KEPIT

AN APPROACH
TO UNDERGROUND
MUSIC SCENES (VOL. 4)
2079



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Keep it Simple, Make it Fast!

An approach to underground music scenes (vol. 4)

Paula Guerra and Thiago Pereira Alberto (eds.)

First Published July 2019 by Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras [University of Porto. Faculty of Arts and Humanities]

Via Panorâmica, s/n, 4150-564, Porto, PORTUGAL

www.letras.up.pt

Design: Wasted Rita and Marcelo Baptista

Credits illustrations of book's parts: Esgar Acelerado

ISBN 978-989-54179-1-9

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7.4. #VaiMalandra Anitta's music video in digital networks: political clashes and prejudices in Brazil

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Abstract

The Brazilian singer Anitta, by articulating the cultural matrices of Anglophile-American pop music (Soares, 2015) and the funk carioca (Pereira de Sá, 2014), has started a scenario of controversy by Spreading (Jenkins et al., 2014) of the videoclip named Vai Malandra. Anitta's videoclip is here understood as (cyber) event (Henn, 2014) in the context of digital networks and it is also configured as an initiatory of semiosis (Peirce, 2002) that can be materialized in order to understand different complexities. Using the methodology called Sense Construction Analysis in Digital Networks (Henn et al., 2017), we mapped eight constellations of senses inaugurated by the Spreading of the video in specific contexts: Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. We have focused our efforts in two constellations that we called political confrontations and prejudices, capable of signaling in which way this videoclip brings discussions about sexuality and gender (LOURO, 2003) - including the confrontation between different feminist perspectives - aesthetic-body patterns, latinicities, and also conservatives and prejudiced perceptions about production, signaling some constructions/imaginaries of whiteness (Miskolci, 2015). In such circumstances, we understand that Pop Music inaugurates semiotic territorialities (Henn, 2017) in which different semiosis emerge, engender and confront each other, signaling how cultural differences are symbolically threatened in digital culture and the ways in which political content of Pop can be expanded.

Keywords: Pop music, funk carioca, digital networks, gender, Anitta.





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1. Introduction

In contemporary times, given the potentialities of language through digital culture, we have noticed an intense production of meaning around the most diverse events. In other words, almost all people - acting through profiles on social networking sites (Recuero, 2014) - have an opinion for everything. Territories of constant "shouting, ruffling and confusion" have become articulated to the most different sociocultural, economic, political, and geographic issues in a chain of infinite potentialities. We tend to classify such processes in a binary logic: social actors who support something and those who stand against those who like and dislike, voters of a "yes" and those of a "no."

In contrast, what we have noticed through the analysis of sense construction in digital networks (Henn et al., 2017), methodology developed in the LIC group, Laboratory of Investigation of Cyberaccount, of the Post-Graduation Program in Communication Sciences of Unisinos (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), reveals complexities, disputes and positions in the face of different polemics capable of getting us out of the dichotomous classification, allowing us to understand the nuances, approximations and motivations through the junctions between theories and methods, capable of demonstrating how networked conversations are engendered in certain contexts, as they can be configured in numerous constellations of meanings. In this context, we began to problematize the action, reproduction and propagation of signs - what Peirce (2002) understood as semiosis - around the music video Vai Malandra¹⁷⁹, by singer Anitta.

The music video debuted breaking records on Youtube reaching more than 15 million views in 24 hours. With a funk sound, the music was linked to the scene of the Vidigal shantytown (favela) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Enit bikinis of insulation tape to catch a tan on the slab, braids, bodies, plastic swimming pools, spinning, shacks, water boxes, the hill, the close in a butt with cellulite and all aesthetic mess, Anitta seeks to recreate the shantytown (favela) as someone with a "place of speech", because it usually positions itself as a woman who emerged from such geopolitical territoriality. The researcher Rodolfo Viana (2018) makes a powerful metaphor in relation to what we understand here as a pop and political character (Melo & Gheirart, 2016) of the music video. He quotes a TV spot from Ipanema with Gisele Bündchen, in which she walks over the edge and places of Rio de Janeiro while all the ways open to her. A walk that has symmetries with the parade of Anitta on the hill in the video of Vai Malandra.

The author then reflects that Carmem Miranda was not the last Brazilian with notable visibility abroad, but rather the model Gisele Bündchen - a woman within what has historically been convened as the beautiful, white, and southern of the country, with European descent and characterized as a possibility of perfection by advertising. On the other hand, there is an internationalization of Anitta, which reconfigures these markers of "perfect naturalness", contradictory, with an "imperfect" ass-or true, insofar as it balances and has cellulites. He also understands that it is a model of favela captured by the exportation, which dominates the hegemony of a category of woman that is at the service of man's desire, in that one of the male subjects on the scene has practically a harem in a slab, but instead shows that, in fast frames, people trans, fat, fag, queer. In this way, we are interested in dimensioning and problematizing the reverberation of the music video, focusing on its politicalactivist senses, as well as the closure of cultural differences, in a context in which audiences perform their digital affections, criticisms and perceptions about different objects.

179 Retrieved from: https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=kDhpt-BT_-VI. On June 8, 2018, the clip had more than 270 million views.

Celebrities of pop music in context of networks

Before we reflect on the video of *Vai Malandra*¹⁸⁰, it is necessary to recognize that its sense-generating force is totally crossed by Anitta. Therefore, we understand that the analysis of the senses triggered by the video clip requires reflection on the aspects that characterize a celebrity in our current context. Edgar Morin (1997), in the 1960s, understood celebrities through a metaphor with the Olympians, qualifying them as "press interviews", situated between the real and the imaginary, being able to elevate information to other statuses. In this context, the interfaces between cultural industries and these "mythological beings" constructed to be "venerated" as the goddesses and gods of Ancient Greece were already placed in this context. Such a celebrated status has been reconfigured through the emergence of social networking sites and the conversations and approaches that are embodied in them.

Camila Cornutti (2015) understands that celebrity cannot be thought of as just a famous person. There is a complex of professionals and teams that build it and act on its image. It is not possible, at this juncture, to analyse the celebrity without its articulations with, for example, the fashion industry and journalism that will configure its powers in news. The author understands, therefore, that the dynamics of platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram interfere in the circulation power of what is driven by a celebrity. Simões (2014) will understand this power, not properly in digital networks, but in society, as a power of affectation - which is defined through discussions about events. It is part of the understanding of Quéré (2005), for whom the event brings in itself the inaugural force of meaning, capable of instituting discontinuities in the subjects' experiences, affecting their subjectivity, in order to point out an eventful dimension of celebrities.

We emphasize - in order to broaden the understanding about the eventful dimension of celebrities from the perspective of the author - the importance of discussing two fields that interfere with this event logic. The first is the diversity of the logics of cultural industries capable of generating different celebrated affectations, while the second lies in the performance specificities of digital networks, capable of reconfiguring aspects of this discussion.

There are different categories famous in the contemporary world. Cornutti (2015) will classify celebrities, revising theories around this discussion, through the contexts that generate their fame - webcelebrity, for example, would be one that has developed a status celebre through the possibilities of digital culture. But as we are concerned here with the production of meanings in the context of pop culture, we argue that there are specificities in relation to celebrities according to their main performance skills and the means in which they are advertised - music, film, television, radio, internet. It is true that many celebrities will perform multiple tasks, but it is also true that there is usually a predominant field of expertise. In the case of Anitta, for example, the performative directives of a singer of pop music predominate.

For Thiago Soares (2015, p. 22), "Pop music is an articulator of real and fictional urban tessituras, from voices and bodies that materialize between networks of sociabilities." The author also states that we are in a capitalist stage in which we can no longer work with binary analyses in the relationship between capital and culture. Cultural products thus have hallmarks of capitalist logic and, at the same time, are within a culture. He also argues that (Soares, 2012, p. 13)

We need to recognize that we are facing new star system models and the emergence of social networks as a performance environment. Thinking about these tools will certainly help us to deepen and deepen our understanding of pop culture phenomena and products.

Therefore, in relation to pop music, we have a celebrity that will be embodied through mainly live performances, shows, video clips in an ambience (McLuhan, 1969)¹⁸¹ situated in the reconfigurations of digital networks. For Raquel Recuero (2014), the social networking sites allowed the expansion of networks of sociability. Networking in these spaces arises from the connection between profiles that can divide, negotiate and construct different contexts of interaction, exchanging and disseminating information, creating links and establishing social networks on Internet platforms. For her, thus, the interaction is a performatic event, and can occur through different languages. Through these instances, profiles begin to be constituted and reconstructed, crossing the construction of identities. Soon, a music celebrity will also be involved in these dynamics, either through the intention to broaden their visibility by playing on different social networking sites, fan action or the logic of cultural industries and their different markets.

Such potentialities reconfigure the notion of the celebrity's episodic dimension. If the celebrity, in Simons' perspective (2014), can be understood as an event, and if the senses triggered by events affect subjects and themselves, we argue that the inaugural power of events of a celebrity also crosses the developed and publicized products and cultural industries, given that the temporal duration of events is linked to their potential for creating intrigues, revelations, modifications of situations and affectations (Quéré, 2000). Given that the ambience through which video clips are released is digital culture, we propose here to reflect on them as inaugurators of e-events (Henn, 2014).

3. Notes to reflect the video clip as an e-video

In Soares' perspective (2012), the music video is configured as a media / television genre. The author narrates that, in the beginning, the format was called a musical number, becoming, then, the promo, a reference to the word "promotional". In the 1980s, the term "videoclip" became usual. The "clip" would mean a cut (such as in newspapers and magazines), clamp or clamp, showing just the commercial aspect of this audio-visual content. He also discusses the aesthetic construction of this media category, capable of overcoming the boundaries between art and publicity - which would have been crucial for the development of MTV. In the context of digital culture, Simone Pereira de Sá (2017) will complicate the issue through the notion of post-MTV music video: when the internet becomes a means of dissemination, consumption and affectation of the messages of these pop products.

It is our duty here to explain our understanding of consumption. Canclini (1999, p. 77) understands that "consumption is the set of sociocultural processes in which the appropriation and use of the products are carried out", being therefore a basis of the integrative and communicative rationality of society. It is understood not only as the possession of objects, but as a way of understanding the distinctions with the other, the relations of solidarity

181 The notion of ambience presupposes that a new medium is capable of instituting cultural, cognitive, political, geographic, and economic changes - thus, the main message of a medium is itself.

We are inspired by this Mcluhian notion to understand how the context of the internet, and more precisely of social networking sites, re-signified pop culture.

and the way in which biological and symbolic desires are sated, crossed by a communicational dimension. This notion of consumption defends the dynamics of objects and "(...) their 'semiotic virtuosity' in the various contexts in which things allow us to meet people." (Canclini, 1999, p. 91). What crosses the multiple dimensions of pop culture in digital networks - as well as its configuration as cyberaccount.

To paraphrase McLuhan (1967), Ronaldo Henn (2014) will understand that each medium is related to a kind of event. The author states that the event has a profoundly semiotic dimension: emerges an infinite possibility of unravelling the object that incarnates through semiosis (Peirce, 2002). Before, the semiotic object (event) generated signs (journalistic narratives) through the action of interpreters (journalistic logics), but such logics have been broken by digital culture, generating other possibilities of emergence and narrativization of events. The e-events are, as a consequence of these crossings, an event woven through the dynamics of the internet and, more properly, of social networking sites.

Conversation in digital networks, from this perspective, materializes semiosis and makes possible to see a process of construction of the event under construction. This signalizes the possibility, through the logics through which the contents are scattered (Jenkins *et al.*, 2014) through spaces of sociability, to make e-events (Aquino Bittencourt & Gonzatti, 2017).

For Yuri Lotman (1996), the semiosphere would be the space of convergence and metabolization of the semiosis - the processes that produce meaning in reality would arise, as a result, the movements, exchanges, ruptures and closures of semiospheres. At this juncture, pop music celebrities operate as semioticized corporations through different products and their consequent consumption. Henn (2017) infers that cyberaccount is therefore capable of configuring semiotic territorialities, in which different semiospheres emerge, engender and confront each other, signalling how cultural differences are configured in these spaces.

As a result of these discussions, we argue that if, as discussed here, not only celebrity has an eventful dimension, but also what it activates - its semiosis - such signs can be configured as e-events, as the ambience of different digital networks gives them the portability and inaugural force of senses. There are also journalistic logics that will adjust to the speed, characteristics and languages of pop, configuring a pop culture journalism (Gonzatti, 2017). As a continuity of these perceptions, the videoclip, understood as a cyberaccount, in the context of digital networks, has its semiotic powers triggered: it configures itself as a trigger of semiosis that can be materialized in order to understand different complexities. Thus, the singer Anitta, by articulating the cultural matrices of Anglo-American-American pop music (Soares, 2015) and the funk carioca (Pereira de Sá, 2014), triggered a scenario of controversy by spreading (Jenkins et al., 2014) Go video of Malandra. With the analysis of sense-building in digital networks (Henn et al., 2017), we sought to analyse the semiotic traits he has developed, specifically discussing two networks of meanings.

4. Constellations of senses inaugurated by the spreading of the video Vai Malandra

Conversations in digital networks can bring information about collective feelings, tendencies, interests, intentions, influencing culture and triggering different phenomena (Recuero, 2014). Pereira de Sá (2014) argues that it is

necessary to go beyond the analysis of the senses and ideologies contained in the video clip itself, but to follow its traces, links, displacements, connections (with other audio-visual products, software, communication platforms, human actors). The author draws on aspects of the actor-network theory and, by presenting categories that signal how funk reverberates on a specific web page, approaches the methodological movement with which we propose to work here: the analysis of the construction of meanings in digital networks - developed for the study of e-events (Henn et al., 2017).

The analysis of the construction of meanings in digital networks has as presupposition three movements: the mapping, the elaboration of sense constellations and the development of inferences about such processualities. The first movement, starting from cartographic inspiration, will seek a diversity of semiotic traces from a given object: publications on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, forums and journalistic materials - capturing the complexity of language matrices in their different contexts (videos, memes, gifs, photographs, audios, etc.). Subjectivity and process cross-sections are crucial for the elaboration of sense constellations: semiotic groupings that seek to reconfigure signs of different temporalities and territories in constellations capable of revealing singularities of events through specific perspectives. Finally, in inferences, the process gains theoretical-problematizing materiality through the discussion proposed by a given problem.

The videoclip *Vai Malandra* was released on December 18, but before that date strategies were already developed for sensing power in digital networks such as the publication of the cover of the single (Covre, 2017) on the 12th, and the release of material teasers (Medeiros, 2017). We take as a cyber-focal point, the publication of the material and its consequent scattering, configurator of different territorialities and constellations of meanings. Through the Nimbus Screenshot tool, an extension of Google Chrome that allows us to capture materials in a larger quantitative scale, we begin to map the senses, being affected by the different paths that they took us, in three specific spaces: in Facebook, specifically in a publication with a link to the videoclip on the official Anitta website; on Twitter, through the hashtag *Go Malandra* in the advanced search; and YouTube, in the comment area of the video clip. In the mapping process, we kept a file with the annotations of the cartographic process. Between the fifteenth and twenty days of January, we proceeded to the process of developing the sense constellations.

We take as a clipping, the saturation of the sense constellations, given the large amount of material collected. In Facebook, 308 comments were grouped in constellations - in the comment 13 already we had obtained six groupings and in the 80, eight, at which moment the material reached the main structure of its semiotic map. On Twitter, 324 comments and Youtube, 126 were grouped. We present, therefore, the characterization of each of the sense constellations elaborated through the mapping and analysis of the 758 comments. Stressing that the method does not presuppose groupings as excluding - they penetrate, articulate, stress and distance constantly. In fact, a comment may be grouped in more than one group.

• **Promotion of self / Publicity:** profiles are promoting themselves through the hashtag of #VaiMalandra. People speak of themselves as malandras, develop montages with their faces in place of Anitta in the cover of the single. Brands and companies acting through the hashtag

to publicize their products and actions - be it creatively, such as Detran, which made visible the importance of helmet use in traffic through the scene in which Anitta is using the protection in the video clip, or just to place a product in circulation¹⁸².

- Fandoms: senses related to Anitta fans. There is the presence of a female goddess through the image of the pop diva. They point out contradictions of those who did not like the music video. They use humour and memes (like an image of Monica's character, created by Maurício de Sousa, seated in front of a computer, with a look that emulates Anitta in the music video and the phrase "damn, I'm so naughty!"). Concerns about the visibility and record of the video appear and the development of strategies to make the music, the clip and Anitta visible. They point to the singer as the new Carmem Miranda, develop haters' quarrels and comment on dates and regions in which the music video was watched as a way to get a hold of the material given that the algorithm of social networking sites spreads more powerfully content more comments. All fan comments are understood to be supporters of *Vai Malandra*.
- **Support:** we understand that here are the semioticides that are not necessarily fans of Anitta, but who demonstrate positive perceptions regarding the music video. They develop an advertising of this "liking" through the publication of video, snippets of music, praise for the singer's administration of their career, and use less "grand" adjectives than "Fandoms."
- **Humour:** Make comments about using the clothing of the clip in situations of their daily life, use memes, gifs and montages. There is also the debauchery of conservative comments.
- **Disconnected:** senses that we cannot fit into a constellation. Marking friends, using emoticons, decontextualized comments.
- **Critics / Perceptions:** comments that criticize, positively or not, the music. Debate the bodies of the video clip expressing wishes about them. They perceive differences between the funk of different regions of Brazil. They put opinions that are not crossed by a critical activism or hate speech.

The other two constellations of meanings - denominated as "Cultural Preconceptions" and "Political-Identifying Confrontations" - will be presented through the inferences step, in view of the purpose of the article. We consider important, although we have already pointed out the engendering of the semiotic constellations, to emphasize that all the meanings of these two constellations are also configured as critiques and perceptions, but not all criticism and perception is grouped in one of these constellations.

4.1. Political-identity confrontations and cultural prejudices

We focus our efforts in the constellations of political confrontations and cultural prejudices, capable of signalling the way in which the videoclip in question leads to discussions about sexuality and gender (Louro, 2003) - including the confrontation between different feminist perspectives -

182As a company that published the image of a watch for sale with its description, and in the end used the hashtag #VaiMalandra so that when people searched for the keywords, they would see the product.

aesthetic-corporeal patterns, latinicities and conservative and Miskolci, 2015) that are inherent in the constitution of the Brazilian nation. As pointed out by the author, the notions of order and progress - the slogan of the Brazilian flag is "order and progress" - was, historically, a project aimed at whitening the population through the "mestizaje" of native and African peoples with Europeans through generations and the imposition of a model of sexuality based on the heteronormative logic, nullifying gender diversity expressions of sex. A historical past that is articulated in the present in which women and LGBTs suffer daily violence - which are potentialized when they are also about black people.

In Political Confrontations, the signs were included that discuss the questions of gender, cultural, and musical implied in a political dimension. Feminisms appear, feelings of pride of Brazilian culture and funk and a great predominance of the Anitta butt loaded as image. Other corporalities - like a photo published by the webcelebrity Romagaga¹⁸³ with two boys with their hard "sticks" in reference to the clip - are also triggered. Given the conservatism of Brazilian society, such symbolic actions are framed in our perception as confrontations that bring in themselves a content of debauchery and nonconformity with the norms of expression of sexuality that has an extremely moralistic dimension. We also emphasize that some comments orbit between politicized visions and conservatism in the lenses with which we are looking at these processes. The discussion of objectification also appears orbiting such grouping.

On Facebook, the representative content of the video emerges in discussions that politicize its narrative and aesthetics: the butt without cellulite is exalted, placed as an incentive to break with the impositions of beauty made in relation to the female body.

The music video is seen by the sonority and aesthetics as a rupture and possibility of confrontation with normative conventions, including media that invisibilize lives, geographies and bodies. The genre appears as

They get used to the lyrics of funk that sexualizes the woman as long as she is a man who sings and the woman is an 'object' behind, when the woman is the 'malandra', stands as principal, shows real women and has attitude is considered to be 'whore'. From there Anitta launches 'Vai Malandra' takes strike of YouTube (something that never happens with certain @ channels), receives numerous critics and boycott. Do you know why? Anitta is already hated by machistas for always raising the feminine power, launches a song that gives voice to the woman like the malandra, of the voice to the favelada, to the funk, brings diversity bringing people out of the standard. Anitta is giving voice to all that the prejudiced want to 'erase' society understands? That's what bothers people. When the woman can not have a voice, she has to be inferior to the man, to be what they want, when they want, without any choice that is machismo!

183 Romagaga is a travesti (we found travestite as a translation, or cross-dresser / ladyboy / shemale or tranny) who became famous when posting videos parodying and commenting on the releases of the American pop divas, like Britney Spears and Lady Gaga.

Another point put in question is the way in which the video clip could be selling an image of a Brazil that would resound to the breast and butt, reinforcing a stigma of the nation in a transnational circuit - which is complex in that, although it is a criticism that it crosses the recurrent objectification of women in the media, when they sum up bodies, and a look that seeks to deny, also, the sexual experience and the sensuality of bodies by subjugating them. The discussions, however, do not assume, at least in this constellation of meaning, an odious discursiveness, but seek to reflect on the multiple readings of the music video. In response to some more conservative comments, which qualify the video as summarized as "bustle, chest and butt".

On Twitter, the signs assume a more imaginative content, but refer to the same issues already mentioned: do not deny the aesthetics of sexuality, spread the butt with cellulite as a possibility to break with the publicity hygiene of the butt and criticism regarding political contradictions of Anitta. For example: "I do not understand these people who speak, 'the appealing lyrics and such'. What's wrong with talking about bitching my love. No one fucks, no one sees a tail. Spare me. "First we say that she exaggerated a lot in the plastic, then we say that she is wonderful for showing the natural beauty. #brasilcontraditório #vaimalandra". "I cannot believe that straight-haired, dirty-skinned men are talking about Anitta's cellulite. #vaimalandra"- referencing a BuzzFeed story about men who did not clean their asses so they would not touch them (Gerstein, 2018). Some profiles also share an excerpt from the magazine Hybrida magazine, in which they report that Anitta "kicked her foot" to show the cellulite in the video, praising the decision making of the performer. Others report the difference between a woman making funk and a straight man:

In the archaic thought of machismo man can do everything and a woman can only do what a man wants. The Kondzilla channel has 24 million subscribers and almost all week high videos so you do not find comments like they find in the video of Vai Malandra.

A fake news, pointing out that the number of the bike in which Anitta appears at the beginning of the video would be a bill that aimed to criminalize the funk also had high spreadability in a context of political dispute. Readings from other music videos of the singer have also been present in a political confrontation relationship - the inclusion of fat and disabled people as dancers, the visibility of LGBTQs and feminist ideals through their lyrics, the internationalization of Brazilian musical genres and the criticism of the industrial abuse of the Amazon.

In the constellation of meaning called Cultural Preconceptions are the signs that reveal conservative, hygienizing and hateful readings regarding brands of gender, sexuality, race, class and funk. Many of the senses perceived here are triggers of conversations that signal disputes - discussed in the constellation of Political Clashes. In all networks analysed, hatred is placed predominantly through words. There is a nuisance with complacent perceptions of the butt with cellulite - for example, "I think women all have things at home to do so let's go to Facebook and let's do kk dishes." The future of the country - progress - is, in the reading of network actors, barred by the values portrayed in *Vai Malandra*.

The hatred and the prejudice in the Brazilian context are also crossed by the presence of powerful religious fundamentalisms. The success of the singer is thus seen as a diabolical work, index of sin. "Everything that has pact with the devil in success. The devil give today to take tomorrow","(...) the body, life and everything else, who gave God was the Creator and we can only use it as God allows. Obviously you did not understand anything; in hell things will be clear. Adjectives like "whore", "putanitta", "bitch of bandits" also appear. When some profiles say they are going to play music at Christmas to disturb conservative family members - the "trick" slang is also used to qualify such relatives - they receive in response that if the song is played the sister of the affronted commentary will have that "to bake" (to roll) on top of a stick. It qualifies the music video as a pornographic work, "garbage", "portrait of a country sunk in the mud". Feminism and Anitta are also disqualified through the senses present in this grouping: "I wanted to see a clip of her naked on the bite of the Bengal Kid," "Anitta = invented woman who uses her sexuality to get somewhere, sad state of feminism today. She should have some dignity, clothes and a job. "On YouTube and on Twitter appear manifestations very close to those already cited - associations between gender, education and the music video and discursive violence that affirm the need for control over the female: "Have you already verified the percentage of girls who managed to pass the ENEM 2018?" " If that's culture then is it okay to see ass, women in fine clothes? "" Woman. Married do not do that. No, "" I should go to x videos "," If I take this Anita would break her shot in a roll, "are some of the examples".

5. Final considerations

We realize here that the semiosis around videoclips cannot be closed in a single sign: as already presupposes the very concept of semiosis, there is an infinite potentiality implied in the process. Through the analysis of the construction of senses in digital networks, we also defend a notion of pop music consumption in a communicational and semiotic dimension aligned with the ideas of Canclini (1999) and Lotman (1996): semiospheres inaugurated around certain objects configure semiotic territorialities (Henn, 2017) in digital networks in which the signs also become consumable. We understand that such territorialities, in which different semioticides emerge, engender and confront each other, signalling how cultural differences are symbolically threatened in digital culture and the ways in which pop and politicians are involved. The politicization of Anitta in digital networks will make it emerge and cross other e-events, such as the collection of a positioning of the singer in important political episodes for the country - such as the murder of Marielle Franco and the elections of 2018. Investigate these processes through the methodology here, adopting other questions, can broaden perceptions about the configuration of celebrities and pop culture in a digital context.

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