own musical style years before becoming recognized by brands, calling attention, at first, to materializing a certain ambiguity related to gender stereotypes.

In Brazilian funk, the action of queer artists directly challenges firmly consolidated gender stereotypes: the female figure is still frequently portrayed based on a "sexy" femininity. This is the case of Pepita, who appears to convoke a certain contradiction since her first appearances. At the same time that she dialogs with stereotypes of female beauty found in Brazil (especially in funk), such as long hair, makeup, tight clothing and sensual choreography, her tall thin body, elongated face and deep voice activate other corporalities. The assertive posture towards the space of her body in the funk universe is also revealed in the appropriations of depreciative comments about her appearance. Given the comments about her height and her "awkward" manner, the artist regularly repeats the phrase "grandona pra caralho" (really huge),⁴⁸ which was the name of her first EP, in 2015.

In the same year, Pepita launched her YouTube channel. In 2017, she recorded the song "Chifrudo" (Cuckold) with the drag queen Lia Clark (another important Brazilian LGBTQ+ funk artist), whose videoclip had more than 13 million viewings.⁴⁹ In November, Pepita released her first solo videoclip, of the song "Uma vez piranha" (Once a slut). On her YouTube channel,⁵⁰ she simultaneously reinforces a tie to a network of peripheral pop music and a universe of producers of LGBTQ+ contents in various audiovisual

46. Sarah Banet-Weiser, *AuthenticTM: The politics of ambivalence in a brand culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2012).

47. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSiuxHQVY1w>, accessed July 25, 2022.

48. "Grandona pra caralho" is a colloquial expression for "really huge." "Pra caralho" is slang for "a great deal" or "a lot." "Caralho" is slang for cock or penis.

49. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=si-BQY42P7s>, accessed July 30, 2022.

50. Available at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCVonfDGLxgydH8I_9CmVBFQ, accessed July 30, 2022.

formats. In parallel, she invests in her Instagram profile, on which she presents various remixes of her official clips and feats, studio photographs, personal statements, portions of shows, making-ofs, self-help messages, and scenes from her daily life.

3. PERFORMANCES OF EMPOWERMENT THROUGH DISTINCT DIGITAL AUDIOVISUALITIES

Pepita's performance on her first videoclip, "Uma vez piranha" (2017), directly triggers stereotypes of femininity associated to funk. In a short, tight, see-through dress she dances sensually in a nightclub, at times alone or accompanied by different virile and muscular men, whom she winds up taking home. With the sound of the Brazilian funk, the song's lyrics are a parody of the anthem of one of the most popular soccer clubs in Brazil, Clube de Regata do Flamengo. But the affirmation of Club loyalty and pride ("once you are Flamengo, always Flamengo") is replaced by the reiteration and pride of "being slut" ("once you are a slut, always a slut"). Thus, Pepita's performance in the videoclip has both a comic and a challenging effect on the conventions of hegemonic masculinity of soccer fans in Brazil and the stigmas around female desire triggered by the word "slut."

A year later, other femininities are also convoked and destabilized in the videoclip "Chama a beleza" (2018). The 3' 04" production begins with a scene of Pepita, who plays a type of "hairdresser for artists," dressed in a caricatured manner with a long dress, scarf and bobbed hair. The principal scenery of the clip is a beauty salon, a traditional meeting place for women, who often use the time there to speak of their problems and exchange advice with their peers, and it also has a role in Pepita's performative reiteration. Upon arriving at the salon, she appears at the counter (Figure 1) speaking on a smartphone with a "client," the Brazilian TV host Regina Volpato. Other artists, singers and TV personalities appear in the clip, as well as Brazilian YouTubers, who appear at the end on video calls, requesting an appointment with Pepita (the hairdresser).

The narrative frame emphasizes the beauty of the dissident body. Various bodies dance to the sound of the song, in non-choreographed movements, which is in dissonance with choreographic conventions of dances seen on pop and funk videoclips. There are white, black, thin, and fat bodies, those with mechanical legs, and those who are tall, short, female, male, and transvestites. Pepita appears dressed as a man, and later fluttering like a pop diva, articulating once again the movement between various forms of being in the world. Words typically used by personal coaches are important elements that are repeated to reinforce the message of the lyrics in support of multiple forms of beauty. Verses and bodies are combined in the scene and articulate dimensions of empowerment linked to self-esteem.

Even if strategies of visibility of dissident subjects integrate the "branding" of Pepita as a singer, it can be said that her advice is courageous for a country in which a transsexual person is murdered every 48 hours on average.⁵¹ It is based on this performance that she

51. According to data from 2020 published by the Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transsexuais do Brasil (Antra) e pelo Instituto Brasileiro Trans De Educação (Ibte). Available at <https://antrabrasil.files.wordpress.com/2021/01/dossie-trans-2021-29jan2021.pdf>, accessed July 25, 2022.



FIGURE 1. Pepita at the opening of “#CartasPraPepita” and in a post on her profile from January 2020.

Source: Instagram

convoques her public with terms such as “Chama a beleza” (Call beauty), “Me afronta” (Insult me), and “Boca no ombro!” (I kiss my shoulder, an expression of self-praise); or even more completely in the verses: “I didn’t say pintosa! (flaming fairy); I didn’t say Patricia!; I didn’t say gorgeous! Not boy or girl! Much less princess! You know what I said? Call, call beauty!”

As already mentioned, Pepita’s performance reveals aspects of musical culture on digital platforms, in which the circulation of music videos dialogues with a wider set of products focused on engagement on social media. Thus, we will now analyze one of these products, the program #CartasparaPepita, seeking to demonstrate how it dialogues with the videoclip “Chama a beleza” by unfolding and deepening aspects of Pepita’s empowerment performance in the music video, through the construction of a persona identified as “godmother” who advises and acts as a coach focused on LGBTQIA+ issues. The figure of the “godmother” that presents #CartasparaPepita is the same one that appears in the videoclip “Chama a beleza” as a hairdresser.

Initially launched in an exclusive format for IGTV in June 2018, the production presents the artist reading letters to her fans and offering advice to resolve their problems. The doubts frequently involve relationships of homosexual couples. With its popularity,

Pepita launched a version of the program for YouTube in late 2018 and transformed advice from #CartasPraPepita into a book the following year.⁵² On the two platforms, our attention is called to the way that the videoclips and their various remixes compete and are combined with the program #CartasPraPepita and how, based on these different audiovisualities, Pepita articulates the movement of her digital personality between the raunchy and sexy funk singer and “the godmother, more reserved provider of advice for her fans’ love lives.

Thus, it is first noted in #CartasparaPepita that there are no closeups of her large behind, décolletage, and very high heels that are characteristic of Pepita’s stage performances and videoclips. A more relaxed presenter is in action, dressed in T-shirts, colorful earrings, and eyeglasses on a cord that she puts on when she prepares to answer one of the “letters”. In the program’s vignette, the song “Chama a Beleza” rises in the background, as she is casually dressed in a pink polo shirt, jeans, a fanny pack and eyeglasses, a characterization which is also quite different from that presented on her Instagram profile, where she appears in sexy red lingerie (Figure 2). On the program, even if the singer/host maintains characteristic traits of the sexy female body, with tight clothes, flowing long hair, large earrings, lots of bracelets, and long painted nails, these choices are appropriated so that Pepita personifies a maternal figure authorized to guide, protect, and bless her “family,” as she refers to her fans.

As a response to this appeal, many of the letters read on the program refer to the presenter as “madrinha” (godmother), “dinda” (short for godmother), “fada” (fairy), or “rainha” (queen), nicknames that also appear in complementary commentaries on the two platforms. In the comments to the posts and videos of the episodes, the followers refer to Pepita as “my favorite psychologist,” “always prettier madrinha,” or “Pepita the wise queen.”

On #CartasPraPepita the singer returns to the symbolic place of the “letter reader” as a strategy for participation, interaction, and intimacy with her followers, allied to practices of giving testimonies and advice, which are incorporated by Pepita as performances of empowerment. The effects of participation and interaction through reading letters or answering telephone calls from the audience are incorporated into the process of the formation of television. With Pepita, the practice of reading letters triggers another television matrix, which Dominique Mehl⁵³ coined as the television of intimacy, to characterize the exhibition of witnessing personal experiences, and often counseling that characterizes the addressing of *reality shows*, *talk shows* and programs in auditoriums with live audiences.

With this perspective, Mehl⁵⁴ highlights that, in these programs, common people are recruited to speak about private life and their daily experiences, revealing secrets now exposed for public observation and listening. According to Mehl, intimacy is no longer socially determined, as is the idea of “morality” or “modesty,” and came to be an object in

52. Mulher Pepita, *Cartas Pra Pepita* (Rio de Janeiro: Arole Cultural, 2019).

53. Dominique Mehl, “La télévision de l’intimité,” in *French Cultural Studies* 18, no. 2 (2007).

54. Ibid.



FIGURE 2. Portion of the program #CartasPraPepita published on IGTV in January 2020.

Source: Instagram

the constitution of subjects, resulting in a subjectivation of values, a process that is constitutive of dynamics of interactions of the social fabric.⁵⁵

Rosalind Coward,⁵⁶ examining what she calls “confessional journalism,” understands the intimacy that marks interactions between reporters and audiences as a social symptom. In a culture that is starving for real experiences, the revelation of intimacy is configured as a strategy for authenticity, and this fascination with personal stories of common subjects, which permeates TV, as well as books and magazines,⁵⁷ has been magnified on digital social networks. Thus, Coward affirms, as a cultural form that characterizes media conversations, intimacy is related to witnessing and confession. In the case of #CartasPraPepita, personal experiences and the role as adviser are shaped by discourses of representation and empowerment of sexual and gender dissidences, which gain visibility with the popularization of the digital platforms of social networks in a context of the politicizing of everyday experiences.⁵⁸ It is through a sense of intimacy that the presenter addresses the witness and the consequent counseling as strategies of authentication of her performance.

On YouTube, where Pepita interviews personalities (popular Brazilian actresses, singers and digital influencers) who help her respond to the letters (on Instagram she reads them and responds alone), an approximation is noted with another television form, the talk show. In Brazil, a study by Juliana F. Gutmann and Fernanda M. Silva⁵⁹ points to two matrixes of this genre: the late-night format, inherited from a global model characterized by a male host, humorous interviews, political discussion, celebrity guests, a studio audience and a live band playing music; and a second model characteristic of Brazilian television, usually presented by women and marked by strategies with a more popular appeal, an intimate tone, interest in private life, statements by “common people” and an emphasis on advice.⁶⁰ #CartasPraPepita rewrites conventions of this second model, when she reiterates behavior typical of a presenter authorized to legislate about the personal life of her spectators in support of a “positive solution.” In Pepita’s case, she uses this framing to convoke her followers to place themselves as subjects of their actions.

Whether on Instagram or on YouTube, Pepita’s advice is marked by sharing life experiences. In addition to relating to consecrated media genres, as discussed, this appropriation of private life as a form of symbolic capital for the articulation of connections with the public is directly related with cultural practices characteristic of interactions on digital media. By strategically sharing information about her private life and treating the public as a community of zealous fans, Pepita appropriates the practices of

55. Ibid.

56. Rosalind Coward, *Speaking Personally: The Rise of Subjective and Confessional Journalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

57. Ibid.

58. Tim Highfield, *Social media and everyday politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).

59. Juliana F. Gutmann. and Fernanda M. Silva, “Matrizes e matizes do talk show no Brasil,” in *Gêneros midiáticos e identidade*, ed. Vera Veiga França, Evelyne Cohen, and Itania M. Gomes (Belo Horizonte: PPGCOM UFMG, 2017).

60. *Idem*

microcelebrities⁶¹ on social media, reinforcing her place as a digital influencer. It can thus be said that the program is grounded on the value of authenticity convoked by the shared stories and simultaneously is configured as a new opportunity for Pepita to “reveal” her personality, nourishing the community of fans.⁶²

Articulated to the performative trait of empowerment through sharing of intimate and private life stories that remains a keynote of #CartasPraPepita” on YouTube and Instagram, there are different degrees of negotiations with television matrixes and with the material particularities of each platform. One television convention reiterated on the two platforms is seriality, a matrix that, in the audiovisual field, was institutionalized by TV as a narrative, cultural and commercial form. The narrative regime of #Cartas is constituted by a set of fragmented episodes that, at each broadcast, reiterates the same formal elements (vignette, scenery, soundtrack etc.) and the same structure (opening, vignette, interview, reading letters, advice, goodbye). In digital environments, however, the seriality is materialized not only as a narrative dimension of articulation between units (the episodes), but as a dynamic of interaction that constitutes the channels and profiles on social media through a sense of connectivity.

On IGTV on Instagram, the temporal and periodic dynamic of the serial narrative appears with greater emphasis, given that the periodicity is appropriated as a value (it is always broadcast on Wednesday). From the opening, Pepita convokes this sense of temporal regularity: “Wow, wonderful Wednesday, it’s so good it’s Wednesday!” The periodicity refers to the regular offer of content and responds to a social need for interaction in increasingly short periods. It is a temporal dimension typical of television programs, challenged by modes of sharing, likes and commentaries on digital platforms, which resignifies the time of broadcasting via connectivity. This can be observed, for example, in the comments of EP81: “The highpoint of my week is certainly Wednesday. I love it !!!!;” “Wednesday is the day to receive the queen’s blessing, I love it!;” “Ahhh I already told you I love Wednesdays . . .” The statements emphasize the value of temporal regularity and resignify a second dimension of television, simultaneity, which places in the present the time “past” of the broadcast at the time of interaction. Meanwhile, on YouTube, there is no weekly periodicity. On Instagram, with episodes between 4 and 5½ minutes long, Pepita appears sitting down, in a medium shot. The framing emphasizes the form of the vertical screen of a smartphone, an element that breaks with the horizontality of the audiovisual frame of cinema and TV. The IGTV screen is framed by an interface that places in the foreground the buttons for liking, commenting, and sending, and the number of views and comments. On YouTube, the interviewer and interviewees also appear seated and are framed in a single plane, more open, in a horizontal position, similar to a television format. The inclusion of the two bodies on the set,

61. Alice Marwic, *Status update: Celebrity, publicity, and branding in the social media age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

62. Simone Evangelista, “‘Merchan’ as an experience of emancipation and complicity: feminism, authenticity and consumption on YouTube,” in *Comun. Midia Consumo* vol. 19, no. 56 (2022).

throughout the interview, is a mark of situations of conversations as seen on television talk shows.

On Instagram and on YouTube, Pepita looks directly at the camera, when she simulates speaking with a follower and includes, with a lateral positioning of her look and her body, a third interlocutor, called the “letter,” a subject embodied by a high-pitch voice that reads the requests for advice from followers and interacts with the presenter. The strategy amplifies the dialogue forged between Pepita, letter and her niche of followers. On Instagram episode 081 she asks: “Hi letter, how are you? The “letter” responds: “I’m well, and you?” Pepita answers: “Man, I *am* very well because I got a mother of a rose . . . Do you think I *am* pretty?” “You *are* pretty, very modern,” responds her interlocutor. The scene constructed by the presence of this second voice, reinforces the position of empowerment of the presenter, whether by complementing her clothing or by agreeing with her opinions and advice.

In the opening vignette, Pepita appears on a bicycle with background images of Brazilian tourist sites. The song “Chama a Beleza” is played at different moments throughout the program, and is used in the vignette and as background music during interviews and letter reading. The scenery explores the use of chroma key, a visual effect often employed on TV, on weather reports and on MTV videoclip programs, in which images are inserted over others by replacing an original color on a background screen. The background color varies between pastel blue and pink, white and beige, creating a “suave” and “cozy” atmosphere. Insertions of various figures (hearts, a crown, wings etc.), images and videos (photos of places, videoclips from other programs etc.) illustrate quotes by the presenter.

On the other hand, it can be said that the language of #CartasPraPepita presents characteristics typical to audiovisual products of digital culture—or what Jean Burgess and Joshua Green call the “youtubity” of a video. The term refers to the informality, the use of popular slang on social networks, playful sound effects and a profusion of colorful images and of a frequently “uncouth” aspect to illustrate the host’s language are among the characteristics, as well as Egyptian adornments that “appear” on Pepita when a fan calls her “Nefertiti of the fertile lands” on episode 079 do IGTV (Figure 3). Moreover, the editing is agile and shows the presenter (and her interviewee) constantly changing place on the set, as if they “floated” around the letters, and explores a memetic audiovisual language.

In this way, the analysis instigates us to reflect on how these materialities contribute, on the one hand, to the reiteration of certain behaviors and on the other, to the conversations that are established based on the contents published by Pepita on her networks. Hashtags are important elements on both YouTube and Instagram to identify subjects, events, locations or emotions captured in images.⁶³ Although only #CartasPraPepita is used as a hashtag on the two platforms, it is interesting to note that the artist announces the program textually as “Hashtag Cartas Pra Pepita,” denoting the intention to popularize the term.

63. Tim Highfield and Tama Leaver, “A Methodology For Mapping Instagram Hashtags” in *First Monday*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2015).

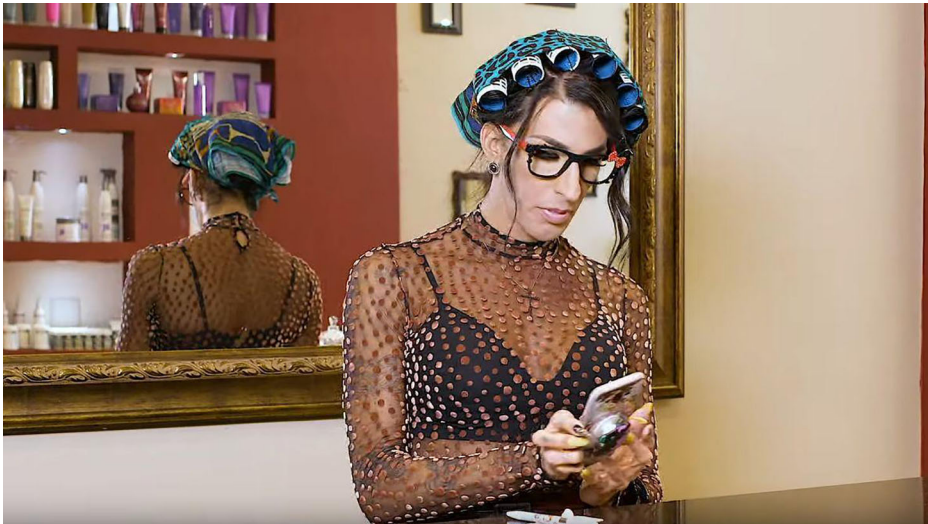


FIGURE 3. Scene of the videoclip “Chama a Beleza”.
Source: YouTube

We also highlight the relevance of the comments, which establish dialogs, and reinforce and construct new meanings to the audiovisual content in various temporalities on both platforms. In addition to praise and criticism of the program, the public often uses this space to offer their own advice. This is what took place, for example, on episode 079, in which statements are read about an abusive relationship and about a woman who no longer feels desired by her husband. In the comments, opinions are read, such as “Yuri go live life boy, the relationship does not have to be like that” or “Sabrina you have to spice it up eh.” #CartasPraPepita performs a fundamental role for the construction of this digital performer who revises herself in her videoclips, which demonstrates the emphatic association between the two audiovisualities. It is based on this performance, prepared in conjunction with her performance on the videoclip *Chama a Beleza*, that the “godmother” convokes her public to be proud of their bodies, beauty and lives.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this article we analyzed how Pepita’s performance on the videoclip “Chama a Beleza” and in #CartasPraPepita, in its versions for Instagram and YouTube, dialogue with each other and are inserted in a narrative that broadens audiovisual, social and cultural practices on the music scene, especially through issues of identities of gender and sexualities, debated using the discourse of practices of empowerment. In the program, Pepita resignifies the image of a mature, maternal, modest woman, now incorporated in the body of a transvestite, who shows off a prominent backside, large breasts, and wide hips. She simultaneously reiterates and destabilizes binary standards of femininity in a body that negotiates, within funk, with a place of the “piranha” (slut). Convoked explicitly in the videoclip “Uma Vez Piranha” (Once a Slut), the character negotiates with the space of the

“godmother,” the “fairy godmother,” who emerges in the clip “Chama a Beleza” and flows over into #CartasPraPepita.

Pepita’s production of content reveals the senses of disputes of the trans and transvestite body based on a logic particular to digital social networks that resignify social and media conventions; questioning and dialoguing with standards of behavior as a form of recognition, resistance and existence.⁶⁴ It is based on this mixture and amid movements between different facets of the feminine that the artist convokes restored behaviors, revealing “questions, fantasies, doubts and an experimentation with pleasure”⁶⁵ from the plane of the intimate and the private, displaying her social and political dimension utilizing various audiovisualities. Central to the consolidation of her digital presence and her artistic trajectory, this strategy can be read as a queer tactic,⁶⁶ introducing new ways of moving past dominant social constraints. After launching herself on the platforms with “homemade” videos and posts, Pepita became a digital influencer, with professional content published periodically. With more than two million followers on Instagram alone, the singer continues to post advice mainly on Stories, where she also reveals the backstage of a new facet: motherhood.

Pepita appears to be a case that potently demonstrates a process of cultural and communicational transformation marked by various other performances of empowerment in the context of Brazilian pop music, for which digital platforms are spaces for dispute of visibilities. This remediation process reveals a broader movement of media reconfiguration that involves new dynamics of production, circulation and consumption of videoclips and mainly movements and articulations among multiple audiovisualities. Pervasive social media and digital streaming services are contributing to new forms of musical circulation and practices of participatory culture.⁶⁷ Like television,⁶⁸ YouTube, Instagram, and other digital platforms can be read as audiovisual technologies of intimacy.⁶⁹ In dialogue with Helle B. Klausen,⁷⁰ we argue that Pepita’s performance in these environments constructs a social intimacy, establishing a mediated parasocial interaction with her fans. By combining different audiovisualities and platforms for the construction of a community, the singer’s work aligns with other initiatives that present emergent forms of multisensory musicality⁷¹ in the digital environment. Finally, this study sought

64. Juliana F. Gutmann, Edinaldo Mota Jr. and Fernanda M. Silva, “Gênero midiático, performance e corpos em trânsito: uma análise sobre dissidências da conversação televisiva em canais no YouTube,” *Revista Galáxia* vol. 1, no. 1 (2019).

65. Guacira. L. Louro, *O corpo educado: Pedagogias da sexualidade* (Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2000), 18.

66. Kai A. Hansen, *Pop Masculinities: The Politics of Gender in Twenty-first Century Popular Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 2021).

67. Kate Galloway, K. E. Goldschmitt and Paula Clare Harper, *Introduction to the Special Issue on Listening In: Musical Digital Communities in Public and Private*, in *Twentieth-Century Music* vol. 19, no. 3 (2022).

68. Dominique Meh., “La télévision de l’intimité,” in *French Cultural Studies* vol. 18, no. 2 (2007).

69. Rachel Berryman and Misha Kavka, “‘I guess a lot of people see me as a big sister or a friend’: The role of intimacy in the celebration of beauty vloggers,” in *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2017).

70. Helle. B. Klausen. “The ambiguity of technology in ASMR experiences: Four types of intimacies and struggles in the user comments on YouTube,” in *Nordicom Review* vol. 42, no. 4 (2012).

71. Kiri Miller, “Gaming the system: Gender performance in Dance Central,” in *New media & society*, vol. 17, no 6, (2015).

to demonstrate the analytical productivity of the categories of genre and performance to investigate this phenomenon that no longer refers to a set of products and practices, but to a complex dynamic of articulation between materialities of audiovisual and digital platforms, and confluences between genre conventions and their transformations. ■

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