

**“My Pleasure, I am Carol Bandida!” A Negotiation of Brazilian Funk and Feminism on  
Social Media**

by

Suenia Aline de Azevedo

A thesis accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
in Communication and Media Studies

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Gabriela Martínez, Chair

Dr. Dayna Chatman, Member

Dr. Christopher Chávez, Member

University of Oregon

Spring 2024

© 2024 Suenia Aline de Azevedo

## THESIS ABSTRACT

Suenia Aline de Azevedo

Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies

Title: “My Pleasure, I am Carol Bandida!” A Negotiation of Brazilian Funk and Feminism on Social Media

This thesis comprehended the negotiation between feminism and music on social media, focusing on the discourse of the Brazilian feminist funk genre on TikTok. Through the qualitative method of textual analysis, 60 videos of TikTok’s profile of Brazilian feminist funk singer MC Carol were analyzed. The investigation was conducted from a post-structuralist perspective in order to answer the MC Carol's use of TikTok to promote her music within feminist discourse, her negotiation of feminism on social media, and the perception of the feminist discourse of the Brazilian funk singer MC Carol by her audience. The results showed that the *bandida* performance is acknowledged as the MC Carol’s feminist discourse on TikTok, her audience perceives the singer’s feminism as of a real woman, and visual communication and emphasis on songs’ lyrics are the main element of promotion of feminist discourse in MC Carol’s music on TikTok. The present research demonstrates a contribution in expanding the context of the resistance of Afro-Brazilian feminist funk singers on social media in the academic field.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Aldeci de Azevedo, my father, Severino de Azevedo, my sister, Celina de Azevedo, and my partner, Jackson Harrison. Thank you for all the support throughout this chapter of my life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION .....	08
II. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	11
Black Brazilian Feminism and its Intersectionalities of Gender, Race, and Classe.....	11
Black Feminism.....	11
Black Brazilian Feminism.....	12
Black Women and Their Association to Race and Class in Brazil.....	14
Brazilian Music, Pretas and Pardas Feminism and Resistance .....	16
Samba as a Pretas and Pardas Women’s Resistance .....	17
Bossa Nova as a Pretas and Pardas Women’s Resistance.....	18
Brazilian Funk and Feminism.....	19
Feminist Brazilian Funk.....	20
Feminist Brazilian Funk Artists and Their Relationship to Sexuality and Femininity .....	21
Brazilian Feminist Waves.....	22
Fourth Wave of Feminism in Brazil.....	25
Performance of Identity on Social Media.....	26
Pretas and Pardas Women's Performance of Identity on TikTok.....	28
The Current Study.....	29
III. METHOD .....	29
IV. FINDINGS .....	31

V. DISCUSSION .....	41
The Bandida Performance Acknowledged as MC Carol’s Feminist Discourse.....	41
The Feminism of a Real Woman for The Audience .....	45
Visual Communication and Emphasis on Songs’ Lyrics as the Main Element of Promotion of Feminist Discourse in MC Carol’s Music on TikTok .....	47
IV. CONCLUSION .....	49
REFERENCES CITED.....	52

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. MC Carol Embracing The Bandida Performance Through an Authoritarian Posture....	32
2. MC Carol's Sexual Performance of a Bandida's Character.....	33
3. MC Carol's Positive Reaffirmation of Racial Identity Through Valorization of Her Hair.....	35
4. MC Carol's Critique of Standardization of White Beauty in the Song "Levanta, Mina" Promotional Video.....	37
5. MC Carol's Performance of Black Goddess in the Song PUT@RIA! Promotional Video.....	39
6. MC Carol's Eroticized Performance in the Song "Ki Suco and Xereca" Promotional Video.....	40

## Introduction

“I’m a woman, I’m Black, and my hair is nappy. I’m not going to wash the dishes. I am an independent woman. I do not accept oppression. Lower your voice, lower your hand” (MC Carol & Karol Conká, 2016). These lyrics are from the classic feminist Brazilian song, *100% Feminista*, sung by MC Carol, a Black Brazilian feminist funk singer. This thesis research focuses on the singer MC Carol, whose career began at 15 years old. MC Carol used to sing at Brazilian funk parties the oppressions of her story being a Black, overweight, and authoritarian woman from an impoverished background in Rio de Janeiro, a Brazilian city. The feminist art of MC Carol as a Brazilian funk singer comes from a lifelong resistance to racism, poverty, sexism, and fatphobia that accompanied the singer from an early age (Aguiar, 2022).

The feminist strand of Brazilian funk is composed of Black and mixed-race women from lower-income backgrounds, as MC Carol reflects the structural gender inequality present in Brazilian society (Moreira, 2022). Through the Brazilian feminist funk, the singers have an opportunity to be legitimized culturally and heard socially with a chance to be “voiced by someone who sings from the position of those who find themselves being socially, economically, politically, and sexually highly repressed” (Ribeiro, 2022, pp. 139-140). The mainstream Brazilian funk scenario represents women as submissive, needing to do domestic work, and ready to be penetrated. Reacting to that framework, female singers started to sing about their sexual liberation to challenge the sexist representation offered by traditional funk (Carvajal, 2014).

The third-wave feminism in Brazil inspired the feminist strand of the Brazilian funk. Among cultural expressions inspired by the sexual freedom addressed by the third wave of feminism, music was an essential product in which women sang about their oppression. Rather than aiming only for gender equality and freedom from patriarchal issues as the first

and second waves, women fought for sexual freedom, recognizing the power of their bodies (Lyra, 2016). Women's acceptance of their sexualized bodies enabled them to embrace their political and personal contradictions (Matos & Simões, 2017). Thus, Brazilian feminist funk is focused on women's sexual agency.

However, the feminism represented in music is not similar to the one debated in academia since the artists often do not have an academic background. Feminism in Brazilian funk started only in 2010 to be recognized as part of the feminist movement. As Black and mixed-race women from lower-income backgrounds who work to redefine their margins through their songs, Brazilian funk singers assimilate the concept of feminism from their daily struggles (Carvajal, 2014). For example, MC Carol tells her audience in her song *100% Feminista* about situations that happened in her childhood that led her to become a feminist: "Woman with bruised eyes, beaten every day. I was about five years old, but I had already understood what a woman gets beaten for if she doesn't make food. Oppressed, voiceless, obedient woman. When I grow up, I'll be different" (MC Carol & Karol Conká, 2016).

According to Cardoso & Adelman (2016), not only in Brazil but also in other countries, there is not enough academic debate regarding intersectional feminism, leading to not being hegemonic. On the other hand, liberal feminism, which claims equality of rights for men and women as well (Van Zoonen, 1994), is the most studied academically and disclosed feminism in media. Currently, Black Brazilian women are mobilizing more politically than before. Thus, it is necessary to comprehend Black feminism from a transnational perspective and understand Black Brazilian feminism as a debate regarding not only gender but also from racial and class perspectives (Perry, 2016; Alvarez & Caldwell, 2016).

The public image of Black Brazilian women is still stigmatized, generally, as lacking the political repertoire to be involved in social movements. This is mainly correlated to the social and economic roles of those who are from impoverished backgrounds (Perry, 2016).

However, that perception has changed in the last 15 years with the internet since Black Brazilian women use cyberspace to be more visible and maintain their Afro-Brazilian culture and religion (Perry, 2016; Barros, 2020).

Despite the reaffirmed importance of the internet in disclosing Black feminism in Brazil, there is not enough literature to understand the negotiation of the feminist discourse of Brazilian funk singers on the internet as Black women from impoverished backgrounds in social media. Besides that, it is also important to comprehend if the feminism of Brazilian funk singers represented in social media is similar to the one compared to the lyrics.

The Brazilian funk singers use specific contexts regarding their lives to reach their resistance and, hence, their survival. Based on that idea, other forms of knowledge should be considered as data for academic research (Brayboy, 2005). As a mixed-race Brazilian woman from a lower-income background, I aim further to understand the feminist debate beyond the academic perspective and take into account the feminist perspective of women of similar socioeconomic backgrounds to mine. Thus, I am doing this by studying MC Carol's feminist discourse regarding her music, which has had an impact on my life and that of other women, also on social media.

Black Brazilian feminism on the internet is one of the main strategies of Black women's activism to strengthen their protagonism as women fighting against racism in addition to sexism (Barros, 2020). The online debate regarding feminism enables the chance to teach, learn, encourage, and strengthen dialogues also about racial subjects. Moreover, empowers "movements of empathy and collective support in virtual spaces, enabling sharing of experiences and discussions of realities" (Boakari & Souza, 2019, p. 234).

As a still under-explored research topic in academia, this thesis will probe the performance of Brazilian feminist funk on social media. In order to answer the research questions raised, this thesis has the purpose of bridging the academic gap of comprehending

the negotiation of feminist discourse on social media by the Black Brazilian funk singer MC Carol, along with the perception of her feminist discourse by her audience and the use of the social media platform TikTok to promote MC Carol's music within feminist discourse. A textual analysis of her videos on TikTok was executed to fulfill that goal, investigating visual and verbal discourses of her feminism on that social media.

## **Literature Review**

### **Black Brazilian Feminism and its Intersectionalities of Gender, Race, and Class**

In order to comprehend the dynamic of Brazilian funk singers' feminism, it is necessary to understand further the origins of Black Brazilian feminism and the oppressions to which Black Brazilian women are subjugated, along with the relation of social markers of gender, race, and class in Brazil. For that, it is necessary first to comprehend the conceptualization of intersectionality as a system of oppression “that cannot be reduced to one type and that oppressions work together producing injustice” (Collins, 2022, p. 24).

#### ***Black Feminism***

Regarding the racial and gendered oppression of Black women in society, their lived experiences are a source of knowledge to understand the societal dynamic in which they are subjugated. However, those experiences are not homogeneous. Each Black woman has a unique experience. As Collins (2022) says: “Differences among individual Black women produce different patterns of experiential knowledge that shape individual reactions to the core themes” (Collins, 2022, p. 35). Those multiple standpoints produce knowledge. Thus, it represents a paradigm shift in conceptualizing knowledge while considering other forms of knowledge as legitimate (Hekman, 1997). The same experiences are shared by women who face intersectional oppression of gender, race, and class around the world since the resistance of women against colonialism and racism is frequently dominated by patriarchy (Alinia, 2015).

In order to resist the societal oppression, Black women developed a triple consciousness. That concept is understood primarily under the double consciousness theory from Du Bois (2008), which occurs for Black people, in the process of self-formation, picturing themselves through a Whiteness gaze and a Blackness gaze. For triple consciousness, Welang (2018) explains that the existence of racial experiences is defined by the role of patriarchy, which plays a third factor in triple consciousness. Black masculinity, in the patriarchal dynamic, is responsible for reinforcing the marginalization of Black women while prioritizing White women's voices in feminist spaces. Thus, minorities need to align the self with their racial group and defend themselves against dominant groups as an act of consciousness and resistance (Wood et al., 1996).

### ***Black Brazilian Feminism***

Black Brazilian feminism is determined by a Black African cosmovision since racism is the starting point of feminist discussions of Black women (Rodrigues & Prado, 2013; Cardoso & Adelman, 2016). That shared African origin is explained by Alvarez & Caldwell (2016) through the concept of "Amefricanity," defined by the Brazilian anthropologist Lelia Gonzalez as the diaspora of Black and Indigenous people to the Americas as a signal of their resistance to their colonization. Currently, the resistance of Black Brazilian feminists is the work on their autonomy, building a feminist movement aiming to examine Brazilian history from the Black Brazilian women's point of view (Cardoso & Adelman, 2016).

Brazil has the second-largest population of African descendants worldwide. Moreover, the Black female population in the country corresponds to 25% of the total of over 200 million habitants, according to Alvarez & Caldwell (2016). Black Brazilian women who are marginalized and inhabit racial and class oppressions use this intersection to base their feminist movement conceptually. Thus, racism and class inequality are the main axes to comprehend multiple discrimination that affect Black women in Brazil (Cardoso & Adelman,

2016; Perry, 2016). Those intersectionalities started to be taken into account by the end of the second wave of the Brazilian feminist movement through the assimilation of popular-class women's and Black women's issues, increasing the diversity of the feminist movement (Bastian Duarte, 2012; Bairros et al., 2016).

Black Brazilian feminism is more aligned politically with the anti-racist movement than the feminist movement, supporting other gendered perspectives inside Black political groups in the country (Alvarez & Caldwell, 2016). According to Pinto-Bailey (2021), the Black Brazilian feminist movement is not homogeneous, being diverse, such as other Black feminisms. Based on solid historical experiences of Black women who are against the traditional order, Black Brazilian feminism is centered on older generations' cultural and political activist forms. Aiming to fight against historically stereotyped ideas regarding themselves, the teachings of Black Brazilian feminists, according to their lived experiences, are focused on resisting situations of submission to men and violence and the idea of female fragility, which enables Black women to self-defense (Cardoso & Adelman, 2016).

That Afro-Brazilian cosmovision influences the perceptions of femininity by Black women. Aiming an Afro-Brazilian worldwide perspective, the women category is disconnected from White and Western Judeo-Christian perceptions, emerging from Black figures of femininity (Cardoso & Adelman, 2016; Pinto-Bailey, 2021). For example, the named *Ialodês* are female figures in leadership positions in African culture. As *orixás*, which are deities represented by nature from the *Iorubá* tradition and elements of the *Candomblé* religion in Brazil, *Iemanjá* is associated as the goddess of the sea, being a maternal figure and source of political power for Black women (Perry, 2016; Cardoso, 2016). Another example is *Oxum*, the deity of the rivers, an *orixá* representing fertility, female sensuality, and sexual life. Those Afro-Brazilian portrayals challenge the Eurocentric perspective that focuses on

White women and highlights the strength of Afro-Brazilian female characteristics, empowering Black Brazilian women while valuing their own culture (Pinto-Bailey, 2021).

### ***Black Women and Their Association to Race and Class in Brazil***

Race in the Brazilian context is a social criterion for further understanding the relationship between gender and socioeconomic class. In multiracial societies such as Brazil, race has a symbolic role in which the individuals are distributed in class structure according to their approximation to racial and classist domination patterns (Souza, 2021). To further comprehend the Afro-cosmivision of the Black Brazilian population, it is necessary to explain Brazilian African heritage. According to Hordge-Freeman (2013), the transatlantic slave trade had an essential part in the Brazilian racial composition since the country received the highest number of enslaved people. In addition, Brazil, being the last country worldwide to abolish slavery, was also a contributing factor to that multiracial characteristic.

The range of races in Brazil was comprehended as positive by the beginning of the 20th Century, with the idea of racial democracy supported by Gilberto Freyre (1938). In his most famous book, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, either by choice or by force, it was through the contact between Europeans and Native Brazilians that the first layers of miscegenation started. Thus, Brazilian society was born. To Freyre, race and skin tone are no different in Brazil since, through miscegenation, there is harmony between races and no specific racial characteristics (Skidmore, 1983; Hordge-Freeman, 2013). That romanticization of miscegenation as a racial democracy presented by Freyre (1938) as a nationalist idea lasted until the late 1970s, supported by the Brazilian military dictatorship colonels (Skidmore, 1983).

The miscegenation resulted in a range of ethnic-racial categories. Regarding self-declaration, according to Trindade (2020), in 1976, the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) revealed that the Brazilian population had varied racial

identification through the results of the institute's research. One hundred thirty-five categories were self-declared according to the skin tone of the participants. Because of such a range of ethnic-racial categories, IBGE decided to disregard them and employs five categories:

“*Amarelo* (Yellow or Asian descent), *Branco* (White), *Indígena* (Indigenous - ethnicity), *Pardo* (Brown, mixed-race or miscegenated) and *Preto* (Black)” (Trindade, 2020, p.3).

IBGE's racial categories are considered the official racial profile system (de Souza, 2019). However, Brazilian scholars comprehend as *Negros*<sup>1</sup> the *Pretos* and *Pardos* populations in Brazil that are classified according to IBGE (Santos et al., 2020; de Siqueira Gomes, 2021). Thus, not only Black people are related to *Negros*. In addition, *Pardos* are also included in the term (de Siqueira Gomes, 2021). As a result of the 2022 census, 56,1% of the Brazilian population is *Preta* and *Parda*, of which 9,1% is *Preta* and 47% is *Parda* (Cabral, 2022).

Comprehending the Brazilian social class panorama, according to research developed by *Critério Brasil* in 2022, the country is divided into socioeconomic classes A, B1, B2, C1, C2, and DE. Classes DE represent 27,9% of the population with a median income of R\$900,60 (\$182,64 considering 1 United States dollar= R\$4,93). Class C1 and C2 represent 21% and 26,4%, respectively. The monthly median income for class C1 corresponds to R\$3276,76 (\$664,52), and for class C2, R\$1965,87 (\$398,68). Class B1 and B2 are, correspondingly, 16,7% and 5,1% of the Brazilian population with R\$10361,48 (\$2101,29) and R\$5755,23 (\$1167,15) of median income, respectively. Lastly, class A is 2,9% with a median income of R\$21826,74 (\$4426.43) (Brasil, 2022).

There is an association between the *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in Brazil and their socioeconomic class. According to *Critério Brasil*, the CDE classes are more concentrated in a feminine profile for gendered representations. The AB classes correspond to a masculine

---

<sup>1</sup> The word *Negro* in Brazil is not used under a racist conotation, defining Black and mixed-race populations. For academic purpose, *pretos* and *pardos* define *Negro* population in the study.

profile, with a difference of almost 10% between the female and male variables. For racial representations, White people represent a large proportion of AB classes. *Pretos* and *Pardos* population, which are Black and mixed-racialized people, represents almost 75% of CDE classes (Brasil, 2022). Thus, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in Brazil are, in their majority, present in CDE classes, the lowest tiers of socioeconomic classes.

### **Brazilian Music, *Pretas* and *Pardas* Feminism, and Resistance**

According to Stuart Hall (2015), cultural identity is explained by shared history, cultural codes, and historical experiences, recognizing those as one people. For example, Black culture in the American continents has become multiple cultural expressions. Within the Black diaspora, music was a cultural element that was part of the expression of the Black population. The musical performance disclosed the Black culture across embodied, oral, and religious elements (Azevedo, 2018). Moreover, the orality characteristic of diasporic music is related to the body (Gilroy, 2001). That is also reiterated by Azevedo (2018), in which in the Black universe, body and music are dependents, thus “reworking “Africa” in its rhythmic dimension, sacred oral word, religious devotions to ancestors, and visual and communicative art” (p. 47).

Dubois (2008) explains the orality of Black culture from the musical perspective under the slavery era example in which sorrow songs were veiled messages of enslaved people to the world as faith and a breath of hope. Such proposition is reinforced by Lu & Steele (2019), comprehending the Black people's oral culture to argue against enslavement and make critiques of American slave society through music and storytelling in which “song was cultivated as a particularly adept mode of resistance, as it made skillful and transformative use of the dominant group’s language” (Lu & Steele, 2019, p.3).

The orality of Black female musicians, illustrated by Collins (2022) in her book *Black feminist thought*, contributes to the intellectual tradition of their activism through their songs.

Rhythms like blues, for example, because most Black women in the 1920s were illiterate, had their public voice in the music, with lyrics bringing the perspective of working-class Black women through Black oral tradition. “Thus, while it appears that the Black women blues singers of the 1920s sang freely of sexually explicit themes, they did so in a complicated context of race, class, and gender politics” (Collins, 2022, p.141).

### ***Samba as a Pretas and Pardas Women’s Resistance***

Similar to blues, *samba* is a rhythm constructed originally from orality. According to Azevedo (2018), in the first decades of the 20th Century, *samba* was considered a marginalized rhythm due to the roots of African traditions, erasing *Pretos* and *Pardos* artists and focusing on White musicians. However, in the 1930s, radio stations started to be sponsored by the Brazilian government under Getúlio Vargas's presidency and celebrate the miscegenation ideal, which rearranged the *samba* as a national symbol (Enriquez, 2022). The *samba* lyrics express the desires and realities of the impoverished population (Da Cunha, 2018).

Women were always present in the process of constructing *samba* as composers, dancers, and performers. Their public roles in contributing to the creation of the rhythm were inserted in the social roles of the 20th Century context. Hidden under the roles of aunts, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women had significant public importance in the kitchen as cooks at that time (Dürks Cassol, 2022). However, Emerson (2002) explained that in popular culture, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women aim to express their independence, agency, and self-reliance while negotiating their social existence. Only in the 1970s female *samba* composers were known publicly, such as Dona Ivone Lara and Leci Brandão, two *Pretas* women artists who were pioneers of the rhythm (Moreira, 2014). Thus, challenging the already established social role of women in household services, female singers of *samba* “proposed another model of being

and existing in this world, a model based on feminism and the fight for human rights through *samba* as a cultural process” (Dürks Cassol, 2022, p. 6).

The *samba* enabled *Pretas* and *Pardas* women to be knowledge producers through their lived experiences. As an example, Dona Ivone Lara, a famous *samba* singer, was the first woman to write a *samba-enredo* in *Rio de Janeiro*, a music that is the theme of a Carnival group, positioning *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in the *samba* environment. With a narrative of female emancipation, Dona Ivone Lara was a feminist without having the notion of the movement's definition (Burns, 2020). Thus, it could be comprehended that *samba* enabled *Pretas* and *Pardas* women to be recognized as subjects with their values appreciated. “*Samba* as a feminist cultural process, thus, emerges as a new medium, a new tool of democracy capable of propitiating the dialogue of law with reality” (Dürks Cassol, 2022, p. 10).

### ***Bossa Nova as a Pretas and Pardas Women’s Resistance***

The Brazilian music scene in the 20th century was shaped by political tensions of race and class (Enriquez, 2022). Following the emerging urban middle class in the 1950s, *bossa nova* arose with the purpose of being an elitist rhythm to offer a new direction for the musical scene at that time (Moreno, 1982). The genre aimed to contain the animosity of *samba* and bring elegance with jazz elements to the Afro-Brazilian roots of *samba* and to cultural modes of singing, dressing, talking, and looking (Moreno, 1982; Cesar, 2022).

Similar to *samba*, the marginalization of *Pretas* and *Pardas* artists also occurred within *bossa nova*. *Pretas* and *Pardas* female artists who contributed to the genre, like Alaíde Costa and Elza Soares were marginalized from the *bossa nova*'s history (Enriquez, 2022). The artists started their careers interpreting *bossa nova*'s songs. However, Alaíde Costa and Elza Soares were gradually separated from the movement and positioned to *samba*, since their music had a too dancing melody (Cesar, 2022). Among other reasons why the singers

were relegated to the *bossa nova*'s periphery was the fact that Elza Soares had a hoarse voice, which made her too Black for the *bossa nova*'s movement, and Alaíde Costa a too intimate voice to be a Black woman in a White musical movement (Cesar, 2022).

### **Brazilian Funk and Feminism**

According to Viana (2010), the origin of the funk music movement comes from the United States, with inspiration from soul music as a result of the mixture of rhythm, blues, and gospel music. The word funk had, at first, a sexual connotation, through the slang “funky” corresponding to the smell of body during sexual intercourse. However, around 1968, that slang lost that sexual connotation and incorporated a proud meaning for Black people (Viana, 2010).

In the 1980s, funk emerged in Brazil as protest music in order to resonate with the voices of *Pretos* and *Pardos* and impoverished people, criticizing their daily lives in Rio de Janeiro (De Souza, 2020). Singing about poverty and drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian funk artists also approach themes such as sex and relationships explicitly (Moreira, 2017). Born in marginalized areas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian funk has a significant presence in the city's festivities and has become one of the most popular rhythms in Brazil (Carvajal, 2014). Before the rise of funk, the carnival, samba, and soccer composed the unified image of the country (Yúdice & Vianna, 2014).

Brazilian funk songs are made through recordings in a studio, in a collaboration between a DJ and the singer, called MC. Like a sung speech, the singer's voice is positioned on an Afro-Brazilian rhythmic foundation (Del Picchia, 2021). Brazilian funk is a fast-paced rhythm inspired by Miami Bass with heavy beats and short verses. It was inaugurated with the Funk Brasil collection as a cultural movement, released by DJ Marlboro in 1989 (Bragança, 2020). As a rhythm started by *Pretos* and *Pardos*, lower-income people, Brazilian funk is a subversion against the racial and gendered status quo established in society (Ferreira

& Giorgi, 2022). In 2001, new Brazilian funk groups named *bondes* were formed with the people who grew up listening to the rhythm, corroborating them to keep using sexual connotations in their lyrics. At that same time, a feminist strand arose with women on command of the rhythm (Viana, 2010).

### ***Feminist Brazilian Funk***

In the early years of the 2000s, the violence sung by the artists in the Brazilian funk songs through the subgenre of funk *consciente*, Portuguese translation for conscious, had ceded space to a response from *Pretas* and *Pardas* female singers in “a discursive gender battle, in which men found themselves being seized by all sorts of female ironies and desires” (Ribeiro, 2022, p. 142). Female voices had active participation in the Brazilian funk movement. Until then, women used to be in roles as dancers for male singers. While using Brazilian funk as a political act, the singers sing about themselves as *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in the relationship between the body and society, focusing on their lives in the *favelas*, translated to English as Brazilian slums. Their voices carry their historical and identity context constructed in a veiled world (Ferreira & Giorgi, 2022).

Tati Quebra-Barraco, for example, is a *Preta* woman and one of the responsible female funk singers to inaugurate *proibidão* funk, an erotic subgenre of Brazilian funk. In this subgenre, female singers started to speak widely about their sexuality (McNally, 2017; Bragança, 2020). In response to the oppression lived by feminist Brazilian funk artists, the singers answer it by singing lyrics against racism, gendered violence, and classism while also celebrating women’s sexual independence (Carvajal, 2014; Ribeiro, 2022). Other significant singers compose the main names of the Brazilian feminist funk, such as Deize Tigrona, Valesca Popozuda, and MC Carol.

Brazilian feminist funk artists’ perception of feminism comes from their daily struggle through their sexual agency to manipulate men and have sexual freedom through

various sexual partners (Carvajal, 2014). Their female vulnerability is transformed into empowerment, as an equal opposition to the aggressive male strength (Ferreira & Giorgi, 2022). Moreover, the typical female Brazilian funk audience from a lower-income background usually has the first contact with feminism through the rhythm (Carvajal, 2014; Lyra, 2016).

### ***Feminist Brazilian Funk Artists and Their Relationship to Sexuality and Femininity***

Performance is an explicit aspect of Brazilian funk (Lyra, 2016). The excess of meanings that happens through the Brazilian feminist funk singers' performances distorts the identity binarism, enabling the marginalized bodies to transgress stable identities. Brazilian female singers enact their performances on stage as an act of courage, representing themselves as revolutionary and libertarian women. They swear in their music, refusing male submission and being able to be violent if they are a victim of patriarchal violence (Garcia & Sousa, 2017; Moreira, 2017). That performance has various versions of femininity "such as wives who cheat on their husbands, mistresses who make fun of faithful wives, women searching for casual sex, and independent women" (Moreira, 2017, p. 180). The singers reject the norms related to hetero-femininity, controlling women's bodies through patriarchal cultural norms. Constantly resisting them, the Brazilian feminist funk singers negotiate what is morally acceptable or vulgar and reiterate their position in society as women of color from impoverished backgrounds (Moreira, 2017).

It took a decade since the rise of feminism in Brazilian funk, from the 2000s to the 2010s, for Brazilian feminist scholars to comprehend that the female singers in Brazilian funk perform intersectional feminism related to their sexual agency. Their feminism is not similar to academia or related to social movements but to a musical genre that is highly marginalized (Ribeiro, 2022). The scholars' analyses are based on dichotomies such as oppression/liberation and active/passive. Due to that binary investigation, researchers do not

explore the contradiction outside of that normative binarism in which the female singers are and do not comprehend that they are lower-class and non-White women (Moreira, 2017). On the other hand, it took the same time for the singers to comprehend themselves as feminists since they are *Pretas* and *Pardas* women highly repressed in class, racial, and gendered perspectives in Brazil (Ribeiro, 2022).

The transgressive performance that *Pretas* and *Pardas* women have related their sexuality to third-wave feminism, in which the *Pretas* and *Pardas* feminist funk singers picture the expression of their sexuality as resistance and a central feminist practice. They want to be subject and object, asking for equality and not erasing their sexuality (Lyra, 2016; Moreira, 2017). Their lyrics present verbs in the imperative mode, such as take, eat, or sit, relating to the sexual organs and demonstrating the dominance women exert over their men. Moreover, their choreographies explore the body, with their vaginas guiding their performance and being the materialization of female power (Ferreira & Giorgi, 2022; Ribeiro, 2022).

Furthermore, their performance of sexuality also has shrieks and shouts that “are vocalizations that unite struggle and desire in women’s Brazilian funk music. Stridency enacts obscene words, and obscenity energizes the voice” (Ribeiro, 2022, p.141). The singers’ bodies are an instrument of combat, refusing the representation of their bodies as objects of man’s pleasure (Garcia & Sousa, 2017). Those expressions of power express their claim of having the domain of their bodies and pride about life with a background as marginalized racial, gendered, and class women (Ribeiro, 2022).

### **Brazilian Feminist Waves**

Brazil has one of the most vital feminist movements in Latin America (Matos & Simões, 2017). The changes that have been happening in the Brazilian feminist movement in the last four decades are connected to the development of social, economic, and political

changes in the country (Matos & Simões, 2017). At the beginning of the 19th century, around the 1820s, Brazil took the first steps in the feminist movement with the first wave. The manifestations at that time questioned the rigid culture in which women lived. Literate women, such as Nísia Floresta, claimed the right for other women to be literate and read and write when this was reserved for men (Duarte, 2019).

In the 1870s, aiming to be recognized as citizens, women activists began to edit feminist journals to claim radical changes, such as the emancipation of women through abolishing male guardianship over wives. Josefina Álvares de Azevedo was one of the first feminists to claim women's rights to higher education, divorce, paid work, and voting (Duarte, 2019). Bertha Lutz, another significant political figure, was the leading political rights activist and leader of the Brazilian suffrage movement. In 1932, women conquered the right to vote, being included in the new electoral law (Pinto, 2003; Matos & Simões, 2017). The first wave started to lose power in the 1960s when Brazil had a military coup initiating the Brazilian military dictatorship (de Almeida Teles, 2018).

During the first years of the military dictatorship, from 1964 to 1985, the women's movement was still not cohesive due to political repression (de Almeida Teles, 2018). While right-wing women such as military leaders' wives, mothers, and sisters supported and legitimized the Brazilian military dictatorship, female activists contested the political order of the military coup under Marxist influence, differing the Brazilian movement from the global north (Sarti, 2004; Matos & Simões, 2017).

Feminists such as Romy Medeiros and Branca Moreira Alves were committed to feminist activism, holding private meetings to share feminist ideas brought from the United States while exiled (Pinto, 2003). Although the women's movement started in the middle class, they began to articulate with popular-class women and neighborhood organizations about their immediate survival needs (Sarti, 2004; Lyra, 2016; Alvarez, 2018). The feminist

activists linked the movement's ideals to the needs of women from the popular classes. With a more plural movement, working women and rural workers in the 1970s had their interests considered, joining unions and demanding better working conditions, equal wages, and daycare centers (Munro, 2013). Topics regarding economy, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and environment were addressed, which influenced the configuration of the Brazilian family since middle-class women started to occupy the labor market, corroborating the increase in separations and divorces (Lyra, 2016).

Amidst the Brazilian military dictatorship that happened from 1964 to 1985, Brazilian artists used music as a form of resistance against oppression. Elis Regina, Gal Costa, Nara Leão, and Elza Soares were female artists who used their voices to combat military oppression. According to Gianordoli-Nascimento et al. (2013), the Brazilian cultural production at that time gathered distinct groups that questioned the regime and echoed voices against the military system that were silenced through the intensification of repression mechanisms. Elis Regina, besides her discourses as a singer challenging the repression through her music, also financed the first edition, in 1976, of “*Nós Mulheres*,” an essential feminist newspaper for the disclosure of feminist ideas. Moreover, in that first edition, the newspaper published the testimony of a Black woman from Rio de Janeiro denouncing her experience of racism in Brazilian society (de Almeida Teles, 2018).

The re-democratization climate in Brazil in the mid-1980s corroborated a decentralization of feminism. “Women have become women with specific social and cultural contexts” (Sarti, 2004, p. 44). In the 1990s, they became more plural (Matos & Simões, 2017). Feminist activists recognized their differences regarding race, ethnicity, sexuality, and class, focusing on their rights based on their axes, highlighting them as a not singular category of women (Lyra, 2016). However, the decentralization happened mostly due to the involvement of feminists in the elections alongside social and political institutions (Matos &

Simões, 2017). At that time, women's rights, either middle-class or popular class, were a topic in electoral discourses.

Furthermore, feminist activists began to demand safe methods of birth control and incorporate the discourse of experiencing sexual pleasure intensely (Gonçalves & Pinto, 2011). Women's health and violence against women were also considered a social problem by the government and institutionalized with the creation of specialized police stations to assist women and feminist collectives, social assistance NGOs focused on providing for women from more popular classes (Pinto, 2003).

#### ***Fourth Wave of Feminism in Brazil***

The fourth wave of feminism emerged in 2012 and is related to social media becoming a feminist space for debate with the mobilization of digital media as an intersectional collective, enabling the inclusion of diverse cultural and sexual backgrounds (Phillips & Cree, 2014; Perez & Ricoldi, 2023). Even with academic discussions that the internet is not a enough resource to represent a new era of feminism, digital spaces promote a global engagement of the movement with other activists throughout the world and through collaborating with celebrities, for example, making the feminist movement more accessible. Whether verbal or non-verbal, those discourses challenge the patriarchal and societal systems that oppress women worldwide and aim for social justice (Munro, 2013; Turley & Fisher, 2018). Stanton et al. (2017) elaborate that engagement in social media is positive for forming a self-presentation, social activism, and a positive racial identity. Under the influence of the third wave of feminism, sexism and misogyny are challenged as long as they appear in the media by cyberactivists (Munro, 2013).

In Brazil, according to Martinez (2021), in the 2000s, feminism started to become more regional, and the narrowing corroborated years later to the creation of groups in social media. The progressive scene that was happening enabled enough space for multiple identity

groups, which diversified the meaning of being a woman. Those multiple groups correspond to intersectionalities regarding the movement, such as race, gender, class, and sexuality. Thus, those social markers remain since the third wave as one of the main characteristics of the fourth wave of feminism in Brazil, using social media to mobilize regarding feminism.

*Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women use media as a political interference to resist the stigmatizations that harm their social value and affirmation of racial identity due to their multiple social marks of gender, race, and class that corroborate their multiple oppression in society (Carneiro, 2019). It is through the internet that *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women have the chance to debate issues that are not priorities to other feminisms, which include the impact of daily violence on the *Pretas* and *Pardas* population, religious intolerance, and esteem for African-based religion, romantic relationships of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women and representation of *Pretos* and *Pardos* people in media (Martinez, 2019).

*Pretas* and *Pardas* are Brazilian feminists who create content on social media platforms fighting against racism. This content discloses dialogic Black feminism transnationally, having a considerable local impact on the public. (Pinto-Bailey, 2021). Black female content creators are a form of pleasure for the public, challenging racism and misogyny through their performance (Steele, 2021). Thus, from the standpoint perspective, the Black female creators on TikTok resist the objectification and marginalization in media, creating a new representation of themselves to challenge the oppressions in which they live due to their intersectionalities.

### **Performance of Identity on Social Media**

Identity is conceptualized by Hall (1989) from the perspective that considers the complexity of the individual since culture is not fixed and is in constant transformation. According to Hall (1989), as not a natural or a fixed concept, identity is a construction that is always in process. Thus, identity is multiply constructed across discourses that, sometimes,

antagonists. People are always partly constructed by the practices and discourses that make them, such that people cannot find within themselves as individuals or subjects or identities the point of origin from which discourse, history, or practice originates.

Erving Goffman (2002) defines performance as the activities that occur in the presence of an individual during an amount of time with an influence on the observers. That basic definition can be comprehended with more complexity, according to Schechner (2017), as if performances have the purpose of reshaping the bodies, marking identities, and telling stories. Similarly, Diana Taylor (2002) notes that performance is able to communicate social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through repetitive behavior. That performance could be, on one level, characterized as practices and events such as funerals, dances, or theaters. On the other level, performance could be, from an academic lens, resistance, ethnic identity, sexual identity, and gender, which are performed continuously in the public sphere (Taylor, 2002).

Goffman (2002) analyzes how an individual performs through interpersonal interaction. Those individuals are comprehended as actors and, using a comparison with dramaturgy, on a front stage, the individual acts according to what is idealized and the social norms, molded and modified to fit into what is understood and expected in society. In explaining Goffman, the authors Bullingham & Vasconcelos (2013) point out that the individual's behavior is not the same on backstage since the performance is unnecessary. When it is on the front stage, the intended impressions are communicated. On the backstage, what is not intended to be transmitted is not performed.

According to Rigoni (2014), the media has a significant role in shaping identities since it offers information and knowledge that recognizes “us” and the “Other.” In addition, multiple social markers, such as race, gender, and class, are important in comprehending the dynamic of social interaction between dominants and those who resist. Unlike in-person

interaction, in cyberspace, there is more control over how that information can be presented, making social interaction easier to occur (Life, 2011). Moreover, identity can be forged online, creating a multiplicity of them. That fragmentation can be a space to build and rebuild identity where the demand can be negotiated (Guta & Karolak, 2015).

### ***Pretas and Pardas Women's Performance of Identity on TikTok***

In order to comprehend further how Black female creators perform on TikTok, it is necessary to highlight the standpoint theory from Patricia Hill Collins (2022). In everyday life, Black women find in their own experiences and social position a source of knowledge to depict and understand their notion of feminism. Those experiences are not homogeneous since each Black woman has her own standpoint. That concept of standpoint is applied to social media, as explained by Jackson & Banaszczyk (2016), which is a space where marginalized women's standpoints can become viral due to the platform resources or collective advocacy. However, even with that elaboration, the marginalization of those women is reproduced due to their intersectional characteristics.

The oppositional gaze of hooks (2012) explains that Black women can recognize themselves in media through their own gaze, enabling them to define their reality while resisting marginalization. They can resist their objectification and create new representations of themselves in media. In a Brazilian context, the concept of the oppositional gaze of hooks is applicable due to the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians and the neglect of Black women in mainstream media (Gillam, 2012).

According to Simões et al. (2023), the social media TikTok is a digital environment in which people are most likely to perform themselves authentically, not needing to use resources to emulate behavior that is not real. Those rehearsed behaviors are most common on other social media sites like Facebook, LinkedIn, and Instagram. In addition, Robson & Tsou (2023) explain that Black female creators, usually on social media, are not allowed to

demonstrate emotion and vulnerability. However, for Black women content producers and minority groups, such authenticity on TikTok enables them to form communities. In those communities, Black female content creators can produce and disclose content regarding the culture to which they belong (Steele, 2021).

### **The Current Study**

This research study seeks to answer the following questions:

*RQ1= How does MC Carol use TikTok to promote her music within feminist discourse?*

*RQ2= How is the Preta Brazilian funk singer MC Carol's negotiation of feminism on social media?*

*RQ3= How is the feminist discourse of the Preta Brazilian funk singer MC Carol perceived by her audience?*

### **Method**

In order to achieve the central objective of this research, the following study will probe the negotiation of feminism on social media by the Brazilian funk singer MC Carol. As a Preta Brazilian woman from an impoverished background, this research will consider negotiation as a concept elaborated by Amer (2020) in which the subject performs and strategically positions their identity in response to how others perceive them. That perception of identity through intersectionalities is essential to comprehend how the subject acts to control the recognition that will be received to develop a positive self-concept.

The social media to be considered for this research is TikTok. According to Ceci (2024), until January 2024, Brazil is the third country with the largest audience on TikTok, corresponding to 98,59 million users. In addition, 65,9% of internet users in Brazil are on the platform (Santos, 2023). According to Depexe & dos Santos Freitas (2023), TikTok operates under an algorithm dynamic, offering content based on the user's watch. Thus, any content

can be viral since TikTok's algorithm is not dependent on the content's popularity or the creator's number of followers (Depexe & dos Santos Freitas, 2023).

The subject of the thesis is MC Carol, a Brazilian funk singer who is *Preta* and from an impoverished background and one of the leading contemporary feminist funk artists. MC Carol is known for lyrics about racial and gendered politics along with domestic violence (Lawson, 2019). *100% Feminista*, a sample of lyrics shown at the beginning of the thesis, has become a classic feminist funk song. This song launched MC Carol as a feminist woman who decided to fight against domestic abuse witnessed while she was a child. The singer has a significant presence on social media and is one of the most followed Brazilian feminist funk artists with her social media, resulting in more than two million followers on her Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube.

In order to implement the goal of comprehending the negotiation of feminist discourse by MC Carol on TikTok, the textual analysis method was performed to identify the ideological and cultural assumptions of the text (Fürsich, 2009). For this method, texts are interpreted to investigate the ways in which the author understands the world around them, grasp how texts might be interpreted by the audience, and check the narrative's context (McKee, 2003).

The TikTok profile of MC Carol holds 230 videos (until March 7th, 2024). Of those 230 videos, 60 were investigated with patterns and themes related to feminist content. In detailing the nature of MC Carol's videos on TikTok, the time limit of her videos consists in 60 seconds. The starting point for choosing the videos related to feminism for the analysis is regarding MC Carol's sexual agency, which is the main characteristic of Brazilian funk feminism. The data collected was divided monthly into sheets from April 2024 to April 2020. Those sheets had columns separated thematically in four parts by the elements of feminist content in the videos' lyrics, either song or speech, captions, audience commentaries, and

performances of the singer. All data obtained were analyzed following the same standard for analysis and interpretation.

Comprehending a text as a negotiation, Fürsich (2009) argues that media content is a space where representations and latent discourses of society are disclosed. The media text producers, such as MC Carol, act as cultural mediators and echo cultural trends in discussion in society. As elaborated by McKee (2003), the analyses of posts will not define which one is correct but find the likely interpretations from a post-structuralist perspective.

The performance of MC Carol and the lyrics of her songs in the TikTok videos will be considered for each post analyzed, along with her audience's reaction to the lyrics and videos in MC Carol's TikTok profile. Such investigation will allow the researcher to find omissions and implicit patterns in the text (Fürsich, 2009). In addition, it is necessary to check the context in which the research subject is inserted to comprehend a sense-making of their world (Fürsich, 2009).

### **Findings**

The research performed on the negotiation of feminism in Brazilian feminist funk on social media unveiled three dynamics that occur while that negotiation takes place. That turns out through the Brazilian funk singer MC Carol's feminist discourse, her audience's perception of that feminist discourse, and MC Carol's use of TikTok to promote her feminist songs. Feminism is at the center of that relationship and is strengthened by the racial perspective and sexual agency of MC Carol's discourse. Following this, it will be described three dynamics that connect the negotiation of feminism in Brazilian funk on TikTok by MC Carol.

## MC Carol's Feminist Discourse: Challenging Oppression and Embracing Sexual and Financial Agency

Similar to the feminism in the lyrics of Brazilian feminist funk, the performance of MC Carol is shaped under the *bandida*<sup>2</sup> performance category. However, for MC Carol, being a “badass” is explained as “we are badass women without being from a drug house.” Her performance is unrelated to the criminal scene; she is a malicious, aggressive, and authoritarian woman who celebrates her sexual independence (Ribeiro, 2022) (see Figure 1). That characteristic is also observed in Ferreira & Giorgi (2022), in which Brazilian feminist funk singers transform female vulnerability into empowerment in order to be in equal opposition to male bravado. Such behavior is reinforced by the actions of a sexually active person who has a preference for aggressive sexual performances, as demonstrated in the lyrics “spit in my face, tease me, come on top. Pulls my hair, call me a badass.”

### Figure 1

*MC Carol Embracing The Bandida Performance Through an Authoritarian Posture*



---

<sup>2</sup> The word *bandida* is translated to “badass” in English. For contextual purpose, the meaning of *bandida* by MC Carol is unrelated to a person who is part of a criminal group. Instead, the singer pictures *bandida* as a woman who refuses male submission sexually and romantically.

In MC Carol's discourse as a "badass," domestic violence is forbidden. The singer reacts to that, advising that violence is not tolerated because she created her own narrative. Similar to the lyrics of Brazilian feminist funk, in which themes such as sex and relationships are addressed explicitly (Moreira, 2017), under the refusal of man's authority, MC Carol reinforces that the man needs to do what she wants or he would be scolded, either verbally or physically, having the chance of being killed in case of a violent behavior against her, as explained in "now Jorginho will lend me the G3 gun. I will shoot this son of a *bitch*."

Another category that resulted from the feminist discourse of MC Carol on TikTok is her sexual agency. The singer's performance is of a subject with the power to make relationship decisions. MC Carol nominates herself as *piranha*, translated to English as a promiscuous woman. As demonstrated in the lyrics "the sun is about to rise, go home. Don't talk to anyone about last night" and "love is over, you better forget me. What happened will never happen again", men are used intentionally as objects of her sexual life and dismissed according to MC Carol's will. In addition, in her TikTok videos, men are pictured as servants (see Figure 2), being not worthy of love, as exemplified in "he asked me to marry him, but I don't understand. I'm a slut, damn it, I live in the moment".

## Figure 2

*MC Carol's Sexual Performance of a Bandida's Character*



MC Carol's agency is also constructed by her financial independence, which is interchangeable with the sexual agency discourse. Under a sarcastic tone, the singer, who is a *Preta* woman belonging nowadays to a wealthy background due to her career success, elaborates in her discourse her ability to support men financially in exchange for giving back instantaneous sexual pleasure. That is a reaffirmation of MC Carol's financial independence by buying gifts for the man instead of demonstrating romantic feelings. Focusing on the *bandida* character, romantic love is refused by the singer, in additionally to fitting in the social role of a passive wife who has full availability for the husband, as pictured in “my money calls you, aggressive in bed. I don't give affection, I give Dolce & Gabbana, trip to Rome, earning in dollars” and “he wants me to go to church and be a passive woman. He wants me to give up on everything and stop singing”.

The racial debate is also present in MC Carol's feminist discourse. Her lyrics on TikTok videos highlight important Brazilian Black female figures, historically significant characters of Brazilian feminist history. Aquatune, Dandara, and Chica da Silva are *Pretas* Brazilian women essential to the resistance to the slavery period in Brazil. Aiming for a positive racial identity of *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women, MC Carol also mentions the writer Carolina Maria de Jesus as a successful Black woman. That positive representation is comprehended as social activism, a form of resistance valuing the representation of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women.

MC Carol's positive representation of Blackness is outlined by praising her physical characteristics, such as her “nappy” hair (see Figure 3). Moreover, the singer calls for a sorority among *Pretas* and *Pardas* women, affirming that self-love is their vibe, making them exude power. Her background is alluded to proudly, justifying her strength as a *Preta* and *Parda* woman due to her childhood living in the *favelas*. “I'm a woman, I'm black. My hair is

*nappy*. My fragility does not reduce my strength. I came from *Preventório*, Black from the ghetto. I have carried this hate since I was born”.

### **Figure 3**

*MC Carol's Positive Reaffirmation of Racial Identity Through Valorization of Her Hair*



### **The Audience's Perception of MC Carol's Feminist Discourse**

The audience of MC Carol's TikTok videos attributes the singer's portrayal as a woman ahead of her time, disruptive. Such portrayal is explained by the maternal meaning given to the singer, as demonstrated in "I love you, MC Carol. You are like a mother to me". The audience portrays the quality of being a revolutionary woman as a diva representing the reality of other Brazilian women, who are 25% of the total of over 200 million inhabitants and correspond to the country's lowest tiers of socioeconomic classes (Alvarez & Caldwell, 2016). In addition, the representation of MC Carol as a strong woman influenced the audience from an educational perspective, teaching them authority over daily struggle and empathy with other *Pretas* and *Pardas* women, as attested in "You are very ahead of the time!!!" and "I already think Carol is perfect, and she still does this... Wow, she thinks about everyone. Queen!"

Another depiction by the audience is MC Carol as a feminist icon whose main characteristic is self-love discourse. Like Carneiro (2019), the audience comprehends MC Carol's self-love discourse as a resistance to stigmatizations that harm her social value due to multiple social marks of gender, race, and class. That perception is justified by the performance on social media of a *Preta* woman like MC Carol, who has a background similar to her audience and is a role model for women who are unsuitable for social beauty standards. Moreover, as an authoritarian female figure with a self-love discourse, MC Carol debates the reversion of social roles attributed to women and places the responsibility on men to execute domestic work. Although her positive self-esteem validates the audience's opinion in representing a real woman, as demonstrated in "A woman who loves herself bothers a lot of people," some of her audience comprehend MC Carol's positive self-esteem more related to a man's attitude. Thus, it is a "song that totally broke men who never imagined a woman would send the real thing like that to everyone."

Similar to the *bandida*'s performance in MC Carol's TikTok posts, the "MC Carol *Bandida*" is also pictured by the audience's perception of MC Carol's feminist discourse. Comprehended as an aggressive woman, the audience's reaction is positive to it, as an example of when MC Carol "punched that guy near her." Moreover, the singer's criticism of patriarchal behavior of responsabilizing women for domestic work is celebrated by the female audience, enabling them to criticize other women who reject MC Carol's music, as demonstrated in "She bothers you because she does what your husband always does and you think it's normal!" The audience perceives the *bandida*'s performance as associated with her racial background, justifying her life strength due to being a *Preta* woman and *Iansã*'s daughter, a female warrior *orixá*. Although MC Carol is a *Preta* woman and racial activist, the female White audience also explains that they feel represented by her feminist discourse.

On the other hand, MC Carol's sexual agency is depicted as the opposite of being a feminist by the audience. In her talk, “spit on my face, tease me, come on top. Pulls my hair, call me a badass”, the singer has the authority and control over the sexual intercourse, which is misunderstood by some of her followers as being favored to domestic violence, as exemplified in “then she appears with bruised eyes and bald, and she doesn't know why.” In contrast, part of her audience, its majority of women, claims that the use of verbs in an imperative mode, such as spit, tease, and pull, reaffirms MC Carol’s consent regarding her preference for aggressive sexual attitudes. Thus, misogynist people use the sexual discourse focusing on female sexual agency in Brazilian feminist funk music to justify domestic violence and obliterate women’s authorization of their own sexual freedom.

#### **Promotion of Feminism in MC Carol’s Music Through Her Use of TikTok**

In order to understand how MC Carol uses TikTok to promote her feminist discourse in music, one must comprehend the interaction between captions, lyrics, and images of the singer’s videos on TikTok. Those interactions occur simultaneously and interdependently.

#### **Figure 4**

*MC Carol’s Critique of Standardization of White Beauty in the Song “Levanta, Mina”*

*Promotional Video*



The picture above is from a TikTok video (see Figure 4) in which a new song by MC Carol entitled “*Levanta, mina,*” translated into English as “wake up, sister,” is publicized through the post. Although the singer does not frequently use captions to communicate with her audience, the launch is publicized with a hashtag and the song’s date by MC Carol, as determined in #Wakeupsister on 01/15. As elaborated by Pinto-Bailey (2021) & Steele (2021), Black women create a new representation of themselves as a disagreement with the oppressions regarding their intersectionalities of gender, race, and class. Thus, MC Carol uses the visual elements of the videos as the main medium to express her feminist ideas to the public, promoting a new representation of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women, valuing her physical characteristics of being a *Preta* woman, overweight, and from an impoverished background.

The verbal elements also reinforce the disapproval of the standardization of beauty by MC Carol in the video. The verbal writing of “*beleza, essência daquilo que se expressa como belo*” translated as “beauty, the essence of what is expressed as beautiful,” in English, is a criticism made by the singer due to being the opposite of the beauty standards. In that aspect, the singer reaffirms the positive racial identity by posting a photo with elements that do not correspond to beauty stereotypes, such as no makeup and valuing *Pretas* and *Pardas* women’s braids.

Moreover, the facial angles of MC Carol are highlighted to mark what it is needed to be modified to fit into aesthetic norms. Thus, the captions are not the focus on MC Carol to communicate the main discourse. Instead, visual elements are used from a racial and gendered perspective to connect to other *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in order to enable the audience to feel represented by her content.

## Figure 5

*MC Carol's Performance of Black Goddess in the Song PUT@RIA! Promotional Video*



In the Figure 5, the caption “lembrando desse dia que eu tava muito atriz de hollywood gravando clipe com @Rubel @BK’ e @Dj Gabriel Do Borel” with translation to English as “remembering that day that I was as a Hollywood actress recording a video clip with @Rubel @BK’ and @Dj Gabriel Do Borel” is used by MC Carol. In that image, the singer is depicted as the *Preta* version of Aphrodite, a goddess of love and beauty in Greek mythology. Such representation of MC Carol is visually related to elements of the Goddess figure in her clothing, such as a long light dress and accessories.

The portrayal of MC Carol as a *Preta* Aphrodite is not just a visual representation while resignifying the meaning of beauty, in Greek mythology represented by a White woman, to an endorsement of Black beauty, but also a narrative that extends to her music. Similar to Cardoso & Adelman (2016), elaborating that *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminists examine Brazilian history to resignify from a perspective of *Pretas* and *Pardas* feminist culture, MC Carol examines other points of the history from the standpoint of a *Preta* woman.

In her released song *PUT@RIA!*, featuring Rubel, BK, and DJ Gabriel do Borel, MC Carol's narrative is one of using her body in service of her own pleasure, such as "I'm the badass, I'm the naughty one, and you wash my dishes." This narrative, built from the image and lyrics in the TikTok video, is a statement about the singer's appreciation of her own body and protagonism during sexual intercourse. As the main characteristic of her definition of feminism, the term "*bandida*" is reinforced by making the man as a subject of her commands either sexually or socially.

**Figure 6**

*MC Carol's Eroticized Performance in the Song "Ki Suco and Xereca" Promotional Video*



The erotic exploration of MC Carol's large body is reinforced in her feminist discourse on TikTok by the choice of colors and gestures of the singer in the video's performance (see Figure 6). In releasing her song "*Ki Suco and Xereca*," as translated to English as "juice and pussy", MC Carol uses features inserted in a sexual context, such as the color red, as a reaffirmation of being a highly sexual woman. Moreover, the singer plays sensually with an item of provocative clothing while eating a fruit to simulate an intimate

moment of a lubricated vagina. That eroticization performance on the image is interdependent with the caption of “*SEXTOU SEUS FDP PP #KisucoEXereca*” translated as “It is Friday, son of a bitch” in English.

The song’s lyrics are also interdependent with the sensual content of the post. MC Carol’s narrative elaborates on her freedom, wearing a mini skirt and attending a random Friday party. In control of her own life, she committed herself to performing a desire of protagonism, being especially transgressive because of the context of being a *Preta* and overweight woman from the *favela*. In order to be a protagonist, being tricked, mainly by a man, is not accepted by MC Carol. Thus, the singer threatens her partner, saying that “You owe me more than five months. You are fucked if I see you on the street. Jorginho will lend me the G3, and I will shoot this son of a bitch”. The language of MC Carol’s videos on TikTok is illustrated under a violent context in a daily struggle with oppressions of race, gender, and class in the *favelas*’ ambiance in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

### **Discussion**

This research aimed to analyze the negotiation of feminism by MC Carol on TikTok, motivated by the necessity to explain the unfolding of that arbitration by the feminist discourse of the singer, the perception of that discourse by the audience on social media, and the promotion of the feminist discourse in MC Carol’s music through TikTok. The findings reveal that the negotiation occurs through the *bandida* performance as the feminist discourse, a perception by the public of MC Carol as a real woman, being similar to the audience, and a focus on visual communication and song’s lyrics as main components promoting her feminist discourse on TikTok. Those three results affect the negotiation and are explained next.

#### **The *Bandida* Performance Acknowledged as MC Carol’s Feminist Discourse**

As observed previously in Cardoso & Adelman (2016) and Perry (2016), *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women have in their feminism racial and class intersections as the main

types of domination, being affected by those inequalities. The results showed that in analyzing MC Carol's feminist discourse on TikTok, the racial and class types of discrimination are explained by the *bandida* performance. In addition to racial and class perspectives, the *bandida* performance attaches sexual agency, financial independence, and positive racial identity.

The feminist discourse of MC Carol on TikTok under the *bandida* performance is connected to her childhood, which is based on her lived experiences, as proposed by Cardoso & Adelman (2016). In resisting men, the singer uses them as sexual servers as a form of self-defense. Such a mechanism helps *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminists fight against historically stereotyped points, combating the idea of female fragility (Cardoso & Adelman, 2016). Moreover, the research data shows that MC Carol also has financial independence discourse as a self-defense mechanism to resist society. As explained by Emerson (2002), it is a goal of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women to present themselves as independent and self-reliant in popular culture in order to negotiate their existence.

As proposed by Moreira (2017), Brazilian funk feminist singers reject cultural norms of controlling their bodies, as do *Pretas* and *Pardas* women from the *favelas*. They resist those norms by negotiating ethical standards in society. The research data indicate that MC Carol uses her sexual agency from the *bandida* character, being a woman who performs a rejection of romantic love, focusing on immediate sexual pleasure through giving money and other material goods to men. Using satirical attitudes in that performance, the singer celebrates her sexual agency by exhibiting her body. MC Carol has agency about her own boundaries not taking into account the commodification of feminism. As alleged by Lyra (2016) and Moreira (2017), *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminist singers focus on being subject and object in their musical performances, demanding equality and, at the same time,

having an exacerbated sexuality. Moreover, besides the sarcasm in her songs, MC Carol also performs that on social media.

According to Moreira (2017) & Garcia & Sousa (2017), Brazilian feminist funk singers curse men in their music as a refusal of female submission and react with violence in case those women are under patriarchal violence. The research data indicate that performance is also reinforced on social media by MC Carol's feminist discourse. Under the *bandida* character, the singer performs an aggressive, authoritarian, and malicious woman in her discourse on TikTok, threatening men verbally or physically and intimidating them to be killed if they have violent actions against her.

Further discussing highlighted points of this research, the positive racial narrative in MC Carol's feminist discourse is executed by challenging Eurocentric perceptions of femininity and underlining characteristics of Afro-Brazilian women (Pinto-Bailey, 2021). The outcomes showed that the singer values the Afro-Brazilian culture by endorsing her physical features, which are marginalized by Western or White beauty standards, confidently outlining her "nappy" hair. Moreover, in order to validate the *Pretas* and *Pardas* culture, MC Carol also challenges the perception of feminist history in Brazil by celebrating important figures of Afro-Brazilian history in her songs, pointing out Aquatune, Dandara, Chica da Silva and Carolina Maria de Jesus, women who are related to the feminism in Brazil from the colonial period, around the 1500s, until 20th century.

Black women create new representations of themselves through their gaze in media, as hooks (2012) proposed. Those new representations communicate resistance to gender and sexual identities in the public sphere. That recognition in media enables them to resist objectification and marginalization of being Black and women (Taylor, 2002). Based on that, the findings revealed that MC Carol creates a new persona by assuming her *bandida* performance to resist the marginalization of being a *Preta* woman from an impoverished

background. As a consequence of that resistance, her sexual agency, when the singer nominates herself as *piranha*, a promiscuous woman translated to English, and financial independence discourses are used against the stigmatization of her racial and class inequalities.

While reinventing themselves in media, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women challenge their social role as women under a historical perspective of being passive and ready to serve men to a transformation of being combative women with feminist ideals (Dürks Cassol, 2022). For MC Carol's feminist discourse analysis, that transformation is based on the new representation of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women on TikTok as financially and emotionally independent, using men as objects of her private life and abandoning them whenever she wants. This independence enables MC Carol to be proud of her marginalized intersectionalities as a *Preta* woman from an economically disadvantaged background.

According to Steele (2021), Black female content creators on social media communicate their culture through the subject disclosed on the internet. Beyond the dimensions already observed in the literature, the findings reveal that the positive racial identity of MC Carol on TikTok aims to promote a sorority between *Pretas* and *Pardas* women under a discourse of self-love as a core feeling to enable *Pretas* and *Pardas* women to empower themselves. The public behavior of the singer reinforces female empowerment through their sexual agency to a desire for sexual liberation and aggressive performances during sexual intercourse.

According to Carvajal (2014), sexual agency for Brazilian feminist funk singers focuses on the manipulation of men to have sexual emancipation. In the song's lyrics, verbs are present in the imperative mode, such as take, eat, or sit, when speaking of a sexual context (Ribeiro, 2022). Similarly to the Brazilian feminist funk music, the discourse of feminism by MC Carol on TikTok has on sexual agency, the meaning of manipulating men as

revenge for the abuse suffered since her childhood, motivating the singer to find in her anger a way to perform her character as a *bandida*. That manipulation is executed authoritarian as one of the main characteristics of MC Carol's feminist discourse.

On TikTok, Simões et al. (2023) attest that the performance of Black women is related to their true selves, focusing on authenticity and not emulating a behavior in the digital environment. However, Robson & Tsou (2023) affirm that Black female creators cannot demonstrate vulnerability and emotional performances in order to reinforce their authenticity. The research data indicate that MC Carol emulates her emotions, as Robson & Tsou (2023) elaborated, hiding them so as not to look exposed. Therefore, against Simões et al. (2023), those vulnerable feelings are replaced by anger and sarcasm during the *bandida* performance.

### **The Feminism of a Real Woman for The Audience**

Another crucial point of this discussion is regarding the perception of the feminist discourse by MC Carol's audience on TikTok. As a result of the data analyzed, the audience, which is in its majority a public similar to MC Carol's background as *Preta* or *Parida* women from backgrounds of poverty, recognizes a feminism centered on the maternal figure, as proposed by Cardoso & Adelman (2016). According to the authors, the cultural and political activism of older generations of *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women against the traditional order are the core of their feminism. Thus, the maternal representation of MC Carol is explained by an inspirational figure being constantly called mother, reinforced by the fact that MC Carol is a disruptive woman ahead of her time.

MC Carol's public on TikTok is connected with the singer due to her representation of a real woman in her songs and on her social media. As a character who sings about similar struggles of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women in Brazil, the artist is read under the influence of having the strength of *Iansã*, an *orixá* of independence and female energy and a deity from the *Candomblé*, a Brazilian African-based religion.

The cosmovision of comprehending MC Carol by the audience under the perspective of African culture in analyzing this finding is part of Afro-Brazilian feminism as a result of the similarity in perceiving femininity. This positions the feminism of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women as being distant from the White and Western Judeo-Christian female perspective (Cardoso & Adelman, 2016; Pinto-Bailey, 2021).

Through the perception of MC Carol as an inspirational figure by her audience on TikTok, the *bandida* performance characterized mainly by an independent woman is comprehended under the proposition of Carvajal (2014) and Lyra (2016) as the first contact of MC Carol's audience on TikTok with the feminist movement. Moreover, such performance, as alleged by Goffman (2002), has the influence of her audience due to their consentment and similarity with the singer's social context. That *bandida* performance of a woman who refuses male submission and is authoritarian and aggressive while resisting the patriarchal cultural norms is a positive awareness by the audience on TikTok (Garcia & Sousa, 2017; Moreira, 2017).

The aggressiveness and authoritarian behaviors from MC Carol are an answer to be in comparable opposition to the male bravado conduct, a reality to which women from the singer's background are exposed daily. However, in reference to the sexual agency of MC Carol, which is part of her *bandida* performance, her aggressiveness is comprehended negatively by the public. According to the research data, aggressiveness over sexual intercourse is understood as unrelated to feminism by MC Carol's audience, as the public compares it to being favorable to domestic violence. That is incompatible with the meaning of aggressiveness over the resistance of patriarchy, being denied the feminist interpretation of MC Carol's sexual agency by the audience's perception.

On social media, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women discuss their reality and how their marginalization has an impact on the population, debating topics that are not priorities by

other feminisms and challenging racism and misogyny through their performance (Martinez, 2019; Steele, 2021)). Findings reveal that MC Carol elaborates on her TikTok, through her *bandida* performance, an educational influence over the audience by teaching survival on the daily struggle in the *favelas*, either sexually, romantically, or financially. MC Carol's audience also perceived a self-love discourse. That discourse is related to the agency of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women not being submissive to men, rejecting women's social roles to execute domestic work.

MC Carol negotiates her main characteristic as a *bandida* character through the audience's approval of women's aggressive and authoritarian characteristics toward men, being read as an inspirational figure by her audience. The singer's social engagement in social media is positive as a consequence of her social activism with discourses of sexual agency and positive racial identity. Thus, each fragmentation of MC Carol's identity in supporting and teaching her audience forms her identity and fills the demand of what is necessary to approve her feminist discourse, being negotiated with the audience (Guta & Karolak, 2015; Stanton et al., 2017).

MC Carol's self-love discourse is the main characteristic of this negotiation as a *bandida*, enabling her main quality of performing as a superior woman, representing the real *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women from impoverished backgrounds and ahead of her time by the audience.

### **Visual Communication and Emphasis on Songs' Lyrics as the Main Element of Promotion of Feminist Discourse in MC Carol's Music on TikTok**

A further discussion point on MC Carol's negotiation of feminism is the singer's promotion of feminist discourse on TikTok. Focusing on visual elements of the video related to a new representation of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women launching music videos, the data reveals that MC Carol endorses her physical characteristics as a *Preta* woman with her

braided hair and large body, aiming to frame a positive racial identity as the main discourse. Pinto-Bailey (2021) reinforces that by explaining *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminists' use of social media platforms to combat racism. Through a dialogic translation, MC Carol uses the experiences of *Pretas* and *Pardas* women's lives to present her feminist idea on TikTok. Moreover, verbal elements are also used to complement the discourse of rejecting the standardization of beauty and celebrating diversity.

In abandoning the Western and White perspective of beauty, the captions are not the focus of MC Carol to communicate her positive racial identity. Instead, besides the visual elements used to engage the audience, the singer also focuses on the song's lyrics to promote the standpoint of a *Preta* woman's life on TikTok. As proposed by Stanton et al. (2017), engagement on social media is positive when forming a self-presentation combined with activism. It is through popular culture that *Pretas* and *Pardas* women negotiate their existence (Emerson, 2022). As a result of the data analyzed, it is relevant to the feminism in MC Carol's TikTok to explore her body, Black and overweight, as the main point of the performance for her own pleasure. Images and lyrics of videos are the main resource for constructing the feminist narrative of the singer.

Similarly to the Brazilian feminist funk music, with various versions of femininity being transgressive and refusing male submission (Lyra, 2016; Garcia & Sousa, 2017; Moreira, 2017), according to the data, the use of verbs in imperative mode by an authoritarian presentation of MC Carol in her posts on TikTok reveals a performance in which there is a desire for protagonism. As part of her negotiation of feminist discourse with the public, MC Carol exercises this protagonism to empower other women to follow her example but also because it is a strategy that sells her music. Being a *Preta* and overweight woman from the *favelas*, MC Carol pictures herself in a transgressive form while acting in an eroticized performance. Under sexual content, the singer makes a choice of colors and explicit gestures

to reinforce her sensual performance, making up a protagonism in sexual intercourse. Moreover, the song's lyrics are also interdependent with the sensual content of the posts.

According to Ribeiro (2022), empowered performances result from the dominance of women's bodies, while there is pride in being part of the intersectionalities of race and class. Framing MC Carol's context, coming from a marginalized background and being a *Preta* woman, that use of her body in service of her own pleasure is a result of challenging socially accepted and moral beliefs. Thus, as TikTok is a digital environment to perform authenticity for the content creators, MC Carol uses visual and song lyrics to engage with her audience and create a new representation of *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian women.

From the discussion regarding the negotiation of feminism by MC Carol, three main contributions of this research are highlighted here. Firstly, the understanding of *bandida* performance as the main element of the singer's feminist discourse, which has the narrative of a woman with sexual agency and financial independence aiming to represent her racial identity positively. Besides that, the maternal representation and self-love discourse as a perception of MC Carol by her audience and the similarity of the feminist narrative on TikTok with the Brazilian feminist funk music are also important contributions of this thesis to academia. Finally, using visual communication and verbal language with the song's lyrics promotes her feminist discourse through her music on TikTok, turning out to endorse a positive racial identity and sexual agency as elements of her feminist narrative on social media.

### **Conclusion**

The core of this thesis research was unraveling the negotiation of MC Carol's feminism on TikTok. Results revealed that the feminist discourse of MC Carol on TikTok is mainly shaped by the *bandida* performance, which is a form of self-defense against racial and class discrimination as a *Preta* and overweight woman from a lower-income background.

Furthermore, such performance is also defined by her sexual agency, financial independence, and positive racial identity discourses, which have an influence on the feminist debate.

MC Carol's audience has the perception of the singer from a maternal representation, being an inspirational figure and pictured as a woman with similar daily struggles to the audience. However, her sexual agency through an aggressive performance in sexual intercourse is interpreted as a denial of her feminist identity by the audience, framing the singer in a position of being favorable to domestic violence by the public. In addition, it is also a result that the artist has an educational influence over her public, who claims that the self-love discourse of MC Carol inspires them.

The last finding indicates that the singer focused on verbal elements and used visual resources, such as the song's lyrics, to promote her feminist discourse on TikTok. The videos extensively explored her body, endorsing the *Pretas* and *Pardas*' physical characteristics under a positive racial identity. Moreover, MC Carol executed an eroticized performance using colors and gestures under sexual content, framing herself as the protagonist in service of her own pleasure.

Those results confirm that *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminist funk singers who are creators self-present on TikTok with positive racial identity and sexual agency. On the internet, the singers have a chance to enlighten the debate of themes that are not priorities in other feminisms in Brazil, performing themselves authentically. In addition, their feminist discourse on TikTok has an Afro-Brazilian perspective, being disconnected from Eurocentric influences and focusing on Black ideal figures of femininity. Through their resistance to creating new representations of themselves in media, *Pretas* and *Pardas* women perform what is morally acceptable to their own reality in a negotiation with the audience.

This study contributes academically by recognizing and expanding the context of the resistance of *Pretas* and *Pardas* Brazilian feminist funk singers on social media, identifying a

similar feminist discourse with the Brazilian feminist funk music movement and its lyrics. In studying MC Carol as a research subject, comprehending her *bandida* performance as the most important element of her feminist discourse, and investigating further that portrayal on social media, therefore, the idea of Brazilian feminist funk discourse is renewed.

## References

- Aguiar, E. (2022, February 3). *MC Carol: "Me achava bonita, mas não era isso que ouvia na rua."* Mina bem estar.  
<https://minabemestar.uol.com.br/mc-carol-me-achava-bonita-mas-nao-era-isso-que-ouvia-na-rua/>
- Alinia, M. (2015). On Black feminist thought: Thinking oppression and resistance through intersectional paradigm. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(13), 2334-2340.
- Alvarez, S. E. (2018). The (Trans) formation of Feminism (s) and Gender Politics in Democratizing Brazil 1. In *The Women's Movement in Latin America* (pp. 13-63). Routledge.
- Alvarez, S. E., & Caldwell, K. L. (2016). Promoting feminist Amefricanidade: bridging black feminist cultures and politics in the Americas. *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism*, 14(1), V-XI.
- Amer, A. (2020). Between recognition and mis/nonrecognition: Strategies of negotiating and performing identities among white Muslims in the United Kingdom. *Political Psychology*, 41(3), 533-548.
- Azevedo, A. M. (2018). Samba: um ritmo negro de resistência. *Revista do Instituto de estudos Brasileiros*, 44-58.
- Bairros, L., Alvarez, S. E., & Translated by Miriam Adelman. (2016). Feminisms and Anti-Racism: Intersections and Challenges. An interview with Luiza Bairros, Minister, Brazilian Secretariat of Public Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPPIR), 2011–2014. *Meridians*, 14(1), 50-69.

- Barros, T. N. (2020). Estamos em marcha! Escrevivendo, agindo e quebrando códigos. *Silva, Tarcízio (organizador), Comunidades, algoritmos e ativismos digitais: Olhares afrodiaspóricos, LiteraRua, São Paulo, 197-214.*
- Bastian Duarte, Á. I. (2012). From the margins of Latin American feminism: Indigenous and lesbian feminisms. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38(1), 153-178.*
- Boakari, F. M., & de Souza, E. G. M. (2019). MULHERES AFRODESCENDENTES E ESPAÇOS VIRTUAIS: PARA VISIBILIZAR ABERTURAS EPISTEMOLÓGICAS. *Revista Fórum Identidades.*
- Bragança, J. (2020). *Preso na Gaiola: A criminalização do funk carioca nas páginas do Jornal do Brasil (1990-1999).* Editora Appris.
- Brasil, C. D. C. (2022). Critério de classificação econômica Brasil. *Associação Brasileira de Empresas de Pesquisa (ABEP).*
- Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The urban review, 37, 425-446.*
- Bullingham, L., & Vasconcelos, A. C. (2013). ‘The presentation of self in the online world’: Goffman and the study of online identities. *Journal of information science, 39(1), 101-112.*
- Burns, M. (2020). Resistência pela existência: Dona Ivone Lara, Sorriso Negro e ativismos nos últimos anos da ditadura brasileira. *The Latin Americanist, 64(1), 46-61.*
- Cabral, U. (2022, November 11). *Pessoas pretas e Pardas Continuam com menor acesso a emprego, Educação, Segurança E SANEAMENTO: Agência de Notícias.* IBGE.  
<https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-noticias/2012-agencia-de-noticias/noticias/35467-pessoas-pretas-e-pardas-continuam-com-menor-acesso-a-emprego-educacao-seguranca-e-saneamento>

- Cardoso, C. P., & Adelman, M. (2016). Feminisms from the perspective of Afro-Brazilian women. *Meridians*, 14(1), 1-29.
- Carneiro, S. (2019). Mulheres em movimento: contribuições do feminismo negro. *Pensamento feminista brasileiro: formação e contexto. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo*, 271-289.
- Carvajal, H. A. B. (2014). Una mirada sobre el feminismo del Funk carioca. *Ciencia Política*, 9(18), 16-16.
- Ceci, L. (2024, February 1). *Countries with the largest TikTok audience as of January 2024*. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1299807/number-of-monthly-unique-tiktok-users/>
- Cesar, R. D. N. (2022). Arranjos Íntimos. *Ponto Urbe. Revista do núcleo de antropologia urbana da USP*, (30 v. 2).
- Collins, P. H. (2022). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. routledge.
- da Cunha, F. L. (2018). Samba locations: An analysis on the carioca samba, identities, and intangible heritage (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). *Latin American Heritage: Interdisciplinary Dialogues on Brazilian and Argentinian Case Studies*, 3-20.
- de Almeida Teles, M. A. (2018). *Breve história do feminismo no Brasil e outros ensaios*. Alameda Casa Editorial.
- Del Picchia, M. (2021). Fluxos, quebrada e musicar funk—se sentir dentro da música. *GIS-Gesto, Imagem E Som-Revista De Antropologia*, 6(1).
- Depexe, S., & dos Santos Freitas, M. J. (2023). “Tá, tá movimentando”: a indústria editorial e o TikTok no Brasil. *Comunicação Mídia e Consumo*, 20(58).

- de Siqueira Gomes, G. P. (2021). PRETOS E PARDOS, UNI-VOS. OS DESAFIOS DE (O) SER NEGRO NO BRASIL DO SÉCULO XXI. *Revista Desenvolvimento & Civilização*, 2(1), 80-106.
- de Souza, G. N. (2019). Análise do sistema de classificação por cor/raça no Brasil. *RELACult-Revista Latino-Americana de Estudos em Cultura e Sociedade*, 5.
- de Souza, V. I. T. (2020). O rap da Felicidade e o rap do Silva: Música de protesto?. *Revista da Tulha*, 6(1), 167-193.
- Duarte, C. L. (2019). Feminismo: uma história a ser contada. *Pensamento feminista brasileiro: formação e contexto. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo*, 25-47.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (2008). *The souls of black folk*. Oxford University Press.
- Dürks Cassol, P. (2022). " Abayomi, we are the revolution": Women's Rights and Samba at Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 24(1), 4.
- Emerson, R. A. (2002). "Where my girls at?" Negotiating black womanhood in music videos. *Gender & society*, 16(1), 115-135.
- Enriquez, F. (2022). New Forms of Musical Belonging in Contemporary Brazil. In *The Routledge Companion to Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Latin American Literary and Cultural Forms* (pp. 456-465). Routledge.
- Ferreira, M. A., & Giorgi, M. C. (2022). Mulher e Funk: as relações mulheristas na cultura diaspórica do Rio de Janeiro. *Revista Extraprensa*, 16(1), 24-38.
- Freyre, G. (1938). *Casa-grande & senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regimen de economia patriarcal*. Schmidt.
- Fürsich, E. (2009). In defense of textual analysis: Restoring a challenged method for journalism and media studies. *Journalism studies*, 10(2), 238-252.

- Garcia, D. A., & Sousa, L. M. A. (2017). A cultura funk, a mulher e o feminismo: uma resistência artística?. *Do cárcere à invenção: gêneros sexuais na contemporaneidade*, 105.
- Gianordoli-Nascimento, I. F., da Cruz Silva, S. A. T., da Cruz, J. P. D., da Costa Oliveira, F., Veloso, F. G. C., & Rabelo, L. D. B. C. (2013). Promessas de vida em tempos de ameaça: mulheres, música e resistência durante a ditadura militar no Brasil. *Memorandum: Memória e História em Psicologia*, 24, 29-58.
- Gillam, R. (2022). bell hooks's Oppositional Gaze and Black Feminist Film Production in Brazil. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 45(4), 450-456.
- Gilroy, P. (2001). *O Atlântico negro: modernidade e dupla consciência*. Editora 34.
- Guta, H., & Karolak, M. (2015). Veiling and blogging: Social media as sites of identity negotiation and expression among Saudi women. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16(2), 115-127.
- Gonçalves, E., & Pinto, J. P. (2011). Reflexões e problemas da "transmissão" intergeracional no feminismo brasileiro. *cadernos pagu*, 25-46.
- Hall, S. (1989). Ethnicity: Identity and difference. *Radical America*, 23(4), 9-20.
- Hall, S. (2015). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory* (pp. 392-403). Routledge.
- Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and method: Feminist standpoint theory revisited. *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society*, 22(2), 341-365.
- Hooks, B. (2012). The oppositional gaze: Black female spectators. In *Black American Cinema* (pp. 288-302). Routledge.
- Hordge-Freeman, E. (2013). What's love got to do with it?: Racial features, stigma and socialization in Afro-Brazilian families. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 36(10), 1507-1523.

- Jackson, S. J., & Banaszczyk, S. (2016). Digital standpoints: Debating gendered violence and racial exclusions in the feminist counterpublic. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 40(4), 391-407.
- Lawson, M. (2019, March 18). *MC Carol: The baile funk star tackling Brazil's far-right - the skinny*. MC Carol: the baile funk star tackling Brazil's far-right - The Skinny. <https://www.theskinny.co.uk/music/interviews/mc-carol-the-first-lady-of-the-favelas>
- Life, T. S. (2011). Why Youth (Heart) Social Network Sites. *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Critical Reader*, 409.
- Lu, J. H., & Steele, C. K. (2019). 'Joy is resistance': Cross-platform resilience and (re) invention of Black oral culture online. *Information, Communication & Society*, 22(6), 823-837.
- Lyra, K. (2016). Rio's Feminist Funk: An Undulating Curve of Shifting Perspectives. *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies*, 4(2), 343-371.
- Martinez, F. (2019). Feminismos em movimento no ciberespaço. *cadernos pagu*, e195612.
- Martinez, F. J. (2021). Militantes e radicais da quarta onda: o feminismo na era digital. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 29, e70177.
- Matos, M., & Simoes, S. (2017). Emergence of intersectional activist feminism in Brazil: the interplay of local and global contexts. In *Global currents in gender and feminisms: Canadian and international perspectives* (pp. 35-47). Emerald Publishing Limited.
- MC Carol & Karol Conká. (2016). 100% feminista [song]. *On Bandida*. Heavy Baile.
- McKee, A. (2003). Textual analysis: A beginner's guide. *Textual analysis*, 1-160.
- McNally, J. (2017). Favela Chic: Diplo, Funk Carioca, and the ethics and aesthetics of the global remix. *Popular Music and Society*, 40(4), 434-452.
- Moreira, N. R. (2014). Samba de Autoria Feminina. *Arquivos do CMD*, 2(2).

- Moreira, R. (2017). "Now That I'm a Whore, Nobody Is Holding Me Back!": Women in Favela Funk and Embodied Politics. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 40(2), 172-189.
- Moreira, R. (2022). 'To be a slut is to be free': women in favela funk, performances of racialised femininity, and celebrity media. *Celebrity Studies*, 13(3), 308-325.
- Moreno, A. (1982). Bossa Nova:: Novo Brasil: The Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music. *Latin American Research Review*, 17(2), 129-141.
- Munro, E. (2013). Feminism: A fourth wave?. *Political insight*, 4(2), 22-25.
- Perez, O. C., & Ricoldi, A. M. (2023). The Fourth Wave of Feminism in Brazil. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 31, e83260.
- Perry, K. K. Y. (2016). Geographies of power: Black women mobilizing intersectionality in Brazil. *Meridians*, 14(1), 94-120.
- Phillips, R., & Cree, V. E. (2014). What does the 'fourth wave' mean for teaching feminism in twenty-first century social work?. *Social Work Education*, 33(7), 930-943.
- Pinto-Bailey, C. F. (2021). Black Brazilian Feminisms: From Page, to Stage, to Screen. *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 54(1), 34-44.
- Pinto, C. R. J. (2003). *Uma história do feminismo no Brasil*. Ed. Fundação Perseu Abramo.
- Ribeiro, F. (2022). The anal epistemology of esculacho: feminist operatives of Brazilian Funk. *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, 1-17.
- Rigoni, I. (2014). Intersectionality and mediated cultural production in a globalized post-colonial world. In *Gender, migration and the media* (pp. 61-76). Routledge.
- Robson, G. J., & Tsou, J. Y. (2023). *Technology Ethics: A Philosophical Introduction and Readings*. Taylor & Francis.

- Rodrigues, C., & Prado, M. A. (2013). A history of the Black women's movement in Brazil: Mobilization, political trajectory and articulations with the state. *Social Movement Studies, 12*(2), 158-177.
- Santos, M. P. A. D., Nery, J. S., Goes, E. F., Silva, A. D., Santos, A. B. S. D., Batista, L. E., & Araújo, E. (2020). População negra e Covid-19: reflexões sobre racismo e saúde. *Estudos avançados, 34*, 225-244.
- Santos, F. (2023, December 31). *As redes Sociais Mais Usadas no Brasil em 2024: Tudo O Que Você Precisa Saber sobre Cada Rede social - conversion*. Conversion.  
<https://www.conversion.com.br/blog/redes-sociais/>
- Sarti, C. A. (2004). O feminismo brasileiro desde os anos 1970: revisitando uma trajetória. *Revista Estudos Feministas, 12*, 35-50.
- Schechner, R. (2017). *Performance studies: An introduction*. Routledge.
- Simões, R. B., Baeta, A. D., & Costa, B. F. (2023). Mapping Feminist Politics on Tik Tok during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Content Analysis of the Hashtags# Feminismo and# Antifeminismo. *Journalism and Media, 4*(1), 244-257.
- Skidmore, T. E. (1983). Race and class in Brazil: historical perspectives. *Luso-Brazilian Review, 20*(1), 104-118.
- Souza, N. S. (2021). *Tornar-se negro: ou as vicissitudes da identidade do negro brasileiro em ascensão social*. Editora Schwarcz-Companhia das Letras.
- Stanton, A. G., Jerald, M. C., Ward, L. M., & Avery, L. R. (2017). Social media contributions to strong Black woman ideal endorsement and Black women's mental health. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 41*(4), 465-478.
- Steele, C. K. (2021). Black feminist pleasure on TikTok: An ode to Hurston's "Characteristics of Negro Expression". *Women's Studies in Communication, 44*(4), 463-469.
- Taylor, D. (2002). Translating performance. *Profession, 44*-50.

- Trindade, L. V. D. P. (2020). "My hair, my crown". Examining black Brazilian women's anti-racist discursive strategies on social media. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, 45(3), 277-296.
- Turley, E., & Fisher, J. (2018). Tweeting back while shouting back: Social media and feminist activism. *Feminism & psychology*, 28(1), 128-132.
- Van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies* (Vol. 9). Sage.
- Viana, L. R. (2010). O Funk no Brasil: música desintermediada na cibercultura. *Sonora, Unicamp, SP*, 3(5).
- Welang, N. (2018). Triple consciousness: The reimagination of Black female identities in contemporary American culture. *Open Cultural Studies*, 2(1), 296-306.
- Wood, W., Pool, G. J., Leck, K., & Purvis, D. (1996). Self-definition, defensive processing, and influence: the normative impact of majority and minority groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(6), 1181.
- Yúdice, G., & Vianna, H. (2014). The Funkification of Rio 1. In *Microphone Fiends* (pp. 193-217). Routledge.