MAINSTREAM MUSIC IN THE POSTMODERN SCENARIO

An analysis of sexuality, well-being, and racialization.

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A LA MÚSICA.

A los sueños y la perseverancia. A renunciar y crecer.

A Freddie Mercury, Chester Bennington y tantas otras voces que me acompañaron a llorar, reír, bailar y soñar, desde que tengo memoria.

Que el amor no signifique cortarnos las alas. Se puede ser libre y amar en esa libertad.

A la mujer que me ama en la libertad que escogí: Mamá.

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"Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto"

Como un guiño a la producción académica, esta página es un tributo a quienes estuvieron, están y estarán.

As a tribute to those who were, are, and will be there…

Alvarez-Cueva, **Priscila**., et al., 2022[1]

Easter egg: I have included some music recommendations to follow the reading of the present work. Would you be able to find, search and listen to all of them?

He incluido algunas recomendaciones musicales para seguir la lectura de la presente obra. ¿Serías capaz de encontrarlas, buscarlas y escucharlas todas?

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[1] Abad, **Andrea**; Almirón, **Núria**; Alonso, **Vanessa**; Alvarez, **Eulalia**; Alvarez-Cueva, **Paulina**; Andrade, **Gabriel**; Anglada, **Ona**; Angulo, **Andrea**; Araüna, **Núria**; Arce, **Sofía**; Arévalo, **Paúl**; Argemi-Baldich, **Rafel**; Astudillo, **Ana-Elisa**; Atacci, **Tugce**; Aupers, **Stef**; Azemar, **Frédéric**; Ballesté, **Eduard**; Bernal, **Ana-Karina**; Blanco, **Vítor**; Brisley, **Adam**; Brito, **Carmen**; Calle, **Dora**(+); Calle, **Sor. Cecilia**; Campoverde, **Nataly**; Cano-Hila, **Ana**; Carbone, **Luca**; Castillo, **Rafael**; Chacón, **Carola**; Chacón, **Claudio**; Chávez, **Victoria**; Codina, **Lluís**; Collado, **Carmen**; Cordero, **Viviana**; Cueva, **Andrea Elizabeth**; Cueva, **Pilar**; Cueva-Calle, **María-Cumandá**; de Wildt, **Lars**; Escandón, **Andrés**; Escandón, **Julia**; Espinoza, **Carolina**; Fernández, **Ariadna**; Fernández, **Laura**; Figueras-Maz, **Mónica**; Galindo, **Belén**; Gómez, **Lorena**; González, **Anaëlle**; González, **Catalina**; González, **Gemma**; Grusauskaite, **Kamile**; Guerra, **Paula**; Guerrero, **Ignacio**; Guerrero, **Ximena**; Hansen, **Nele**; Heskol, **Abeer**; Kiyal, **Sercan**; Kramscak, **Xukxa**; Landy, **Sebastián**; Larrea, **Olatz**; Lathiere-Garwood, **Sophie**; Lazo, **Ximena**; Leles, **Carol**; López, **Enrique**; Mancheno, **Maribel**; Mahr, **Jake**; Malache, **Laura**; Maldonado, **Daniel**; Malo, **Mónica**; Masanet, **María José**; Mateus, **Julio**; Matovelle, **Belén**; Mecca, **Margot**; Medina-Bravo, **Pilar**; Meseguer, **David**; Morocho, **Belén**; Muñoz, **Tomi**; Navarrete, **Micaela**; Noon, **Edward**; Ochoa, **Hans**; Ochoa, **Karina**; Oliva, **Mercé**; Oliveira, **Daniella**; Ou, **Yifan**; Pedraza, **Rafael**; Peña, **Carmen**; Peñafiel, **Daniel**; Piedra, **César**; Piedra, **Nany**(+); Piedra-Alvarez, **Nala**; Piedra-Peña, **Juan-Andrés**; Pires, **Fernanda**; Radanovic, **Dragana**; Riley, **Sarah**; Ríos, **Carola**; Roca, **Carles**; Rosic, **Jasmina**; Santos, **Ariadna**; Schaap, **Julian**; Scolari, **Carlos**; Segato, **Rita**; Selva, **David**; Soler-i-Martí, **Roger**; Souza, **Tainá**; Tedesco, **Brunella**; Ugalde, **Cecilia**; Ukropec, **Robert**; van Aarle, **Bastiaan**; van Speybroeck, **Kato**; Vandenbosch, **Laura**; Vanegas, **Vanessa**; Vélez, **Daniela**; Ventura, **Rafael**; Vilasís-Pamos, **Julia**.

Nota sobre el uso del lenguaje.

Sobre el uso del lenguaje no sexista y de género en la tesis.

Entendiendo a la academia como un espacio de construcción de conocimiento dinámico y respetuoso, que busca una transformación social significativa –aunque paulatina–, esta tesis doctoral ha procurado hacer un uso inclusivo del lenguaje (especialmente en las secciones en castellano). La intención es evitar –en la medida de lo posible– reproducir y continuar normalizando sistemas de dominación y/o marginación, especialmente en relación con las mujeres. Comprendiendo a "la lengua como realidad cambiante, que evoluciona en cada época para responder a las necesidades de la comunidad que la utiliza (…) conviene que la lengua como producto social refleje esa igualdad" (Marçal, Kelso y Nogués, 2011:36). Por esta razón, la presente tesis se redacta en base a dos principios:

1. El uso de un lenguaje más inclusivo que evita el uso del masculino genérico. En este ejercicio, se incluye deliberadamente pronombres y/o artículos tanto femeninos como masculinos, apelando a un lenguaje que no sea sexista (ej., las y los artistas.)
2. La incorporación del nombre de las y los autores que se citan dentro del texto de la tesis. Así mismo, la incorporación de nombres y apellidos en el apartado *Referencias de la memoria.*

En línea con el *decálogo para la incorporación de la perspectiva de género*[2] en el grupo de investigación JOVIScom (UPF), esta tesis procura, especialmente, incorporar una paridad en la citación, el uso de un lenguaje inclusivo y no sexista, y realizar un análisis sensible al sistema sexo/género en todas las fases de la investigación y transferencia de resultados.

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[2] Disponible en: upf.edu/es/web/joviscom/igualtat

Así mismo, comprendiendo que "[E]l desequilibrio de género que existe en el sistema de ciencia y tecnología puede combatirse adoptando una perspectiva de género" (CCS, 2020:6), esta tesis sigue las recomendaciones de Marçal, Heura; Kelso, Fiona y Nogués, Mercè (2021), especialmente con respecto a:

- El uso de la palabra *persona,* con un adjetivo o con una frase subordinada que la califiquen (ej., la persona beneficiaria – en lugar d*el beneficiario*, las personas mayores – en lugar de *los ancianos*)
- Utilizar palabras colectivas o construcciones metonímicas para designar [a esos] grupos (ej., la población inmigrante – en lugar de *los inmigrantes,* la juventud – en lugar de *los jóvenes*)
- Mantener las *formas enteras* alterando el orden entre femeninas y masculinas a lo largo del texto (ej., madres y padres; actor y actriz)
- Incorporar *formas abreviadas* donde se escribe entera la forma masculina y, a continuación, separada por una barra inclinada, la terminación femenina (ej., alumno/a)

"Who cares if one more light goes out? In a sky of a million stars, it flickers, flickers. Who cares when someone's time runs out? If a moment is all we are. We're quicker, quicker. Who cares if one more light goes out? Well, **I do**"

<div align="right">

One more light. Linkin Park.

</div>

"La música no nace en una torre de marfil, sino que produce, reproduce y contesta al mundo. Y **el mundo es sexista**"

(Ramos López, 2003, p.107)

"En la industria de la música, **todo es mentira**"

(*René*, Residente, 2020)

Abstract

This research uses mainstream music scenarios in Spain to explore its representations and problematize them from a critical gender perspective. Structured by four items, this work 1) situates mainstream music within the postmodern scenario of neoliberal narrative; 2) explores the configuration of femininities and masculinities, from what is established as gender stereotypes. Furthermore, 3) it analyses the construction of sexualization concerning racial phenotype bias. In this exercise, this research problematizes how, while some sexual representations echo greater individual agency, historically marginalized individuals or groups are continually subjected to pejorative representations. Finally, 4) the role of music due to the COVID-19 lockdown is critically explored, as this phenomenon ran through the research process itself, highlighting once again the importance of music, and the arts in general, within individual and social life, especially in times of crisis. The main findings of this research argue that representations of mainstream music in Spain continue to sustain the hegemonic, heteronormative power/domination structure that primarily panders to the male gaze of the music industry. In doing so, traditionally marginalized social groups continue to serve as a convenient fantasy or cliché for the capitalist world-system. Finally, the importance of music as an 'antidote' for times of uncertainty, such as the one we experienced during the 2020 pandemic, is highlighted.

Key words

Mainstream commercial music, gender studies, intersectionality, content analysis, well-being, identity, cultural studies, decoloniality, sexualization, racialization.

Resumen

Esta investigación utiliza el escenario de la música mainstream en España para explorar sus representaciones y problematizarlas desde una perspectiva crítica de género. Estructurado por cuatro ítems, este trabajo 1) sitúa la música mainstream en el escenario posmoderno de narrativa neoliberal; 2) explora la configuración de las feminidades y masculinidades, desde lo establecido como estereotipos de género. Además, 3) analiza la construcción de la sexualización con respecto al sesgo del fenotipo racial. En este ejercicio, esta investigación problematiza cómo, mientras algunas representaciones sexuales se hacen eco de una mayor agencia individual, los individuos o grupos históricamente marginados son continuamente objeto de representaciones peyorativas. Por último, 4) se explora críticamente el papel de la música debido al confinamiento de la COVID-19, ya que la pandemia atravesó el propio proceso de investigación, destacando una vez más la importancia de la música, y de las artes en general, dentro de la vida individual y social, especialmente en tiempos de crisis. Las principales conclusiones de esta investigación sostienen que las representaciones de la música mainstream en España siguen sosteniendo la estructura de poder/dominación hegemónica y heteronormativa que satisface principalmente a la mirada masculina de la industria musical. De este modo, los grupos sociales tradicionalmente marginados siguen sirviendo de fantasía o cliché conveniente para el sistema-mundo capitalista. Por último, se subraya la importancia de la música como "antídoto" para los momentos de incertidumbre, como el que hemos vivido durante la pandemia de 2020.

Palabras clave

Música comercial mainstream, género, interseccionalidad, análisis de contenido, bienestar, identidad, estudios culturales, decolonialidad, sexualización, racialización.

Resum

Aquesta investigació utilitza l'escenari de la música mainstream a Espanya per explorar les representacions i problematitzar-les des d'una perspectiva crítica de gènere. Estructurat per quatre ítems, aquest treball 1) situa la música mainstream a l'escenari postmodern de narrativa neoliberal; 2) explora la configuració de les feminitats i masculinitats, des del que s'estableix com a estereotips de gènere. A més, 3) analitza la construcció de la sexualització respecte al biaix del fenotip racial. En aquest exercici, aquesta investigació problematitza com, mentre algunes representacions sexuals es fan ressò d'una agència individual més gran, els individus o grups històricament marginats són contínuament objecte de representacions pejoratives. Finalment, 4) s'explora críticament el paper de la música a causa del confinament de la COVID-19, ja que la pandèmia va travessar el procés de recerca, destacant una vegada més la importància de la música, i de les arts en general, dins de la vida individual i social, especialment en temps de crisi. Les conclusions principals d'aquesta investigació sostenen que les representacions de la música mainstream a Espanya continuen sostenint l'estructura de poder/dominació hegemònica i heteronormativa que satisfà principalment la mirada masculina de la indústria musical. D'aquesta manera, els grups socials tradicionalment marginats continuen servint de fantasia o clixé convenient per al sistema-món capitalista. Finalment, se subratlla la importància de la música com a "antídot" per als moments d'incertesa, com el que hem viscut durant la pandèmia del 2020.

Paraules clau

Música comercial mainstream, gènere, interseccionalitat, anàlisi de contingut, benestar, identitat, estudis culturals, decolonialitat, sexualització, racialització.

MAINSTREAM MUSIC IN THE POSTMODERN SCENARIO: AN ANALYSIS OF SEXUALITY, WELL-BEING, AND RACIALIZATION.

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Chapter I: Motivation and context

"Vivo por ella que me da fuerza, valor y realidad" – Vivo por ella, Marta Sánchez y Andrea Bocelli, 1997

It was 2017, I had just arrived in Barcelona, and I was living with two flatmates, all three from Latin America. One night we went to a party and a Spanish guy came up to me and asked me to dance. As a good fan of tropical rhythms, I danced energetically. Suddenly, this guy, out of the blue, tried to kiss me. To this day I still don't recall why but, instead of getting angry, I started a sort of interrogation to try to understand what was going through his mind! His answers turned out to fit the stereotype of the Latina woman that I had heard about but, until that moment, I had not experienced it first-hand. At that time, *narconovelas* and *narco-series* were all the rage, so I began to ask myself several questions, including what does a Latina woman look like in the eyes of a Spaniard? how are we being represented?

It wasn't until the *Gender and Media* class, in the *Master's in International Studies, Media, Power and Diversity (UPF)* that I had to position myself as a feminist without understanding what it meant. After a short time, I not only felt that I was discovering myself as a feminist, but that there was an opportunity to try to answer the questions I had asked myself that night of the party.

It was in a conversation with Brunella Tedesco, about how romanticism had permeated us to the core based on the music we used to listen to when we were young, that I began to reflect that, for example, I used to be ashamed of the music I liked because it was labelled as "simple" or "tasteless". I remembered following the musical imposition of my partner at that time, during my first year of university, because he also found my music to be somewhat "basic".

I tried by all means to overcome the spiral of silence (Noelle-Neumann, 1991) but I could not. That is how music started to become a refuge that helped me – sometimes secretly, sometimes loudly – to try to understand myself.

Can music be an element through which ideas have conveyed and impact the understanding of what, for example, a Latina woman is? I thought to myself. If we have come to recognise ourselves as "hardcore romantics in process of deconstruction", I reflected with Brunella, what role can representation in music videos play in today's youth? No, I thought, even earlier: how are these representations configured, who does it serve and who is affected by them?

In 2006, Juan C. Calvi argued that both the offline and online music market still follow an oligopolistic structure that concentrates most of the cultural musical productions on very few labels. In so doing, these *giants* not only generate most of the profits from the revenues but also take an important role in the so-called *digital revolution.* The core problem is not only the dynamics of power over the production of music but the continuum of portrayals that mainly pleases men's views and reinforces ideas and stereotypes, especially concerning women. Based on the relationship that music labels have with different brands and companies, to increase their revenues, the videoclip has acquired an even more relevant role than the one the world experience from MTV in the 1980s. Jon Illescas (2015) argued that music video has become the most consumed cultural product. According to the author, youths elaborate their vision of the world from the images facilitated by the videoclips and find a sort of ideology that incorporate into their lives, especially due to the over-idealization they make from the artists.

When it comes to music studies, most of the works analyse the audience's perspective to dig deeper into their preferences and ways of life. However, there is a gap related, for instance, to the construction of stereotypes and roles among the most popular videoclips. Precisely Jon Illescas (2015) has developed a set of types of videoclips – majority and minority – that detail some of the

features that the music industry incorporates in each. However, there is no further debate on the relationship between the artists and participants in those same videos. Furthermore, some works related to stereotypes among music representations have been carried out from a feminist perspective (Guarinos, 2012), although most of them were focused on the role and representation of women, leaving behind the role of men and masculinities in this regard. Nevertheless, and even though there is a problematization about some of the constructions of such portrayals, the gap in the features and characteristics of gender stereotypes -that allow rapid identification and help to establish processes of reflection based on education to turn them down, is still a work in progress.

Amid this gradual reflection process and information, I came across some works on cultural production that are inserted into the "western world". The sexualisation of culture (Attwood, 2006, 2009) has probably been the subject that attracted my attention the most, precisely because a large part of the stereotype associated with Latin women has to do with their sexualised idea of them. This representation, within the saturated spectrum of contemporary sexual images (Mcnair, 2009), tends to be problematised alongside the general sexualisation of women. However, are we talking about the same sexualisation?

Rosalind Gill (2007, 2017) critically discussed how different elements (e.g., sexualisation, confidence, self-determination) are echoed in contemporary representations of women, especially alluding to what feminism and empowerment mean. Indeed, as the author argues, these elements are inserted into what she calls 'the postfeminist sensibility' and have come to establish a certain norm that is in line with the neoliberal production in which cultural products are embedded: 'it instantiates a common sense that operates as a kind of gendered neoliberalism' (Gill, 2017:606).

If the idea of deregulation runs through current cultural production, then it is quite possible that, as with market liberalisation and privatisation, there are still inequalities around who and how certain

representations are created. In my investigation, I link them to mainstream music.

"All I can see is just a yellow lemon tree" – *Lemon tree*, Fools Garden, 1995

To think about how representations are constructed in mainstream music led me to reflect on identity. Much of the work that examines representations, particularly concerning music, focuses on the consequences that such images might have on a cognitive and psychological level (e.g., Illescas Martínez, 2014; Ward, Hansbrough y Walker, 2005; Vandenbosch y Eggermont, 2012). The main concern revolves around seeing and evaluating representations as 'good' or 'bad', and their effects on some audiences. Few discussions problematise them furthermore. This is not to say that it is not important to consider the impact of representations on audiences – indeed, that is part of the driving force of cultural studies – but are we really stepping out of the comfort zone when we look at representations in mainstream music?

Stuart Hall (1996) answers the question *Who needs identity?* from two considerations. The first is from the understanding of identity due to a deconstructive approach, where he moves away from essentialist notions (although he considers them relevant for the formulation of new key concepts). The second is related to understanding identity as a discursive practice, involving agency and politics. In this practice, the subject is thought of as a new, displaced or even decentred position. From these considerations, identity is connected to the concept of identification, as part of the attempt to articulate the subject with discursive practices in the postmodern scenario. In his own words: "[Identification] is drawing meanings from both the discursive and the psychoanalytic repertoire, without being limited to either" (Hall, 1996:6). In this sense, the discursive

perspective understands identification as a constant process of construction:

> Identification is, then, a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption (…) since as a process it operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier-effects'. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process (Hall, 1996:7)

According to Stuart Hall y Paul Du Gay (2003), identity (and identities) cannot be consolidated in a single model because, even more so in the time of late modernity, they are constantly fragmented and constructed in different ways, through both practices and discourses. "Las identidades (…) se constituyen dentro de la representación y no fuera de ella"[3] (Hall y Du Gay, 2003:18). In this sense, if we want to problematise identities, we may well begin by understanding how certain representations are constructed.

In postmodern cultural production, the representation of sexuality has been widely discussed in different scenarios (e.g., from traditional television, series on subscription platforms, and social media, to music). Sexualisation, especially since the rise of feminism, has often acquired a vindicatory and almost revolutionary meaning. In fact, in the mainstream music scene, it is possible to establish a *before and after* by the representation of Madonna (Bennett, 2001). From there, feminism and gender studies have embraced many of the representations of mainstream artists, who advocate greater sexual agency as self-determination synonymous (e.g., Beyoncé). However, Eva Illouz (1997), for example, in her work about the utopia of love and the cultural contradictions of capitalism, refers to sexuality as an element that is equally subordinated to the social discourse of self-fulfilment, hedonism and self-knowledge (which is also transversal to love). In this sense, because they are conditioned, sexuality and

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[3] Own translation from Spanish: Identities (...) are constituted within representation and not outside it.

sexualisation – as the most recurrent representation – can vary according to certain characteristics with which they are accompanied. This invites me to think that not all sexualisation should be understood in the same way.

Thus, I contextualise the scenario of my doctoral work in the representations of mainstream commercial music, also considering that "la representación siempre se construye a través de una <<falta>>, una división, desde el lugar del otro"[4] (Hall y Du Gay, 2003:21). This "division" or difference is explored precisely through gender perspective (McRobbie, 1991; Gill, 2017), intersectionality (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013) and decoloniality (Lugones, 2008; Quijano, 2011). I am interested, not only as a female academic but as a Latin American researcher, in identifying the social and cultural elements that accompany mainstream music representations. Furthermore, I want to explore how femininities and masculinities are constructed within its portrayals, especially when these are linked to elements of sexuality, which advocate for a greater agency – in the case, above all, of women. I strongly believe that facilitating the reading of these products, especially considering such a complex cultural production (because of the power relationship that is established by the music industry over the artists), can also mean elaborating new resources that can be implemented in critical and reflective learning processes.

Chapter II: Introduction, theoretical framework, and methodology

"En la sala de un hospital, a las 9:43, nació Simón." – *El gran varón*, Willie Colón, 1989.

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[4] Own translation from Spanish: "Representation is always constructed through a <<lack>>, a division, from the place of the other"

Over the years, art and popular culture have been analysed from various perspectives and with special interest regarding the relationship they weave in society. According to the sociology of the arts (Acord y Denora, 2008), cultural and artistic products can be understood as communicative objects loaded with meanings that influence human behaviour and structure experience in social environments. This can be translated into two possible scenarios: On the one hand, there is the influence of art, either positively or negatively. About the positive, an example is found in the association with religious music or sacred art, especially because of its spiritual connection. Its antithesis, the negative influence, is associated for example with the effect of media distortion (sound alterations or manipulations). On the other hand, in the second scenario, artistic objects or products can be understood as social texts that evoke values and beliefs shared by a group. In this way, artistic works can be interpreted and through them, one can also understand one's society. In this sense, and especially when considering art as a commodity, art studies allow scholars to measure the impact of social organisation on cultural systems. Here, for example, sociologists examine tastes and lifestyles around art forms and the complex institutional networks involved in the formation, production and dissemination of cultural artefacts. Thus, the sociology of the arts encompasses a broad understanding of art and its engagement in the cultural domain with other human values and variables, through which it is possible to gauge the impact of social organisation on cultural systems, such as lifestyles, tastes, and practices, among others.

The analysis of music as an artistic and cultural product – this is, as a social object and/or text – has been present in studies that connect with preferences, tastes, and identity construction (e.g., Schwartz y Fouts, 2003), as well as the analysis of messages and their repercussions on different audiences (e.g., Rich *et al.*, 1998), and the connection of music with revolutionary ideals (Guerra, 2020). Likewise, music has been studied concerning the representation of sexuality (e.g., van Bohemen, den Hertog and van Zoonen, 2018),

including a gender perspective (e.g., Araüna, Tortajada and Figueras-Maz, 2019) and intersectionality (e.g., Schaap and Berkers, 2020). In general, the discussion around how music constructs and reconstructs society, and how it connects with culture and the different existing subcultures through lyrics, rhythms and, above all, emotions (DeNora, 2003), continues to capture the interest of the scientific community. Precisely, far from reaching a consensus on the forms of representation and their different meanings, music studies continue to scale other levels and spaces where freedom, consumption, social identities, and individual and collective emotions play a transcendental role.

The starting point of this investigation is situated in the field of cultural studies, specifically in mainstream commercial music, understood by Jon Illescas (2015) as a dominant cultural product that combines music with sex and spectacle. To understand the term "mainstream", the author goes back to Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which establishes a vision of power relations and cultural representation based on elements of class, ideas, and individual and collective values. In this discussion, the argument made by Stuart Hall (2011) is pertinent: it is itself a process and not a permanent state of 'being'. According to Stuart Hall (2011), this process entails possible confusion when it comes to giving meanings or explanations in a given context. This relationship responds, among other reasons, to the constant insertion of hegemony in the discourse of the neoliberal system. It is in this sense that neoliberalism, according to the author, becomes a hegemonic project where the representation that shapes mainstream music favours, in a special way, the dominant structures of the capitalist "world-system" (Illescas, 2015). Hence, problematising how these representations are constructed contributes to the debate on the relations of power and domination that tend to be replicated through the media. Here we also find the "common sense" – generally racist (Hall, 1990) that demarcates some representations from others. In other words, something that distinguishes them but does not deeply question their reason.

The present research is inserted in what is known as the postmodern (Hall and Gieben, 1992), or late modern (Giddens, 1997) scenario, in which the construction of contemporary cultural representations is problematised. This timeline and space entails a set of elements, practices and reflections that "altera[n] de manera radical la naturaleza de la vida social cotidiana y afecta a los aspectos más personales de nuestra experiencia"[5] (Giddens, 1997, p. 9). At the level of cultural studies, the elements that constitute postmodernity are problematised above all in their role in the construction of identity. For Jean-François Lyotard (1987), for example, postmodernity has to do with art and culture that exalts, among other things, individualism. Hence, this doctoral thesis picks up the postmodern scenario to relate it to the neoliberal rhetoric that embraces several societies – especially Western ones – and marks a way of life.

Going further, especially when establishing the elements to be analysed within mainstream music, the postmodern scenario and neoliberalism, the work made by Adrienne Evans, Sarah Riley and Avi Shankar (2010), is relevant. The authors discuss the configuration of neoliberal discourse (e.g., in the case of women and sexualisation), as how consumer practices have catapulted the existence of always-ready femininity, willing and able in terms of sexuality. It is precisely in this sense that this thesis builds up the neoliberal rhetoric and threads it throughout the argumentation in the publications presented here. Thus, following closely also to Ana De Miguel (2019:10) it is considered that:

> "[E]l neoliberalismo económico encuentra, en la desigualdad de género y el 'neoliberalismo sexual', una importante fuente de legitimación del núcleo de su discurso: todo tiene un

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[5] Own translation from Spanish: "radically alter the nature of everyday social life and affect the most personal aspects of our experience."

precio, todo se puede comprar y vender. Eso sí, con el consentimiento de las implicadas"[6]

For this reason, when trying to make sense of what is happening in the field of mainstream music and its relation to the elements mentioned above, we might have the idea that the neoliberal scenario confronts traditional society by presenting new forms and conditions for self-determination of the individual or social group, to the extent that some traditional lines of taste and class within cultural production are blurred. However, is this the case?

Pierre Bourdieu (1988) referred to the popular spectacle as the facilitator of individual and collective participation that turned the social world upside down by overturning conventions and conveniences. In his definition of *the popular*, the author referred to dominated social groups as those who, based on their different lifestyles and social signs, were distanced from the dominant elite. Therefore, class, which is a key factor in this social distinction, was based on the way of creating and using symbolic goods, especially those considered attributes of excellence. In this sense, tastes would obey what would demarcate these differentiating and often aspirational patterns and characteristics. However, nowadays, and especially within music studies, talking about what is popular has become more complex because its concept has intertwined with "pop" and its meaning is rather determined based on the popularity that is linked to the dominant and hegemonic industry (Illescas, 2015). Thus, what we call popular today is interrelated more with commercial aspects – within the postmodern and neoliberal rhetoric scenario – than with the characteristics or social revolutions referred to by Bourdieu (1988). Nevertheless, this does not detract from the importance of pop music within the social sphere, since, as we will explain throughout this thesis, being a majority and often hegemonic,

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[6] Own translation from Spanish: "economic neoliberalism finds, in gender inequality and 'sexual neoliberalism', an important source of legitimisation for the core of its discourse: everything has a price, everything can be bought and sold, with the consent of those involved."

its role in the individual and social spheres is equally relevant, as it can expose social themes (e.g., the song "El apagón" by Bad Bunny), generate debates on gender representations (e.g., the song "Tous Les Mêmes" by Stromae), subvert norms regarding appearance and the body (e.g., the song "About damn time" by Lizo) and accompany processes of change and revolution (e.g., the song "Latinoamérica" by Calle 13).

In this thesis, I dialogue with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1988) to understand the role that cultural and economic capitals play in the definition of social classes and, above all, in the patterns that are framed by taste. I bring these elements to the late modernity scenario, discussed by Anthony Giddens (1997) and Stuart Hall (1992), to understand what changes exist in the current social context, and to estimate how they may impact the individual and collective, problematising above all the construction of the 'self' from a gender perspective (Skeggs, 2004; Butler, 2007, Gill, 2017). Furthermore, I incorporate the intersectionality argued by Kimberly Crenshaw (1989) to further the discussion of how each level of difference (e.g., gender, race, social class) condition the basis on which each representation in mainstream commercial music is defined and affirmed, and which are central to reinforcing certain conveniences towards the neoliberal system and its spheres of power. To this end, I position the cross-cutting analysis of the research in the postfeminist perspective of Rosalind Gill (2017), also incorporating a discussion from the decolonial perspective by María Lugones (2008), towards the end of the research.

To sum up, this thesis seeks to elucidate some complexities and contradictions that are present in mainstream commercial music (Gill and Scharff, 2011), that connect with the elements of post-feminist sensibility, critically discussed by Rosalind Gill (2007, 2017). In so doing, the study focuses on three key elements: 1) *sexuality*, considering *gender roles and stereotypes*, as well as attempting to draw a line between the sensual/sexual subject and the sexual object; 2) *wellbeing*, connecting to emotions and music, particularly in times

of lockdown; and 3) **racialisation,** as one of the levels of intersectionality that moderate sexual representations in mainstream music.

The thesis is constructed with three academic publications and one academic communication. The first publication: *"Rosalía's kaleidoscope in the crossroads of late modernity"* sets the stage for the research work. Here, the article identifies late modernity not only as the context of cultural production but also argues how it dialogues with elements of gender, class and cultural memories through the case study of Rosalía.

The second publication: *"Evolution of heteronormativity through a categorization of gender stereotypes. Analysis of the most popular music videos"* builds up on various works on gender roles and stereotypes to problematise how representations are constructed in mainstream western music, while opening the debate on heteronormativity as a transversal ingredient in contemporary music production that still pleases, above all, the male gaze of the music industry.

The third element corersponds to the communication *"Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis decolonial de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España"*, opens the debate on sexualisation and racialisation. In this exercise, the communication begins to establish a theoretical line between sensual subjects and sexual objects. This publication explores the level of intersectionality (racialisation) from a decolonial perspective, considering, precisely, the power relations behind neoliberal representations within mainstream music.

Finally, the publication *"Music to Face the Lockdown: An Analysis of Covid-19 Music Narratives on Individual and Social Well-Being"*, was born due to reflection about music in times of lockdown due to the pandemic of SARS-CoV-2. This article is not only part of the adaptation that COVID-19 meant both in my research project and in our lives around the world, but it is also a way of acknowledging

music holistically as an element that made a difference regarding well-being, especially during the first months of the pandemic in 2020, in Spain and for Spanish-speaking countries.

Theoretical framework

Identity, postmodernity, and representations

"Construiste un mundo exacto de acabados tan perfectos,
Cada cosa calculada en su espacio y a su tiempo,
Yo que soy un caos completo, las entradas, las salidas,
Los nombres y las medidas no me caben en los sesos"
***Pies descalzos, sueños blancos* – Shakira (1995)**

The popular spectacle discussed by Pierre Bourdieu (1988) is seen as a space that achieves the individual and collective participation of those who seek to be represented after being displaced from dominant discourses or representations associated with class and taste. In this sense, counterculture seeks representations and vindicatory practices that precisely confront the traditional and generally bourgeois discourse within society. In this regard, John Fiske (2014) argues that culture is centrally involved in the distribution and redistribution of various forms of social power that are challenged from the stage of popular culture. However, this challenge and the very distribution of power, representation, and identification seem to blur from modernity onwards. In line precisely with the intrinsic multidimensional characteristic of modernity, four irreducible aspects are drawn to understand the passage from modernity to postmodernity: 1) capitalism, 2) industrialism, 3) the centralisation of administrative power based on surveillance, and 4) military power.

Precisely concerning postmodernity or late modernity, Stuart Hall (2011) refers to neoliberalism as a hegemonic project that is transversal to the current cultural production. In this context, the

author problematises the so-called *crisis of identity*, which refers to the decentralisation and fragmentation of identity in late modernity:

> A distinctive type of structural change is transforming modern societies in the late twentieth century. This is fragmenting the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and nationality which gave us firm locations as social individuals. These transformations are also shifting our personal identities, undermining our sense of ourselves as integrated subjects (Stuart Hall, 1992:275)

Stuart Hall (1992) distinguishes three conceptions of identity: the enlightened subject, the sociological subject, and the postmodern subject (see Table 1). Thus, the linkage of the project of hegemony discussed by the author relates to the postmodern subject/identity, which varies and is constructed based on representations in cultural systems.

Conception	Principal features	To build identity
Enlightened	Unified and centred individual, having the capacity for reason, consciousness and action. Its inner core emerges at birth, unfolds and remains the same throughout life.	Individualism. Generally in "masculine".
Sociological	The inner core is neither autonomous nor self-sufficient but is formed in relation to others (values, meanings, symbols, culture, etc.).	Interaction between "self" and society. Bridging the gap between "inside" and "outside".
Postmodern	The unified and stable identity becomes fragmented and composed of several	It is not fixed, essential or permanent. It is formed and transformed from the

	(even contradictory) identities because of the structural and institutional change of postmodernity. Identification becomes more open, variable and problematic.	representations in cultural systems, historically.

Table 1: Hall's conceptions of identity (own elaboration based on: Hall, S. 1992:275-277)

Here is where the work of Beverley Skeggs (1997) becomes particularly relevant. In her book *Formations of class and gender*, the author not only places herself in the postmodern setting to discuss the aspects of class and taste with a group of white working-class women but also integrates the gender perspective that remained the "unfinished business" in the discussion about identity:

> The women produce themselves as particular sorts of 'women' in relation to public narratives of what it means to be a working-class woman. Their subjectivity is dialogic. It requires a knowledge of where they think they should be, where they think they can be, of that which they can conceive and see as plausible and how they are positioned. They do not produce themselves in relation to individualistic narratives. They feel their lives are very public, very social and hence open to scrutiny. (Skeggs, 1997:162)

In this sense, the author agrees with Stuart Hall when he argues that the individualistic project of the "self" is, rather, of the western bourgeois type – generally masculine, and legitimises the discourse and representations of its power groups. Indeed, several of the identity and differentiating elements that are created, to a large extent, in subordinate groups of society, tend to also serve the economic interests of the dominant group (Fiske, 2014). Thus, even though some artistic expressions seek to unite and consolidate identity elements, the dominant group can use them to its advantage. Think, for example, of how the musical genre of Rock n' roll, initially

African American, was appropriated by the music industry and consolidated in the figure of Elvis Presley (Bennett, 2001). A similar exercise is that of the appropriation of twerking – initially African, problematised through the figure of Miley Cyrus (e.g., Gaunt, 2015; Zink, 2017). More than a question of taste, then, we could anticipate that the connection of mainstream music with neoliberalism, in postmodernity, has to do with economic interests and the dynamics of power and domination.

Returning to Pierre Bourdieu (1988), when the author refers to the consumption of genuine cultural goods as a case that obeys more to the logic of supply than to the logic of demand – and that implies a work of appropriation, we understand that popular culture tries to make meanings, pleasures and behaviours fit within the dynamics of power, resistance, discipline, and social order (Fiske, 2014). In this sense, whoever establishes such social order and discipline will be the one with the most power, in the case of this research, the music industry.

If we reflect on how mainstream music tends to favour the dominant structures of the "world-system" (Illescas, 2015), we understand why the relationship of the music industry (and within it, its production and representations) responds to economic interests, even though a segment of commercial music[7] can still be understood as countercultural, that is, as a space that resists the hegemonic project of the mainstream. Andy Bennett (2001:30) argued that "la clave del papel de la música en la ideología contracultural fue su poder para transmitir un sentido de 'comunidad' entre quienes la escucharon y entendieron su mensaje"[8]. However, the characteristic elements of the subordinate group also serve the economic functions of the

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[7] Commercial music does not necessarily mean mainstream music. Jon Illescas (2015) proposes a classification of "mainstream and minority" (mayoritarios y minoritarios) music videos, where it is possible to identify commercial tracks that do not necessarily meet the characteristics of mainstream music as defined by the author.

[8] Own translation from Spanish: "the key to music's role in countercultural ideology was its power to convey a sense of 'community' among those who listened to it and understood its message."

dominant (Fiske, 2014). Indeed, these contradictions are characteristics of the postmodern scenario and the neoliberal discourse that increasingly delimits them. It is precise because of the constant neoliberal narrative and representation that the postmodern music industry has received so much criticism, especially when music videos are considered "la mercancía cultural más consumida por la juventud global "[9] (Illescas, 2015:21).

Because identity is a process of identification (Hall, 1996), any element that can be appropriated for the representation of that identity will be loaded with a meaning that is interpreted as authentic (on the individual level) and assumed as valid (on the group level). In the case of mainstream music, the number of elements of identification would seem to be increasingly broad, especially since much of the industry not only set the most popular discourses and trends but has provoked a saturation effect of representations convenient to the capitalist and neoliberal system (Illescas, 2015). If we add to this the fact that young people, during the formation of their identity, can move away from interpersonal intimacy or, on the contrary, throw themselves into acts of intimacy that are promiscuous (Erikson, 1994), we understand why there is an increasing concern (or over-concern) about what is obtained from mainstream music.

> Young people use music to resist authority at all levels, assert their personalities, develop peer relationships and romantic entanglements, and learn about things that their parents and the schools aren't telling them (Lull, 1987:152)

However, before entering the debate on the impacts (or possible consequences) of mainstream music, I must point out that understanding music beyond the realm of entertainment is possible thanks to the educational practices to which it has been subjected. Many of these practices evidence reflection, education and learning processes due –among other reasons– to the elements of

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[9] Own translation from Spanish: "the cultural commodity most consumed by the global youth"

identification that are present in different music genres. Thus, for example, work has been done on anti-racist attitudes (e.g., Deepak y Biggs, 2011), social justice (e.g., Hall, 2016), international relations (e.g., Rösch, 2018), from a sociological perspective (e.g., Ahlkvist, 1999), and even in the field of criminology (e.g., Lamphere, Shumpert and Clevenger, 2015).

Moving forward, Virginia Guarinos (2012) argues that "la influencia de la canción de consumo[10] en la educación y la formación de personalidades no es ninguna afirmación descabellada, menos aún en los tiempos que vivimos"[11] (p.298). Nevertheless, the over-concern for certain representations in mainstream music sometimes overlooks the fact that much media content (including music videos) serves as a source of information from which both children and young people are able to distinguish and make judgements (Fernández Cavia, 2005).

Mainstream music has been problematised in terms of the bias that some musical genres receive from the media, particularly when these genres are associated with marginalised social groups. In this sense, for example, Christopher J. Schneider (2011) analyses the media construction of rap music and discusses how a deviant (even aberrant) idea is constructed towards this music genre and its followers. A similar exercise was carried out by Dulce Asela Martínez Noriega (2014) about the reggaeton music genre and its fans in Mexico. According to Néstor García Canclini (2001:39): "diferentes estructuras del campo artístico, y a veces sus vínculos con la sociedad, engendran interpretaciones diversas de las mismas

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[10] The term "canción de consumo" coined by Virginia Guarinos is applied alongside this thesis to refer to comercial manistream music since the author had analysed some of the videos that Emanuel Illescas (2015) classified as both majority and hegemonic.
[11] Own translation from Spanish: "the influence of the consumer song on education and the formation of personalities is not a far-fetched statement, especially in the times we live in."

obras"[12]. However, it is also pertinent to question why a representation either lyrical or visual is problematised in certain musical genres, while others that construct equally or even more controversial imaginaries (e.g., rock or pop) are excluded, nowadays. In fact, this discussion has taken place from an analysis of the racism in Spanish society concerning the musical genre of reggaeton (e.g., Por qué criticar el reguetón puede ser racista – Carne Cruda #1034 [Podcast]).

Going further, and underlining the importance of approaching the analysis of music in general, and the most listened-to music in particular, about the way they construct their representations among both lyrics and videos, the underlying problem (or as I call it, the constant concern) continues to lie in the accompaniment that can be given to the audience:

> It is important that such learning take place at an early age so that children, adolescents, and young adults are learning rather than unlearning healthy messages about gender and relational functioning. Therapists who are working with adolescents may use popular music messages to help adolescents deconstruct messages inherent in media. As a therapist, one can assist adolescents to critique media they are inundated with and decide which messages are congruent with their values. (Bretthauer, Schindler Zummermann and Banning, 2006:47)

I have already said that identity is a process in permanent construction. Moreover, it is not unified but constantly fragmented. Thus, identities multiply through discourses, practices and positions of difference (Hall, 1996). In this sense, thinking in the realm of mainstream music within postmodernity, each fragmentation of identity could well be linked to a particular musical genre or song. This effect could also be replicated in group identities. These ideas

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[12] Own translation from Spanish: "different structures of the artistic field, and sometimes their links to society, engender different interpretations of the same works."

have been explored from what is known as *cultural omnivorism* (Villarroya, 2007; Doma, 2017), which corresponds precisely to this fragmentation of tastes and consumption between so-called highbrow and lowbrow production. "Music listeners gravitate to particular kinds of music because they have particular personality characteristics, issues, and/or needs that are either reflected in the music they choose or that the music satisfies" (Schwartz y Fouts, 2003:206).

In this sense, identity and identification take place at the individual and group levels (Taylor, 1996), fluctuating their tastes and preferences among the multitude of choices available in the industry. Mainstream music, in this sense, becomes an additional element in the construction and differentiation of identity; an element from which many others are derived with fashion labels, clothing and accessories that accompany the followers of a certain star or music group. Furthermore, styles – such as hairstyles and make-up – are assimilated, which even included cultural elements (e.g., the relationship between Reggae and the Rastafari community), where links and stereotypes are established and impregnated in the social imaginary in a historical manner (Bennett, 2001).

However, despite the variety that could ideally be found in music, the mainstream does not seem to have finished including new representational options within its products. Perhaps, in this sense, the most interesting twist has come from the rise of feminism, where commercial artists have been closely linked to some social groups, among them, the LGBTIQ+ collective (e.g., Lady Gaga) (Guarinos y Sedeño-Valdellós, 2020).

While the postmodern neoliberal music scene would suggest a wider range of options and representations, its rhythm of production seems to be marked, to a large extent, by the same parameters and characteristics that reproduce hierarchies of power:

> En pleno siglo XXI, muchos estereotipos siguen estando presentes en la música, particularmente en géneros musicales

como el rap, el trap, el reggaetón, entre otros. Las referencias en las letras de las canciones a la apariencia, a las características físicas y al sexo se han vuelto más explícitas en las últimas décadas.[13] (Soler Campo y Oriola Requena, 2019:26)

In this sense, gender becomes the way in which social practices are organised. In Raewyn Connell's (2005:71) words, gender is "the reproductive arena". The author points out that gender intersects and interacts with factors such as race and class, not to mention the constant relationship it also maintains with nationality and world order. In this sense, it is possible to find in mainstream western music both practices and relations that share similar patterns of masculinity (e.g., male dominance over women; heterosexual male dominance and homosexual male subordination) and femininity (e.g., subordination and care) mean, which are sustained in the limited representations of the postmodern mainstream music scene.

The scenario presented by mainstream music in the postmodern context tends to incorporate elements of consumption promoted by artists in their representations (Evans y Riley, 2014). From these elements, the audience identifies and incorporates some of them into their way of life, even at an aspirational level (Illescas, 2015). Much of this dynamic underlies what Max Weber (1978) would define as social status, this is the connection of social value and economic value as an integrating element of identity.

When Charles Taylor (1996) talks about identity and recognition, the author argues that the former is defined in the horizon of the moral world that is known, this means, what is or is not important (e.g., good or bad) for the person who is defining his or her identity. Drawing on Taylor's work, José Francisco Zárate Ortiz (2015) argues that identity allows the person to choose the elements of social

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[13] Own translation from Spanish: "In the 21st century, many stereotypes are still present in music, particularly in music genres such as rap, trap, reggaeton, among others. References in song lyrics to appearance, physical characteristics and sex have become more explicit in recent decades."

narrative. "[L]a identidad social está conformada por el autoconcepto general, que se desglosa en la valoración que un individuo realiza de los distintos roles que ocupa en un determinado contexto"[14] (Etchezahar, 2014:130). Precisely, the social and group context is of greater relevance than the personal choice within the construction of identity as they are what make intelligibility and personal narration possible (Zárate Ortiz, 2015). Hence Pierre Bourdieu (1983) insisted that what marks social status transcends economic capital, as both cultural capitals and social connections play a fundamental role in shaping it.

If we go beyond, for example, in the case of feminine identity in postmodernity, this usually coincides with the superficial image of irresistible, uninhibited beings who enjoy buying clothes, fashionable shoes and going to parties (Elizalde, 2015). Precisely, Linda Alcolff (1988) argues that feminism – within cultural studies – has given continuity to the definition of women given by the male gaze.

> These discourses participate in the forging of a new relationship between femininity and discourses constituting the neoliberal subject (…) femininity is simultaneously being recoded and reworked along familiar tensions, contradictions, and ambivalences. (Gonick, 2006:3)

It is precisely concerning the innumerable contradictions of the representations of mainstream music in the postmodern scene that the consumer mode steals the limelight. But, is this consumption inclusive? Is it one in which everyone can participate? An additional element that not only participates in these identity-forming dynamics but is associated above all with consumption and social status, is objectification, particularly linked to ostentation and sexualisation (Wang and Krumhuber, 2017), which are typical characteristics of mainstream music videos (Illescas, 2015).

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[14] Own translation from Spanish: "Social identity is made up of the general self-concept, which is broken down into an individual's assessment of the different roles he or she occupies in a given context."

Gender, sexuality and well-being

"El mejor gancho comercial apela a tu liberalidad,
toca tu instinto animal, rozando la brutalidad.
Te lo encuentras en la pared, en el anuncio de un licor,
pegado en un mostrador, gritándote a todo color…
Sexo compro, sexo vendo, sexo arriendo, sexo ofrezco"
Sexo, Los Prisioneros (1984)

How gender hierarchies are central to the patriarchal system has been discussed in various contexts. Gwen Hunnicutt (2009) highlights the importance of considering elements such as age, race, class, sexuality, religion, historical location and nationality as mediators of the initial gendered states that will determine the variables of social value, privilege and power that each individual will have, especially as they are grounded in a hierarchy within social systems and arrangements that reinforce domination (Thomas y Davies, 2005). Thus, intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) – with its principles of selection and exclusion that constitute the abstract representation constructed among members of society even without being stated (Bourdieu, 1988), plays a fundamental role when analysing the consumption of a cultural product as diverse as the music.

Carrie Paechter (2007) argues that the binary division of what it means to be male or female – namely masculinity and femininity – becomes the fundamental basis for the operation of contemporary societies. Precisely, "la constante promoción del determinismo biológico amenaza con ocultarnos la verdadera diversidad de hombres y mujeres"[15] (Walter, 2010:245). Indeed, for Carrie Paechter both power and knowledge are grounded in the importance of gender. And, because masculinity is generally more highly valued

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[15] Own translation from Spanish: "the constant promotion of biological determinism threatens to obscure the true diversity of men and women."

than femininity, masculinity requires more evidence to be affirmed (Paechter, 2007).

> Knowing one's sex, and having others know it, places a person immediately in a power/knowledge relationship in which many other things are implied, in terms of that person's potential to operate in the world in particular ways (Paechter, 2007:18)

As Gwen Hunnicutt (2009) suggests, a critical theorisation of the patriarchy can help to understand the images of gender hierarchies, dominance and power arrangements that are shared as normalised rules within most societies and thus present in their cultural products. This suggests that we can speak of a culture that responds to a social organisation where its signifiers and meanings cut across class strata and promote male superiority over women. Going further, patriarchy also imposes differences and oppressions on men, so the discussion from this point is to talk about power, which in a certain amount and in a certain way, is what opens the inequality gap within society (Hunnicutt, 2009).

> Masculinities and femininities are influenced by the mass media, popular culture, other local and wider masculinities and femininities (among other) and the interaction of the members of the community with any and all of these. (Paechter, 2007:25)

Nevertheless, and as a continuum reflection of the many differences that our societies have concerning gender norms and roles, Alicia Puleo (2005) argues about the *patriarcados del concentimiento*[16]*,* as the many different forms that patriarchy acquires among the so-called developed societies. According to the author, since modernity, coercion opens the door to incitement. Therefore, it is possible to understand patriarchy as a *metastable* system of domination, this means that its different exercise and stamped by the "players" may be adaptable to historical, economic, and social organization,

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[16] Own translation from Spanish: "consenting patriarchies"

maintaining at its core the exercising power that aims the recognition among peers

Pilar Ramos López (2003), for example, highlighted the struggle and the great absence of a historical role for women in music, not only as performers but also as composers. If we think of the music industry as the organisation that it is, gender is not so easy to perceive if all that predominates is masculine (Acker, 1990). Hence, for example, several studies argue how, in the 1980s, Madonna becomes an icon of a semiotic struggle between the forces of patriarchal control and femenine resistance (Bennett, 2001; Arrizón, 2008; Fiske, 2014; Tortajada, Araüna y Willem, 2017). A similar situation occurs when Beyoncé enters the scene and opens an opportunity for not only women but especially racialised representation, especially in the United States (Durham, 2012; Halliday y Brown, 2018).

However, as far as mainstream music is concerned, it still seems to be sustained by the heteronormative and binary structure established by the western understanding of the world. Returning to Natasha Walter (2010), the problem is that the uncritical transmission of skills and characteristics associated – exclusively – with either men or women, may well reinforce the stereotypes that have conditioned (and continue to condition) behaviour and relationships in society. The author argues that there are two major threats of stereotypes: 1) they affect behaviour and 2) influence individual (and I would argue even collective) capabilities and aspirations. Going further, Anthony Giddens (1992) argues that the sexual revolution involves two basic elements: on the one hand there is female sexual autonomy and, on the other, homosexuality, both female and male. For this reason, "una vez que la sexualidad ha llegado a ser un componente 'integral' de las relaciones sociales (…) la heterosexualidad ya no es un modelo para juzgarla"[17] (Anthony Giddens, 1992:24)

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[17] Own translation from Spanish: "once sexuality has become an 'integral' component of social relations (...) heterosexuality is no longer a model by which to judge it"

In their book *Technologies of sexiness: sex, identity and consumer culture* (2014), Adrienne Evans and Sarah Riley map the cultural conditions that promote sexualisation as a recurring theme in feminine identity.

> 'Sexiness' has become a consumer good. It is packaged to the female consumer through discourses of 'choice', 'autonomy' and 'liberation', creating a new female sexual subjectivity that celebrates female agency and empowerment through consumption. (Evans and Riley, 2014, p. 1)

The authors argue that there are three key elements from which the gender relations that exist today made sense: firstly, there is neoliberal subjectivity; secondly, the consumer society; and thirdly, post-feminist sentiment. It is the latter that Angela McRobbie (2009) has argued has become the basis for understanding femininity today, from the combination of neoliberal ideas of the subject that is generally focused on consumer practices. Angela McRobbie analyses this composition from feminism:

> The demand they make [third wave of feminism] is for it to be legitimate for feminism to have a particular style of femininity folded into it, and as such for femininity to become a cause for celebration, not a mark of subordination, enjoyment of feminine products moreover isn't shorthand for 'we've been duped'. So the desire is to feel able to wear as much make-up as they like, and to wear sexy underwear, without feeling the disapprobation of this older generation of women whose underwear choices, it is assumed, were more sober. (McRobbie, 2009, p. 157)

In this sense, sexualisation (among other recurrent practices in contemporary media representations) can be understood as a strategy of self-determination, especially vindicatory. In the field of mainstream music, John Fiske (2014) argues that:

> The provocation offered by Madonna to young girls to take control of the meanings of their femininity produced a sense

of empowerment in one of the most disempowered of social groups that may well result in political progress in their everyday lives." (9-10) [...] The sense of empowerment that Madonna offers is inextricably connected with the pleasure of exerting some control over the meaning of self, of sexuality, and of one's social relations. (Fiske, 2014:102)

Precisely, several studies place Madonna as the female figure in mainstream music scenario who builds a sense of empowerment that has an impact on her young audience and how they might understand the world. Thus, the *queen of pop* contributed to the transformation of the role of women (Ramos López, 2003). However, Madonna not only belongs to the mainstream music industry, but the latter generally tends to pander to the heteronormative male gaze. In this sense, within the neoliberal system that promotes self-determination and self-fulfilment, gender roles remain the focus of debate. Sensuality and sexual attractiveness have become a commodity, an ideal to be conquered, for both men and women. Nevertheless, in the case of women, there has been an apparent reversal in the narrative of their sexualisation (Attwood, 2006; Aubrey, Gamble and Hahn, 2016), even though this practice has historically been one of the greatest oppressive powers over women by reducing them to an artefact, a body or parts thereof (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997).

> The development of new discourses of empowered female and sexual agency has occurred currently with a mainstreaming of sexual explicitness for women so that a defining aspect of contemporary culture, predominantly within postindustrial societies, has been a dramatic re-sexualization of women's bodies in the media and a mainstreaming of pornography in public space and corporate culture. (Evans and Riley, 2014:2)

According to Rosalind Gill (2003a), this increasing tendency toward nudity and explicit sex is popularly associated with a demonstration of the self as the empowering factor demanded by precisely the neoliberal discourse (Attwood, 2006; Gill, 2009). Thereafter,

subjectivity becomes self-contradictory because it invites freedom of choice while offering a narrow set of pre-established choices as appropriate (Evans & Riley, 2014). Consequently, the identities that are forged from such choices would not only be based on consumption capacity but, by not offering the full range of possible options, discourses and representations, it would be restricted to certain pre-packaged 'authentic' and 'valid' representations, many of which uphold power/domination traditional structures (e.g., indulging a male fantasy). Sexism itself contributes to legitimising and sustaining inequalities (Bosch *et al.*, 2008)

In this sense, the representation of the sexualised woman – by others or by herself – has encompassed different spaces in cultural products and different forms of communication and promotion: in advertising (Gill, 2003b, 2009), in sports (Calogero y Jost, 2011), in working life (Acker, 1990), and, of course, in music (Kalof, 1999). What is the intentionality of these representations? Are they the result of the struggle for a more egalitarian and representative space, or, on the contrary, do they respond to the economic interests of certain power groups? For Linda Alcolff (1988), the representation of femininity seems to be compromised and contaminated:

> "In attempting to speak for women, feminism often seems to presuppose that it knows what women truly are, but such an assumption is foolhardy given that every source of knowledge about women has been contaminated with misogyny and sexism. (…) The mediation of female bodies into constructions of woman is dominated by misogynist discourse." (Alcolff, 1988:405-406)

Alicia Puleo (2005) also agrees that the representation of femininity has a mixture of elements that confront each other, thus creating a scenario where, especially women, strive to reach the pre-set goals of the system: ideals of beauty, seduction, sexuality, among others. Nevertheless, "without a doubt, popular music is a primary, if not the primary, leisure resource in late modern society. (...) it functions in a

collective level: common tastes, fashion and lifestyle" (Bennett, 2001:1).

From these ideas, I will further refer to music based on two considerations. On the one hand, in terms of well-being, music has been associated with practices of creation and creativity (Lange *et al.*, 2018), therapy and spirituality (Moss, 2019), community life (Poulos *et al.*, 2019), and emotional and musical education (Oriola and Gustems, 2015), among others. For Tia DeNora and Gay Ansdell (2017) music, in general, carries a power of action, which can be understood as an instrument of social order. In that exercise, and considering their study *Music in action*, the authors argue that "[a]t any level of magnitude, from face-to-face encounters to mass-cultural change, if music 'gets into' change, it is because people engage with it and draw it into interactive webs of significance and practice." (p.143). Hence, the potential of music, and the relationship it weaves in society, continue to capture research interest. In fact, the work of Jon Cruz (1999) raises it from the sociology of music, when he refers to *ethnosympathy* as a way of creating links while maintaining distance from a culturally different group (e.g., the white audience and its relationship with black slaves in the United States). Thus, "the study of stratification and ethnic relations have benefitted from the sociology of music, not when music is treated like another form of signification or a vehicle for lyrical expression, but when treated as a special kind of activity that people do" (Roy y Dowd, 2010:34)

On the other hand, in Andy Bennett's (2001) journey through music and its connection with culture, the author presents how different generations have connected with various musical genres based on the alternatives that music has offered at a certain moment in history (e.g., punk and punk rock, reggae and Rasta culture, rap music and hip hop, among others). And yet, to a large extent, the most popular music genres have been largely dominated by the male gaze or masculine protagonism. This is especially relevant when the author argues that popular music plays the most important role in

perpetuating the sensibilities associated with youth, which has been the case since the 1950s. Indeed, throughout the history of music, aspects of class and taste have been pitted against each other by discourses and positions, to the extent that today music is a resource that permeates intensely in intimate, personal and social experiences (Clarke, DeNora y Vuoskoski, 2015), providing different forms of social agency (DeNora, 1999).

Following closely the work of Eva Illouz (1997), it is possible to assume some elements of romantic love throughout the history of music: "the romantic becomes a postmodern emotion only when it articulates other postmodern cultural idioms" (p.181), where one of these idioms is "the belief that texts and media shape one's romantic identity" (p.181). These associations respond to *socialising agents* that attribute, for example, to masculinity antagonistic characteristics concerning femininity (e.g., public social life versus private social life, power versus submission, etc.). The romantic love model may contribute to gender-based and intimate partner violence, and the reinforcement of stereotypes based on the myths associated with it (Bosch *et al.*, 2008).

In their work *A feminist analysis of popular music*, Brook Bretthauer, Toni Schindler Zummermann, and James H. Banning (2006) argue that sex is found as the main theme in songs by male artists, generally associated with the sexual act and not with a relationship, emotions, and feelings, or in a context of love. In general, the authors argue that "sexuality is given priority over relationship variables such as friendship, emotional connection, and equality, sexuality is often separated from the relationship as a whole." (Bretthauer, Schindler Zummermann and Banning, 2006: 44). Therefore, if we take into consideration the postmodern scenario, which I have developed in the previous section, the words of Eva Illouz (1997) become even more relevant:

> Modernity has brought irretrievable losses in the meaning of love, most notably the connection between love and moral virtue and the dissolution of the commitment and stability of

premodern love, but these losses are the price we pay for greater control over our romantic lives, greater self-knowledge and equality between the sexes. (p. 296)

To this extend, Anthony Giddens (1992) agrees that this sort of relationship transformation is also a response to society's double standards. "[L]as mujeres ya no toleran la opinión de que, mientras los hombres necesitan variedad y probablemente emprenden aventuras extramaritales, ellas deban comportarse de otra forma"[18] (Giddens, 1992:10).

Stereotypes, racialization and decoloniality

"Y fue allí, se reveló el negro guapo
Tomó venganza por su amor
Y aún se escucha en la verja
No le pegue a mi negra"

La Rebelión – Joe Arroyo (1988)

The race is a category historically shaped (Segato, 2007) and employed from the definition of otherness (Hall, 1997). This category, along with gender and sexuality, forms part of the power system that structures relations of domination/oppression against socially marginalised groups (Hunt, 2018). From the _Spectacle of the other_ (Hall, 1997), individual and social representational practices tend to fall into stereotypes. The aspects associated with stereotyping, according to Stuart Hall (1997), go through 1) the construction and exclusion of the other, 2) stereotyping and its relation to power, 3) the role of fantasy and, finally, 4) fetishism. In general, the practice of stereotyping divides the individual (and by extension the

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[18] Own translation from Spanish: "Women no longer tolerate the view that, while men need variety and are likely to engage in extramarital affairs, they should behave differently."

stereotyped collective) into normal and abnormal, thus maintaining the social and symbolic order that underlies power inequalities.

> Power has to be understood not only in terms of economic exploitation and physical coercion, but also in broader cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way – within a certain 'regime of representation'. It includes the exercise of symbolic power through representational practices. Stereotyping is a key element in this exercise of symbolic violence. (Hall, 2017:259)

Among the practices of stereotyping, racism is recurrently the basis for the construction of these representations. Racism can be implemented either as prejudice (intimate personal convictions that feed on otherness and difference) or as discrimination (which takes place in the public sphere and is conscious and deliberate) (Segato, 2007). According to Rita Segato (2007), it is prejudice that feeds discrimination because it tends to become a habit. Prejudice, precisely, is intrinsic to the stereotypes that are created and reproduced in different cultural and communicational spaces and products, among them, music.

Another type of stereotyping, recurrent on the stage of postmodernity – and often anchored in the feminist movement as a historical achievement – is sexualisation. Precisely in the name of subverting previous pejorative constructions of women's bodies, sexualisation has come to represent ideals of empowerment and self-determination (Evans y Riley, 2014). However, considering which bodies do and do not participate in this practice, it is possible to identify stereotypes that do not comply with the feminist ideal, but rather echo historically oppressive structures. This is what Alicia Arrizón (2008) argues when she analyses the sexual and sensual stereotypes linked to Latina women's bodies. In this exercise, she argues that perceptions, prejudices, and understandings of what it means to be a Latina woman constitute a space where power is reconfigured. "If musical differentiation and hierarchy aligned smoothly with the stratification

of society, sociology of music would have little to say about broader social distinctions like race, class and gender." (Roy and Dowd, 2010, p. 26). Thus, following William Roy and Timothy Dowd (2010), we can understand how music sustains and defends social stratification when it is used to highlight social distinctions but undermines it when it seeks to transcend them.

It is in this context that decoloniality (Lugones, 2008) opens up a range of possibilities to continue exploring the different representations in the field of cultural studies, specifically in mainstream music. "While colonialism ended with Independence, coloniality is a model of power that continues" (Walsh, 2007, p. 229). Precisely in this historical continuity that has marginalised the global south, many of the prejudices and stereotypes of this *other side of the world* are still present today and perhaps with greater force than we can comprehend. Indeed, this happens based on what is known as the *'coloniality of knowledge'*, that is, the continued legitimisation of the hegemony of Europe (and I include the United States) with respect to knowledge, intellectual production, and racial hierarchies (Walsh, 2007; Quijano, 2011). In this context, this otherness does not receive the same rights conferred on white, heteronormative and, above all, bourgeois people (Ochoa Muñoz, 2016), and thus acquires additional weight:

> 'Other', in this sense, is not meant to refer to one thought more or to the anthropological other of alterity. It is instead to bring forward and relate histories, struggles, experiences, and knowledges lived and constructed within and marked by the context of colonialism and its processes of subalternization and racialization. (Walsh, 2007, p. 231)

In his work *Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social,* Aníbal Quijano (2011) examines the central axes of the pattern of domination established by the processes of colonisation, particularly since modernity. According to the author, the various identities derived from the process of colonization, and the intersubjective relations that have consequently remained linked to the market

(capitalism), remain under hegemonic Eurocentric domination. That is the universe that will be called modernity. Therefore, it is possible not only to understand that there are representations – in the vast majority of dominant cultural production (e.g., the United States and Europe) that replicate certain constructions that can favour the capitalist system in which the global south is inserted, and which is dominated, precisely, by the global north. In this sense, racialisation – or racial phenotyping (Maddox, 2004) – as I will refer from now on, is of particular interest in dismantling the elements of representations in cultural production. Here is where I return, for a moment, to the scenario from which I started:

> "While neoliberal subjectivity offers a way for people to think of themselves as good citizens and productive people through a process of self-regulation that enables economic autonomy, it is based on an ideology that people, like the market, can be free, autonomous and independent from state control/support, which critics argue renders invisible forms of structural inequality, discipline and surveillance" (Evans and Riley, 2014, p. 8)

Indeed, neoliberalism, which already replicates and sustains structures of inequality in the Western world, adds a new level of difference concerning the Global South. However, beyond the economic factors, it is the deepening stigmas, prejudices and stereotypes that concern us in this bias that Keith Maddox (2004) suggests:

> [A] glance beyond the disciplinary boundary reveals an existing and expanding body of historical, anthropological, sociological, and medical evidence indicating that within-race phenotypic variation makes a significant contribution to social perception. (p. 383)

In this sense, the author goes a step further in the analysis of the phenotypic bias of race, arguing that it is no longer enough to consider only the colour of the skin but also the physical features

associated with it (e.g., eyes, hair, lips, body). Going further, as Alicia Arrizón (2008) suggests, physical appearance is not the only determinant in the conception of what a person or otherness means. In this dynamic of signification, qualifiers also play a fundamental role:

> The signifier of ''hot'' or its Spanish translation, caliente, is commonly used while referring to women in popular music (salsa, rap, reggaeton, ranchera, among others) (…) The terms are often employed to objectify women, usually with explicit or implicit sexual connotation. However, the markers ''hot'' or ''caliente'' may also be performed to ones own advantage when a body strategically uses its highly ''exoticized'' status in a self- conscious employment of sexuality. (Arrizón, 2008:192)

In this way, it is possible to discuss how racial phenotype plays a fundamental role, especially from a decolonial and intersectional gaze (Crenshaw, 1989) in demarcating the difference between both the sensual (Gill, 2003a) and the sexual subject/object (Fredrickson y Roberts, 1997). Precisely the fine line between sensuality (stimulating the mind, senses and even the soul) and sexuality (sexual activity and sexual act or orientation) often overlap and influence each other. Nevertheless, this line can also be a starting point for exploring their different meanings.

An important consideration due to the COVID-19 health crisis

"Estamos mal, pero es lo normal
Que esté en la mierda es lo más natural,
Cervecita, cukileo, chaval
Si to' este tiempo puedes aprovechar
'Tonces, no estamos tan mal"
***Estamos mal* – Stay Homas (2020)**

In a preliminary research plan, this study considered two main phases to develop the analysis of mainstream music, its representations, and the audience perspective. The first phase consisted of a critical analysis of the different portrayals of music videos and lyrics within different variables. These variables, precisely, were developed in a codebook for both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The second phase had planned both a questionnaire and a set of interviews in Ecuador and Spain to contrast different experiences with mainstream music, and how they connect with identity and identification processes. These two main phases are well documented in the different reports that have been submitted to the Doctoral program (UPF) during the development of the research. However, due to the COVID-19 affectation halfway through the activities, the adaptation of the research plan consisted in postponing any audience study and, instead, deepening the critical analysis among the different variables of the codebook created. To the latter goal, the codebook was adapted multiple times until reaching the phase of coder reliability (that will be further explained) and, in so doing, tested within a wider sample than the publications illustrate in the different chapters of this thesis. In sum, a total of 189 songs were continually analysed (top mainstream music songs from the following years: 2007, 2008, 2009, 2017, 2018, 2019). These songs were joined in a Spotify list named *Flubber*[19] and shared with the participants that completed the online questionnaire (still to be explored for future research)

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[19] Link for Flubber playlist in Spotify:
https://open.spotify.com/playlist/3UPmmf86loLD3nf1zOwGwa?si=e47a706d19a
a4bc2

Methodology and objectives

"Where there is desire, there is gonna be a flame
Where there is a flame, someone's bound to get burned
But just because it burns doesn't mean you're gonna die
You've gotta get up and try, try, try"
Try – **Pink (2012)**

Research objective

The main objective of this research is to identify how representations in mainstream music videos are constructed within the context of postmodernity. To this end, the study sets out four specific questions which, in turn, correspond to the specific objectives explored in the various publications.

> Question 1: How does mainstream music represent different social and cultural elements in the late modern scenario?

From this question, I contextualise the scenario of the research by developing a case study of Rosalía. In this exercise, elements of late modernity and both cultural and social capitals constitute the exploration of how the representation of mainstream commercial music is configured. Specifically, this specific objective corresponds to *SO1: analyse the late modernity scenario and how cultural elements and capitals are inserted into it*.

The first objective answers the following research questions:

- How does the postmodern scenario and consumption, typically characterized by neoliberalism, dialogue in Rosalía's music?

- What elements does Rosalía incorporate to demarcate her musical scene and reach her audience?
- How does Rosalía's music relate to cultural and social capitals?
- How does Rosalía represent herself concerning post-feminist sensibilities?

Question 2: How are both femininity and masculinity represented in mainstream music?

The study moves towards the examination of femininity and masculinity. In this exercise, what I seek to identify are the patterns, elements and characteristics that are associated with either femininity or masculinity, building on other academic work that has studied these constructs and, to a large extent, critiqued the stereotypes with which they are associated. To this end, I seek to identify whether there is a change over ten years among mainstream music videos. In sum, the second specific objective is *SO2: to examine the representations of femininity and masculinity in mainstream music and their evolution over ten years.*

The second objective answers the following research questions:

- What characteristics demarcate femininities and masculinities in mainstream music?
- How are stereotypes constructed in mainstream music concerning both femininities and masculinities?
- Have these representations changed in 10 years? If so, which are the main changes among the portrayals?

Question 3: How are sexuality, the self, and racialisation represented within mainstream music?

The third question of the study attempts to delve into the problematisation that other works have presented about sexuality. I aim to go a step forward with sexualisation – understood as a practice of objectification, to try to weave a way of identifying a sexualisation of a priori decision – subjectification. In this exercise, I link the variable of racial phenotype bias to examine its relation to certain representations. Thus, the third specific objective of the study corresponds to *SO3: explore feminine and masculine representations with the variables of sexuality and racialisation.*

The third objective answers the following research questions:

- How is sexualisation represented in mainstream music videos?
- How are people subjectify in mainstream music video clips?
- How are people objectified in mainstream music videos?
- Can there be an unequal relationship in the concept of subjectification? If so, can racialisation be the moderating element in that distinction?

Question 4: What role does mainstream music play in individual and social well-being?

Finally, the fourth research question has at its core the time of lockdown of the COVID-19 pandemic. This event – as we can surely agree affected society globally and had an impact that generated adaptations to the original research plan of my thesis (as explained above). Therefore, with this fourth item, I turn my analysis to mainstream music to connect it with the individual and social levels in times of confinement. Specifically, the last objective of this research is *SO4: to examine the narrative elements in mainstream songs during the lockdown in Spain and their relationship with well-being.*

The fourth objective answers the following research questions:

- How are the narratives of the most listened-to music in times of confinement constructed?
- What elements are most representative of the most listened-to music in times of lockdown?
- What contribution can mainstream music narratives and their elements make to individual and social well-being?

The correspondence between objectives, methodological tools (developed in the following section) and articles of the compendium is detailed below (see table 2):

Objective	Methodology	Article/Publication
SO1: to analyse the late modernity scenario and how cultural elements and capitals are inserted into it	Descriptive analysis. Grounded theory.	The first item is a publication, *Catalan Journal of Communication and Cultural Studies.*
SO2: to examine the representations of femininity and masculinity in mainstream music and their evolution over ten years.	Content analysis, qualitative and quantitative. Grounded theory.	The second item is a publication, *El Profesional de la Información EPI.*
SO3: to explore feminine and masculine representations with the variables of sexuality and racialisation.	Content analysis, qualitative and quantitative. Grounded theory.	The third item is a communication, *Libro de comunicaciones AE-IC 2022.*
SO4: to examine the narrative elements in mainstream songs during the lockdown in Spain and their relationship with well-being.	Content analysis. Grounded theory.	The fourth item is a publication: *Social Inclusion.*

Table 2: The correspondence between objectives, methodology and articles.

Methodological tools

This research has been developed employing a methodological triangulation, that emphasizes the content analysis as the transversal

method employed in the analysis. The content analysis includes both the critical qualitative level and the nominal at the quantitative level.
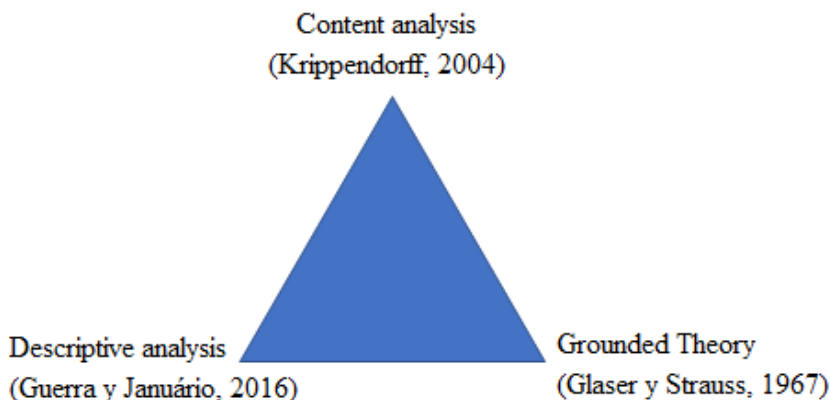
Figure 1: Graphic of the methodological triangulation with which the thesis has been developed.

These methodological tools were chosen based, on the one hand, on the insertion of various disciplines within the research – multidisciplinary perspective. And, on the other hand, the case studies lined up with each objective that each publication represents.

The methodological tool of **descriptive analysis** in arts in general, and in music in particular (Guerra y Januário, 2016), allows us to understand the artistic product as a mirror of society, "at the same time a subject and an object of social intervention" (Guerra and Januário, 2016:203). Based on this logic, the artistic object undergoes a reading and viewing that allows us to discover, as we go along, different elements and characteristics that are associated with the objectives of the research and the theoretical framework. This tool makes it possible to approach both texts (e.g., song lyrics) and fixed or moving images (e.g., video clips and frames).

In the case of **grounded theory** (Glaser y Strauss, 1967), being a tool that facilitates dialogue with the object under analysis, it also facilitates – what I call *data cleansing* when analysing, in this case,

music production. Whether an inductive or deductive approach is adopted, the logic that is present in grounded theory allows for connecting or grouping categories or/and elements that, *a posteriori*, are discussed as results. Furthermore, grounded theory and its principles, also helped the development of the content analysis, as I will explain in the next section.

Finally, in the case of **content analysis** (Krippendorff, 2004), two elements constitute its main importance: 1) it allows both inductive and deductive approaches so that different variables can be adapted as necessary. This is precisely where the principles of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006) facilitate a continuous reading of the data and literature; and 2) it can combine both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data categorised. Qualitative analysis, which is widely implemented in this research work, is also suitable for discussion with the results (e.g., from a gender perspective and/or from a decolonial perspective).

Content analysis as a research method: The path learned.

In this research, the content analysis methodology proposed by Klaus Krippendorff (2004) constitutes a sort of backbone in some of the publications of the thesis, as well as in some of the "other publications derived from the thesis" that are included in annexes. The main reason to follow this methodological approach is that after the creation of the coding book for the analysis of mainstream music videos and lyrics, it was possible to separate the different variables that constitute the whole and published them in sections. Thus, as I will explain below, part of this research work was focused on the development of the coding book itself. Therefore, exploring its construction process may help its replication, although possible further adaptation is anticipated due to the particularities that different commercial music scenarios may include in different social contexts.

First of all, it is pertinent to mention that content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) allows us to understand data as a symbolic phenomenon loaded with meanings, references, values and possible intentions. In this sense, mainstream commercial music, which will be the sample and unit(s) of analysis, is not only understood as a cultural product but also as the result created by a hegemonic industry that loads with both meanings and information that could influence the behaviour and ideas of its recipients, including their consumption habits (Rich *et al.*, 1998; Roberts & Foehr, 2008; Vandenbosch, Vervloessem & Eggermont, 2013; Illescas, 2015). Moreover, the empirical orientation of content analysis, its relation to symbolic phenomena, and its ability to develop its methodology for research purposes make it an ideal mechanism for linking quantitative and qualitative elements in mainstream music analysis.

Within the process of creating the material (book and coding sheet) that will be used to carry out the analysis, the study also includes the strategies of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), due to the usefulness of its principles and practices that facilitate the creation and interpretation of the information to be analysed. In this study, grounded theory is implemented as a tool for evaluating and adapting the content analysis instrument created, refining, and contributing significantly to the structuring of the variables and subcategories of the study. In the following, I develop three indispensable sections for the content analysis: 1. The construction of the template; 2. The variables and 3. The inter-coder reliability phase.

The construction of the template

For replication purposes of this methodology, I condense the different moments of the creation of the template into a single text that allows visualising the final result of all the categories and sections created. This means that I will not go into detail on the twenty-nine (29) draft versions of the coding book.

First, it is necessary to enter the general information of the video clip – called "technical data" or "technical file", where each piece of information that allows the identification of the unit of analysis in question is registered. This should include (but is not limited to): the unit of analysis code, source name, source link, video title of the song, artist name, music genre, record label, release date, encoding date, encoder name, and comments/observations (see table 3).

TECHNICAL DATA	
Unit of analysis [Code]	[Write the code assigned to the unit of analysis (each song/video)]
Source [Name]	[Write the name of the source (e.g., YouTube channel) where the video is located] [*For YouTube videos, the recommendation is to retrieve the official video clip, usually accompanied with the following symbol* ♪]
Source [Link]	[Copy and paste the link (HTTP) from the source where the video clip is retrieved]
Title of the music video	[Write the title of the song/video as it is indicated in the source]
Artist(s) information [Name(s)]	[Write artist's names or nicknames]
Music Genre	[Write the music genre of the song/video]
Label	[Write the name of the music/record label]
Publication Date	[Write the date when the song/video was launched in the source]
Codification Date	[Write the date of the codification process]
Encoder Identification	[Write the information of the encoder] [*Alias is recommended*]
Commentaries / Observations	[Write any additional information regarding the analysis]

Table 3: Technical data (author's elaboration)

When conducting a content analysis, it is important to first create a dataset (e.g., from a Microsoft Excel database) where all information about each song can be included (e.g., the first column of table 3). To assign a code for each unit of analysis (see 'unit of analysis [code]' in table 3), as I will explain below, a combination of year and numerical

order can be considered (e.g., 2011-001, 2011-002, and so on). Alphabetical codes are good options, especially to distinguish, for example, the source of the data you are working with (e.g., Spotify and YouTube 2011 = STY-2011-001, YTB-2011, 001, etc.)

The book also includes a "central theme of the song/video" section where a general description of the song should be entered. Being descriptive, the use of one word or short ideas that could be categorised *a posteriori* is recommended (e.g., love, heartbreak, infidelity, consumption, relationship, family relationship, etc.) In addition, the coding book also includes the section "type of video clip" to be selected. This typology is the one that Jon Illescas (2015) [20] has developed and includes only those video clips that the author categorises as 'mainstream', this is because the focus of my research is precisely on these types of videos (see table 4).

TYPE OF VIDEOCLIP (mainstream/mayoritario)
[In this section, number 1 must be entered in the box if the description corresponds to the type of video that is encoded.]
a- Dionisiaco: [Continuous apology of the party (includes drugs) Emphasizes the enjoyment of sexuality and hedonism. May include hetero, lesbian, and orgiastic sex]
b-Romántico: [Theme related to love. Celebrate love or mourn its loss.]
c- Coreográfico: [Choreographic dances and steps.]
d- Afrodisíaco: [Prioritizes the focus on one or several scantily clad women and men in an insistent (and aggressive) manner There are extremely rapid shot changes and aggressive body fragmentation]
e- Extravagante: [It takes place outdoors, with a large number of extras, and special effects. Sexual provocation is one of its elements.]
f- Gánster: [It promotes success and money as part of drug dealing or other illicit business, with explicit visual references to money as a metaphor for happiness. Women appear as sex toys of rich and powerful men.]

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[20] It should be noted that, although I incorporate in this doctoral thesis some of Jon Illescas' observations on the music industry, in general his critique of the messages that mainstream music carries, and in particular the categorisation of mainstream music videos, I do not share his views on feminism or Marxism. In this sense, I will insist that I consider his critical contribution to the very product of the music video as a cultural commodity to be valuable, but I distance myself from his understanding of feminism and gender studies.

g- Trágico: [Usually the ending is unhappy. There may be infidelity. It can contain toxic emotional relationships and highlight the impossibility of achieving lasting love.]
h- Elitista: [Greater ostentation of material wealth. Mansions, planes, helicopters, yachts and luxury cars. High presence of a multitude of sexually young and attractive specimens of the opposite sex to the protagonist. Does not refer to the origin of wealth.]
i- Autobiográfico: [The stars play themselves, show supposedly truthful parts of their private lives]
j- Narcisista: [They focus on presenting descriptions of the star's body and face. Sexuality is transmitted more elegantly. It focuses on the beauty of the artist's face]
k- Simbólico: [Greater emphasis on its facet as an artistic product. Use poetic language, rich in rhetorical figures, suggestions and evocations.]
h- Cinematográfico: [It has a classic narrative structure with an introduction, middle and end, like a film. The artist does not interpret his role as a singer, or does not appear or is present with roles unrelated to his status as a music star]
i- Ninguno de los anteriores [None of the previous options]

Table 4: Types of videoclip mainstream – mayoritarios (Illescas, 2015)

Before presenting the variables that constitute the coding book[21] as a whole, it is important to mention that it includes three levels of 'role' within the analysis of the music videos: *1) artist/performer*; *2) protagonist background.-* protagonist(s) / participant(s) other than the artists who lead the music video representations, and *3) general background.-* extra(s) / other participant(s) without relevant role(s). Within these roles, the analysis is also divided into the basis of women and men variables. Finally, in the case of the analysis of the roles of the protagonist(s) and extra(s), there is a filter question (yes or no) to identify whether the analysis of these roles is relevant, this means, whether there are elements to be analysed.

Furthermore, when carrying out the coding process, it should be considered that it relates to the physical and stereotypical (bodily) appearance of the performers, protagonists and/or extras (e.g., when analysing racial phenotype). Therefore, elements of nationality or

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[21] The coding book contains more categories of analysis than those that are presented in the various compendium publications.

place of origin should be ignored. It is anticipated that instructing researchers to do this exercise may provoke some discomfort regarding bias and the arbitrary nature of the categorisation itself. However, it is precisely this process that will facilitate a problematisation of such representations linked to the different variables in the study.

Intersectionality and sexuality variable

Under this variable are included the debates on pornography, classy sex and intimacy discussed by Feona Attwood (2006), in dialogue with elements of the post-feminist sensibility, critically discussed by Rosalind Gill (2007, 2017). These debates also consider Alicia Arrizón's (2008) differentiation of sensual and sexual representations; in addition to Barbara Fredrickson y Tomi-Ann Roberts' (1997) objectification theory, which allows drawing a line between the sexual object and the sensual subject. On the other hand, from the theoretical basis of racial phenotype bias (Maddox, 2004; Maddox and Perry, 2018), this variable considers different levels of skin colour – including some physical characteristics that are typically associated with certain individuals (and by extension, certain social groups); in addition to the decolonial theorising of Aníbal Quijano (2011) and the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). Thus, based on these works, the categories of analysis were established deductively, as follows:

Racial phenotype: Consisting of the subcategories: (a) *White* (white and/or Aryan white skin, large eyes usually light coloured, blond hair); (b) *Black* (dark black skin, large eyes, large lips, curly (frizzy) hair); (c) *Brown*/Morena/Mulata (light black skin, dark brunette, brunette; large eyes, large lips); (d) *Mestizo*/Mestiza (mixed skin. Latin America. Mestizo white and indigenous); e) *Aceitunada/o* (brown skin with greenish tones, large eyes. Middle East); f) Asian/*Asiática/o* (paler skin, generally straight hair and slanted eyes. China, Japan, Thailand); and g) *Other* (see table 5).

Racial phenotype woman
a. white
b. black
c. brown
d. mixed
e. aceitunada
f. asian
g. other

Fenotipo racial hombre
a. blanco(s)
b. negro(s)
c. mulato(s)
d. mestizo(s)
e. aceitunado(s)
f. asiático(s)
g. otro(s)

Table 5: category of racial phenotype analysis in English and Spanish (own elaboration)

Clothes: This variable is adapted from the theorisation of the sexualisation of culture (Attwood, 2006). It anticipates, however, the need for options that contrast with the representations of 'nudity' and 'semi-nudity' (characteristic of pornography) to create scenarios that include a different representation in the analysis. For this reason, the concept of 'pornography' is combined with 'clothing' to contrast two possibilities present in music video representations. In this way, the subcategories are established as a) *Nude*: no clothes; b) *Semi-nude*: underwear, lingerie, swimsuit, bikini; c) *Tight clothing*: that allows the artist's body to be perceived and which leaves areas of the body uncovered in a subtle, suggestive and sensual way; d) *Loose clothing*: means of casual clothing of the sporty type, usually represented by comfort, looseness and bagginess that does not deliberately mark areas of the body traditionally associated with seduction or sexual provocation; and e) *Informal/casual*: comfortable clothing of the jeans and T-shirt type, characterised by not following fashion, luxury or sensuality trend patterns in a reiterative manner (see table 6).

Vestimenta mujer
a. desnuda
b. semidesnuda
c. vestimenta ajustada

Clothes man
a. nude
b. semi-nude
c. tight clothing

d. ropa holgada	d. loose clothing
e. informal / casual	e. informal / casual

Table 6: category of clothing analysis in Spanish and English (own elaboration)

Attitude - sexual/sensual: This variable draws on several of the elements of the postfeminist sensibility (Gill, 2007, 2017) and debates between sensuality and sexuality (Arrizón, 2008) which, in this codebook, also extends to the representation of different masculinities, this means as a practice that is not restricted solely to the representation of women (or femininity). When coding sexual attitude, the options of "romantic" and/or "no/not applicable" attitudes are also contrasted for scenarios where the attitude can be represented differently. Therefore, the subcategories to be considered are the following: a) *Provocative/insinuating*: corresponds to a courtship/ flirtation/insinuation that is primarily aimed at stimulating the senses; b) *Explicit*: corresponds to a sexual act that has taken place or suggests that it has taken place; c) *Romantic*: suggests a ritual or existence of feelings that go beyond episodic carnal desire; and d) *none*: when the representation does not apply (see table 7).

Actitud sexual/sensual mujer	Attitude sexual/sensual man
a. provocativa / insinuante	a. provocative / insinuating
b. explícita	b. explicit
c. romántica	c. romantic
d. no hay / no aplica	d. none

Table 7: sexual/sensual attitude category of analysis in Spanish and English (own elaboration)

Gender stereotypes variable

For the coding of this section, the theoretical concepts of both femininities and masculinities, previously discussed in different studies (Anderson, 2002; Connell, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Schippers, 2007; Gomillion and Giuliano, 2011; Poynting, Noble and Tabar, 2011; Bridges and Pascoe, 2014; Gill, 2017) are implemented. The intention, as in the case of racial

phenotype variable, for example, is to categorise representations that facilitate discussion of the problem of gender stereotypes based on a duality that, while simplifying, is the first step in addressing stereotypical representations of gender in what is known as 'the West' (see second publication, El Profesional de la Información EPI, in the 'list of publications' section. Translated version from the Spanish-pre print has been included in annexes).

Consumerism variable

This section is based on the work of Naomi Klein (2001), and the contextualisation of consumerism, typically connected with the late modern scenario of Anthony Giddens (1997), and also analysed by Jon Illescas (2015). In this way, a list is made of products that generally accompany the representations of mainstream video clips. It should be added that consumption is understood as any product that is used, whether as a costume accessory, as well as other products such as drinks, which have a significant focus (e.g., a camera shot or a shot that allows their identification, as well as a direct mention of the brand within the lyrics of the song). Thus, the subcategories are set out as follows: a) *alcoholic beverage(s)*, b) *branded clothing*, c) *accessories* (e.g., handbags, jewellery, earrings, necklaces, watches), d) *vehicles/cars*, e) *tobacco or marijuana*, f) *other drugs*, and g) other (see table 8).

Product	Brand
a) Alcoholic beverages	
b) Branded clothing	
c) Accessories	
d) Vehicles / cars	
e) Tobacco or marijuana	
f) Other drugs	
g) Other	

Table 8: category of analysis consumption variable (own elaboration)

For the construction of this variable, the concepts of postmodernity and intimacy (Giddens, 1992) are used, as well as the adaptation of the myths of romantic love (Yela, 1996, 2006; Rodríguez Castro *et al.*, 2013). Thus, the subcategories are constituted by:

Relationship types: a) *pure relationships* (where possible feelings of love, attraction and sexual pleasure are linked); b) *episodic relationships* (generally short, based mainly on carnal desire); c) *romantic relationships* (those where an idealisation of love prevails, with a kind of idealisation for the future); d) *none/not applicable* (see table 9).

Relationship types woman
a. Pure relationships
b. Episodic relationships
c. Romantic relationships
d. None/not applicable

Tipos de relación hombre
a. Relaciones puras
b. Relaciones episódicas
c. Relaciones románticas
d. No hay / no aplica

Table 9: The subcategory of relationship types in English and Spanish (own elaboration)

Romantic love myths: (a) *better half/media naranja* (predestined partner, the 'other half', the 'red thread'); (b) *pairing/emparejamiento* (a single normative binary couple - universal male and female); (c) *ownership/propiedad* (impossibility of being in love with two people at the same time. This includes jealousy as a form of love); d) *omnipotence/omnipotencia* (love is all-powerful, there are no obstacles for a couple in love); e) *marriage/matrimonio* (refers to marriage as the ultimate purpose of the couple relationship. Love is the reason to marry); f) *eternal passion/pasión eterna* (the flame of passion is to last forever); g) *equivalence/equivalencia* (love and passion are fundamental to the equation of the couple relationship; h) *dying of love/morir de amor* (not being able to live without 'him' or 'her', without the beloved. It has a positive connotation in the sense of idealisation towards the other person); i) *falling out of*

love/desamor (related to disillusionment over a failed relationship. It has a negative connotation, of not wanting to know more about that person); j) *platonic love/amor platónico* (an idealised love, without a sexual relationship, impossible to achieve) (see table 10).

Mitos románticos mujer
a. Media Naranja
b. Emparejamiento
c. Propiedad
d. Omnipotencia
e. Matrimonio
f. La pasión eterna
g. Equivalencia
h. Morir de amor
i. Desamor
j. Amor Platónico

Romantic myths man
a. Better half
b. Pairing
c. Ownership
d. Omnipotence
e. Marriage
f. Eternal passion
g. Equivalence
h. Dying of love
i. Falling out of love
j. Platonic love

Tabla 10: The subcategory of romantic myths in Spanish and English (own elaboration)

And, finally, **attitudes of love** are incorporated (Hendrick, Hendrick and Dicke, 1998), which facilitates a crosscheck with the other variables in this section, as follows: a) *eros* (sexual and physical attraction; e.g., 'chemistry', 'for each other', the ideal of physical beauty); b) *ludus* (avoid commitment, e.g., 'he doesn't know anything about me' – he doesn't know me, 'he doesn't know about other loves', 'being with other people', 'the game of love'; c) *storge* (commitment and common interests, e.g., 'our love begins with a friendship', 'mystical emotion', 'good friends'); d) *pragma* (loving in a practical way, with the head and not the heart; e.g., 'I reflect on my family', 'you would be a good father/mother', 'I reflect professionally', 'inheritance and promising future'; e) *mania/obsession* (e.g., 'he doesn't pay attention to me or doesn't take care of me', 'something or someone else', 'he ignores me and I seek his attention'); f) *agape* (sacrifice, the 'everything' for the other; e.g., 'I suffer for him/her', 'his happiness over mine', 'I sacrifice my own interests', 'everything to see him/her happy') (see table 11).

Actitudes del amor mujer
a. Eros [Atracción sexual y física]
b. Ludus [Evitar el compromiso]
c. Storge [Compromiso-intereses común]
d. Pragma [Amar de manera práctica]
e. Manía [Obsesión]
f. Agape [Sacrificio. "Todo por el otro"]

Love attitudes man
a. Eros [Physical and sexual attraction]
b. Ludus [Avoid engagement]
c. Storge [Engagement – common interest]
d. Pragma [Practical way to love]
e. Manía [Obsession]
f. Agape [Sacrifice. All for the other]

Table 11: The subcategory of love attitudes in Spanish and English (own elaboration)

Sexualization variable

The sexualisation variable, divided into the sexualisation of women and men, is established based on objectification theory (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997). This category fragments the body as follows: a) *head* (including face, lips, eyes and hair); b) *breast* (for women) and *pectorals* (for men); c) *abdominals* (including waist); d) *buttocks* (and hips); and e) *legs* (see table 12).

Sexualization woman	Yes
Fragmentation of the body	
a. Head	
b. Breast	
c. Abdominals	
d. Buttocks	
c. Legs	

Sexualización hombre	Sí
Fragmentación del cuerpo	
a. Cabeza	
b. Pectorales	
c. Abdomen [cintura]	
d. Trasero [caderas]	
e. Piernas	

Table 12: Sexualisation variable in English and Spanish (own elaboration)

It should be noted that the analysis of both the racial phenotype variable and the sexualisation variable is part of the third compendium item included in this research work (AE-IC 2022 *Libro de Comunicaciones*) (see section "List of publications". Translated version from the Spanish-pre print has been included in annexes).

The inter-coder reliability phase

Within content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004), the inter-coder reliability phase is crucial. This phase consists of analysing 10% of the sample between two different people (coders) and reaching at least 0.80 agreement between them (see Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken, 2002). For this purpose, the content analysis method recommends prior training based on the coding book, to become familiar with the specifications of the variables and their categories. Thus, coders work on the same 10% of the sample. Once the level of reliability has been reached, the process is completed, and the coding is considered valid.

Sample study

To briefly explain the study sample, I present below the sample or units of analysis considered in each publication of the compendium (see table 13) concerning each of the research objectives presented in previous sections.

Objectives and publications	Methodology	Units of analysis
SO1: to analyse the late modernity scenario and how cultural elements and capitals are inserted into it. **Article:** Rosalía's kaleidoscope in the crossroads of late modernity.	Descriptive analysis. Grounded theory.	Case study: Rosalía. 4 units of analysis (music videos)

SO2: to examine the representations of femininity and masculinity in mainstream music and their evolution over ten years. **Article:** Evolución de la heteronormatividad a partir de una categorización de los estereotipos de género. Análisis de los videoclips musicales más populares.	Qualitative and qualitative content analysis. Grounded theory.	50 music videos of the most listened-to music in Spain in 2009 and 2019, 25 per year.
SO3: to explore feminine and masculine representations with the variables of sexuality and racialisation. **Communication:** Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis decolonial de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España.	Qualitative and qualitative content analysis. Grounded theory.	50 music videos of the most listened-to music in Spain in 2009 and 2019, 25 per year.
SO4: to examine the narrative elements in mainstream songs during the lockdown in Spain and their relationship with well-being. **Article:** Music to Face the Lockdown: An Analysis of Covid-19 Music Narratives on Individual and Social Well-Being.	Qualitative and qualitative content analysis. Grounded theory.	13 music videos were promoted by the UN during the lockdown.

Table 13: Correspondence between objectives, publications, methodological tools and study sample.

Chapter III: Results

List of publications

“One dream, one soul
One prize, one goal
One golden glance of what should be
It's a kind of magic.”
A kind of magic **– Queen (1986)**

This research is part of modality B of the UPF Communication Department thesis' by compendium/publications. This modality establishes as requirements (among others) a total of 4 items, two of them academic articles published or accepted for publication. The characteristics of the items that make up the doctoral thesis, whose first author is, in all cases, the PhD student, are presented below (see table 14).

Title of the publication	State	Journal	Language	Index
Rosalía's kaleidoscope in the crossroads of late modernity.	Published	Catalan Journal of Communication and Cultural Studies	English	Scopus (Q2 – Cultural Studies)
Evolución de la heteronormatividad a partir de una categorización de los estereotipos de género. Análisis de los videoclips musicales más populares.	Published	El Profesional de la Información EPI	Spanish (*pre-print translated - annexes section*)	Scopus (Q1 – Cultural studies and communication)
Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis decolonial de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España.	Accepted for publication	Libro de comunicaciones AE-IC 2022	Spanish (*pre-print translated - annexes section*)	
Music to Face the Lockdown: An Analysis of Covid-19 Music Narratives on Individual and Social Well-Being.	Published	Social Inclusion	English	Scopus (Q2 – Social psychology)

Table 14: Description of items - compendium publications.

Publications

Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila & Guerra, Paula (2021). Rosalía's kaleidoscope in the crossroads of late modernity. *Catalan Journal of Communication and Cultural Studies*. 13(1), pp. 3-21 https://doi.org/10.1386/cjcs_00036_1

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Rosalía's kaleidoscope in the crossroads of late modernity

ABSTRACT

Rosalía gained worldwide fame with the release of El Mal Querer *in 2018, carving a niche for herself in mainstream music with her distinctive aesthetic style and the incorporation of flamenco rhythms in her music. Our study aims to analyse four of her most important songs to highlight how she created her artistic place by incorporating collective cultural memories and translating them into a late modern scenario while at the same time commodifying the working-class standard of* choni *women in Spain. Our main findings suggest that (1) Rosalía's work appropriates certain cultural and collective memories and translates them into a fashionable and desirable late modern lifestyle that combines a flamenco sound with other rhythms that could lead to the sustenance of this music genre in the new generations; (2) Rosalía establishes her youth style and femininity by incorporating a set of consumer practices that are also guided by elements of the postfeminist sensibility; and (3) there are four main actions that helped Rosalía to establish the* choni-*chic style. With this combination, we argue that Rosalía brings to the present a hybridized flamenco for contemporary generations while also rescuing cultural and patrimonial elements that are relevant within the construction of identities.*

1. 'Malamente' was the first song released from this album.

2. Anonymous author.

3. From the region of Andalusia in southern Spain.

1. INTRODUCTION

Rosalía Vila Tobella was born in Barcelona, Spain, in 1993. She is the Spanish artist with the most Latin Grammy Awards for a single work (Benzal Alía 2019), thanks to the success achieved with her song 'Malamente' (Fuentes 2018). The release of her second album, *El Mal Querer*,[1] which started as her thesis project for a bachelor in flamenco at the Escuela Superior de Música de Catalunya, established her as an artist (EFE 2019). In fact, with this album, Rosalía reached the number one on the iTunes list in Spain and entered the lists of international musical successes from different countries such as France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Italy (Pajares 2018). Her success is transglobal, as can be seen in a November 2018 *New York Times* article, where she is described as 'a pop star who brings flamenco to a new generation' (Hutchinson 2018).

'The Rosalía phenomenon' (Doménech 2019) has been rising in popularity within the media and the social networks. 'Malamente' is now a double Platinum-certified song in Spain and Gold-certified in US Latin (Rosalia 2020). *El Mal Querer* is an experimental and conceptual proposal inspired by the novel *Flamenca*[2] (Manrique Sabogal 2018) and has been awarded seven Latin Grammy Awards. Rosalía became the most-listened-to Spanish artist around the world (Cao 2019) and is the Spanish artist with most Grammy Awards ever received, with more than 2.5 million followers on Instagram (Sacristan 2019). The young artist also won two MTV Video Music Awards and one MTV European Music Award (Rosalia 2020)

The phenomenon provoked by Rosalía has several interesting features. On the one hand, unlike other Spanish working-class women in the media, she does not suffer from the stigmatization of being tasteless, uneducated or vulgar (Oliva 2014; Willem et al. 2019) even when her self-portrayal does include some working-class elements. Rosalía's studies in flamenco granted her enough cultural capital to permit her to participate in the music environment with the professional legitimacy needed (Bourdieu 1988). On the other hand, and besides the well-known connection of flamenco with Spanish identity, this music genre has historically been considered *Andaluz*,[3] and almost uniquely *Romani* (UNESCO 2010). As Rosalía was born in Sant Esteve Sesrovires, a small town in the province of Barcelona (Mazur Wireimage 2019), she has been disparaged for singing and dancing flamenco (El País 2018). The accusations of cultural appropriation (Giddens 1991) reached a high point after the success of 'Malamente'.

Based on her global impact, the subverted style of her representation and the connection she makes with elements of the cultural imaginary and memories, as well as her numerous references to working-class scenarios, we consider Rosalía as a relevant artist to take into account when talking and making sense of what is happening in the cultural field of the mainstream and commercial music.

This article analyses four of Rosalía's songs to demonstrate how Rosalía's music and artistic expressions must be understood as part of a late modern context (Giddens 1991) and how they constitute contemporary cultural memories that she uses to demarcate her own space (Guerra and Santos Silva 2015). Rosalía's redefinition of musical forms and content ultimately seeks to reformulate and re-create her space in the music industry, as well as society itself (Guerra 2019).

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This study is carried out in a socio-analytical frame, as the form of artistic expression under analysis can also be understood as a way to communicate a message. This work recognizes that Rosalía's creative products can move us in a variety of ways. On the one hand, we must consider her corporality when she acts and (re)presents herself and other women (Ferreira 2007; Guerra 2017) always with a particular aesthetic that has become her trademark. On the other hand, the content Rosalía portrays can also be read as a combination of different realities by invoking concepts such as cultural and collective memories.

Since we analyse the production that Rosalía presents within a historical and cultural context, we consider a sociological approach the most relevant. We aim to highlight the elements mentioned above and articulate them with the late modern scenario of production within a reflexive structure (Giddens 1991). Our analysis of Rosalía closely follows Becker (2007) when he argues that art is a way to talk about society and is produced and reproduced by it. Based on the same premise, this study follows a postfeminist perspective that operates in the arena of late modernity and the consumerist lifestyle that articulates cultural production, the market and society (Gill 2007; Evans et al. 2010; Evans and Riley 2015).

In this context, we argue that Rosalía's creations refer to a cultural hybridity (Regev 2013) and a collective memory perception (Halbwachs 1992). With the material compiled and analysed in this study, we aim to establish a descriptive analysis of Rosalía's lyrics and the representation she makes within her music videos. We use a dialogical perspective, in which art can be understood as the mirror and reflection of society and other diverse social realities, as a creator of actions and as a producer of knowledge with reflective characteristics. In so doing, we reinforce an epistemological understanding (Guerra and Santos Silva 2015; Guerra 2016; Guerra and Januário 2016) of the field of the arts as an autonomous and representative element of social reality while, at the same time, a force that influences it.

2. *LA ROSALÍA*. HYBRID IDENTITIES AS NEW HERITAGE

In the context of late modernity (Giddens 1991), conceptions of aesthetic cosmopolitanism have been argued to be an opening to other cultures and a form of individual affirmation (Regev 2013). Because late modernity indeed demands the construction of individual identity, the necessity of understanding late modern scenarios of cultural production has increased. Among other social key features, late modern creations focus their efforts mainly on consumerist practices that can usually be read as ways of expressing individuality and freedom and as openness to diversity. Most of these features, however, also lead to increased uncertainty and contradictions that overshadow the complexity of the social contexts and the many social differences behind them, such as race, class and gender (Gill 2009a; Durham 2012; Hansen 2015; Utley 2017; de Laat 2019).

In this sense, notions of heritage and patrimony have become more complex nowadays (Heinich 2011). The elements related to cultural memories have acquired an increasingly scientific nature because of the understanding of an object or product as the articulation of a deeper relationship within the social environment in which it is located and to which it belongs. In addition to overcoming reductionist points of view, there is an urgent need to transpose a conception of heritage through its social construction. We must

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try to understand what motivations are part of this social structure, and what the new heritages of modern societies are, especially when considering the immaterial.

The incorporation of elements of patrimony, cultural memories and collective emotions is part of the novelty in Rosalía's music. This combination allows her to configure representations that connect with the late modern scenario of production while dialoguing with significant emotions. For instance, elements of flamenco that transcend the traditional rhythms to include dances, dress codes and fashion associated with the *flamencas*. What matters is not just the incorporation of flamenco rhythms in the songs, but what this may signify. On a community level, it is important to take into consideration that culture, person and the multiplicity of cultural and emotional symbols reinforce emotions of pride, patrimony and culture. In other words, all these elements emphasize the feelings of belonging.

With these facts, we may start to connect Rosalía's success with a desire to make something that does not disappear (Laqueur 2018), which shows a subversive process of hyperpatrimonialization (Heinich 2014). If her formula works, flamenco will remain in the individual and collective imagination based on her artistic production, even though the flamenco that Rosalía incorporates no longer corresponds to the flamenco of the past. We can argue that her musical proposal is the result of the society in which Rosalía finds herself and represents her way of speaking about it (Guerra 2016).

In this sense, we agree with Smith's (2006) idea that all patrimony is a cultural practice, constructed by a set of values and meanings that are characterized and described by their immaterial nature. By highlighting Rosalía's artistic production as a form of expression of society, we face a kind of subcultural field given that the artist comes to challenge not only the traditional flamenco sound and representation, but, in so doing, she adapts different representations into a late modern style, where the cosmopolitan aesthetic is dominant.

We coincide with Wallis' (2010) assessment of the relevance of music videos and their representations in the socialization of gender and therefore pay special attention to the depictions presented by Rosalía in her videos. In this respect, Rosalía is different from other female mainstream music celebrities. Although most current media and cultural production tends to lead to the sexualization of culture (Attwood 2006; Gill 2009b; Evans et al. 2010; Jackson and Vares 2015), in which women are usually portrayed as companions whose role is to please male artists (Ramos López 2003; Guarinos 2012), and most media products tend to reinforce elements of the postfeminist sensibility (Gill 2007, 2017) as *the* way to express self-determination and empowerment, Rosalía usually portrayals herself in tracksuit, with her hair in a ponytail and red lipstick. While it is undeniable that many of the patterns that she incorporates in her representations reflect a consumerist style and 'up for it' (Gill and Scharff 2011) sensuality and postfeminist characteristics, Rosalía's style may also be understood as a subversion of the contemporary representation of women in the media, which may also help to overthrow the rigid norms on which some audiences construct their identities.

On the one hand, we can underscore a process of double hermeneutics between objects and meanings as a patrimonial emotion (Fabre 2013), which can be produced and created in Rosalía's music because of the common components of heritage that converge in it. This notion of patrimonial emotion about a shared inheritance (Fabre 2013; Godelier 2014) assumes a much more

collective dimension when it is the object of an emotional investment made by a large number of individuals. In our study, for example, we refer to Rosalía's listeners and fans, who not only admire and follow her but also participate in her work by adopting her style and standards. It is a game of emotions and aesthetics that involves symbolic and cultural qualities (Heinich 2017) that we identify and distinguish in her productions. For example, Rosalía's musical representations connect with cultural memories of the Spanish imaginary, such as references to matadors and bullfights, as well as some Catholic religious elements such as crosses. In this context, we believe it is important to connect the preservation of cultural identities and collective memories with the consumerism portrayed in Rosalía's videos, since these elements have a strong connection with the late modern context, a neo-liberal space that articulates cultural production, the market and society (Evans and Riley 2015).

When discussing flamenco (González 2019; Langa 2019; Molina 2019; Redacción 2019b; Úbeda Rodríguez 2019; Zanón 2019), religious representations and even Rosalía's aesthetic depictions, we converse with Heinich (2017), who refers to them as the present value of the heritage. When heritage comes to a (re)appropriation and promotion inserted in her music, Rosalía may extol her past, in a sort of autobiographic wink, while also supporting collective and cultural memories (Heinich 2011). In this way, she eternalizes and transmits them to future generations.

On the other hand, when we talk about Rosalía's appropriation of traditional elements such as flamenco or certain aesthetic images and patterns, we refer to the concept of hybridization (Regev 2013). In the context of late modernity, this cosmopolitanism is a structuralist facet of global national and ethnic cultures, something that can be assumed as a basic element of a hybrid culture. Therefore, Rosalía begins to play an active role in the transmission of this intangible heritage of Spanish culture.

The same idea applies to her image, an aesthetic (re)presentation of the *choni*, 'an epitome of the female incarnation of the failed underclass in Spain' (Willem et al. 2019: 532). Rosalía's celebrity persona has distinctive features that set her apart from other working-class women in the media and music industry, as was previously mentioned. First, considering that most of the exclusions that women suffer in relation to social class have their roots in economic or cultural resources (Skeggs 1997), Rosalía holds a professional degree in music, which gives her sufficient cultural capital (Bourdieu 1988) to participate in the professional music field with authority.

Second, since the label 'working class' has been used to mean 'less valuable' when applied to women and it is therefore better not to be recognized as such (Skeggs 1997), Rosalía's depictions subvert some features typically associated with working-class women. Her nails are just one example of this statement. With upper-class beauty standards rejecting pretention and exaggeration (Bourdieu 1988), long, acrylic, full-colour nails are associated to the marginalization and denigration of (firstly) Black lower-class women (Nittle 2019) and are considered vulgar and without taste. Beyond this, the dress code, hairstyle and ostentatious jewellery of the *gitanas* ('gypsy women') are also marginalized as a statement of class in Spain.

Bourdieu (1988) argued that the way symbolic goods that are considered attributes of excellence are used is what confirms membership in a social class, and this is precisely what we see in Rosalía's representations. The appropriation of different elements and the glamorous way in which Rosalía (re-) presents them subverts some media production representations, especially in

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relation to women. As a Rosalía-inspired trend is something that her admirers, among other music celebrities, seem to be incorporating (Martes 2019; Masdeu 2019; Pecherska 2019; Redacción 2019a), the *choni-chic-esthetic* has come to be a hybrid component because of fashion norms and the standardized beauty hierarchies in the field of worldwide music (Regev 2013).

We will therefore refer to the fashionable aesthetic (re)presentation of Rosalía as *choni*-chic, alluding to Duits and Van Zoonen (2006: 105) when they refer to the porno-chic representation in contemporary media as 'pastiche and parody […]; the post-modern transformation [of porn] into the mainstream cultural artefacts'. To our understanding, Rosalía's practice of representing her style in a *choni*-chic way is a sort of transformation of the *choni* features into the late modern mainstream scenario. The connection of these elements with high style and luxury makes them aspirational, but at the same time subverts the concept of choni; these same elements are also important in terms of identity due to their references to the heritage and patrimony of some of her followers.

Regev (2013) has argued that the connection between music and status is very complicated since it involves consumption while balancing creative expression. Inasmuch as status is a form of social recognition, aesthetic cosmopolitanism appears to be 'the result of the artistic production of previously unrecognized cultures internationally' (Regev 2013: 173). The author offers some ideas on the effects of aesthetic cosmopolitanism in music markets by deconstructing the notion of world music in order to understand how it distinguishes itself from others. He also considers other genres such as pop and other aspects of the markets such as mechanisms of reproduction. We are facing cycles of cultural and commercial incorporation (Huq 2003), which give greater visibility to the artistic productions in addition to the commercial factor. In turn, this encourages and gives confidence to people, especially to younger generations to express their tastes, their musical ideas, gradually leading to the idea of the mainstream (Huq 2003). These characteristics, derived from flamenco or the aesthetic elements associated with the *choni*-chic, foster collective memories (Halbwachs 1992).

In this field, we highlight the contributions of Reynolds (2011) with his concepts of retromania, nostalgia and preservation. These concepts connect with spaces, sociability and the importance of preserving identities. Collective memories (Halbwachs 1992) are associated with nostalgia, due to the need to preserve memory as a type of work that must be conserved but also due to the sociability they assume as a manifestation and consequence of all these elements combined. Therefore, when we examine the impact of musical productions on identities, and when we see Rosalía as a product that aims to maintain collective memories (Halbwachs 1992), we speak about the collective meanings that we can refer to.

Finally, we argue that through music, its practices, codes and representations, it is possible to 'state an ethos, a vision of the world, a position in and towards the world' (Guerra and Santos Silva 2015: 218), because music has a strong connection with cultural values that promote ways of expression and behaviour (Bennett 2001). Nevertheless, symbolic and cultural elements are also present in music (Heinich 2017), and these are key distinctions in Rosalía's work, distinctions that lead to the experimenting with different identities (Guerra and Costa 2016).

3. METHODOLOGY

The analytical corpus underlying our research is a set of four Rosalía songs. The first three were the most viewed on her YouTube channel[4] at the time of our research: 'Malamente' (Vila Tobella et al. 2018), 'Yo x Ti, Tu x Mí' (Vila Tobella et al. 2019b) and 'Con Altura' (Vila Tobella et al. 2019a). 'Malamente' is the first track from the album *El Mal Querer* and evokes most of the Spanish cultural memories in our study. The other two most viewed video clips are (co)performed with three male artists, famous within music genres such as reggaeton, electric pop and trap. The remaining song selected for analysis, 'Juro Que' (Gómez Carrero and Vila Tobella 2020), was Rosalía's latest release while we were writing this article and is a song performed solely by her. In sum, all the songs selected have different overtones that help us analyse Rosalía in her versatility as a dramatic, determined, consumerist, tragic and romantic artist.

Our research focuses on an empirical descriptive analysis (Guerra and Januário 2016). We inductively examine the content of the songs and analyse both lyrics and video clips. In so doing, we follow the principles of the Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) with the aim of highlighting an understanding of modern society that derives from Rosalía's work. Therefore, our study takes a qualitative approach.

We anticipate different ways in which Rosalía incorporates cultural and collective memories (Halbwachs 1992), as well as symbolic and cultural qualities (Heinich 2011), into her (re)interpretation of society within all the nuances that she combines in her lyrics and videos. Nevertheless, considering all the complexities that are part of a late modern scenario (Giddens 1991), and the consumerism it drives while thinking of cultural and commercial adaptations (Huq 2003), we aim to connect these elements with the process of the construction of identity (Guerra 2016; Guerra and Costa 2016) that, in turn, helps to subvert the *choni* label.

After listening to the four songs under study, we created the following categories: central theme, the position of the artist(s), cultural memories, late modern lifestyle and consumerism, post-feminism and type of sound. In what follows, we present our analysis of these categories, though it must be stated here at the outset that they interconnect with one another. Our analysis uses extracts from the narratives and content analysed to exemplify our understanding, and the main findings will be presented in the final discussion.

4. *LA ROSALÍA!* UNDER ANALYSIS

4.1 Cultural memories: (Re)appropriation to connect

Our analysis of Rosalía's works immediately found a process of construction of emotional heritage (Fabre 2013), inserting itself in a collective panorama of representations and cultural appropriations. We highlight a transversal use of flamenco rhythm and dances, which have become a characteristic of Rosalía's musical production. This means that, in one way or another, flamenco is present in her music, whether in the form of the traditional clapping, the aesthetic of the *flamencas*, a flamenco sound and the way in which Rosalía sings – particularly her pronunciation of some words.

Flamenco mainly comes from Andalusia and there is a particular way of speaking and singing that is characteristic of the region and of Romani artists. This is the starting point in the appropriation Rosalía carries out in her music. For instance, in 'Malamente', she uses typical Andalusian phrases such as *han*

4. Available at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCQt9awGIFZeldFsATZNeJag. Accessed 14 February 2020.

sali'o, toma que toma, quillo and *voy a salir pa' la calle* and sings them as they are pronounced by Andalusians. In this song, to highlight a double hermeneutic between objects and meanings, such as the cloak or the cars that are emerging, Rosalía also makes use of references to Spanish cultural memory and patrimony (Heinich 2011). She takes symbolic and cultural qualities to put them all together in a way that expresses a social reality and her understanding of it (Becker 2007), for instance, by using direct references such as *me lo dijo esa gitana* ('that gypsy told me'). Moreover, at 00:01:04 of the video, while Rosalía is starting her ride on a motorcycle, the lyrics use the word *Undivé* to evoke God.

In 'Malamente' we can see what Heinich (2011) has called hyperpatrimonialization, an aspect that is verified in the imagistic references that are made to, for instance, bullfighters. This reference is undoubtedly striking in the context of the video clip since it is repeated at different times. Here we highlight a relationship with cultural aspects, but also with the existence and promotion of collective memory (Halbwachs 1992) by emphasizing feelings of belonging to a culture. Although other music celebrities have used similar references in their music, such as Madonna (Tortajada et al. 2017), we believe Rosalía's use of them is distinct. First, Rosalía is a Spanish woman, and flamenco as well as bullfights are indisputably internationally recognized as Spanish. Second, Rosalía's professional education completely focusing on flamenco allows her to create and innovate in the field. As we see it, both elements – her Spanish nationality and identity, which allows her to use elements from the Spanish cultural imaginary in her songs, and her formal training in flamenco, which grants her the authority to innovate – are the key components of the (re-) appropriation (Giddens 1991, 1992) that Rosalía makes. This process leads her to navigate into a space of cultural hybridity (Regev 2013). This is how Rosalía starts to define her artistic field of production and which helps her to carry a set of collective memories (Halbwachs 1992) through the current cultural and musical terrain. In addition to the features already mentioned, 'Malamente' contains Catholic elements that also allude to Spanish culture, such as the tattoo of a religious figure or the skateboarder dressed in the purple hood and robes of a Catholic penitent. In sum, latent cultural memories of the Spanish imagination are included, which essentially involve cultural and symbolic qualities (Heinich 2017) translated in a late modern scenario.

In the song 'Yo x Ti, Tu x Mí', the flamenco sound is also present even though reggaeton is dominant. Nevertheless, the appropriation (Giddens 1991) of flamenco's arms and hands is clear in the movement of Rosalía's arms and hands, and by her hairstyle during the dances in the video. We note, however, that she performs this dance in a studio and therefore it cannot be understood as traditional. The combination of these two paths leads to what Regev (2013) called 'cultural hybridism', which is produced by the appropriation and mixing of traditional elements with elements from contemporary culture.

'Con altura', which is a mainly reggaeton song, also represents this hybridization with flamenco that, in turn, may connect with different audiences and identities. In the first verse of the song, Rosalía evokes a heritage musical figure (Heinich 2011) connected with cultural and collective memories (Halbwachs 1992) – Héctor Lavoe (Genius 2019). In so doing, Rosalía brings to the contemporary scenario an influential figure and all the emotions and elements related to him (Reynolds 2011). This mixture connects with different identities, in different societies, such as Latin and Central America, resulting in an amplification of the audience that will understand what Rosalía is

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incorporating into this song. Of course, this can lead to a wider audience and, in consequence, to a more global connection and consumption.

In 'Con altura', Rosalía not only makes a connection to some symbolic and cultural qualities (Heinich 2017) but also refers them to herself. This takes place when Rosalía compares herself with a pure jewel, for instance, in a demonstration of her identity (Silva et al. 2018). Most interesting, at 00:00:37, Rosalía performs a powerful flamenco dance that went viral worldwide, while singing the following:

> Pongo rosas sobre el Panamera / pongo palmas sobre la guantanamera / llevo camarón en la guantera / lo hago para mi gente y lo hago a mi manera.
> (I put roses on the Panamera / I put palms on the guantanamera / I carry shrimp in the glove compartment / I do it for my people and I do it my way.)

> (Vila Tobella et al. 2019a)

By referring to all these elements, Rosalía links her persona and some products she typically consumes with emotions of retromania and nostalgia (Reynolds 2011) to call an identification that goes beyond limits and frontiers, and which constructs her individuality. Rosalía gets closer to her audience when she sings 'I do it for my people and I do it my way', which is a powerful link to understanding who she is referring to and the emotions that she is connecting in the process. We develop this idea further in the section 'Subverting the class: The *choni*-chic'.

The final song we analyse, 'Juro Que', is the one with the most flamenco sound. From the very beginning, the claps and guitar transport us through collective memories (Halbwachs 1992) of flamenco harmonies and arpeggios. As mentioned in our analysis of 'Malamente', Rosalía's transversal appropriation of flamenco begins with her pronunciation of some words and phrases to connect with its identifiable patrimonial emotion (Fabre 2013). In 'Juro que', the pronunciation of some words such as *abrazao* (instead of *abrazado*, 'hugged') and, especially, the constant use of the expression *olé, Rosalía, olé* evokes the Romani community. As this is the most flamenco song, its representation is also accompanied with features characteristic of it. Rosalía incorporates the particular hair style, the earrings and the long, coloured nails of the *flamencas*, accompanied with her own contemporary fashion trend. At 00:01:12, when the camera portrays a Rosalía dressed in yellow, looking at herself in the mirror, her style evokes the collective memories of the *gitana* ('gypsy woman') by using various headbands along with her long, loose hair, large earrings and a yellow corset with delicate black dots all over it. The hybridity (Regev 2013) displayed is accompanied by the light-changing of the scenes that also coincides with an electric rhythm fusion sound.

4.2 Consumerism: Late modern youth and femininity

Alongside the video clips, there is a transversal representation of youth. Even though men are present in the videos of the songs, the representation of women is much more significant and refined.

In 'Malamente', the (re)presentation of Rosalía moves from a passive and nursing woman to the scene where she dies and then is reborn strong and powerful. The lyrics narrates the events in this way:

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Aunque no esté bonita / la noche un divé / Voy a salir pa' la calle / […] Y por delante / No voy a perder un minuto en volver a pensarte.
(Even if I'm not pretty / the night is a dive / I'm going to go out to the street / […] And ahead / I'm not going to waste a minute thinking about you again.)

(Vila Tobella et al. 2018)

The visual divergence between the young people, the cloak, personalized cars and the use of the motorcycle as a substitute for the bull show strong signs of cultural hybridism, along the lines of aesthetic cosmopolitanism that, in turn, has an underlying process of the maintenance of intangible cultural heritage and memory. This symbolism and the visual references are also converted and assumed as a subversive process of hyperpatrimonialization. The fact that the protagonists of the video – the men who hold the cloaks – are young states a concern, albeit underlying and latent, with keeping the traditional cultural imagery alive (Smith 2006). Moreover, in 'Malamente', the representation of consumerism is also noteworthy, despite the fact that most of it is related to a working-class background, represented by the trucks and the neighbourhood locations.

In the song 'Yo x Ti, Tu x Mí', the portrayal of Rosalía becomes much more allusive to a high lifestyle. The song expresses an interchange of cultural values and attitudes that takes place within commercial incorporation (Huq 2003). This relationship is highlighted by the mention of money, jewellery and power, while the corporality of both artists denotes strength and untouchable narcissistic (re)presentations. The lyrics are concise on this point:

Colgando del cuello los juguetes / rodeada de flores y billetes / 'tamo Worldwide a machete / y mira bang-bang si con nosotros te entrometes […] Somos dos cantantes como los de antes / el respeto es en boletos y diamantes.
(Hanging toys around the neck / surrounded by jewellery and bills / we are Worldwide a machete / and look bang bang if you meddle with us […] We are two singers old-school / respect is in tickets and diamonds.)

(Vila Tobella et al. 2019b)

'Respect is in tickets and diamonds' is a phrase that states a connection with a late modern lifestyle (Giddens 1991, 1992). This phrase eludes to a particular way of life and the artists' understanding of it. They transcend their celebrity persona by comparing themselves with other artists in an allegation for their legitimate power and fame. Both artists project an understanding of their contemporary hybridism (Regev 2013) by combining what has been done in the past with their way of doing the same in the present. These ideas are well accompanied by a set of Victorian decorations, such as a white mansion with big ceiling lamps and a jacuzzi, and even by the Ferrari that Rosalía drives and which she frenetically plays with. There are servants, flash-cameras and paparazzi, all represented in a cool and funny style, that is clearly late modern. The use of the words 'bang bang' to refer to gunshots as a caution against messing with the artists is also significant in this respect.

The representation of this same lifestyle is also present in 'Con altura', the chorus of which reads:

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Esto es pa' que quede / lo que yo hago dura / Demasiadas noches de travesura / Vivo rápido y no tengo cura / Iré joven pa' la sepultura.
(This is so that it remains / what I do lasts / Too many mischievous nights / I live fast and I have no cure / I will go to the grave young.)
(Vila Tobella et al. 2019a)

Late modern aspects are present in the declaration of living fast, being mischievous and the celebration of being youthful, combined with the depiction of Rosalía and her companions' jewellery, hair style and nails. Rosalía repeats the same lyrics while walking to the stairs in a sort of reinforcement of the message transmitted, which also resonates with her persona and lifestyle. When the camera captures her downstairs, she is fully dressed in red with her hair in a ponytail. Although this representation is, indeed, an appropriation (Giddens 1991) translated into Rosalía's hybrid composition (Regev 2013), her portrayal gathers a number of elements of the postfeminist sensibility (Gill 2007, 2017). She looks powerful, determined and, above all, active and sexy. This formula is what connects with the young and 'mischievous' generations of followers. After Rosalía's dance, J. Balvin comes in, and this is when reggaeton fully enters the song.

Besides the fact that both artists connect and reflect their thoughts about society when mentioning clichés from their backgrounds to connect with their audiences, it is interesting to see how the representation of Rosalía moves to a more sexual one. She still connects with most of the patterns of the *flamencas* with her hair in a ponytail, wearing red lipstick and large earrings and her fashioned nails. Her clothing evokes elements of flamenco and Spanish memories (Heinich 2011), thanks to the red and yellow pattern of her bra and the kerchief holding her hair. In 'Con altura', however, some contradictions in the (re)presentations are clearly evident. The group of young women that joins Rosalía varies from a strong and aggressive attitude, which may be read as self-determined, to an objectified portrayal. Rosalía, herself, changes by the end of the video. Her attitude and representation shift to a more sexual and decorative role, especially at 00:01:46, when she wears more provocative clothes showing her cleavage while dancing between the camera and J. Balvin.

In the song 'Juro Que' we also find a few connections to consumerism and ostentation. Among others, the lyrics of the song directly refer to this matter:

Bolso Gucci, diamante' y marfil / que yo lo empeño todo, que todito lo empeño pa' poderte sacar de ahí.
(Gucci purse, diamonds and Ivory / that I'll pawn everything to get you out of there.)

(Gómez Carrero and Vila Tobella 2020)

In her lyrics, Rosalía evokes elements of her lifestyle by mentioning fashion brands and jewellery. This combination of modernity with the emotions of sacrifice and love is a different tone in Rosalía's music. This is a statement of her lifestyle but, at the same time, is something that no longer matters if love is in the middle. By doing this, the tragedy and passion associated with flamenco become more evident. Her portrayal as a woman swings between strength and decision to a more suffering and dramatic one. These elements configure a type of hybridization (Regev 2013) that easily connects with the symbolic and cultural qualities of the music genre and with those other elements that resonate and transcend in the current modern scenario (Giddens 1991) where

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younger generations base the construction of their identities on the pillars of consumerism.

4.3 Aesthetic cosmopolitanism that subverts the class heritage?

For the purpose of this section, we take back the phrase, 'I do it for my people and I do it my way', from the song 'Con Altura'. To connect this phrase and our understanding of Rosalía's portrayal of the *choni*-chic, it is first necessary to understand the characteristics of the *choni*:

> Chonis are considered low-class, low-educated girls with an explicit, unbridled sexual desire. Their cultural and classed representation portrays them as wearing heavy makeup, cheap track-suits (usually pink and/or animal print), big earrings and specific hairdos such as ponytails or dyed blond hair, and as shouting and chewing gum all day.
>
> (Willem et al. 2019: 538)

Following this description, we argue that Rosalía is not a *choni* because she is no longer low-class and because her professional education allowed her to perform her artistic production with music industry standards. Nevertheless, her representation still coincides with most of the features of the *choni* detailed above. In turn, we consider that, based on her hybrid and chic representation, it is possible to understand these patterns as elements of her own identity that, in consequence, is what reinforces the subversion process of the *choni* label.

'Malamente' is an ideal starting point for analysing Rosalía's proposal and the evolution of the *choni*-chic style, especially because 'Malamente' is more authentic and loyal to the working-class scenario and the elements Rosalía comes from and which identify her (Rudinow 1994). The trucks, the pallets and even the dress code of the tracksuit refer to a fresh and young cosmopolitan aesthetic (Regev 2013) made from features of the *choni*. Even though Rosalía incorporates many of the elements used to characterize *flamencas* in all her videos, such as the red lipstick, large and expensive jewellery, we still consider her long sparkly nails, her dress code and hair style as the most significant (re)appropriations that Rosalía (re)signified in her *choni*-chic style.

In 'Malamente' Rosalía takes the spotlight at 00:01:35, when a sort of bullfight is shown in slow motion. A young man is wearing a cloak and Rosalía is on a motorcycle. In these brief seconds, we have transparent dichotomous relationships in the face of the challenges that women occupy within the cultural field (Silva et al. 2018). The figure of Rosalía demonstrates strength and ferocity, while her look evokes beauty, sensuality and femininity (Gill 2007, 2017). In this video clip we understand the references to Rosalía's working-class background from the very beginning. The numerous collective memories help to identify Rosalía closely with her background and, in so doing, her portrayal is connected with elements of emotional heritage (Fabre 2013) and reinforces her identity.

As in 'Malamente', in the video clip of 'Con altura', Rosalía is accompanied by other young women. Their representation also combines the dress code of the *choni*-chic, but in this case, the video locates these women in another context, where they are perceived within another 'status'. Surrounded by food and champagne, Rosalía and her crew subvert their representation. They celebrate those identity features that may have marginalized them and locate

them all together in a high-standard presentation, reinforced by consumerist practices. Rosalía seems to be representing a societal group traditionally marginalized from the mainstream – or at least ridiculed for their fashion – with her 'chic' (re)presentations.

Rosalía subverts the *choni* depictions and reinforces this strategy by recognizing herself as one of them ('I do it for my people and I do it my way'). This is what we consider as key to her success. She is close to her roots, not just with the Spanish elements detailed in the sections above but mainly to her way of creating and (re)presenting herself and her people. This connection is powerful since it can help other young working-class women to access a level they were previously denied and, in turn, encourage them to make a deeper appropriation of their lifestyle with more confidence (Huq 2003). In other words, this representation is strong because it reinforces emotions and pride while maintaining their own 'features' that are now desirable. In this sense, we consider the role of women particularly relevant when Rosalía establishes a connection with the features that demarcate her femininity and, therefore, the femininity of her women crew.

In the video clip of 'Yo x Ti, Tu x Mí', where it is not possible to distinguish any faces in the dances, the women crew is always dressed in a *choni*-chic style, a hybridization (Regev 2013) of colours, flowery bandanas and skirts, together with military boots or sports shoes. This fashion code is also present in 'Con altura', which reinforces the footprint that Rosalía has been (re)presenting within her music production and connects once again with elements that she wants to highlight and preserve.

In the case of the song 'Yo x Ti, Tu x Mí', particularly when establishing and connecting the symbolic and cultural elements (Heinich 2017) that are important for Rosalía's lifestyle and her musical production, the artist achieves an extra level of aspirational life by locating herself and her own look in a place usually reserved for the high class. In this way, aspirational elements raise and reinforce a status that is translated to her audience. Following this pattern, the song 'Juro Que' continues the glamorous presentation throughout the video clip. While the claps and the guitar arpeggios start the song, Rosalía sits in front of a green wall, dressed in pink. Her hair is held in place by two bows, one on each side, accompanied by a decoration of snails, while two curly locks fall next to her face. In this video Rosalía once again incorporates flamenco features and adds her contemporary fashion trend: a pink long-sleeve corset/blouse, pink pants and pink high heels. Nevertheless, as was already mentioned, her class is still present in the form of high-standard brands and luxury in her representation.

Rosalía's transformation of the old *flamenca* fashion into a more modern and stylish one by making it desirable and aspirational is powerful. Undoubtedly, each element contributed to this transformation. In the first place, Rosalía maintains a combination of her style following her *choni*-chic dress code that, in turn, we understand as the most important contribution that she makes to being perceived as herself, in an attempt to preserve what already constitutes a part of her identity (Guerra 2018). In the second place, the insistent connection with the flamenco sound or traditional body movements reinforces her authority and style in the process of creation, which in turn is the main novelty of Rosalía's musical production. In the third place, Rosalía goes a step further in her attempt to connect all these qualities within different social contexts by incorporating her style and characteristics with elements of other social groups that consequently recognize her for the features already

detailed. Finally, this practice is what constructs the commodification of the *choni* in Rosalía's artistic production. Therefore, it may no longer be a deplorable label of difference, but a pattern, a lifestyle, by which other women may feel represented.

We argue that the (re)presentation that Rosalía makes of working-class women may help to subvert the very features that marginalized this social group. At the same time, as it is always portrayed within a young and comical pattern, achievable by consumerist practices, it may also relegate other women who may not fit in Rosalía's portrayals.

5. GENERAL FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Rosalía has established a trend, a brand and an important path in the music industry. First, Rosalía appropriates (Giddens 1991) different elements from Spanish culture and memory and links them with contemporary figures and features of a late modern lifestyle, particularly those that are read as desirable because of their social values and significance. Rosalía does not just bring the melancholy of flamenco to the young but also carries it further. The hybridity (Regev 2013) evident in her combination of flamenco with reggaeton rhythms and the strength and velocity of electronic music is a key factor to comprehending Rosalía's status as a worldwide phenomenon. The strategy of incorporating the flamenco sound and movements (Regev 2013) in her creations helps to rescue the music genre by packaging it in new ways that could lead to its preservation through time (Reynolds 2011), within new generations and, of course, by opening the field for new artists.

Second, the representations that Rosalía incorporates in her music videos and lyrics are related to a lifestyle in the late modern context (Giddens 1991) by evoking elements of luxury and glamour. Rosalía has made her mark with her youth style and femininity in her music by incorporating a set of qualities that refers to current attitudes and features of the consumerism modernity, guided by some elements of the postfeminist sensibility (Gill 2007, 2017).

Finally, Rosalía has established the *choni*-chic style. She accomplishes this through the incorporation of the main patterns of working-class women in Spain and subverting them in multiple ways: (1) by maintaining a connection with her own roots and style; (2) with the hybridization of her style with traditional features of flamenco, including the dress and style of the *flamencas*; (3) by including these characteristics in an additional hybridization with other relevant cultural elements in order to connect with other societies and identities; and (4) the commodification of the *choni* label, which is made achievable by following her style and consumer practices.

With the analysis presented, we argue that Rosalía's artistic production strongly represents a double hermeneutic relationship between objects and meanings, a connection that makes up the current scene in the world of music, based and inserted in a cosmopolitanism that focuses on consumption and aesthetic elements, as a way of attracting and representing communities and traditional cultures.

Nevertheless, as her strategy may be achievable by practices of consumerism, it also overshadows the many differences that *choni* women still have, as well as the problems they face in their everyday life. This represents one of the many contradictions that we consider must be problematized in further research in this field.

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Evolución de la heteronormatividad a partir de una categorización de los estereotipos de género. Análisis de los videoclips musicales más populares

Evolution of heteronormativity through a categorization of gender stereotypes. Analysis of the most popular music videos

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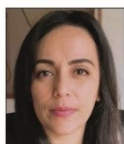
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Resumen

Se examinan las representaciones de masculinidad y feminidad dentro de la música comercial más escuchada y su evolución, a partir de la elaboración propia de un sistema de 11 categorías analíticas de estereotipos de género que exploran el binarismo de género. Para ello, se lleva a cabo un análisis de contenido cualitativo y cuantitativo de 50 videoclips de las canciones más escuchadas en dos cortes temporales (año 2009 y año 2019). Partiendo de la perspectiva crítica postfeminista (Gill, 2007, 2017), se comprueba que el binarismo de género se mantiene en el tiempo, aunque con importantes matizaciones en ambos años. Los resultados concluyen que entre los estereotipos más destacados se encuentran: la feminidad hegemónica occidental, asociada sobre todo a narrativas románticas (principalmente en el año 2009), y la feminidad paria occidental, que dialoga con elementos de mayor sexualización (sobre todo en 2019). Por su parte, la masculinidad protestante occidental se encuentra presente en la mayoría de las canciones de géneros musicales como el rap o el hip hop en ambos periodos de tiempo; mientras que la masculinidad asegurada, que se evidencia en 2019, se asocia con la necesidad de mantener su representación heteronormativa y hegemónica, aunque la sexualidad del artista no encaje en ella. A partir de la muestra analizada, el artículo concluye que, en diez años, ha habido una evolución de la heteronormatividad en los videoclips musicales más populares, donde el estereotipo de masculinidad dominante sigue siendo el modelo de masculinidad hegemónico heterosexual, tanto en el plano romántico como en el sexual; mientras que la representación de la feminidad muestra algunas confrontaciones con el modelo tradicional. El estudio supone una aportación a los estudios sobre masculinidades y feminidades pues establece categorías que pueden aplicarse a diferentes productos culturales y realidades sociales.

Palabras clave

Binarismo; Género; Estereotipos de género; Música; Masculinidades; Feminidades; Videoclips; Mainstream; Análisis de contenido; Categorizaciones; Heteronormatividad; Sexualización; Música comercial.

Abstract

Representations of masculinity and femininity within the most listened-to commercial music and its evolution, based on a system of our own elaboration of 11 analytical categories of gender stereotypes that explore gender binarism, are examined. In so doing, qualitative and quantitative content analyses of 50 video clips of the most listened-to songs in two periods (2009 and 2019) are carried out. From a post-feminist critical perspective (Gill, 2007, 2017), the study verifies that gender binarism is maintained over time, albeit with important nuances in both years. The results conclude that the most prominent stereotypes are Western hegemonic femininity, associated above all with romantic narratives (mainly in 2009), and Western pariah femininity including dialogs with elements of greater sexualization (especially in 2019). On the other hand, Western Protestant masculinity is present in most of the songs associated with musical genres such as rap or hip-hop, in both periods; while Occidental assured masculinity, which is evident in 2019, is associated with the need to maintain the heteronormative and hegemonic representation of masculinity, even when not fitting the sexuality of the artist. The article concludes that, in ten years, there is an evolution of the heteronormativity among the most popular music videos, where dominant masculinity stereotype continues to be the heterosexual hegemonic masculinity model, in both the romantic and sexual context, while the representation of femininity shows some confrontation with the traditional model. This study contributes to other work on masculinities and femininities as it establishes categories that may be applied to different cultural products and social realities.

Keywords

Binarism; Gender; Gender stereotypes; Music; Masculinities; Femininities; Videoclips; Mainstream; Content analysis; Categorizations; Heteronormativity; Sexualization; Commercial music.

1. Introducción y marco teórico

En el campo de los estudios culturales la música es reconocida como el producto de entretenimiento más importante (**Bennett**, 2001), no sólo por su versatilidad a la hora de comunicar diferentes realidades sociales (**Álvarez-Cueva; Masanet; Cano-Hila**, 2020; **Guerra**, 2019; **Silva; Guerra; Santos**, 2018), sino por su fuerte vinculación con la adolescencia y la juventud, periodo clave en la construcción de la identidad (**Erikson**, 1994). Cuando se considera el escenario de producción cultural dominante –*mainstream*– (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015), comprender las representaciones de género resulta clave para dar sentido a la construcción del imaginario social, donde tienen lugar tanto la creación de ideas como el refuerzo de comportamientos (**Donze**, 2016; **Jerald** *et al.*, 2016; **Rodríguez-López**, 2015; **Sabelli**, 2011). En este sentido, la música comercial se entiende como un producto cultural y mediático cargado de elementos que dialogan con sus audiencias de maneras diversas, sobre todo dentro de la modernidad tardía (**Giddens**, 1997). En este diálogo, el videoclip es el producto más consumido por jóvenes, cuyo contenido además tiende a reforzar la reproducción de hábitos culturales e ideológicos (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2017). A este escenario se suma el hecho de que, en los últimos años, la sexualización de la cultura (**Attwood**, 2006; 2009) se ha convertido en un ingrediente esencial de la producción cultural y, de manera cada vez más insistente y explícita, en el ámbito de la música, tanto en sus letras como en sus videoclips.

De acuerdo con **Illescas-Martínez** (2015) las tres grandes discográficas *The Big Three*[1] controlan el 91,6% de los denominados "videoclips dominantes" o *hegemónicos* que "cumplen una función clave a la hora de construir el sentido común" (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015, p. 214). En su trabajo, el autor sostiene que las representaciones de los vídeos tienen un impacto especial en las audiencias más jóvenes, promoviendo un "contenido ideológico notablemente prosistema" (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2017, p. 98). A esta consideración se añade el escenario neoliberal de la producción cultural actual (**Evans; Riley; Shankar**, 2010) que puede, a su vez, generar la falsa impresión de una mayor democratización en las representaciones de género cuando, en realidad, se mantienen las representaciones tradicionales, matizadas con slogans y pseudo *autodeterminaciones* (**Gill**, 2009; **Guarinos**, 2012; **Masanet**, 2016).

Varios estudios han analizado la configuración de diferentes representaciones y mensajes, violentos y sexistas, presentes en la música y los videoclips (**Álvarez-Cueva; Guerra**, 2021; **Hormigos-Ruiz; Gómez-Escarda; Perdió-Oliver**, 2018), sobre todo en géneros musicales tradicionalmente controvertidos como el rap (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015; **Johnson** *et al.*, 1995; **Mazer; Gelain; Guerra**, 2018; **Schneider**, 2011; **Smiler; Shewmaker; Hearon**, 2017; **Wright; Qureshi**, 2015), el rock (**Bleich; Zillmann; Weaver**, 1991; **Dhoest; Herreman; Wasserbauer**, 2015; **Eastman**, 2012; **Frith; Goodwin**, 1990; **Regev**, 2013) y, últimamente, el reggaeton (**Araüna; Tortajada; Figueras-Maz**, 2019; **Goldman**, 2017; **Marshall**, 2008; **Martínez-Noriega**, 2014; **Thillet**, 2006).

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En la música comercial en general, y en la más escuchada en particular, los estereotipos de género continúan presentes de manera transversal como perpetuación implícita del sistema patriarcal (**Soler-Campo**; **Oriola-Requena**, 2019). El rol de la mujer se reduce a dos categorías: o bien 'diva' o bien 'accesorio', aunque en ambos casos la seducción y la sensualidad son requisitos indispensables

> La feminidad hegemónica occidental cumple con su rol de estereotipo en la medida en que encaja en los patrones tradicionales de la feminidad deseada por la sociedad

(**Rodríguez-López**, 2015); mientras que la masculinidad transgrede hacia representaciones que se relacionan más bien con el impacto y el espectáculo. Ya sea como diva o complemento, la mujer sirve como gancho para captar la atención (**Guarinos**, 2012; **Ramos-López**, 2003) y pasa a segundo plano el rol que desempeñe después.

Este estudio parte de la premisa de que el consumo de vídeos musicales contribuye a fortalecer las ideologías y estereotipos de género, sobre todo entre adolescentes (**Jerald** *et al.*, 2016), debido a que articula el componente visual que pretende impactar a la audiencia (**Pérez-Rufí**, 2017). En este sentido, entendemos a la música comercial y sus videoclips no sólo como productos culturales sino como el resultado de una industria dominante que carga de significados e información que, a su vez, impactan en los hábitos de consumo y comportamiento (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015; 2017; **Rich** *et al.*, 1998; **Roberts**; **Foehr**, 2008; **Vandenbosch**; **Vervloessem**; **Eggermont**, 2013). Por tanto, el artículo plantea que profundizar en la construcción de las diferentes representaciones podría generar procesos de reflexión y análisis que, de manera especial en el caso de la música, podrían funcionar también como una herramienta de concienciación (**Hormigos-Ruiz**; **Gómez-Escarda**; **Perdió-Oliver**, 2018) sobre cómo construimos el imaginario colectivo y las implicaciones que éste tiene en la perpetuación de ideas, prejuicios y roles de género.

Por todo ello, se considera pertinente analizar cuáles y cómo son estos estereotipos, cómo están representados y si han cambiado con los años. A partir del binarismo de género, se busca determinar las características que encasillan las representaciones de los y las cantantes o grupos musicales dentro del imaginario colectivo, y explorar dichos estereotipos para problematizarlos y deconstruirlos. La consideración del análisis del artista o los grupos musicales responde al rol protagónico que éstos cumplen dentro de la representación en sus videoclips.

2. Material y métodos

El estudio tiene el objetivo de analizar y evaluar las representaciones de feminidad y masculinidad, además de su evolución en una década, en los videoclips de la música comercial más escuchada. Para ello se lleva a cabo un análisis de contenido cuantitativo y cualitativo (**Krippendorff**, 2004) que permite comprender los datos como fenómenos simbólicos cargados de significados, referencias, valores y posibles intenciones. El estudio incorpora además estrategias de la teoría fundamentada de **Glaser** y **Strauss** (1967) que facilitan un diálogo con las unidades de análisis y los datos, y permiten que sean las mismas representaciones las que faciliten su lectura y posterior clasificación.

La orientación empírica del análisis de contenido, su relación con fenómenos simbólicos, y su capacidad de desarrollar una metodología propia para fines investigativos (**Krippendorff**, 2004) lo convierte en un método pertinente para vincular los elementos cualitativos y cuantitativos que podemos identificar en los videoclips musicales. Así mismo, se incluyen los conceptos de la sensibilidad postfeminista propuestos por **Gill** (2007; 2017) como una herramienta para desentrañar otras características presentes que se entretejen en los discursos *mainstream* y que pueden promover patrones, hábitos de consumo y comportamientos (**Soler-Campo**; **Oriola-Requena**, 2019). Así, en este estudio se construyen categorías de análisis que tienen como punto de partida las dos categorías binarias de feminidad y masculinidad, a las que se incorpora la perspectiva postfeminista (**Gill**, 2007; 2017) y también otras expresiones de la feminidad y la masculinidad exploradas por varios autores (**Anderson**, 2002; **Bridges**; **Pascoe**, 2014; **Connell**, 2005; **Connell**; **Messerschmidt**, 2005; **Gomillion**; **Giuliano**, 2011; **Parsons**, 1949; **Poynting**; **Noble**; **Tabar**, 2011; y **Schippers**, 2007).

Para la elaboración de las categorías de análisis (tabla 1) se parte del concepto de hegemonía de Gramsci (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015) y del binarismo de género que se basa en la *feminidad enfatizada* y la *masculinidad hegemónica* (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell**; **Messerschmidt**, 2005). Por medio de la teoría fundamentada (**Glaser**; **Strauss**, 1967) se incorporaron las diferentes categorías de análisis a las que se aplicó la misma lógica binaria, procurando deliberadamente que un estereotipo (femenino) responda al otro (masculino), y viceversa. Así, las siguientes categorías de *feminidades* y *masculinidades* se establecieron en concordancia con los trabajos de **Bridges** y **Pascoe**, (2014), **Poynting**, **Noble** y **Tabar**, (2011) y **Schippers** (2007), y son: *feminidades paria e híbrida*, y *masculinidades protestante e híbrida*, respectivamente. Las últimas categorías, incorporadas con la intencionalidad de incluir otros tipos de representaciones estereotipadas, dialogan con los trabajos de **Gomillion** y **Giuliano** (2011) y **Anderson** (2002), y son: las *feminidades dike* y *trans*, además de las *masculinidades sissy*, *trans* y la *masculinidad occidental asegurada*, esta última como un caso único que se identifica en la masculinidad. Las características de las 11 categorías propuestas se pueden revisar en la tabla 1.

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Tabla 1. Descripción de las categorías de análisis

Feminidades	Masculinidades
1. Feminidad hegemónica occidental (Heg. O) El modelo representa a una mujer heterosexual delicada, sumisa, orientada al cuidado. Se pueden dar situaciones de dominación masculina o de otras mujeres sobre ella (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell**; **Messerschmidt**, 2005).	**6. Masculinidad hegemónica occidental (Heg. O)** El hombre físicamente tonificado, de actitud valiente y agresiva. Es el tipo de hombre que se muestra elegante y glamuroso, generalmente joven, de actitud desinhibida, consumista, poderosa, narcisista, feliz y hedonista (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell**; **Messerschmidt**, 2005).
2. Feminidad paria occidental (PO) La mujer heterosexual que no es socialmente deseada o que no se toma como un ejemplo a seguir porque algunas de sus cualidades están fuera del marco hegemónico y normativo, ya sea por el color de su piel, la forma de su cuerpo o un comportamiento poco femenino como la agresividad, además de la (hiper)sexualización y las relaciones sexuales episódicas (**Schippers**, 2007).	**7. Masculinidad protestante occidental (PO)** Engloba representaciones masculinas que: 1. Desafían el patrón hegemónico occidental (contexto de clase trabajadora, etnicidad o racialización) y 2. Se asocian con problemáticas sociales no deseadas. Es un tipo de representación que continúa sosteniendo una jerarquía de poder, sobre todo con relación a la mujer (**Poynting**; **Noble**; **Tabar**, 2011).
3. Feminidad híbrida occidental (HO) La mujer generalmente blanca, delgada, sensual que cuida su cuerpo y se representa como autodeterminada mientras conserva varios patrones de la feminidad idealizada (como el maquillaje, cabello perfecto, vestidos, tacones y joyas, entre otros), mientras mantiene, a la vez, un comportamiento generalmente elegante, jovial y sobre todo sensual (**Gill**, 2007; 2017).	**8. Masculinidad híbrida occidental (HO)** El hombre que incorpora algunos de los elementos asociados con las masculinidades marginadas o subordinadas y, a veces, de algunas feminidades. Este tipo de masculinidad devela una nueva y positiva representación que se aleja de la agresión, la fuerza bruta e irracional de la masculinidad tradicional. Incluye, por tanto, a la masculinidad que se representa vulnerable (**Bridges**; **Pascoe**, 2014).
4. Feminidad dike (lesbiana) (D) La mujer que demuestra una inclinación homosexual en su (re)presentación, sin renunciar a su corporalidad femenina. Se incluyen las representaciones asociadas tanto a la *femme* como a la *butch*³ (**Gomillion**; **Giuliano**, 2011).	**9. Masculinidad sissy (afeminado) (S)** El hombre que demuestra una inclinación homosexual sin renunciar a su corporalidad masculina (**Gomillion**; **Giuliano**, 2011).
5. Feminidad trans (T) Persona que no se enmarca en una identidad cisgénero. Aunque puede compartir características de otras feminidades o masculinidades, la diferencia recae en que esta mujer, dentro del discurso normativo hegemónico, todavía se le define/diferencia como "mujer trans".	**10. Masculinidad trans (T)** Persona que no se enmarca en una identidad cisgénero. Aunque puede compartir características de otras feminidades o masculinidades, la diferencia recae en que este hombre, dentro del discurso normativo hegemónico, todavía se le define/diferencia como "hombre trans".
	11. Masculinidad asegurada occidental (AO) Una representación heteronormativa de un hombre que, pese a tener declarada su homosexualidad de manera pública, mantiene en sus (re)presentaciones los patrones de la masculinidad hegemónica occidental (**Anderson**, 2002).
No se identifica un homólogo en el caso de las feminidades porque la preocupación por mantener el canon normativo hegemónico se restringe al caso de artistas comerciales *mainstream* masculinos.	
No determinada (ND) para los casos en que no se puede clasificar en las anteriores.	**No determinada (ND)** para los casos en que no se puede clasificar en las anteriores.

Elaborado a partir de las aportaciones de **Connell** (2005); **Connell** y **Messerschmidt** (2005); **Schippers** (2007); **Poynting**, **Noble** y **Tabar** (2011); **Gill** (2007; 2017); **Bridges** y **Pascoe** (2014); **Gomillion** y **Giuliano** (2011); y **Anderson** (2002).

Una vez definidas las 11 categorías de análisis, se calculó la fiabilidad con dos interobservadoras utilizando el 10% de la muestra total (**Krippendorff**, 2004) obteniéndose una coincidencia de 0,80, lo que señala un buen nivel de fiabilidad (**Krippendorff**, 2004; **Lombard**; **Snyder-Duch**; **Bracken**, 2002).

Como muestra de análisis se seleccionaron las 10 canciones más escuchadas de las tres plataformas/medios³:

- *Los40Principales* España (con fecha 26 de diciembre de 2009 y 28 de diciembre de 2019, respectivamente);
- *Billboard* (*Hot 100 songs* [*year-end charts*] de 2009 y 2019); y
- *Spotify* (Top hits of 2009 y 2019), a partir de sus rankings de las canciones más populares.

El siguiente paso consistió en eliminar repeticiones y coincidencias entre ellas, tanto en el primer periodo como en el segundo, para obtener la muestra final de N=50 videoclips de las canciones más populares en 2009 (n= 25) y en 2019 (n= 25). Para llevar a cabo el análisis se utilizó el videoclip oficial de los artistas dentro de la plataforma de *YouTube*, y se consideró la representación únicamente del cantante principal, hombre y/o mujer, así como de los duetos, grupos o colaboraciones (donde se vinculan más de tres artistas y/o grupos musicales que realizan una producción conjunta de manera puntual).

Del total de 50 vídeos musicales, 15 son de mujeres solistas, 9 de hombres solistas, 11 son duetos (hombre-mujer, mujer-mujer, hombre-hombre), 5 de grupos de hombres, y 4 donde se incluye al menos una mujer artista. Finalmente, en lo que se cataloga como colaboraciones, el estudio contabilizó un total de 3 vídeos que incluyen únicamente a artistas hombres y 3 vídeos de colaboraciones mixtas.

3. Análisis

En un primer apartado se presentan los datos del análisis de contenido cuantitativo. En la tabla 2 (*Feminidades y masculinidades por año y género musical*) se contabilizan (frecuencias absolutas) los estereotipos de género detectados en cada vídeo musical según las 11 categorías diseñadas.

En un segundo apartado se presenta el análisis de contenido cualitativo dividido en dos subsecciones, la primera centrada en el análisis de las feminidades y la siguiente dedicada al análisis de las masculinidades identificadas. Así mismo, se incorporan, a modo de ilustración de los resultados, algunos fotogramas visuales que se han extraído de los videoclips más representativos.

> la representación de la mujer sigue siendo minoritaria en cuanto a diversidad de formas artísticas, en comparación con los artistas hombres

3.1. Análisis de contenido cuantitativo

En primer lugar, se comprueba que la representación de la mujer es del 48,52% (n=33). De esta cifra, la artista mujer cumple una puesta en escena como solista en un 30% (n=15) de los casos, mientras que en duetos el porcentaje es del 22% (n=11) y, en menor medida, también forma parte de grupos mixtos con un 8% (n=4), así como de colaboraciones mixtas con un 6% (n=3). En los duetos (n=11), el 90,9% corresponde a producciones compartidas con un artista masculino, es decir, sólo en un caso corresponde al de un dueto de dos artistas femeninas. Por su parte, en el caso de los artistas hombres, su representación general está en el 51,47% (n=35), ligeramente mayor en relación con los casos de las mujeres artistas. Sin embargo, en esta cifra, el artista hombre se encuentra en escena como solista en un 18% (n=9) de los casos, así como en grupos solo de hombres con un 10% (n=5), y colaboraciones sólo entre hombres con un 6% (n=3). A esto hay que sumarle los valores de duetos que, como se indicó para la representación de las aristas mujeres, es del 22% (n=11), así como del 8% (n=4) de los grupos mixtos y el 6% (n=3) de las colaboraciones mixtas.

Sin embargo, al analizar estas cifras considerando los dos cortes de tiempo, se puede identificar que del 2009 al 2019 la representación de las artistas mujeres como solistas baja en un -50% (2009 n=10 / 2019 n=5), mientras que los duetos mixtos se incrementan en un 167% (2009 n=3 / 2019 n=8). Las colaboraciones mixtas, por su parte, caen en un -50% para el 2019, mientras los grupos mixtos, en cambio, desaparecen para el mismo periodo de tiempo. Por otro lado, los artistas hombres solistas incrementan ligeramente su presencia del 2009 (n=4) al 2019 (n=5), en un 25%, así como en los videoclips de grupos sólo de hombres (2009 n=2 / 2019 n=3) que, dicho sea de paso, no tiene una contraparte femenina en ninguno de los periodos de tiempo analizados. Finalmente, se evidencia también que las colaboraciones entre artistas únicamente hombres tiene lugar sólo en 2019 lo que, nuevamente, es un caso aislado de la representación masculina puesto que la representación de colaboraciones exclusivamente femeninas tampoco tiene lugar en ninguno de los periodos de tiempo analizados.

Se observa así que la representación de la mujer sigue siendo minoritaria en cuanto a las formas artísticas, es decir, a su presencia en duetos, grupos o colaboraciones que sean únicamente femeninos, lo que la relega, generalmente, a dos opciones: representación como solista y/o en dueto, este último que, generalmente, se realiza con artistas hombres. Por el contrario, en la representación de la masculinidad, se observa una mayor variedad sobre el formato artístico, que lo incluye tanto en espacios únicamente masculinos, así como en los mixtos.

De acuerdo con la tabla 2, el total de estereotipos identificados no se corresponden al número de unidades de análisis (N=50) del estudio. En su lugar, se corrobora un total de 69 estereotipos, de los cuales un 47,8% (n=33) corresponde a estereotipos de feminidades, mientras que el restante 52,1% (n=36) se identifican como estereotipos de masculinidades.

De los casos identificados como estereotipos de feminidades, el primer lugar corresponde a la feminidad hegemónica occidental, con un 51,5% (n=17), aunque presenta un descenso del 45,4% en su representación hacia 2019. Este estereotipo, sin embargo, en ambos periodos de tiempo, está principalmente asociado al género musical del pop (con cualquiera de sus variantes), con una única excepción en el género del hip hop (3,3% n=1) para 2019. El estereotipo de feminidad híbrida occidental, por su parte, ocupa el segundo lugar en cantidad de casos identificados, con un 21,2% (n=7) de representaciones que, a diferencia de los otros estereotipos de feminidades, no varía demasiado entre un periodo y otro (33,3%) pero que, de manera definitiva, sí se encasilla dentro del género del pop. Por su parte, el 18,1% (n=6) de los casos de feminidad paria occidental identificados se asocian también con el género musical del pop, representado en un 12,1% (n=4) y, en menor medida, con los géneros musicales de alternativa/indie y trap, con un 0,33% (n=1), respectivamente. En general, este estereotipo presenta un descenso del 50% hacia 2019. Finalmente, dentro de las representaciones de las artistas mujeres, el 9,09% (n=3) no se asociaron a ninguna categoría de estereotipo de género.

> La feminidad híbrida occidental dialoga con los elementos de la sensibilidad postfeminista, mientras que la feminidad paria occidental se desalinea del marco normativo de la feminidad tradicional y no se representa de manera romántica

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Tabla 2. Feminidades y masculinidades por año y género musical

	Feminidades												Masculinidades														
	Heg. O		PO		HO		D		T		ND		Heg. O		PO		HO		S		T		AO		ND	
Género musical / Año	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019
Pop	10	5	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Hip hop	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rap	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Alternativa/Indie	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trap	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Reggaeton	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R&B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total estereotipos*	11	6	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	13	1	4	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3

*No se corresponde a N=50 porque en algunos de los vídeos hay más de un estereotipo.

La mayoría de las representaciones de masculinidades coinciden con el estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental, en un 58,3% (n=21) de casos. Si bien el género musical más asociado con este estereotipo de masculinidad también es el pop, con un 33,3% (n=12), este estereotipo dominante, a diferencia de las feminidades, no se encasilla únicamente en un género musical, sino que se hace eco también en los géneros musicales del hip hop, con un 11,1% (n=4), alternativa/indie, con un 5,55% (n=2) y rap, reggaeton y R&B con un 2,77% (n=1) cada uno. Además, resulta interesante el hecho de que el estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental incremente su presencia del año 2009 al 2019 en un 62,5%. Así mismo, es interesante evidenciar que la representación del estereotipo de masculinidad protestante occidental pasa del 2,77% (n=1) en el año 2009 al 11,1% (n=4) en el 2019, es decir, que incrementa su presencia en un 75%, a lo que se suma el hecho de que su representación está ligada, especialmente, a los géneros musicales del hip hop con 8,33% (n=3), y al rap con un 5,55% (n=2). Al respecto de las masculinidades también es interesante ver el incremento del 0,33% en la representación del estereotipo de masculinidad híbrida occidental, que pasa del 5,55% (n=2) de casos en 2009, al 8,33% (n=3) en 2019. Para sorpresa del estudio, sin embargo, estas representaciones también se sitúan en los géneros musicales del hip hop y del rap, con 5,55% (n=2), respectivamente, y un solo caso en relación con el género musical del rock (2,77%). A estos datos también se añade la representación del estereotipo de masculinidad occidental asegurada que en el 2019 se pone en evidencia en un sólo tema musical asociado al género del pop (2,77% n=1), mientras que el estereotipo de masculinidad sissy también se representa en el 2019 con un solo tema (2,77% n=1) aunque, en este caso, el género musical al que está asociado es el rap (fusionado con música country). Finalmente, tal como sucede con las feminidades, el 8,33% (n=3) de representaciones de masculinidades tampoco se asociaron con alguna de las clasificaciones planteadas.

Si se tiene en consideración que los primeros datos de las unidades de análisis sugerían una mayor presencia de solistas femeninas (n=15) en relación con los solistas masculinos (n=9), el proceso de análisis pone en evidencia que la representación de la masculinidad sigue siendo mayoritaria, pues al incluir tanto los grupos (n=5) como las colaboraciones (n=3) exclusivamente masculinas, la representación de la feminidad queda relegada a las interpretaciones en solitario (n=15), pues no se identifican grupos o colaboraciones solamente femeninas. Los únicos espacios en que las feminidades tienen otro tipo de presencia son en las representaciones dentro de duetos (n=11), grupos mixtos (n=4) o colaboraciones mixtas (n=3), es decir, compartidas con artistas masculinos. Así, si se toman en consideración los mismos duetos, grupos y colaboraciones mixtas para evaluar también la representación de la masculinidad, esta última termina por dominar las distintas formas de representación en la música más escuchada. Esta consideración es principalmente relevante cuando se tiene en cuenta que, por ejemplo, en los duetos (que representan el 22% de las formas de representación, tanto para las masculinidades como para las feminidades), la feminidad es mayoritariamente del tipo hegemónica occidental, mientras que la masculinidad se corresponde con la hegemónica occidental, dando lugar a la relación que sostiene **Connell** (2005) de la dominación del hombre sobre la mujer, relación que problematizamos con mayor detalle dentro del apartado de análisis cualitativo.

3.2 Análisis de contenido cualitativo

En esta sección del análisis se vinculan los estereotipos de género planteados con las representaciones musicales y sus características más destacadas. Para ello, se incorporan también fotogramas (imágenes) extraídas de algunos de los videoclips analizados. Así mismo, para favorecer la lectura de cada categoría, se divide el análisis en dos partes. La primera dedicada a las feminidades y la segunda a las masculinidades.

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a) Feminidades: del énfasis en la sumisión a la mujer masculina-sexual

En los videoclips analizados, la feminidad hegemónica occidental tiene más presencia (n=11) en el primer periodo de tiempo, sobre todo con relación al género musical pop. Estas representaciones están principalmente asociadas a narrativas de tipo romántico, ya sea para celebrar el amor o lamentar su pérdida. Estos datos dialogan con el estudio de **Illescas-Martínez** (2015), en el sentido de que los videoclips que enfatizan la feminidad hegemónica occidental están acompañados de una narrativa romántica que, de acuerdo con el autor, corresponden a los videoclips mayoritarios de la industria musical. De hecho, aunque la presencia de estas representaciones disminuye (n=7) en 2019, las referencias existentes siguen la narrativa mayoritariamente romántica. Si bien esto no limita a que la feminidad hegemónica occidental se enmarque siempre en el plano romántico, es interesante la narrativa que acompaña a ejemplos como: Nelly Furtado con 'Manos al aire', Miley Cyrus 'The climb' y Taylor Swift 'Love story', en 2009; y Camila Cabello, con su canción 'Señorita' (véase imagen 1), en 2019, porque se corresponde con el estereotipo de la mujer enamorada y necesitada de la figura masculina.

Estas construcciones de feminidad hegemónica se corresponden con el ideal social de la feminidad deseada. Pese a que otros estudios han señalado que la representación hegemónica contemporánea de la mujer suele pasar por una mayor sexualización, autodeterminación y el 'up for it', propios del postfeminismo (**Gill**, 2009; 2012; **Vandenbosch; Eggermont**, 2012), este estudio sugiere que la feminidad hegemónica occidental cumple con su rol de estereotipo hegemónico en la medida en que encaja en los patrones tradicionales de la feminidad deseada por la sociedad, entre los que destacan el cuidado, la sumisión y la delicadeza, es decir, un conjunto de características que facilitan una dominación del hombre o de otras mujeres sobre ella (**Connell**, 2005).

La feminidad paria occidental (**Schippers**, 2007), en cambio, se identifica especialmente en el año 2009 (n=4), representada por figuras como Lady Gaga con los temas 'Poker face' y 'Bad romance', y Fergie (del grupo Black Eyed Peas) con las canciones 'I gotta feeling' y 'Boom boom pow'. En estos vídeos, pertenecientes al género musical del pop, la sexualización (**Attwood**, 2007; **Gill**, 2017) que se incorpora es glamurosa y juvenil, matizada de una constante apología a la fiesta (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015). En 2019, el estereotipo de feminidad paria occidental se identifica en el género musical del hip hop y el rap (n=2), con Ariana Grande y su tema '7 rings', además del videoclip de Billie Eilish 'Bad guy', que corresponde al género alternativo/indie. Sin embargo, en el caso de '7 rings', como puede observarse en la imagen 2, la sexualización y provocación son evidentes, mientras que en 'Bad guy' la lectura pasa más bien por una reivindicación de tipo artística, social y simbólica (imagen 3).

Siguiendo el trabajo de **Schippers** (2007), nuestro estudio sostiene que las representaciones identificadas se corresponden al tipo de mujer que no es socialmente deseada o que no se toma como un ejemplo a seguir, sobre todo por su comportamiento poco femenino, liberal e indomable. Así mismo, esta feminidad corresponde, muchas veces, con letras de canciones que mencionan las palabras 'bitch' o 'bitches' como forma de reivindicación de una terminología que ha sido tradicionalmente peyorativa. En este sentido, estamos de acuerdo con otros trabajos que analizan la

Imagen 1. Videoclip 'Señorita', de Shawn Mendes y Camila Cabello, 2019 [00:01:05].
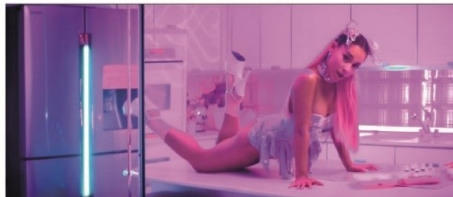
Imagen 2. Videoclip '7 rings', de Ariana Grande, 2019 [00:01:43].

Imagen 3. Videoclip 'Bad guy', de Billie Eilish, 2019 [00:01:29].

doble lectura donde se elogia o recrimina determinada construcción de la feminidad (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015).

La feminidad híbrida occidental corresponde al estereotipo que más se homogeniza en ambos periodos de tiempo, es decir, que no sufre un cambio sustancial en su cantidad de representaciones. Tanto en 2009 (n=4) como en 2019 (n=3), esta categoría se vincula sobre todo con el género musical pop (y con sus variantes: pop country, pop rock, pop indian), con la única excepción en 2019 en la figura de Rosalía y su tema de reggaeton

Imagen 4. Videoclip 'Tu x mi, yo x ti', de Rosalía y Ozuna, 2019 [00:02:24].

(música urbana) 'Tu x mi, yo x ti', interpretado con Ozuna. Es relevante destacar el caso de Rosalía puesto que, en general, la feminidad híbrida occidental, en este estudio, acompaña las representaciones de solistas femeninas (ver imagen 4). De hecho, a lo largo de su videoclip, Rosalía navega entre una feminidad híbrida occidental y la feminidad hegemónica occidental. Esta última, aunque su identificación es baja, sigue conectada hacia el escenario romántico en las escenas que construye junto a Ozuna.

El estudio pone de manifiesto que el cuerpo delgado, joven y sensual es un elemento común en las representaciones identificadas, lo que corresponde con la sensibilidad postfeminista de **Gill** (2007; 2017), aunque la clave diferenciadora está en que este estereotipo de feminidad no irrumpe abruptamente con las convenciones sociales de la feminidad tradicional y socialmente esperada (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015; **Shields-Dobson**, 2014).

Finalmente, el estudio no identifica ninguna representación *dike* o *trans* dentro de las unidades de análisis.

b) Masculinidades: siempre dominadores, ya sea románticos o seductores

En este estudio la masculinidad hegemónica occidental se encuentra en varios géneros musicales, pasando por el pop (y sus variaciones: balada, electro o dance), el hardcore, la alternativa/indie, el reggae, el reggaeton y el hip hop, aunque en estos dos últimos en menor grado. Este estereotipo, además, está presente en ambos periodos de tiempo, como señala la tabla 2 (2009: n=8), incrementando para 2019 (n=13). Una relación interesante se pone en evidencia al identificar que cuando el estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental está en escena junto a una artista femenina –en duetos–, las canciones tienden a ser románticas. Yendo más allá, el estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental está generalmente en compañía del estereotipo de feminidad hegemónica occidental. Ejemplos de esta relación son las canciones de Alejandro Sanz y Alicia Keys: 'Looking for paradise', Shawn Mendes y Camila Cabello: 'Señorita', y Bradley Cooper con Lady Gaga: 'Shallow'. El único caso atípico a esta relación es el del grupo Black Eyed Peas, donde la representación de los cantantes corresponde al estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental, mientras que Fergie, como se mencionó previamente, representa más bien el estereotipo de feminidad paria occidental. Aquí, sin embargo, se recalca que el grupo está conformado por tres hombres, por lo que la figura romántica del dueto no podría tener lugar y, en consecuencia, la representación es más bien la de 'amigos de fiesta'.

La masculinidad protestante occidental, por su parte, está asociada directamente a los géneros musicales del hip hop y el rap. Este resultado va en línea con otros trabajos donde se discute la construcción del imaginario negativo en torno a estos géneros musicales (**Schneider**, 2011; **Connell**, 2014), sobre todo por su vinculación con escenarios de clase trabajadora o personajes racializados (**Poynting**; **Noble**; **Tabar**, 2011). La tabla 2 refleja un ejemplo en 2009, mientras que en 2019 este estereotipo tiene mayor presencia (n=4). Como particularidad se destaca que esta representación se encuentra interpretada en solitario, ya sea como solista o en grupo sólo de hombres. Pese a que existe un ligero matiz con

respecto al estereotipo de masculinidad híbrida occidental, en la canción 'Options' de NSG ft Tion Wayne, el estereotipo protestante continúa siendo dominante. Los videoclips que se encuentran en esta categoría son 'Strike a pose', de Young T & Bugsey ft Aitch, 'Sicko mode' (ver imagen 5) de Travis Scott, y 'Right round' de Flo Rida.

En cambio, el estereotipo de masculinidad híbrida occidental, como indica la tabla 2, se encuentra presente tanto en 2009 (n=2), como en 2019 (n=3),

Imagen 5. Videoclip 'Sicko mode', de Travis Scott, 2019 [00:02:00].

con un incremento en el último perio-
do. Los videoclips de Milow 'Ayo tech-
nology' y 'Antes de que cuente diez'
de Fito & Fitipaldis son los ejemplos
clave en 2009. Mientras que, para
2019, los videoclips representativos
son 'Old town road' de Lil Nas X ft Bi-
lly Ray Cyrus, 'Ladbroke grove' de AJ
Tracey y 'Wow' de Post Malone. Cu-
riosamente, cuatro de los cinco vídeos
corresponden al género musical del
rap (o rap fusión). El estudio sostiene
que una característica clave para ex-
plicar esta relación se encuentra en la
configuración de la representación y
narrativa, pues el humor, la sumisión
del varón o la declaración de valores
personales transforma lo que podría
anticiparse como una masculinidad
hegemónica o protestante (debido a
la connotación social del género mu-
sical), en una masculinidad híbrida
(**Bridges**; **Pascoe**, 2014). Un ejemplo
de esta lectura está en el videoclip
'Old town road' donde, entre el esti-
lo country de Billy Ray Cyrus, la ves-
timenta vaquera rosa y la coreografía

Imagen 6. Videoclip 'Old town road', de Lil Nas X ft Billy Ray Cyrus, 2019 [00:02:05].

Imagen 7. Videoclip 'Tabú', de Pablo Alborán y Ava Max, 2019 [00:02:43].

de salón, se teje una representación que difiere de la cosificación constante que el género del rap suele tener como
ingrediente de su representación.

En este mismo tema musical encontramos la única representación de *masculinidad sissy,* en Lil Nas X (ver imagen 6),
quien es trascendental para determinar la representación positiva de la masculinidad, sobre todo dentro de un género
musical generalmente controvertido como es el rap. La masculinidad *trans* no se identifica dentro del estudio.

Finalmente, se identifica un caso de masculinidad occidental asegurada, que corresponde al videoclip de Pablo Alborán
y Ava Max 'Tabú' (ver imagen 7). Si bien la noticia y publicación de su homosexualidad tuvo lugar en el 2020[4], el caso
de Pablo Alborán es relevante en la medida en que ha procurado y mantiene hoy en día una representación que encaja
en los patrones de masculinidad hegemónica. El videoclip 'Tabú' no sólo es relevante en la composición y rol de héroe
que desempeña con relación a Ava Max, sino que, en la pelea final, los elementos de sexualización y corporalidad típica-
mente normativa de la masculinidad hegemónica se ponen en evidencia. El caso de Pablo Alborán es similar al de otros
artistas de la industria musical que, pese a haber declarado su orientación sexual hace varios años, no se han permitido
representar o hacer alusión a ella en sus videoclips, como, por ejemplo, Ricky Martin o Adam Lambert.

4. Discusión y conclusiones

Este estudio presenta dos tipos de análisis, cuantitativo y cualitativo, a partir de un sistema de categorías que exploran
el binarismo de los estereotipos de género para problematizar estas representaciones en la producción de la música
comercial, concretamente en los videoclips de las canciones más escuchadas, en dos periodos de tiempo (2009 y 2019).
Con este objetivo, se ha diseñado la categorización de 11 estereotipos de género, entre los que destacan: la feminidad
hegemónica occidental, la feminidad híbrida occidental y la feminidad paria occidental; además de la masculinidad he-
gemónica occidental, la masculinidad protestante occidental y la masculinidad occidental asegurada.

Dentro del análisis cuantitativo, el estudio identifica 69 estereotipos de género en el total de videoclips de la muestra
(N=50). Se observa que la representación de la masculinidad abarca más formas de producción y creación artística, esto
es, que está presente de manera transversal tanto como solistas (18%), en duetos con otros artistas, sobre todo mujeres
(22%), así como en grupos (10%) y colaboraciones (6%) solamente masculinas, y grupos (8%) y colaboraciones mixtas
(6%), ya sea con artistas mujeres o con otros grupos musicales. Por el contrario, la representación de la mujer se limita
a la de solista (30%) o en duetos (22%), sobre todo con artistas hombres. Por tanto, la representación de la feminidad
todavía abarca menos opciones y formas de producción artística (**Ramos-López**, 2003).

El estudio señala que el primer lugar de estereotipos de feminidad corresponde al de la feminidad hegemónica occidental
(51,5%), asociada generalmente al género musical del pop y en dos formatos clave: como solista o en dueto con un artista
hombre. El segundo estereotipo de feminidad lo ocupa el de la feminidad híbrida occidental (21,2%), totalmente encasilla-
do al género musical del pop. En tercer lugar, el estudio identifica el estereotipo de la feminidad paria occidental (18,1%),

asociado a los géneros musicales del pop, alternativa/indie y trap. En el caso de los estereotipos de la masculinidad, el estudio destaca que la mayor parte de representaciones corresponden con el estereotipo de masculinidad hegemónica occidental (58,3%), asociada sobre todo con el género musical del pop (33,3%) pero que, a diferencia

> El hombre problemático y socialmente criticado, de masculinidad protestante occidental, coincide con géneros musicales como el hip hop o el rap

de los estereotipos de la feminidad, también se identifica en los géneros musicales del hip hop (11,1%), alternativa/indie (5,55%) y los géneros del rap, reggaeton y R&B (2,77%). Un dato que destacar, con respecto a este estereotipo dominante, es el hecho de que incrementa en un 62,5% su presencia en 2019. De la misma manera, el estudio observa el incremento en un 75% de la representación del estereotipo de masculinidad protestante occidental, hacia el mismo año, ligado sobre todo a los géneros musicales del hip hop (8,33%) y rap (5,55%). El estereotipo de masculinidad híbrida occidental, que también incrementa ligeramente en 2019, se asocia a su vez con los géneros musicales del hip hop y rap (5,55%), además del rock (2,77%), aunque en menor grado. En cuarto lugar, el estudio destaca el estereotipo de masculinidad occidental asegurada que se identifica solo en 2019 y está asociada al pop (2,77%). Finalmente, el estereotipo de la masculinidad sissy, con un caso en el mismo periodo de tiempo (2019), aparece asociado al género musical del rap (en fusión con el country).

Por todo ello se concluye que existe una evolución en la representación de los estereotipos de feminidad y masculinidad en la música comercial. Se identifica que la representación de la mujer tiene mayor relación con las connotaciones sociales tradicionales y, en este ejercicio, cumple en gran medida con las normas y estándares hegemónicos. La feminidad híbrida occidental dialoga con los elementos de la sensibilidad postfeminista de **Gill** (2017), y se enmarca en un discurso reivindicativo –sobre todo de la sexualidad– aunque, a la vez, contradictorio (**De-Miguel**, 2019). En este sentido, las mujeres artistas se representan, generalmente, desde la individualidad, ya sea como solistas o en compañía de otras mujeres (duetos). Por otro lado, el estereotipo de feminidad paria occidental se desalinea del marco normativo de la feminidad tradicional y no se representa de manera romántica. Al contrario, el estereotipo que acompaña a la mujer sentimental continúa siendo principalmente el hegemónico, es decir, el de la *feminidad enfatizada* de **Connell** (2005), que requiere o permite que (sobre todo el varón) la cuide, la salve o la domine. En este sentido, un ejemplo de evolución que destaca el estudio es el Lady Gaga pues en 2009 su estereotipo corresponde a la feminidad paria occidental, mientras que, en el 2019, en dueto con Bradley Cooper, es del tipo hegemónica occidental. En síntesis, parece que la autonomía y libertad femenina no son compatibles con el amor.

En la representación de la masculinidad, el estudio sostiene que ésta todavía se centra en el canon del hombre hegemónico heterosexual, tanto en el plano romántico como en el plano sexual. Esto no excluye, sin embargo, la mayor presencia de otro tipo de masculinidades en la música comercial, sobre todo de géneros musicales históricamente controvertidos como el rap o el hip hop. Pese a esto, el hombre problemático y socialmente criticado, de masculinidad protestante occidental, sí coincide con dichos géneros musicales, lo que se corresponde también con su representación en otros géneros musicales actuales considerados machistas, como el reggaeton y el trap (**Guarinos**, 2012; **Martínez-Noriega**, 2014). Sin embargo, también cabe señalar que un género musical racializado no siempre es sinónimo de un contenido machista (**Araüna**; **Tortajada**; **Figueras-Maz**, 2019). En este sentido la masculinidad híbrida abre un nuevo modo de representación dentro de los géneros musicales mencionados, de la mano de la masculinidad sissy. Finalmente, el estereotipo de masculinidad occidental asegurada resulta clave a la hora de problematizar la baja presencia de representaciones homosexuales de hombres, no sólo en el contexto de la industria musical, sino de la producción mediática en general. Esta reflexión va de la mano de otros trabajos que ponen en contexto cómo la homosexualidad femenina continúa satisfaciendo las fantasías masculinas (**Bourdieu**, 2000; **Gill**, 2009), lo que refuerza la conclusión de que la representación de la masculinidad hegemónica sigue presente con fuerza.

Es relevante mencionar que cuando entran en estudio las identidades de género, la problematización de los estereotipos continúa respondiendo a las características del imaginario social promovido especialmente por los medios de comunicación (**Schneider**, 2011). Por tanto, cada categoría presentada responde a las características estereotipadas de las feminidades y masculinidades, y esto es relevante, sobre todo con relación a la feminidad y masculinidad trans, porque permite, por un lado, identificar las características con las que son asociadas y, por otro, discutirlas y problematizarlas.

En síntesis, la clasificación de estereotipos de género que se presenta en este estudio incorpora y describe varias características de feminidad y de masculinidad estereotipada que la industria musical y los consumidores jóvenes podrían entender como rupturistas de los modelos tradicionales cuando son, de hecho, actualizaciones de éstos. Lo que, en definitiva, contribuye a mantener la configuración cultural hegemónica en la industria de la música.

5. Limitaciones y sugerencias para investigaciones futuras

En primer lugar, el estudio ha pretendido categorizar los estereotipos de género para facilitar una posterior discusión y reflexión sobre los mismos. En este sentido, se parte de una formulación binaria que, a la vez que simplificadora, constituye el primer paso para abordar las representaciones de género occidentales y, por tanto, requiere de una revisión y adaptación para ser incorporada en futuros análisis de las representaciones que no se enmarcan en la *occidentalización* de la industria musical o de la producción cultural.

En segundo lugar, el estudio sostiene que incluir estas categorías en futuros análisis, desde una perspectiva de género, es un reto que tenemos dentro de la investigación pues, especialmente en los productos culturales *mainstream*, estas representaciones continúan relegadas o cargadas de simbolismos –incluso paródicos– que alejan al consumidor de la realidad y ensombrecen las

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problemáticas entorno a la identidad de género. Por ejemplo, el estudio subraya dos casos novedosos a tener en consideración en relación con la música comercial: los videoclips *mainstream* de Thalía y Pablo Vittar - "Tímida", para profundizar las representaciones trans, o el tema de Bad Bunny - "Yo perreo sola" para problematizar la parodia estereotipada y sexualizada de la mujer.

Finalmente, es importante recalcar que, aunque sea la música más escuchada, la muestra de canciones analizadas en este trabajo se enmarca en un contexto determinado, por lo que, aunque significativa, los resultados no son generalizables. Es importante recordar que, dependiendo del listado de canciones de las distintas plataformas de contenido audiovisual, los géneros musicales varían de país en país, y de año en año. Por tanto, al ser este un primer ejercicio de identificación de estereotipos dentro de la música comercial, futuros trabajos podrían centrarse en analizar un género musical específico, así como en incorporar otras variables de análisis como el fenotipo racial, la edad y el nivel socioeconómico, para profundizar el área de los estudios culturales en general, y el de la música en particular. En este sentido, una mirada interseccional (**Crenshaw**, 1989) puede contribuir en gran medida a la problematización de estas categorías y otros elementos presentes en los productos culturales y mediáticos. Así mismo, se considera clave analizar en futuras investigaciones la representación de otras figuras –tanto femeninas como masculinas– que sean parte del videoclip (u otro producto cultural a analizar), esto es, background y extras, para enriquecer la reflexión sobre los roles de género, especialmente desde una perspectiva decolonial (**Quijano**, 2011) y las jerarquías de poder que pueden tener lugar.

6. Notas

1. *Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, Warner Music Group.*

2. *Femme:* características asociadas a la feminidad tradicional. Butch: características asociadas a la masculinidad tradicional (**Walker**; **Golub**; **Bimbi**; **Parsons**, 2012).

3. *Spotify* 2009: *https://open.spotify.com/playlist/37i9dQZF1DX4UkKv8ED8jp*
Spotify 2019: *https://open.spotify.com/playlist/37i9dQZF1DWVRSukIED0e9*
Billboard 2009: *https://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2009/hot-100-songs*
Billboard 2019: *https://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2019/hot-100-songs*
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Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila (2022). Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis decolonial de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España. *VIII Congreso Internacional de la AE-IC. 'Comunicación y ciudad conectada'*, Barcelona del 28 de junio al 1 de julio de 2022.

Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis decolonial de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España.

Resumen

Esta comunicación tiene como objetivo explorar las representaciones de los videoclips de las canciones más escuchadas en España, en los años 2009 y 2019, considerando dos variables: 1) la sexualización (Attwood, 2006) y 2) el fenotipo racial (Maddox, 2004; Maddox y Perry, 2018). Partiendo de una perspectiva decolonial (Lugones, 2008) –en diálogo tanto con las perspectivas de interseccionalidad (Crenshaw, 1989) y postfeminista (Gill, 2007, 2009a, 2017)–, se lleva a cabo un análisis de contenido cuantitativo y cualitativo (Krippendorff, 2004) de N=50 videoclips. El análisis se organiza en dos grupos: 1) artista(s), donde se considera la representación de las y los cantantes, y 2) otros participantes que acompañan el videoclip. Este segundo grupo se subdivide en: 2.1) participantes protagonistas y 2.2) participantes generales. En esta comunicación, se dibuja una línea teórica que facilita la discusión entre la subjetificación y la objetificación del cuerpo sexualizado. Los principales resultados destacan que la sexualización femenina, en general, es ampliamente mayoritaria en comparación con la sexualización masculina. En el grupo de participantes protagonistas, se identifica que, en 2009, la mayoría de los cuerpos sexualizados fueron de mujeres blancas y de hombres blancos, morenos y mestizos; mientras que, para el 2019, los únicos casos fueron cuerpos mestizos, tanto femeninos como masculinos. Por su parte, en el grupo de participantes generales, los cuerpos más cosificados, tanto femeninos como masculinos, fueron fenotípicamente negros, en ambos años. El estudio señala que la constante objetificación de cuerpos racializados no sólo tiene una tendencia mayor, sino que, en su ejercicio, sostiene y refuerza estructuras de poder y dominación que minan estas representaciones, aunque muchas de ellas pudieran perseguir los mismos ideales que supuestamente promueven las representaciones de las y los artistas.

Palabras clave

Sexualización; subjetificación, cosificación, racialización, análisis de contenido.

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VIII Congreso Internacional de la AE-IC. ´COMUNICACIÓN Y CIUDAD CONECTADA´.
BARCELONA del 28 de junio al 1 de julio de 2022

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1. Introducción

La producción de la música comercial contemporánea se centra en las tres grandes discográficas: Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, y Warner Music Group, que constituyen el 91,6% de los videoclips de la música *mainstream*[1], entendida por Illescas (2015) como una mezcla de música, sexo y espectáculo. Siguiendo esta lógica, es posible anticipar por qué la producción de la música comercial generalmente forma parte de la sexualización de la cultura occidental[2] (Attwood, 2009), cuyas características han sido exploradas desde diferentes vertientes y en varios espacios, tales como la publicidad (Gill, 2003, 2009b), el deporte (Calogero y Jost, 2011), el arte (Mcnair, 2009) y, dentro de este último, la música (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021; Frisby y Aubrey, 2012; Kalof, 1999), por citar algunos ejemplos.

En relación con la música comercial, se ha discutido respecto a las representaciones sexuales que promueven los videoclips más populares, pues no sólo son cada vez más explíctas, sino que muchas veces transmiten mensajes ambiguos que incrementan la auto-objetificación del cuerpo. Así, por ejemplo, es posible encontrar casos de constante objetificación (cosificación) del cuerpo de la mujer de manera denigrante (Eze, 2020) y, por el otro, representaciones reivindicadoras que tienen lugar en el terreno de la auto-sexualización, como forma de empoderamiento (Alvarez-Cueva y Guerra, 2020). Sin embargo, de una u otra manera, estas construcciones generalmente continúan reforzando tanto los estereotipos de los roles de género, como los comporamientos sexuales asociados a estos (Karsay et al, 2018; Vandenbosch et al., 2013).

Precisamente, una de las características que más interés despierta en las representaciones que realiza la música comercial o la "canción de consumo", como la define Guarinos (2012), es el impacto que tienen este tipo de productos culturales dentro de sus audiencias. Sin embargo, tal como sucede con las contradicciones presentes en el feminismo y en el escenario neoliberal –en el que la mayoría de los productos culturales actuales se insertan (Evans y Riley,

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[1] Conocida también como música dominante, por el mismo autor.
[2] Traducción propia de "The sexualization of Western Culture".

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2014)–, leer entre líneas las diferentes representaciones y la manera en que éstas se construyen, puede facilitar la identificación de estructuras y creencias sociales que todavía marginan, discriminan y menosprecian, especialmente a grupos sociales racializados.

La presente comunicación parte de la idea de que los vídeos musicales más populares contribuyen, precisamente, a reforzar las ideologías y los estereotipos de género (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021; Jerald et al., 2016; Pérez Rufí, 2017; Vandenbosch et al., 2013). En este ejercicio, se explora la configuración de sus representaciones desde una mirada decolonial (Lugones, 2008) e interseccional (Crenshaw, 1989), no sólo considerando a las y los artistas, sino incluyendo la representación de otras personas que forman parte del videoclip. Para ello, se incorpora lo que Maddox (2004) llama el sesgo del fenotipo racial[3].

En esta comunicación se dibuja una línea que diferencia el sujeto sexual del objeto sexualizado, siguiendo de cerca la teoría de la objetificación de Fredrickson y Roberts (1997), los elementos de la sensibilidad postfeminsta de Gill (2017) y el *habitus* entre las relaciones de género (Bourdieu, 1988; Skeggs, 2004). El objetivo es determinar cómo se representa la sexualización en los videoclips de la música comercial más escuchada en España, y si ésta presenta diferencias entre las personas que conforman las representaciones de dichos productos culturales. Para ello, el estudio desarrolla un análisis de contenido cuantitativo y cualitativo (Krippendorff, 2004) de un total de *N=50* videoclips, de los años 2009 y 2019.

Esta comunicación se organiza con una primera sección de antecedentes, donde se establece el contexto teórico y el estado de la cuestión; la sección de metodología, donde se detallan tanto la muestra del estudio, así como el análisis que se lleva a cabo; y, finalmente, la sección de resultados, donde se presentan y discuten los hallazgos.

2. Antecedentes

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[3] Traducción propia de "Racial phenotypical bias".

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La saturación de imágenes sexuales dentro de la producción cultural contemporánea ha logrado que buena parte de la sociedad occidental adquiera cierto grado de inmunidad hacia ellas (Mcnair, 2009). Esto, a su vez, parece haber dado luz verde a cada vez mayor explicitud a la hora de representar los cuerpos de mujeres y hombres. Si añadimos en esta dinámica las características de la sensibilidad postfeminista –analizadas y criticadas por Gill (2007, 2017)– que apuestan, entre otras cosas, por una mayor libertad sexual como sinónimo de empoderamiento (especialmente en el caso de las mujeres), resulta complejo discurrir qué representaciones corresponden a una reivindicación del sujeto sensual y sexual, y qué otras, más bien, son una continuidad pseudo modernizada y pseudo feminista de practicas cosificadoras anteriores.

Algunos trabajos en el área de los estudios culturales han puesto sobre la mesa la discusión al respecto de los estereotipos de género (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021) que, tal como sucede con la autodeterminación moderna, tienden a caer en clichés y, en lugar de contribuir a una representación más justa e igualitaria de la sociedad, en el fondo sostienen la estructura del sistema-mundo capitalista (Illescas Martínez, 2014), y contribuyen a reforzar jerarquías de dominación y marginación.

Desde los estudios de la comunicación se evidencia una dinámica similar. El trabajo de Schneider (2011), por ejemplo, discute sobre el marco de censura que existe con relación al género musical del rap y cómo, a través de la constante narrativa negativa hacia sus artistas y audiencia, se refuerzan también comportamientos de rechazo que calan en la sociedad de manera constante, intensificando así el rechazo –no sólo hacia el género musical, sino hacia todos sus participantes en conjunto–. Este rechazo, tal como señala el autor, se puede entender también dentro de la continuidad histórica del racismo sistematizado en los Estados Unidos. En un trabajo similiar, Martínez Noriega (2014) discute respecto de las dinámicas de estereotipificación y marginación que tienen lugar en México y que están especialmente dirigidas hacia jóvenes fanáticos del género musical urbano del reggaetón.

La cultura popular en general, y la música comercial en particular, funcionan como mecanismos de documentación sociológica (dos Santos Silva y Medeiros, 2021), donde relaciones de clase, género y raza son expresadas y disputadas

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(Nathaus, 2022), más allá de los procesos de comercialización propios de la industria de la música. Por ello, es preciso detenerse y tratar de desentreñar los elementos que las constituyen para que, a partir de su identificación, se generen procesos de reflexión y aprendizaje.

2.1 La sensualidad y el color como determinante entre sujeto u objeto sexual.

Dentro de la saturación de imágenes sexuales, Mcnair (2009) argumenta sobre aquellas que cobran un tono más *chic* a partir de la incorporación de ciertos aspectos de moda, estilo y glamour. Esta representación, a la que denomina *porno-chic,* también ha sido analizada en el contexto de la música comercial (Alvarez-Cueva y Guerra, 2021), resaltando los elementos de clase, distinción social y de género (Skeggs, 1997), que son indispensables en la cosmopolitización de la producción cultural (Regev, 2013). La combinación de estos factores no sólo posiciona a la sensualidad como característica transversal del escenario cultural posmoderno (Hall, 2011), sino que también permite dibujar una línea entre una representación sexual de decisión individual a priori, denominada subjetificación (Gill, 2003; Gill y Scharff, 2011); de una práctica de cosificación, sobre todo en relación con el cuerpo de la mujer (Fredrickson y Roberts, 1997).

Especialmente a partir del auge del feminismo, varias imágenes sexuales se han revindicado a través de agumentos que comulgan con la autodeterminación y el empoderamiento (De Miguel, 2015), elementos que se incluyen en la sensibilidad postfeminista examinada por Gill (2007, 2017). Sin embargo, la constante presencia de estas representaciones sexuales ha permeado tanto la producción cultural que, ante cualquier sospecha de cosificación o de violencia de género (Lozano Fernández, et al., 2015), el argumento de la libertad sexual femenina se pone sobre la mesa de manera tajante, casi indiscutible (Guarinos, 2012) y, en su lugar, retóricas feministas dibujan escenarios de independencia sentimental, relaciones abiertas y mayor experiencia sexual, ensombreciendo, a su vez, a otras representaciones que terminan por mezclarse y matizarse, y que finalmente pasan por reivindicadoras aunque en el fondo no lo sean (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021).

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Sin ir demasiado lejos, en el conexto español, artistas comerciales como Lola Índigo, Ana Guerra y Rosalía han dado un golpe de frescura, creatividad e hibridación musical con tintes feministas (Alvarez-Cueva y Guerra, 2021; Araüna et al., 2019), características empaquetadas con elementos de moda y glamur, posibles de alcanzar únicamente a través de prácticas de consumo que requieren un capital económico importante. Yendo más allá, es en la intersección de la sensualidad y la sexualidad, de la subjetificación y la cosificación, donde problematizar las diferentes representaciones existentes se convierte en un reto adicional al momento de darles un sentido y de elaborar juicios sobre su posible impacto en la audiencia (Guarinos, 2012).

Siguiendo el trabajo de Arrizón (2008), el punto de partida podría estar en la diferenciación entre la sensualidad y la sexualidad que, aunque tienden a solaparse mutuamente, en las representaciones mediáticas no siempre aluden a los mismos significados. La sensualidad tiene una relación más estrecha con la encarnación de sentimientos, emociones, acciones y pensamientos, es decir, se asocia a un conjunto de elementos que provocan emociones y estimulan los sentidos. Sensual, como lo entiende Arrizón (2008), está asociado con la consciencia y con explorar sentimientos y sensaciones de belleza, lujo, alegría y placer. La sexualidad, por su parte, no sólo tiende a reproducir las jerarquías de género establecidas en nuestra sociedad patriarcal (Soler Campo y Oriola Requena, 2019), sino que puede llegar a deshumanizar al individuo a través de la fragmentación constante de su cuerpo. Para Arrizón (2008), la sexualidad tiene más que ver con el sexo, la actividad sexual, y la orientación sexual.

Sin embargo, trazar esta diferenciación no supone obviar que las representaciones –especialmente femeninas– puedan entenderse como autodeterminadas y reivindicadoras a través de expresiones sensuales y sexuales sino que, al agudizar la mirada con respecto a estos significados, es posible abrir una discusión al respecto de cómo, mientras algunas representaciones aluden a la agencia sexual y la libertad dentro de su proceso de empoderamiento, se somete(n) a otro(s) individuo(s) a representaciones de corte más cosificador que emancipador.

Arrizón (2008) problematiza al respecto del estereotipo Latino. La autora señala que la erotización de los cuerpos morenos se hace eco del poder de la

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mirada colonizadora. Además, señala que una auto-erotización del cuerpo latino –en búsqueda de autenticidad y autodeterminación– tiende a reflejar, al mismo tiempo, una complicada (y a veces contradictoria) forma de significación. En este mismo sentido, el trabajo de dos Santos Silva y Medeiros (2021) discute sobre cómo la asociación del cuerpo de la mujer negra, representado generalmente como sexy, deseable, agresivo e indomable, en realidad no contribuye a una reivindicación de la mujer negra, sino que, muchas veces, hace eco de la sexualidad racista de la que estos cuerpos han sido objeto por años. En línea con estos argumentos, el estudio de Frisby y Aubrey (2012), en su análisis de la objetificación sexual de varias artistas negras en sus videos musicales, sostiene que éstas son más propensas a vestirse de una manera más provocativa, emulando en sus representaciones la objetificación sexual normativa de la música comercial.

3. Metodología

3.1 Muestra y método

Esta comunicación tiene como objetivo explorar y contrastar las representaciones femeninas y masculinas dentro de los videoclips comerciales más esuchados en España, en dos años distintos: 2009 y 2019, para evaluar cómo han evolucionado, a partir de dos variables: 1) la sexualización de la cultura (Attwood, 2006), siguiendo la distinción discutida por Arrizón (2008) para demarcar la subjetificación sensual de la objetificación sexual, y cómo intersecta con 2) el fenotipo racial (Maddox, 2004). En este ejercicio, se lleva a cabo un análisis de contenido cuantitativo y cualitativo (Krippendorff, 2004) de N=50 videoclips, 25 por cada corte de tiempo, entendiendo a cada unidad de análisis como un documento simbólico que evidencia la sociedad en la que se inserta. Esta muestra de análisis intencional es el resultado de una selección y eliminación de repeticiones de las canciones más escuchadas en las plataformas: Los40Principales España[4], Billboard[5] y Spotify[6]. Adicionalmente,

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[4] Fecha de búsqueda: 26 de diciembre de 2009 y 28 de diciembre de 2019, respectivamente.
[5] Hot 100 songs [year-end charts] de 2009 y 2019.
[6] Top hits of 2009 y 2019.

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en el análisis, se incluye la sensiblidad postfeminista (Gill, 2017), la interseccionalidad (Crenshaw, 1989) y sobre todo la decolonialidad (Lugones, 2008), como herramientas que facilitan la identificación y diferenciación de las características que se tejen en las representaciones de los videoclips.

Del total de videoclips (N=50), 15 corresponden a artistas mujeres solistas; 9 son de hombres solistas; 11 videoclips están representados por duetos[7]; 5 videoclips son de autoría únicamente de grupos masculinos; 4 videoclips son de grupos que incluyen al menos una mujer artista; y 6 videoclips corresponden a colaboraciones, la mitad de ellas únicamente entre artistas masculinos, mientras que la otra mitad corresponde a videoclips donde participa al menos una artista femenina (ver tabla1).

	Solista(s)	Dueto(s)	Grupo(s)	Colaboración(es)
Mujer(es)	15		0	0
Mixto(s)	0	11	4	3
Hombre(s)	9		5	3

Tabla 1: Conformación de la muestra de estudio (Elaboración propia)

3.2 Análisis

Para el análisis, se organizan dos grupos: 1. Artista(s) –que examina la representación de las y los cantantes, exclusivamente– y 2. Otro(s) participante(s). Este segundo grupo se subdivide, a su vez, en 2.1. Participante(s) protagonista(s) –que incluye a aquellas representaciones que tienen un rol destacado[8] en el videoclip–, y 2.2. Participante(s) general(es) –que hace referencia al conjunto de extras que generalmente forman parte de los videoclips comerciales–. Sin embargo, en todos los casos, las categorías a codificar comparten la misma estructura.

Para la codificación de la variable de sexualización, se divide el cuerpo por partes, en línea con el estudio previo[9] al respecto de los estereotipos de género

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[7] Entiendo por duetos a las parejas conformadas ya sea por hombre-mujer, mujer-mujer, u hombre-hombre.
[8] Ya sea porque las y los artistas no participan en el videoclip o porque su rol, en cámara, es protagónico.
[9] Esta comunicación forma parte de la investigación de las representaciones de género en la música comercial más escuchada en España, como parte de la tesis doctoral en comunicación de la persona firmante de esta comunicación.

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(Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021). Además, para facilitar el análisis, también se sigue la binariedad al momento de codificar, ya sea 'sexualización de la mujer' o la 'sexualización del hombre' (ver tabla 2).

Sexualización de la mujer		Sexualización del hombre	
a) Cabeza (cara, labios, ojos, pelo)		a) Cabeza (cara, labios, ojos, pelo)	
b) Pecho, espalda, brazos		b) Pectorales, espalda, brazos	
c) Abdominales (cintura)		c) Abdominales (cintura)	
d) Nalgas (caderas)		d) Nalgas (caderas)	
e) Piernas		e) Piernas	

Tabla 2: Variable de sexualización (subjetificación o cosificación) (Elaboración propia)

En el caso de la variable de fenotipo racial (Maddox, 2004), siguiendo una estructura binaria, se establecen siete categorías que incluyen: a) blanca(s) – pieles blancas y arias–, b) negra(s) –pieles oscuras–, c) morena(s) –pieles oscuras ligeramente más claras–, d) mixta(s) –pieles mestizas e indígenas–, e) aceitunada(s) –pieles tostadas con tonos verdosos–, f) amarilla(s) –pieles pálidas con ojos rasgados–, y g) otro(s) –no determinado– (ver tabla 3)

Fenotipo racial de la mujer		Fenotipo racial del hombre	
a) Blanca(s)		a) Blanco(s)	
b) Negra(s)		b) Negro(s)	
c) Morena(s)		c) Moreno(s)	
d) Mixta(s) / Mestiza(s)		d) Mixto(s) / Mestizo(s)	
e) Aceitunada(s)		e) Aceitunado(s)	
f) Amarilla(s)		f) Amarilla(s)	
g) Otro(s)		g) Otro(s)	

Tabla 3: Variable de fenotipo racial (Elaboración propia)

Adicionalmente, se calculó el índice de fiabilidad interobservador, utilizando el 10% de la muestra total del estudio, obteniendo como resultado 0,80 como valor de coincidencia, lo que se traduce en un buen nivel de fiabilidad (Lombard, Snyder-Duch y Bracken, 2002). Los resultados cuantitativos, que se presentan en la siguiente sección, son de tipo nominal y no necesariamente corresponden al número exacto de la muestra (N=50), pues en algunos videoclips hay más de un tipo de sexualización, mientras que en otros puede existir una sexualización ya sea sólo de las y los artistas, únicamente de sus participantes, o podría no incluir sexualización alguna en su representación.

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4. Resultados

Se identifica que la presencia de artistas femeninas solistas –del 2009 al 2019– se reduce en un 50% y, en contraparte, se evidencia un incremento (167%) de duetos mixtos. En el caso de grupos mixtos, presentes en el 2009, para el 2019 desaparecen. Sin embargo, los artistas masculinos solistas y los grupos exclusivamente masculinos incrementan sus participaciones en un 25%, respectivamente, algo que no sucede en su contraparte fenemina.

4.1 Sexualización: entre subjetificación y objetificación

De 2009 a 2019, la sexualización –en general– disminuye en un 21,42%, pasando de estar representada en el 2009 por un 56% (n=14), a un 44% (n=11) en el 2019. Los géneros musicales que incorporan la sexualización en el 2009 son el pop (44%), hip hop (8%) y el rap (4%), mientras que, en el 2019, la incorporación de la sexualización la lidera el pop (24%), seguido del hip hop (8%), y en tercer lugar el trap (4%), el reggaeton (4%) y el RnB (4%). Los resultados generales de la variable sexualización muestran que los cuerpos femeninos son mucho más propensos a ser retratados de forma sexualizada, ya sea como artista(s), con un 47,22% (n=85) o como otro(s) participante(s), con un 52,78% (n=54). Así mismo, un 13,33% corresponde a la sexualización de participantes protagonistas, y 39,44% para la sexualización de participantes generales (ver tabla 4).

En cuanto a las artistas femeninas, estas se representan a sí mismas más sexualizadas que los artistas masculinos. Sin embargo, en el caso de las y los artistas, en general, sus representaciones se interpretan como prácticas subjetivadas de sexualización (Gill, 2017; Gill y Harvey, 2012), especialmente acompañadas por una sensualidad (Arrizón, 2008) que dialoga con la cosmopolitización que representan en sus videoclips. Por esta razón, a lo largo del análisis, las y los artistas son percibidos como individuos, las artistas mujeres en un 47,22% de los casos, y los artistas hombres en un 50%.

SEXUALIZACIÓN

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	Subjetificación artista(s) mujer(es)		Subjetificación artista(s) hombre(s)		Sexualización participante(s) protagonista(s) mujer(es)		Sexualización participante(s) protagonista(s) hombre(s)		Sexualización participante(s) general(es) mujer(es)		Sexualización participante(s) general(es) hombre(s)
a	25	a	16	a	6	a	8	a	12	a	0
b	18	b	9	b	6	b	7	b	16	b	7
c	15	c	2	c	5	c	2	c	13	c	2
d	13	d	2	d	3	d	1	d	15	d	1
e	14	e	1	e	4	e	1	e	15	e	1
	85		30		24		19		71		11

Tabla 4: Resultados totales de la variable de sexualización, tanto para artistas como para otro(s) participante(s), combinando ambos periodos 2009 y 2019. (Elaboración propia)

En general, las artistas centran su subjetificación, en primer lugar, en su rostro (29,41%, n=25); en segundo lugar, en su pecho, espalda y brazos (21,18%, n=18) y, en tercer lugar, en sus abdominales (17,65%, n=15) (ver tabla 3). Aunque las prácticas de subjetificación de las artistas parecen disminuir en un 53,45%, del 2009 al 2019, los datos siguen siendo consistentes en cuanto a las partes del cuerpo que tienden a ser más sexualizadas. Los artistas masculinos, por su parte, retratan principalmente sus rostros (53,33%, n=16), y sus pectorales, espalda y brazos (30%, n=9). Esto es constante en ambos años, además de la sexualización de abdominales y piernas, para el 2019. (Ver tabla 5)

Por otro lado, la representación sexual del segundo grupo (otros participantes) se percibe, en términos generales, como una práctica de objetificación (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), es decir, como partes de un cuerpo –o varios cuerpos– que acompañan las escenas como relleno y, por tanto, no son percibidos como individuos en su totalidad (ver tabla 4). En este sentido, el cuerpo de la mujer es más propenso a ser retratado de manera sexual en comparación con el cuerpo del hombre. Las pocas excepciones son aquellas representaciones que navegan entre sujeto y objeto sexual, especialmente en videoclips de autoría femenina, donde la representación romántica dibuja (aunque en mínimas ocasiones) un escenario más sensual que sexual. Estas representaciones, sin embargo, se encasillan en el grupo de participante(s) protagonista(s).

Justamente, en el caso de la sexualización de las participantes protagonistas, su representación se centra sobre todo en la cara, en un 25% de lo casos (n=6)

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y en la parte superior del cuerpo (variables b y c), en un 45,83% de los casos (n=6 y n=5, respectivamente). Las representaciones masculinas de este grupo también tienden a retratar, en mayor medida, su cara (42,11%, n=8), así como sus pectorales, espalda y brazos (36,84%, n=7). Justamente, a partir de poder reconocer ciertas corporalidades individuales, ya sea a partir del rostro o de la parte superior del cuerpo, se puede identificar un número reducido de representaciones que aluden a la subjetificación, en lugar de la objetificación del restante mayoritario (ver tabla 5).

Finalmente, al considerar la sexualización de participante(s) general(es), hay una gran diferencia en cómo se retratan mujeres y hombres. En el caso de la sexualización de las mujeres, existe una mayor representación sexual entre el año 2009 y el 2019, con un incremento del 40% en la objetificación de la cara (enfatizando las partes de labios, especialmente), y un 28,57% en la objetificación de su pecho. La sexualización de los hombres de este grupo, sin embargo, dismunye en el mismo periodo, hasta el punto que, en el 2019, los pocos casos que objetifican el cuerpo del hombre se centran únicamente en sus pectorales, espalda y brazos. Así mismo, cuando se comparan las representaciones de artista(s), participante(s) protagonistas(es), y participante(s) general(es), es este último grupo el que despliega una representación objetificadora clara y mayoritariamente femenina (ver tabla 5).

MUJER		Año		HOMBRE		Año	
		2009	2019			2009	2019
1. Artista(s)	a	18	7	1. Artista(s)	a	10	6
	b	12	6		b	5	4
	c	9	6		c	0	2
	d	9	4		d	1	1
	e	10	4		e	0	1
2.1. Participante(s) protagonista(s)	a	4	2	2.1. Participante(s) protagonista(s)	a	6	2
	b	4	2		b	5	2
	c	4	1		c	1	1
	d	2	1		d	0	1
	e	3	1		e	0	1
2.2. Participante(s) general(es)	a	5	7	2.2. Participante(s) general(es)	a	0	0
	b	7	9		b	5	2
	c	6	7		c	2	0
	d	9	6		d	1	0

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		e	10	5			e	1	0

Tabla 5: Resultados de la variable sexualización de artista(s), participante(s) protagonista(s) y participante(s) general(es). (Elaboración propia)

4.2 Sexualización y racialización: ¿el color de la agencia?

Al explorar la intersección de la sexualización con el fenotipo racial (Maddox, 2004), es posible identificar que el fenotipo racial más subjetificado entre las artistas femeninas se redujo en un 50%, en el año 2009, con cuerpos mayoritariamente blancos, a incluir tanto cuerpos blancos como mestizos para el 2019. En cuanto a la subjetificación de los artistas hombres, se destaca la aparición, del 2009 al 2019, de cuerpos morenos y mestizos, que se suman a otros cuerpos blancos y negros representados en el primer periodo (ver tabla 6).

En cuanto a la sexualización y el fenotipo racial del grupo de otro(s) participante(s), es interesante que, en el año 2009, la mayoría de las participaciones protagonistas femeninas correspondían a cuerpos blancos, mientras que, en el caso de los protagonistas masculinos, sus representaciones incluían los fenotipos raciales blanco, moreno y mestizo. Sin embargo, aunque para el 2019 estas representaciones protagonistas tienen a disminuir hasta casi desaparecer, el remanente representado corresponde al fenotipo racial mestizo, tanto para mujeres como para hombres (ver tabla 6).

En relación con la representación sexual de participante(s) general(es), existe un incremento del 50% de este tipo de representación en el caso de los hombres, particularmente asociado al fenotipo racial negro. Sin embargo, el fenotipo racial más sexualizado dentro del grupo de participante(s) general(es) es el de la mujer negra, tanto para el 2009 como para el 2019, con un incremento del 50% en la muestra analizada (ver tabla 6).

Finalmente, es relevante mencionar que algunos fenotipos raciales no fueron posibles de identificar, ya sea por la fragmentación de las escenas o porque las y los participante(s) general(es) utilizaban disfraces. No obstante, todos ellos fueron codificados como otro(s) dentro del análisis.

MUJER	2009	2019	HOMBRE	2009	2019

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Category				Category		
1. Artista(s)	a	6	3	1. Artista(s)	a	2	2
	b	2	-		b	4	3
	c	-	-		c	-	2
	d	2	3		d	-	1
	e	-	-		e	1	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	-	-		g	-	-
2.1 Participante(s) protagonista(s)	a	2	-	2.1 Participante(s) protagonista(s)	a	1	-
	b	1	-		b	-	-
	c	-	-		c	1	-
	d	-	1		d	1	1
	e	-	-		e	-	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	-	-		g	-	-
2.2 Participante(s) general(es)	a	1	-	2.2 Participante(s) general(es)	a	-	-
	b	2	3		b	-	1
	c	-	1		c	-	-
	d	-	-		d	-	-
	e	-	-		e	-	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	8	5		g	7	5

Tabla 6: Resultados de la combinación de las variables sexualización y fenotipo racial para artista(s), participante(s) protagonista(s) y participante(s) general(es). (Elaboración propia)

5. Conclusiones y Discusión

El análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo que se presenta en esta comunicación es una contribución a los estudios culturales en general, y al de la música comercial en particular. En primer lugar, pese a que el estudio refleja una dismunición de la práctica general de la sexualización, y esto pueda generar una idea de cambio en la representación de los cuerpos de mujeres y hombres en los videoclips musicales, encontrar que estas representaciones no se encasillan únicamente en uno o dos géneros musicales, sino que se hacen eco en otros, sugiere que la sexualización continúa permeando la producción cultural (Attwood, 2009; Mcnair, 2009).

El análisis sobre los formatos en los que se representan las y los artistas indican que la mujer artista, en general, tiene una participación minoritaria en comparación con el hombre, pues salvo las pocas representaciones como solistas, la figura artística femenina sigue encasillada en compartir escena con

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otro(s) artista(s) masculino(s). Así, la mujer artista está relegada a su representación como solista o en duetos, este último casi en exclusiva con artistas masculinos. La representación artística de la contraparte masculina, en cambio, tiene mayor variedad de formatos de representación, llegando incluso a adueñarse –si cabe– de algunos de ellos, como en el caso de los grupos musicales actuales. Además, se destaca que la sexualización en la música comercial analizada es mayoritariamente femenina, ya sea a partir de la subjetificación de las artistas (Gill, 2003), o de la objetificación de cuerpos, especialmente de aquellos racializados (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Maddox, 2004).

El feminismo ha abierto el camino a (cada vez más) representaciones que aluden a una mayor agencia de la sexualidad –especialmente en el caso de las mujeres–. En consecuencia, las representaciones artísticas en los video clips comerciales generalmente se hacen eco de varios de los elementos de la sensibilidad postfeminista (Gill, 2017), aludiendo no sólo a configuraciones sensuales (Arrizón, 2008) y cosmopolitas (Regev, 2013), sino enfatizando en los elementos de distinción social, de clase y, como no puede ser de otra manera, de género (Skeggs, 1997). Las joyas, los lujos, la juventud y las excentricidades del escenario cultural posmoderno (Hall, 2011), permean a las y los artistas en sus diferentes representaciones, llegando a aparentar una homogenización de significantes y significados –especialmente de aquellos ligados a la sexualidad–, que resulta difícil desentreñar a partir de la intersección de la variable del fenotipo racial (Maddox, 2014).

En este sentido, y pese a que la representación narcisista y sexual parece ser la norma en la construcción de las representaciones de la música comercial (Illescas, 2015), la presente comunicación coincide con la discusión de otras académicas que abogan por problematizar sobre la erotización de cuerpos racializados. La sexualización racializada, incluso como práctica subjetiva, no sólo que no termina de encajar en el discurso de la agencia sexual que se promueve desde el *mainstream*, sino que –indirectamente– continúa sosteniendo y reproduciendo jerarquías de poder que benefician a la sociedad patriarcal (Soler Campo et al., 2019). Esto, a su vez, también refuerza los estereotipos de género (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021). Yendo más allá, la

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subjetificación de cuerpos racializados, bien podría a su vez tener un impacto en las audiencias cuyos fans tienden a incorporar la moda, los estilos e incluso las percepciones de sus artistas favoritos, agitando nuevamente el debate sobre la agencia sexual, la autoderminación y su representación en la sociedad occidental.

Es relevante la imposibilidad de interrelacionar la autodeterminación sexual con la alusión romántica del amor, sobre todo en el caso de la representación de la feminidad en la música comercial. Por esta razón, es pertinente sugerir que "la autonomía y libertad femenina no son compatibles con el amor" (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021, p.10), al menos no en el contexto comercial de la música mainstream. De la mano de esta afirmación, precisamente, es que en los pocos casos de otros participantes en los videoclips analizados corresponden a representaciones subjetificadas que aluden, precisamente, a configuraciones románticas hegemónicas –de las que la mayoría de las y los artistas se desmarcan–. Estas representaciones románticas, sin embargo, tienden a enfatizar en las configuraciones de la masculinidad y la feminidad hegemónica occidental (Álvarez-Cueva et al., 2021), enmarcándose en el fenotipo racial blanco, en 2009, y en el fenotipo racial mestizo para el 2019.

En línea con esta subjetificación romántica, es relevante que estas representaciones estén generalmente incluidas en los videoclips de autoría femenina, ya sea como solista o en duetos con otro artista hombre, pues replica la comprensión heteronormativa tradicional: la pareja romántica es hombre y mujer, el primero con un rol de héroe y la segunda en una posición de sumisión, en espera de ser rescatada. Sin embargo, no es sólo que se aludan a roles de género tradicionales al momento de su representación, sino que, en su ejercicio, este tipo de configuraciones no incluyen como participantes protagonistas a cuerpos de fenotipos raciales más diversos, por lo que la subjetificación ya no sólo es romántica, sino que discrimina por color. No obstante, en las representaciones del grupo de participantes protagonistas, también se ve una sexualización objetificadora, especialmente en el 2009.

Tras la subjetificación y el empoderamiento de las y los artistas, y alguna subjetificación romántica de las y los participantes protagonistas, se esconde –

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literalmente– un conjunto de representaciones objetificadoras (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), especialmente femeninas y, sobre todo, racializadas.

Por un lado, se observa que la práctica de objetificación sexual continúa siendo mayoritariamente sobre el cuerpo de la mujer, que tanto artistas femeninas, como artistas masculinos, incorporan en sus videoclips. De hecho, es inevitable preguntarse si la objetificación de cuerpos masculinos es o no una consecuencia más del feminismo (o lo que algunas académicas han tachado –en desaprobación– como 'el feminismo del enemigo') (Red WIM, 2019). Un ejemplo de esta reflexión, precisamente, dentro de la industria de la música hispanohablante, es el tema "Eres lindo pero bruto" de Lali Espósito y Thalía, o incluso el tema "Lo Malo" de Aitana y Ana Guerra que, entre narrativas feministas, encasilla a "lo malo" con tintes racistas. No obstante, lo que queda claro es que la objetificación sigue teniendo lugar aún ahora que vivimos cambios acelerados en materia de derechos de género, especialmente en España.

Esta comunicación evidencia que la objetificación sexual en la muestra analizada –sobre todo del cuerpo de la mujer– se da sobre los cuerpos racializados, particularmente negros. Estas representaciones, precisamente, coinciden con varias de las discusiones de dos Santos Silva y Medeiros (2021), sobre todo cuando conectan la constante configuración estereotipificada de la mujer negra y algunas prácticas culturales, como el twerking[10], con una nueva forma de racismo que contribuye al imaginario colonial que califica a los cuerpos negros como incivilizados, sexuales y salvajes. No es descabellado tampoco sugerir que una dinámica similar afecta a los cuerpos racializados, en general, como los morenos, mestizos e indígenas, que en idealizadas representaciones reivindicadoras, son colocados nuevamente como objetos que satisfacen la mirada dominante (Lugones, 2008) y, sobre todo, masculina, de la industria musical.

Finalmente, es preciso advertir que la codificación cuantitativa, al representar únicamente valores nominales, no es generalizable. La codificación se limita a señalar si existe o no sexualización en las variables formuladas, pero no

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[10] Estilo de baile, rápido y agresivo, que centra su atención especialmente en los movimientos de las caderas y los muslos.

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contabiliza el número de veces que uno o más cuerpos son sexualizados en las diferentes escenas de los videoclips analizados. Sin embargo, al tratarse de un primer ejercicio de análisis de este tipo, los resultados son pertinentes para continuar profundizando los estudios culturales y, más concretamente, los estudios sobre la música comercial contemporánea.

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Article

Music to Face the Lockdown: An Analysis of Covid-19 Music Narratives on Individual and Social Well-Being

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Abstract

When the world seemed to collapse due to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, music was employed to promote positivity and strength among citizens and communities, especially during worldwide lockdowns. Because the general context of the pandemic was saturated with anxiety, uncertainty, and fear, music—in all its forms of production—became an ideal resource for entertainment and accompaniment, and helped people face the challenges associated with the crisis. Following a qualitative content analysis, this study deeply examines 13 examples of music production published by the United Nations during the Covid-19 crisis, highlighting the narrative elements and how they relate to individual and social well-being. In so doing, the study identifies eight main categories among both lyrics and performances in the music examples. These are: (a) desires, (b) emotions, (c) people, (d) practices, (e) reflections, (f) education/entertainment, (g) allusion to war, and (h) nationalism. The results suggest that music narratives have empowered individuals and social groups by evoking sentiments of solidarity and kindness at both individual and community levels and, in so doing, have contributed to individual and social well-being.

Issue

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1. Introduction

The SDGs of the 2030 agenda interrelate both health and well-being to promote certain measures designed to improve life quality and inclusion of individuals in social activities (United Nations [UN], 2017). From this perspective, it is possible to start connecting how the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns of 2020 not only impacted health systems worldwide but also the well-being of society in general (Gerez et al., 2020; Yang & Ma, 2020, 2021). As people attempted to adapt to the so-called "new normal," a large number of sentiments were shared in the news, on social networks and, notably in European countries such as Spain and Italy, through public rituals on apartment balconies. The effects of the virus were not limited to the symptoms of disease and illness. The situation also evoked

uncertainty and fear (González-Sanguino et al., 2020; Ozamiz-Etxebarria et al., 2020), which made the crisis even deeper and altered peoples' lives in both their individual and social spheres. In this context, professional and amateur musicians started to produce and share music to transmit positivity and strength (Cabedo-Mas et al., 2021; Mas-Herrero et al., 2020), thereby contributing, perhaps unconsciously, to improving personal and social well-being (Martínez-Castilla et al., 2021).

Owing to the cancellation of concerts and events and the mandatory nature of online activities during the quarantines, social media became filled with music videos and songs that related to the lockdown, carried messages of social cohesion and solidarity (Montejano & Rojas, 2020), and promoted a generally positive view of the future (Zhao et al., 2020). Such sentiments were represented in musicians' initiatives that appeared all over

the world such as #SolidaritySession by Chris Martin of Coldplay ("Chris Martin se solidariza," 2020; Perea, 2020), #LaGiraSeQuedaEnCasa by Juanes and Alejandro Sanz ("Juanes y Alejandro Sanz en concierto," 2020), and "One World: Together at Home," an initiative created by Lady Gaga that assembled numerous musicians and celebrities (Muñoz Pandiella, 2020).

The UN (2020) article *Music Does Not Cure a Pandemic, but It Cheers the Soul* (author's translation from Spanish) presented examples of music practices that had emerged during the pandemic, evoking the idea that music had been a source of optimism and solidarity throughout the crisis. Within this context, the present study will analyse those music examples promoted by the UN and explore the relationship that music narratives might have for both individual and social well-being. In so doing, the study combines a deductive analysis—following the categories of (a) desires, (b) emotions, (c) people, (d) practices, and (e) reflections (Alvarez-Cueva et al., 2020)—and an inductive analysis that incorporates the principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), thereby allowing new data to emerge from the analysis itself. In other words, the inductive process will identify new categories by the combination of the literature review and the listening/watching process itself.

Section one of this article reviews the current literature and theoretical considerations. Section two provides a description of the data, method employed, and analysis. Section three presents the results. Section four discusses the main findings.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Considerations

2.1. Music and Well-Being

In recent years, music has been analysed in terms of its role in life on both the individual and the social level. Audiences use music not only for entertainment (Bennett, 2001) but also as a "resource for the conduct of emotional 'work,' and for heightening or changing energy levels" (Denora, 1999, p. 31). Studies have also shown that music can be incorporated into different forms of therapy to prevent mental illness (Poulos et al., 2019) and to mitigate the symptoms of other illnesses such as dementia (Ho et al., 2019). Music, in all its forms of production, accompanies daily life with a great impact on identification processes (Acord & Denora, 2008; Hall & Du Gay, 2003). Acord and Denora (2008) argue that aesthetic objects function as arbiters of social relations, meaning, and action and that they are used to organize the daily existence of both individuals and groups. Therefore, understanding the relationship between music and well-being is particularly relevant during crisis scenarios such as the pandemic. In this sense, music—both lyrics and visual performances—may help organize the so-called new normality while exacerbating emotions to face the crisis. Indeed, several stud-

ies have highlighted the role of music in promoting social cohesion and support. Moss (2019), for instance, argues about the spiritual benefits of music therapy and how music helped to transcend difficulties and find meaning in suffering. Similar ideas are present in a study of community choir initiatives, in which the authors argue that music practice reduces loneliness and increases the interest of older adults in community life (Johnson et al., 2020). These works suggest that music engagement and practice may lead to subjective and social well-being.

Lindblad and de Boise (2020) argue that music creation and/or practice fills psychological, social, and emotional needs among older men. Based on a set of semi-structured interviews with Swedish men aged 66–76, their study draws a contrast between "being" with music and doing/practising musical activities. In the context of crisis that concerns the present study, these findings connect with both practices of listening and producing music during the pandemic. In this sense, the work of Kwok (2019) suggests that students who experimented with music therapy from a positive psychology perspective had significant increases in emotional competence, hope, individual happiness, and a significant decrease in anxiety. It is well known that music therapy requires professional assistance, but Kwok's (2019) study suggests that we should think about music as a broader resource for emotional competencies. In this regard, it is important to recognise that the emotion that was transversal during the pandemic was anxiety.

As Keng et al. (2021) suggest, music therapy stress reduction (MTSR) may have a unique impact on negative emotions. Enge and Stige (2021), for their part, argued that music therapy nurtures a child's capacity to regulate emotions and engage in social activities. These works do not suggest that music itself is a form of medicine, but rather—considering context, environmental conditions, individual and social values and beliefs, social inequalities, and social dynamics—it influences subjective and collective well-being (Daykin et al., 2017).

Fanian et al.'s (2015) study of Canadian indigenous youth analyses creative arts workshops that explored community issues and possible solutions by using the arts. They report that indigenous youth gained confidence and new skills. Furthermore, Calderón-Garrido et al. (2018) used a questionnaire to explore the experiences and opinions of 462 people of different ages, sex, educational levels, and artistic backgrounds. They found that a large majority believed that art (particularly music) improved their state of mind. Therefore, it is possible to see that arts in general, and engagement and participation in music practices in particular, have the potential to build resilience and stimulate social dialogue (Calderón-Garrido et al., 2018; Fanian et al., 2015).

Furthermore, emotional intelligence—which corresponds to both intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligence—is also related to listening to and making music. Oriola and Gustems (2015) argue that music education contributes to developing and improving

emotional competencies. In so doing, the authors addressed five different forms of emotional intelligence within musical education: (a) emotional consciousness, (b) emotional regulation, (c) emotional autonomy, (d) social nature capacities, and (e) capacities related to wellbeing and life. Nevertheless, these different forms of emotional intelligence can also be discussed in other contexts, such as the pandemic, where emotional intelligence played a key role in relation to well-being.

Within this context, this article argues that at the same time the world was facing the challenges associated with Covid-19, music indeed functioned as a sort of escape route, not only for amateur or professional musicians but also to people, in general, while making sense of the crisis. In so doing, music helped strengthen both individual and social spheres that, in turn, are the basis for well-being. Although the notion of well-being has been analysed from different perspectives (Fletcher, 2016; Stone & Mackie, 2013), this study understands well-being as "the series of momentary affective states that occur through time" (Stone & Mackie, 2013, p. 29) that may impact in both individual and social spheres.

2.2. Music, an Antidote to the Effects of the Coronavirus

During the pandemic, music was used as a therapeutic vehicle to reduce discomfort while strengthening emotional support (Partida Valdivia, 2020). In this sense, music achieved two main actions: it alerted and informed about prevention strategies (Mulemi, 2021) and it mitigated the impacts of the administrative measures to contain the virus spread, which included social distancing and lockdowns (Beam & Kim, 2020; Tull et al., 2020). Beam and Kim (2020) draw attention to both young and old adults who faced problems due to isolation measures and loneliness. Likewise, Tull et al. (2020) analysed the psychological consequences of Covid-19 prevention measures (such as stay-at-home orders) among women and men around 40 years old, highlighting that prevention strategies were associated with greater levels of health anxiety, financial worry, and loneliness. These studies suggest that social connection is crucial to mitigate the negative consequences of the pandemic, a scenario that also extends to healthcare personnel and people on the front line (Giordano et al., 2020).

A previous study (Alvarez-Cueva et al., 2020) drew the remarkable benefits on people's well-being of making, sharing, and seeing music, classifying them in four main areas: (a) physical health, (b) self-confidence and optimism, (c) solidarity and social support, and (d) the development of skills and knowledge related to a particular situation. Other studies have analysed the role that music played during the pandemic and the lockdown periods in different places around the world. Ferreri et al. (2021) conducted a study in the USA, Spain, and Italy and argued that people spent more time than usual on activities related to music during the pandemic, pointing out

that music selection depended on individual sensibility, emotional regulation strategies, regulation of stress, and cheering themselves up. A study developed in France, Germany, India, Italy, the USA, and the UK demonstrates how important real-time musical responses are when facing societal crises (Fink et al., 2021). Martínez-Castilla et al. (2021) argue that musical activity was carried out to support emotional well-being during lockdowns in Spain, where more vulnerable people found greater benefit from musical behaviours. The study conducted by MacDonald et al. (2021) analysed improvisation of musical practices with artists in Glasgow. From the interviews, key topics have been highlighted: "enhanced mood, reduced feelings of isolation, and sustained and developed community" (MacDonald et al., 2021, p. 1). Likewise, Martín et al. (2021) point out that, during the lockdown in Spain, music emerged as the form of artistic expression most used to face situations of loneliness, to maintain relationships with others despite the social distancing measures, and to minimize possible psychological states and negative emotional factors derived from, among other causes, nostalgia and anguish, which have been broadly associated with crises (Gibbs & Egermann, 2021).

Ozamiz-Etxebarria et al. (2020) argue that stress derived from the lockdowns in Spain mainly affected young people including those with some type of chronic illness. Similarly, González-Sanguino et al. (2020) explore the effects on 18–25-year-olds and 26–60-year-olds whose emotional states during lockdown were also associated with anxiety and depression. In this scenario, Covid-19 and the different measures implemented over the last year and a half have had an enormous impact on society.

The virtual stages on which musical activity was developed during lockdown (Montejano & Rojas, 2020) have been key in helping people face the changing reality brought about by the pandemic (Calvo & Bejarano, 2020; Daykin et al., 2018). For this reason, it is not surprising that various studies highlight the effects of music on the regulation of mood and the promotion of social cohesion in times of adversity such as the pandemic (Chiu, 2020). For instance, Cabedo-Mas et al. (2021) suggest that during periods of confinement, there was an increase in the time used for activities related to music and that music was seen as a tool to escape from reality and improve one's mood. This idea is consistent with the work of Ferreri et al. (2021), who argue that the activities that people carried out while listening to happy music and discovering new songs are linked to the regulation of healthy emotions (Fink et al., 2021; Hansen, 2021). Music was of such relevance during the pandemic that Hansen et al. (2021) propose the term "coronamusic" to emphasize the role it had among individuals and social groups. Indeed, all these studies point out the relevance of music in helping people face the crisis (see also Zhao et al., 2020). Therefore, it is possible to understand music as Rimé (2009) suggests, this is, as a tool that stimulates

social ties, collaborates with mental health, and impacts well-being on both personal and social levels.

This article builds on the work of scholars who have argued that music helps regulate one's emotional state (Mas-Herrero et al., 2020) to the point of being the most efficient activity and resource for the promotion of well-being (Granot et al., 2021), by unravelling music narratives that emerged during the pandemic and critically analysing their relationship with both individual and social well-being.

3. Data and Methods

3.1. Qualitative Data Approach and Method

The sample of the present study has been established on the music list published by the UN (2020), where a total of 13 songs and videos were presented, divided into four sections: (a) viral music from the initial period of Covid-19, (b) online festivals, (c) old songs as anthems, and (d) UN professional collaborations. One characteristic of the music list is its connection to Hispanic identity. Most of the examples are in the Spanish language and come from different Spanish-speaking countries. The sample includes a broad range of Spanish singers, artists, and campaigns that were aimed at helping to combat the health crisis from different positions: to favour children, to help first-line personnel, etc. Although the sample covers only a small proportion of what people were listening to and sharing during the pandemic, it represents a remarkable variety of productions that have connected people.

The first section of the music list comprises three examples: Horacio Rodrigues' song, an amateur Argentinian production with more than 65,000 YouTube views; the Catalan trio Stay Homas, which started producing music during the lockdown in Spain; and Sheila Blanco, a professional singer and journalist who uses YouTube to make classic composers accessible to a broader audience. The first section, therefore, includes an amateur musician, a small group that became famous during the pandemic, and a professional education initiative. The second section of the music list includes different examples, ranging from a Cuban artistic initiative to the #YoMeQuedoEnCasaFestival in Spain, where more than 160 artists collaborated. The third section of the list explains how some old and classic songs were revived due to the Covid-19 crisis and helped unify society. To exemplify this, the list includes the songs *Contigo Perú*, performed by members of the National Choir of Peru and the National Children's Choir, *Como la Cigarra*, a collaboration of more than 30 Argentinian artists, and *Resistiré México*, which resonates in different countries since versions of the original song (by Dúo Dinámico) have been made by Spanish, Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Chilenian artists, among others. Finally, the fourth section of the list combines music initiatives that aimed to gather contributions for different

social campaigns related to the Covid-19 crisis. The list includes *Pa'lante* by Salomon Beda—part of the campaign #VolveránLosAbrazos, that assembled artists from countries including Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Chile, Perú, and the USA. The list also includes Pablo Alborán with the song *Cuando Estés Aquí*, who contributed to a UNICEF's campaign, and the worldwide initiative led by Lady Gaga "One World Together at Home," which raised more than 125 million dollars and included Hispanic artists such as Juanes, Luis Fonsi, and Maluma. In sum, the sample contains a variety of examples that share characteristics with other similar music productions that are not considered in the present work. The sample, therefore, provides the means of highlighting elements that resonate with other examples of music that emerged or became popular during the Covid-19 crisis.

In this study, both music lyrics and videos are considered. The analysis is carried out following a deductive method (Alvarez-Cueva et al., 2020) based on five categories of music creation in times of confinement—i.e., (a) desires, (b) emotions, (c) people, (d) practices, and (e) reflections—and an inductive method supported on the fundamentals of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This entails an iterative process of data collection from the units of analysis—both lyrics and videos—and the process of qualitative analysis within the theoretical framework. In so doing, the study develops a qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) of lyrics and music videos that allows the analysis to move randomly through the different elements of the music narratives to include as many as possible. This refers, for instance, to artists' speeches (when necessary, e.g., during online festivals). All the data was organized and categorized using Nvivo12 software.

3.2. Conducting the Qualitative Analysis

The first step consisted of codifying the thirteen cases and revising each of their videos and lyrics. The units of analysis were separated by differentiation regarding lyrics and videos—with "Y" if available and "N" if it was not accessible. The study dismissed lyrics and/or videos if the example was unsuitable for the analysis. Three of the units of the analysis presented a sort of limitation in this sense. To still include as many units of analysis as possible, the study determined the following: for the first case (C_004), the analysis would only include the video of the song; for the second case (C_006), the analysis would focus particularly on the artist's speech during her participation in the online festival; and, finally, the study eliminates the last case (C_008) because it was the only one transmitted in segments via Twitter and was neither an original song nor had a significant number of plays. The units of analysis were established as elaborated upon in Table 1.

In addition, transcription of lyrics was done prior to analysis using the software. For the codification, both deductive and inductive processes were developed.

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Table 1. Total sample and the final units of analysis established.

Code	Title and artist	Lyrics	Video
C_001	*Me Quedo en casa Porque te Quiero* (Horacio Rodriguez)	Y	Y
C_002	*Ya No Puedo Más* (Stay Homas, Sílvia Pérez Cruz)	Y	Y
C_003	*El Moderno Debussy* (Sheila Blanco)	Y	Y
C_004	Sheila Blanco and Federico Lechner performing at IFEMA	N	Y
C_005	"Tunturuntu Pa' Tu Casa Sábado: 21 de Marzo de 2020"	Y	Y
C_006	Live concert #YoMeQuedoEnCasaFestival (Sofía Ellar)	Y	Y
C_007	Argentina sings *La Cigarra* by María Elena Walsh (various artists)	Y	Y
C_009	*Contigo Perú* (National Choir of Peru and the National Children's Choir)	Y	Y
C_010	*Resistiré México* (various artists)	Y	Y
C_011	*Pa'lante* (Salomón Beda feat. 16 Latinoamerican artists)	Y	Y
C_012	*Cuando Estés Aquí* (Pablo Alborán)	Y	Y
C_013	*Smile* (Lady Gaga at the "One World: Together at Home" festival)	Y	Y

Nodes in Nvivo12 were created for the deductive categories mentioned above. Sub-nodes were created for positive, negative, uncertain, and longing emotions (Alvarez-Cueva et al., 2020). This deductive strategy allowed the data to be detected and organized following the narratives and elements of lockdown music production, mainly because not all the songs were created for the pandemic but were rather recovered because they resonated with it. The inductive strategy of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) allowed the codification and analysis to interrelate the literature review with the most important elements of each unit of analysis and, in so doing, three additional nodes (categories) were identified: education/entertainment, allusion to war, and nationalism. Before presenting the results, it is pertinent to mention that the analysis determined most of the videos as homemade because both amateur and professional musicians were singing mainly from their homes. The exceptions are examples C_012, which features a professionally produced animation that accompanies the artist, and C_004, in which the artists are singing outside a hospital in Madrid, Spain.

4. Results

A total of eight transversal elements are highlighted from the analysis: (a) desires, (b) emotions, (c) people, (d) practices, (e) reflections, (f) education/entertainment, (g) allusion to war, and (h) nationalism. The results are presented in two sections: The first section will focus on the deductive results, while the second will present the inductive data. In both sections, results will be accompanied by some video screenshots to illustrate the findings. Nevertheless, in the discussion, the article presents how all the elements are interconnected with one another and with questions of well-being at an individual and social level.

4.1. Music and Lockdown: An Opportunity to Rethink the Battle to Win

The five deductive categories were identified, although four of them were more remarkable among the sample, these are reflections, emotions, practices, and desires.

Reflections are mainly related to two ideas: On one hand, a sort of unity—meaning the strengthening of social ties to face the virus and the crisis; on the other hand, reflections on life while being separated from others. Most of the references in this regard link with the necessity of helping individually—a sort of "do your part" message. Reflections, in general, allow us to understand music as part of a process of rethinking life and seeing lockdowns as opportunities to learn and resist. This idea, precisely, links with Moss' (2019) argument on the benefits of finding meaning during hard times. During the Covid-19 crisis, and particularly when lockdowns started being imposed, the difficulties that music helped people go through encouraged the individual to embrace collective resistance and, in so doing, alluded to "war" and "battle." Both of these scenarios would need to follow a strategy of fighting as a team and watching each other's backs to finally be able to see life value and take back good moments with the loved ones. According to this category, the future would be a "new beginning" in which hugs and smiles would return. In one example (C_013), Lady Gaga illustrates this idea when she sings "you'll see that life is still worthwhile if you just smile" (see Figure 1).

The second most important category is emotions, which relates to the different feelings both amateur and professional artists shared through their music during the crisis and lockdowns. To examine each of these emotions thoroughly, the study subdivides them into longing, positive, negative, and uncertain emotions.

Longing emotions were common to most of the songs among the sample, related to missing loved ones as crucial in this regard. In dialogue with a previous

Figure 1. Lady Gaga performs *Smile* at "One World: Together At Home." Source: Global Citizen (2020).

study (Alvarez-Cueva et al., 2020), longing emotions link with the desire and need to return to a pre-pandemic lifestyle. Through these emotions, it is possible to see how Covid-19 shifted known life worldwide, resulting in the emergence of romanticized references to what people used to do before the pandemic—a state that is both valuable and achievable with patience and faith.

Positive emotions are also highlighted among the sample. As mentioned before, most of the categories are interrelated to one another and positive emotions were fundamental to all the narratives analysed, either because the lyrics made direct references to "smile," "hug," "resurge," or because the videoclips suggested positivity through its presentational style, especially when the screen was split into many spaces where different people were singing together while smiling at the camera. The online interaction due to social distancing measures not only contributed to trying to hold social networks but, particularly in the case of music, permitted the reinforcement of previous ties through the energy that is conveyed in music. As argued in relation to com-

munity choir (Johnson et al., 2020), the examples of positive emotions shared by multiple singers might help reduce sentiments of loneliness and increase the interest in helping and supporting each other (see Figures 2 and 3).

Positive emotions are consistent even when a melancholier melody is used, as demonstrated in C_012 by the metaphorical reference portrayed by free-flying birds at the end of the clip (Figure 4). This in turn links back to the longing emotions explained above. In general, positive emotions nurtured individual and social bonds during the crisis and, in so doing, stimulated social ties and had a positive impact on well-being (Rimé, 2009).

Negative emotions were also combined with longing emotions, transforming feelings of missing loved ones, sadness, and suffering into a sort of motivation to keep waiting and hoping for a better tomorrow. "Learning from suffering" (Moss, 2019) takes place so that the individual (as well as others) understands and values social bonds, takes care of missing ones and, as a consequence, "does it right" when the moment comes. This

Figure 2. Screenshot from the official music video of *Pa'lante*, by Salomón Beda feat. 16 artistas Latinoamericanos. Source: Beda (2020).

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Figure 3. Screenshot from the official music video of *Resistiré México*. Source: Warner Music México (2020).

social dialogue (Calderón-Garrido et al., 2018), even when considering negative emotions, promotes the idea that moods can still be improved in uncertain times.

Applying the same principles of music as a resource for building resiliency and relationships (Fanian et al., 2015), we can see that uncertain emotions are also highlighted among the narratives analysed. One of the sample songs (C_011), translated here from the original Spanish, proves a remarkable example (from Spanish):

> As much as the vertigo of not knowing exactly what can happen can have you cornered against the wall / Now that she comes, she will be the one who left, everything that she was now is not, she will continue to be so later / It has been that way since there once was.

Practices were the third most important category in the sample. These narratives were mainly used as reminders of the official measures (C_001, C_005, C_006, C_008, C_013) and made frequent mentions of social distancing and stay-at-home as an obligation and responsibility for

yourself and others during the crisis (see Figure 5). When thinking about the relationship between emotional intelligence and music (Oriola & Gustems, 2015), it is possible to associate the practices described in the narratives with consciousness awakening as well as with emotional regulation and autonomy during the crisis. This means realising that part of the solution (at least) relied on each person following the recommended prevention measures. Furthermore, the capacities related to well-being and life might also be stimulated through the constant reminder of environmental conditions and individual and social implications and dynamics (Daykin et al., 2017; Mulemi, 2021).

The fourth category is desires, which is linked with spirituality (C_001) when evoking, for example, God to save Argentina and all countries, from Latin America to China. Desires also evoked memories of hugs, of being together, of smiles (C_013), or simply of being able to continue doing the activities we enjoyed the most (C_002). In so doing, they reinforce the idea of keeping moving forward (C_011). In this category, most of the previous elements convey again stimulation of social

Figure 4. Screenshot from the official music video of *Cuando Estés Aquí*. Source: Alborán (2020).

Figure 5. Screenshot from the project Tunturuntu Pa' tu Casa Sábado: 21 de Marzo de 2020. Source: Tunturuntu Cuba (2020).

bonds (Rimé, 2009) that go beyond geographical borders. Desires are particularly relevant for the study because music creation implies an intentional message in their lyrics. Therefore, when transmitted, desires connect with one's individual and social sphere through a reality that arguably became very similar around the globe. If the pandemic demonstrated anything at its inception stage, it is that humanity shares much more similarities, such as vulnerability and anxiety, than differences. An interesting example of new and global lifestyle practices—the result of adapting our means of communication—is present in C_007, an intervention of various artists, performing on what seems to be a WhatsApp group entitled #AngentinaCanta (see Figure 6).

4.2. Linking the Personal and the Collective: Weaving Emotions to Act and Be Safe

Three final categories were inductively found among the sample: education/entertainment, allusions to war, and nationalism.

The education/entertainment category is represented in C_003. This is remarkable, since the Covid-19 crisis demanded, among other factors, working from home and online activities that ruled people's daily lives. In this sense, education also faced a significant challenge (Cano-Hila & Argemí-Baldich, 2021). By mirroring life, music contributed to combining emotional competencies (Kwok, 2019) and the context of the pandemic (Daykin et al., 2017). The category of education/entertainment is combined because music affords a more creative form of self-expression at the same time it opens new ways for teaching and learning (DeNora, 2003). These activities can improve the development of emotional consciousness, regulation, and autonomy, as well as comprehension of the social situation, self-awareness, and well-being (Oriola & Gustems, 2015).

The second category is allusions to war. Some lyrics evoked memories of war and resistance, presumably because of the uncertainty and fear caused by the pandemic. As mentioned before, this narrative links back to Moss' (2019) reflections of learning from difficulties

Figure 6. Argentina sings *La Cigarra* by María Elena Walsh. Source: Televisión Pública (2020).

and finding meaning in the suffering they often provoke. Allusions to war, however, are interrelated also to the need to influence collective well-being (Daykin et al., 2017) by appealing to individual responsibility and emotional autonomy (Oriola & Gustems, 20115). War scenarios are charged visual imaginaries that are capable of influencing memories of catastrophe that many people would prefer to avoid. However, these narratives can enable a more valuable sense of autonomy and heroism specific to this crisis context. Several songs (C_001, C_007, C_010) employed allusions to war to unify society against a common enemy: the virus. Therefore, both strategies to prevent contagion and encouragement to "fight" the battle were important. In this context, C_010 repeatedly used the same narrative in different countries and different languages. Resistance (*resistiré*) became a sort of anthem, especially during lockdown—indeed, it was included in the sub-headline of the UN article previously alluded to. One song (C_004) also portrayed a sort of tribute to healthcare personnel and people on the front line in a hospital in Madrid, Spain. This action combined feelings of gratitude and thoughts of strength to keep battling adversity (see Figure 7).

Building on the idea of an anthem to unify society, the last category explored in this article is nationalism. This narrative reinforced the message of unity and strength to face the crisis with a more profound impact on one's individual and social spheres (Daykin et al., 2017). If allusions to war might provoke responsibility in such a way that the individual felt responsible for the situation, the addition of nationalism goes even further, evoking the sentiment that "patriotism in battle" is the key to success. This "military squad" allusion is identifiable in one example that includes images of men and women in uniform (C_009; see Figure 8). In this sense, feelings derived from nationalism narratives might also produce an increased cohesion of existent social ties and even build new ones (Calderón-Garrido et al., 2018; Fanian et al., 2015). Feelings of patriotism encourage people to take their part in the crisis scenario and be responsible for helping themselves and others. In so doing, these emotions also produce feelings of satisfaction and pride that serve as a basis for promoting individual and social well-being. We recall the lyrics, here translated from the original Spanish, to *Contigo Perú*:

> When I wake up and I see that I continue to live with you, Peru, I thank heaven for giving me life with you, Peru....We are all with you, Peru....We are your children, and we will unite, and thus we will triumph with you, Peru.

Figure 7. Sheila Blanco and Federico Lechner performing at IFEMA. Source: IFEMA (2020).
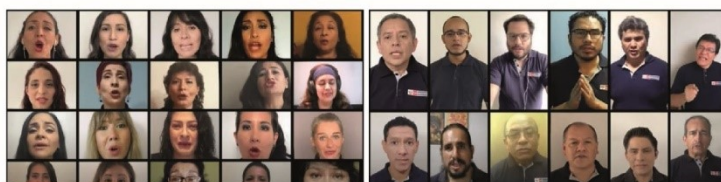

Figure 8. Screenshots of *Contigo Perú* being performed by the National Choir of Peru and the National Children's Choir. Source: Ministerio de Cultura de Perú (2020).

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5. Discussion

The present study identifies eight elements present in the narratives of the so-called "coronamusic" (Hansen et al., 2021) identified by the UN (2020). These elements are (a) desires, (b) emotions, (c) people, (d) practices, (e) reflections, (f) education/entertainment, (g) allusions to war, and (h) nationalism. Combined, these elements played a crucial role in transmitting sentiments of solidarity and responsibility during the crisis. The study argues that music enables a social dialogue (Fanian et al., 2015) that improve emotional competencies (Kwok, 2019), appealing in particular to the individual (Oriola & Gustems, 2015) and, in so doing, resonating with the collective (Daykin et al., 2017). Therefore, ideas of "unity" were crucial not only to maintain faith in the future but also to encourage people to think of themselves and others and help them face the situation. Most of the songs analysed in this article repeat messages of seeing the crisis and lockdowns as an opportunity to learn and to resist (Moss, 2019), to dream of new beginnings. In a context that is constantly being compared to scenarios of war and battle, feeling the absence of loved ones (the very emotion it entails) demarcated a space in which individuals may have felt responsible for themselves and others, but where they also promoted attitudes and routines that helped them cope with the crisis.

This study argues that music relates to individual and social well-being. Music helped people navigate the situation by empowering them in their individual and collective spheres, while they were learning how to prevent contagion, appealing to emotions that create a positive view of the crisis. This lesson might help us grow and build a better future. In sum, the music of both amateur and professional artists produced in the pandemic evoked solidarity and kindness, thus helping people remain calm and providing them with the faith they needed to face the crisis.

Future studies may include audiences' perspectives to deeply problematize the relationship between music and one's individual and social spheres, particularly in scenarios of crisis.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Chapter IV: Conclusions

"First things first
I'ma say all the words inside my head
I'm fired up and tired of the way that things have been"
Believer **– Imagine Dragons (2017)**

As music is the main cultural resource of entertainment (Bennett, 2001), especially among youth audiences (Illescas, 2015), critically examining its construction becomes relevant from the analysis of both cultural and artistic production – as I have presented in this thesis. However, the debate and analysis should go further in the exploration of the relationships among all the participants in the music lyrics or video clips. It is not only our duty to the cultural studies field, but we owe a deeper analysis of the historical structure of our society, an analysis that also considers the logic behind the global power stratification that is still present nowadays (Quijano, 2011).

Along this work, the highly contested term of mainstream music (Hesmondhalgh, 1998; Chu, 2011) has been incorporated and understood as a product that incorporates the following characteristics: 1) either with lyrics, video clips or both, it is inserted in one of the three giants of the industry: Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, and Warner Music Group. Therefore, 2) it is anticipated to pursue commercial purposes. And 3) it reaches the top charts either by country (e.g., Spotify classification in Spain) or globally (e.g., Billboard, MTV lists), therefore can be considered dominant. Far from the understanding of incorporating always sexual content (Illescas, 2015), mainstream should not be necessarily linked with sexuality, only pop music genres or lowbrow music production. Mainstream and commercial, although they may sound redundant, sometimes are used together to highlight precisely how the combination evokes a force or power that researchers should keep in mind when trying to make sense of its role in cultural studies, even

though one might not be working with audiences' perspectives. Mainstream music, in this work, is always commercial; although, in general, neither commercial music is always mainstream, as well as music production does not always have commercial purposes (e.g., spiritual music production).

Reflecting on how mainstream commercial music, among both its representations and messages, can impact those who consume it (Acord and DeNora, 2008) because it is dominant/hegemonic, the discussion of such representations from both a critical postfeminist (Gill, 2017; McRobbie 2009) and decolonial (Lugones, 2008; Quijano, 2011) perspectives – although the latest one in a less extent, opens up the debate on racialisation within cultural production, which continues to be an unresolved issue, particularly within the music industry. Thereafter, this exploration brings useful tools to explore audiences' perspectives concerning mainstream commercial music.

On the one hand, when talking about the *positive* side of mainstream music, I will refer to its **reach capacity**. It is undeniable that mainstream music reaches you without any real effort to seek it out. The viral effect of many mainstream songs can also be seen in digital applications and on various social networks (e.g., Spotify, Tik Tok). This intrinsic characteristic of the music industry also gives, in a certain way and to a certain extent, a mobilising power to the artists in the music industry (just like in other areas of art, e.g., films and Hollywood). An example can be seen in the repercussions of a tweet made by Rosalía or, without going any further, the performances that some US artists have given in the wake of the US Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade (e.g., Olivia Rodrigo, Megan Thee Stallion, Phoebe Bridges). A recent example of this relationship also took place in "El Apagón" single by Bad Bunny that denounced the social and economic problem that is taking place in Puerto Rico due to the U.S. legislation for ex-pats and real state investment on the island. The potential that music already has, both to impact on an emotional level, as well as on well-being, is increased when the mainstream comes into play. Hence, as I argued in the theoretical

framework that underpins this thesis, the over-concern regarding its representations. However, it is not to be underestimated the contributions that come from mainstream music, and here I underline such contributions, especially for the Spanish language and for Latin American people.

Precisely, if music facilitates identification options, what it has catapulted – especially reggaeton for Latins, regardless of their country of origin, is to a large extent a feeling of belonging and identity. Within the vindication of women's bodies, which I will discuss shortly, there is also an effect of musical hybridisation where the production of Latin American artists is no longer in second or third place (e.g., Metallica with J. Balvin; Justin Timberlake and Romeo Santos; Black Eyed Peas and Sharika). Regardless of whether the construction of their narrative is controversial or not, Latin artists are more present in the mainstream music industry and that, as I have mentioned before, also gives them a relevant power when it comes to mobilising their audience towards vindicatory and even revolutionary processes (e.g., Residente from Calle 13; Sharika).

This outreach of music, in the case of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, also played a key role because due to its characteristics of being popular, recognised and being inserted in the music industry, both identification and consumption practices did not require additional efforts from the audience. Instead, music in general, filled many of the spaces of anxiety and frustration with tunes that served, as I have mentioned in this thesis, as an antidote to the discomfort provoked by the pandemic. Moreover, mainstream music artists were able to approach – although virtually –their audiences not only to accompany them during the different lockdowns all over the world but also to raise money for charity purposes (e.g., such as the USA for Africa in 1985).

On the other hand, to mention the *negative side* of mainstream music, I will use three main points. First, mainstream music **simplifies** the complexity of the world system and, in doing so, not only significantly narrows the spectrum of representations with which the

audience can identify, but continues to sustain stereotypes that undermine the individual and social identity of historically marginalised groups (e.g., Latin American people, Black communities).

Second, mainstream music **promotes consumerism** (Illescas, 2017) on a worrying scale, beyond musical genres and generally linked to meritocratic narratives (Carbone and Mijs, 2022). This characteristic is, to a large extent, the main basis for concern regarding mainstream music representations because, in addition, in the midst of the consumption it promotes, women's bodies tend to become another object of status and exchange.

Thirdly, in line precisely with this last idea about women's bodies, mainstream music **commodifies feminism** and its vindicatory ideals, going so far as to promote certain sexual characteristics as 'empowering' in its videos and lyrics. This use (and abuse) of feminist struggle has been discussed in other spaces of cultural and media studies, but in the case of mainstream music, this relationship becomes more complex when there is the continued practice of sexualisation by racialised participants who, in these representations, uphold (perhaps unintentionally a priori) the stigma and prejudice that has historically been associated with racialised bodies.

Given the conditions and requirements of the compendium thesis, as well as the four publications that comprise it, some data are still being explored and planned for different publications. Nevertheless, after presenting the results in Chapter III, I will further synthesise the main findings below, in line with the objectives of this research.

Main findings in relation to the research objectives

First of all, I want to underline that this research has understood mainstream music as a cultural and artistic product. In this research, I have analysed the meanings and communicative elements with

which mainstream music is constructed (Acord and Denora, 2008). In this sense, I have tried to outline how, from the interpreted representations, it is possible to understand the society in which they are embedded, this is the Western postmodern scenario (Hall y Gieben, 1992; Hall, 2011).

If we consider Antonio Gramsci's definition of hegemony, we agree that the representations analysed correspond, to a large extent, to the continuity of power relations, especially in terms of class, gender and racialisation. The postmodern hegemonic project (Hall, 2011) is aligned with mainstream music and the neoliberal discourse that favours both the capitalist and patriarchal system (Guarinos, 2012; Evans y Riley, 2014; Illescas-Martínez, 2017), by promoting ideals of identity and identification based, above all, on the practice of consumerism.

Within this consumption, above all, femininity tends to be one more utilitarian commodity for the system (McRobbie, 2009; Gill, 2017) and, based on a set of contradictions – a typical characteristic of postmodernity, it can be understood as emancipating, depending on who performs it. In this sense, it is possible to argue that representations of mainstream music are closely related to economic interests that respond, in turn, to the dynamics of power and domination.

SO1: to analyse the late modernity scenario and how cultural elements and capitals are inserted into it

In the case study of Rosalía, two indispensable and transversal elements are contextualised. On the one hand, the **commodification** of both cultural elements (e.g., rhythms, clothing, phrases, and iconography), and femininity – in particular, the "choni-chic" style. And, on the other hand, the **musical hybridisation** that transcends Rosalía, and can be identified in mainstream music in general (e.g., Lil Nas X and Billy Ray Cyrus - Old Town Road, 2019).

Regarding the practice of consumption, I agree with Jon Illescas (2015) that most of the representations allude to youth, especially within individualistic and hedonistic performances (e.g., Madonna's representation nowadays). This consumption, as reflected in the case of Rosalía, involves the use of certain constructions (which are explored in item 2 of the list of publications), mainly based on stereotypes and traditionally pejorative patterns (Guarinos, 2012). In this exercise, Rosalía – as has happened with other artists in the music industry, provokes a kind of subversion of certain characteristics with which, in this case, working-class women are associated, particularly in Spain. This, because of cultural appropriation and its linkage with contemporary figures and characteristics, becomes (and makes Rosalía) a world-class musical phenomenon. That means, a star within the music industry.

On the other hand, when I allude to hybridisation as a recurrent practice in the music industry, I connect again with the elements of individuality and identity. Within the logic of postmodernity, identity is fragmented and this, to a large extent, opens up the spectrum of creativity within music, reflected above all through cultural omnivorism (Veenstra, 2015; Doma, 2017; Weingartner and Rössel, 2019). In this exercise, the appropriation and use of certain words, slang, phrases and ways of referring to certain things or people – even in physical aspects (e.g., clothing or make-up), is also understood as a strategy that forms part of this contemporary hybridisation. This practice, among other things, manages to broaden the spectrum of the audience reached by mainstream music (e.g., when Rosalía incorporates recognised Latin American figures from the music scene into her narrative).

Finally, and although I have commented on it in the first item of the list of publications, Rosalía incorporates several of the elements of the post-feminist sensibility (Gill, 2007, 2017) that resonate at a new level: that of the working class, in what we have coined as *"choni-chic"*. This trend has accompanied Rosalía as a public figure, inside and outside Spain and, even though it may incur a progressive

reading of the choni woman, it also excludes a set of people who, especially for economic reasons, will not be able to acquire the accessories (e.g., nails, decorations, costume jewellery, etc.) that the artist demarcates as part of her consumerist narrative.

SO2: to examine the representations of femininity and masculinity in mainstream music and their evolution over ten years

After having demarcated the context of my research, and especially considering how identity is fragmented and constructed in different ways, depending on the context in which it takes place (and the elements that are accompanying it), we have proposed eleven gender stereotypes that function, in our opinion, as a guide to the characteristics with which certain representations are constructed in mainstream music. I will not go into detail about each of the classified stereotypes, but rather, I will continue to problematise what these stereotypes may signify and represent in the social context.

On the one hand, agreeing with Eva Illouz (1997), it seems that the subject empowered by his or her sexuality loses or leaves aside his or her connection with romanticism. I am not only referring to the myths of romantic love but to love as a concept of partnership, lasting and deep. Much of the categorised stereotypes are rather aligned to one or several casual partnerships, where the feeling of individuality and autonomy is constantly emphasised, especially when it comes to sex, sexuality, and sensuality (these two concepts I elaborate on in more detail in the next section). Indeed, as Pilar Ramos López (2003) has already said, music responds to the sexist world in which it is inserted.

This disproportionate relationship between an emancipatory narrative (especially for women) that is distanced from the committed couple relationship is problematic. Thinking once again of the possibilities that mainstream music provides for processes of

identification, not leaving a gap for love representation also undermines the ideals of partnership that the audience may have, at some point in their lives. Moreover, if these representations are pigeonholed into certain *bodies, racialized, and stereotyped* (e.g., hegemonic western femininity), not only is the range of options narrowed but in the few identifiable possibilities, racialised groups are marginalised once again. Going further, this relationship makes even more sense through the lens of decoloniality (Lugones, 2008) when we compare historical stereotypes, for example, considering the exoticism with which some bodies have been and continue to be associated (Arrizón, 2008; Dos Santos Silva and Medeiros, 2021). Not feeling love or being unable to receive love seems to be a characteristic of racialised bodies. Meanwhile, when it comes to configuring representations of "Romeo and Juliet", whiteness and heteronormative protagonists are dominant. Thus, behind even the subjectification and empowerment of mainstream women artists, and a certain romantic subjectification of the protagonist(s), there lurks – literally – a set of objectifying representations (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), especially feminine and, above all, racialised. Love thus becomes an attainable ideal – if at all, for mostly white, and especially heteronormative, bodies.

Therefore, I must refer again to the stereotype of "assured western masculinity" as the *guardian of masculine heteronormativity*. It is problematic, to say the least, that openly homosexual male artists do not make any sexual or amorous representations of their reality. If the evolution of representations in mainstream music has proven anything, it is that men have to maintain an appearance of the western hegemonic masculinity that, among other things, constructs and sustains the heteronormative gaze towards this social group. Any masculinity that deviates from this construction becomes part of the other categories of masculinity that do not give *real* voice to homosexuality. Moreover, in the case of femininities, and here I applaud the road travelled by the feminist movement, the category of "western pariah femininity" has an important weight, especially in subverting the normative conception of femininity. Here, for

example, artists such as Lizzo are opening the spectrum of representations for bodies that are not only racialised but do not respond to the dominant canon of "beauty" that has accompanied contemporary cultural production, especially when it comes to mainstream commercial music.

However, these stereotypes, I must emphasise, have two basic conditions within cultural studies. On the one hand, through the set of identifiable characteristics with which they are constructed and categorised, it is possible to build learning processes to both reflect and dismantle them, so that identifying each stereotype can lead to important processes of subversion for those individuals and social groups that have been excluded through their use. And, on the other hand, they are theorised from the mainstream music scene, so generalising them (e.g., in counter-hegemonic, underground, minority music, etc.) could ignore the work that other artists are doing in terms of gender representations, especially in terms of masculine homosexuality (e.g., Esteman).

SO3: to explore feminine and masculine representations with the variables of sexuality and racialisation

This is where I turn my eyes to the debate between sexuality and sensuality which, although generally overlapping, can be understood in different ways by taking into account racialisation – the racial phenotype bias (Maddox, 2004) – as a moderator of such representations.

In line with other works in this field (Hatton y Trautner, 2011; Kuipers, van der Laan y Arfini, 2017), I argue that sexualisation, in general, continues to permeate cultural production (Attwood, 2009), especially concerning female bodies – regardless of subjective or objectifying practices. Moreover, mainstream music videos' representations combine elements of the postfeminist sensibility (Gill, 2017), with sensuality as a cosmopolitan characteristic

(Arrizón, 2008; Regev, 2013). However, and perhaps more problematic, representations in mainstream music also include elements of social distinction, class, and gender (Skeggs, 1997, 2005, 2012). Therefore, the characteristics of the neoliberal logic (Evans and Riley, 2014) allow reflection on why sexualization remains an issue of social class and ethnicity. Therefore, it may not represent the same aim for everyone.

Thus, after considering how the representation between the sensual subject (Gill, 2003a) and the sexual object has a variation from racialisation, especially in the case of the feminine body, I want to discuss a model[22] (see figure 2) that facilitates an in-depth critical qualitative analysis and problematisation not only regarding mainstream music images but also being echoed in other spheres of contemporary cultural production. In this sense, I argue that we can identify, in these representations, at least three types of constructions, as follows: 1) *sensual subject* – who tends to be located at the centre of the images, usually artist(s). In this representation, the segmentation of the body does not prevent it from being identified as a subject, as it is accompanied by sensual characteristics. 2) *sexual object* – which tends to be a mere filler and corresponds to most extras' participations. The sexual object is fragmented to the extent that only body parts, usually racialised, are seen. Finally, 3) *the sexual subject* – may be the most problematic in the current model because it also responds to the many contradictions of postmodernity (Hall, 1992; Hall & Gieben, 1992). The sexual subject can be part of some representations of protagonists and include representations of performers. It is identified by two important differences: i) although some of his/hers body parts can be divided, it is still possible to identify the individual, but ii) connected to primarily sexual

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[22] The development and theorisation of this model has been accepted for publication and is under review in the forthcoming Handbook of Popular Music Methodologies, published by Intellect. The provisional title is: "When mainstream music and *'up for it'* is not for everybody: From a content analysis to a new model of analyzing sexualization through decolonial lens." This chapter has been improved thanks the support of the Cultural and Sociology Club at the Social Sciences Department of the KU Leuven.

encounters (not limited to a single person) and without analogies to romantic love.
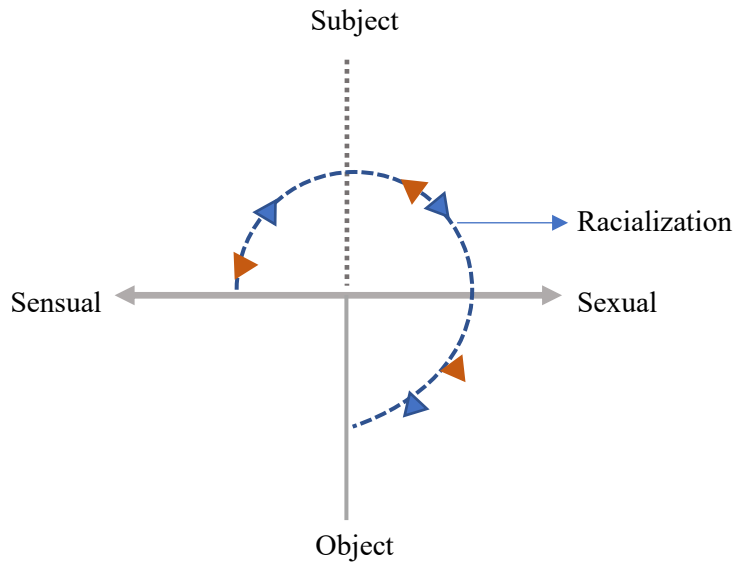
Figure 2: subject and sexual object moderated by racialisation. (Own elaboration - forthcoming)

Once again, as has happened with the gender stereotypes presented in the second item of this thesis, all these representations (categories and classifications) can fluctuate from one video to another (as with fragmented identity in the postmodern scenario). Thus, as we have argued about Lady Gaga, to cite one example, the artist can represent herself as western pariah femininity and, in another video, represent more of western hegemonic femininity. In this exercise, she can be understood as a sexual subject and as a sensual subject, correspondingly.

Finally, this theorization does not consider possible – within the model I have briefly presented, the category of the *sensual object* because the very reduction of a person to 'an object' already undermines the representation of the individual, whether female or

male. *Things/objects* can be operated by *someone* and therefore acquired any significance that the subject aims to it.

> SO4: to examine the narrative elements in mainstream songs during the lockdown in Spain and their relationship with well-being.

The coined term *coronamusic* (Hansen *et al.*, 2021) is relevant to picture the importance of music during the lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Given this context and building on other academic works regarding individual and social well-being, I argue that elements such as desires, emotions, people, practices, reflections, education and entertainment, and allusions to both war and nationalism were crucial to building and reinforcing social networks and the sentiments of solidarity and responsibility during the crisis. These sentiments, in turn, have a particular role in individual and social well-being. While it is true that I do not include an audience perspective within the analysis, previous work has already analysed the connection of music to well-being. Therefore, out of respect and consideration for other academic work – in an attempt to contribute to previous discussions, my research identifies the elements with which the audience interacted during the time of confinement, particularly within the Spanish-speaking context and in Spain. Given the performance, discourse, and lyrics of the artist that are part of the analysis, I take for granted the relationship between music and audiences based on two main considerations: 1. Previous academic work in that regard (e.g., Fanian *et al.*, 2015; Oriola and Gustems, 2015; Kwok, 2019) and 2. the almost homogenization of the health crisis that affected all the word, with very small nuances from one place to the other. In general, the world had experienced lockdowns, close relatives infected, loss of some loved ones, and vaccination campaigns, to mention a few. Further work with the audience is encouraged, particularly to propose a prevention state where people can work their emotions through music, especially considering that

the effects of the pandemic are still under revision (e.g., consequences of the vaccination)

Limitations and research perspectives

It is undoubtedly the wish of any researcher who, like me, is passionate about everything that happens and is represented through rhythms and staging, that music studies continue to take place in the academy. To this end, I propose three possible scenarios for continuing the line of research that I have drawn with this thesis.

1) To understand mainstream music from the audience's perspective

Largely absent from my research thesis has been the audience perspective. I must admit that the shift to this research project came hand in hand with the COVID-19 pandemic and that, although the audience had to wait, it is certainly the ideal further step to take. In this sense, I strongly believe that an intergenerational study regarding the representations and repercussions of mainstream music on the audience has the potential to identify some routes to possible future consequences, but, above all, to new learning and teaching processes that help us to continue building knowledge from the very act of breaking down stereotypes and stigmas. The intergenerational gap is particularly relevant since new technologies and different representations seem to be changing even more rapidly over the past years. To contrast how different groups of age, gender, social class and geographical location deal with mainstream music and its representations may bring light to the preoccupation with youth generations, sexuality, and identity. Learning from history (or life stories) might have the potential to suture the intergenerational gap that our societies need to face the challenges of a changing future that, otherwise, will be even more individualized. Furthermore, audience research also opens up the opportunity to explore how

mainstream music has impacted, if at all, interpersonal relationships, that is, how love, sex or consumerism (to mention a few) are conceived through the representations and narratives of contemporary mainstream music.

2) To deeper systematise the proposed categories and model: searching for the quantitative analysis

Another limitation of this study is the nominal level acquired regarding the quantitative analysis. There is an interesting way to continue problematising the categories of gender stereotypes, as well as the subject-object/sensual-sexual model proposed in this research, that comes from the technological value. To systematize the analysis in quantitative terms is a viable scenario based on the assignment of values and search words (e.g., by algorithms) that facilitate the identification of the elements to be analysed, not only within music videos but also in other cultural products (e.g., television series). Nevertheless, a qualitative analysis should be maintained at the core of such reflections because comprehending the social reality requires digging deeper into elements that can not only be quantified but rather problematized with characteristics, values, and perceptions, among others.

3) To explore the effect of the post-feminist narrative of mainstream music concerning masculinity and interpersonal relationships

Throughout my research, I have constantly wondered about the role of postfeminist narratives in women, especially considering the level of racialisation. However, in parallel, I have maintained some questions about how interpersonal relationships are constructed based on the post-feminist narrative, present both in mainstream music and every day in society, especially about masculinity. I believe that opening up the debate on how men, in general, read

feminine representations can be interesting to explore how they construct their interpersonal relationships, both emotional and sexual. One example of this could also implicate an analysis of the social interaction that is taking place among dating apps within music as a mediator (e.g., Tuned app[23]). Gender studies, in my understanding, have their work cut out when it comes to analysing masculinities and the role of different representations among men. To start problematizing this, might also enlighten the path of the kind of feminisms (intentionally in plural) we are promoting or overlooking.

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[23] "Your private space to get closer through fun prompts, activities, and creative ways to express yourself. Share your mood, send a love note, post a snapshot, and build a digital scrapbook of your relationship one memory at a time." (see: https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.facebook.npe.tuned&hl=en_U S&gl=US)

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Annexes:

Compendium articles: English-translated preprints from Spanish

- Evolution of heteronormativity through a categorization of gender stereotypes. Analysis of the most popular music videos (second article's preprint translated)
- Between subject and sexual object: A decolonial analysis of sexualization and racial phenotyping in the most listened to commercial music in Spain (third communication's preprint translated)

Evolution of heteronormativity through a categorization of gender stereotypes. Analysis of the most popular music videos.

Abstract

The representations of masculinity and femininity within the most listened to commercial music and its evolution, based on an own elaboration of a system of 11 analytical categories of gender stereotypes that explore gender binarism, are examined. In so doing, a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of 50 video clips of the most-listened songs in two periods of time (2009 and 2019) is carried out. From a post-feminist critical perspective (**Gill**, 2007, 2017), the study verifies that gender binarism is maintained

over time, although with important nuances in both years. The results conclude that the most prominent stereotypes are western hegemonic femininity, associated above all with romantic narratives (mainly in 2009), and western pariah femininity, which dialogues with elements of greater sexualization (especially in 2019). On the other hand, western protestant masculinity is present in most of the songs associated with musical genres such as rap or hip hop, in both periods; while occidental assured masculinity, which is evident in 2019, is associated with the need to maintain the heteronormative and hegemonic representation of masculinity, even though the artist's sexuality does not fit into it. The study concludes that the dominant masculinity stereotype continues to be the heterosexual hegemonic masculinity model, in both the romantic and the sexual context, while the representation of femininity shows some confrontations with the traditional model. The study is a contribution to other studies on masculinities and femininities as it establishes categories that may be applied to different cultural products and social realities.

Keywords

Binarism; Gender; Gender stereotypes; Music; Masculinities; Femininities; Video clips; Mainstream; Content analysis; Categorizations; Heteronormativity.

Introduction and theoretical framework

In the field of cultural studies, music is recognised as the most important entertainment product (**Bennett**, 2001), not only for its versatility in communicating different social realities (**Álvarez-Cueva; Masanet; Cano-Hila**, 2020; **Guerra**, 2019; **Silva; Guerra; Santos**, 2018) but also for its strong links with adolescence and youth, a key period in the construction of identity (**Erikson**, 1994). When considering the dominant cultural production scenario -mainstream- (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015), understanding gender representations is key to making sense of the construction of the social imaginary, where both the creation of ideas and the reinforcement of behaviours take place (**Donze**, 2016; **Jerald et al.**, 2016; **Rodríguez-López**, 2015; **Sabelli**, 2011). In this sense, commercial music is understood as a cultural and media product loaded with elements that dialogue with its audiences in diverse ways, especially within the scenario of late modernity (**Giddens**, 1997). In this dialogue, the video clip

is the most consumed product by young people, whose content also tends to reinforce the reproduction of cultural and ideological habits (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2017). Added to this scenario is the fact that, in recent years, the sexualisation of culture (**Attwood**, 2006; 2009) has become an essential ingredient of cultural production and, increasingly, insistently, and explicitly, in the field of music, both among its lyrics and video clips.

According to **Illescas-Martínez** (2015), the Big Three[24] record labels control 91.6% of the so-called "dominant" or hegemonic video clips that play a key role in constructing common sense (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015). In his work, **Illescas-Martínez** (2015) argues that video representations have a particular impact on younger audiences, promoting notably pro-systemic ideological content (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2017). Added to this consideration is the neoliberal scenario in which cultural production is framed (**Evans; Riley; Shankar**, 2010) which can, in turn, generate the false impression of greater democratisation in gender representations when, in reality, traditional representations tend to keep maintained, although tinged with certain slogans that promote pseudo-self-determination (**Gill**, 2009; **Guarinos**, 2012; **Masanet**, 2016).

Several studies have analysed the configuration of different violent and sexist representations and messages in music video clips (**Álvarez-Cueva**; **Guerra**, 2021; **Hormigos-Ruiz**; **Gómez-Escarda**; **Perdió-Oliver**, 2018), especially in traditionally controversial music genres such as rap (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015; **Johnson et al**, 1995; **Mazer; Gelain; Guerra**, 2018; **Schneider**, 2011; **Smiler; Shewmaker; Hearon**, 2017; **Wright; Qureshi**, 2015), rock (**Bleich; Zillmann**; **Weaver**, 1991; **Dhoest; Herreman; Wasserbauer**, 2015; **Eastman**, 2012; **Frith; Goodwin**, 1990; **Regev**, 2013) and, lately, reggaeton (**Araüna; Tortajada; Figueras-Maz**, 2019; **Goldman**, 2017; **Marshall**, 2008; **Martínez-Noriega**, 2014; **Thillet**, 2006).

In commercial music in general, and the most listened to music in particular, gender stereotypes continue to be transversally present, as an implicit perpetuation of the patriarchal system (**Soler-Campo; Oriola-Requena**, 2019). The role of women is reduced to two categories: either 'diva' or 'accessory', although in both cases seduction and sensuality are indispensable requirements (**Rodríguez-López**, 2015); while masculinity

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[24] Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, Warner Music Group

transgresses towards representations that relate more to impact and what is considered part of the spectacle. Whether as a diva or complement, the woman serves as a hook to capture attention (**Guarinos**, 2012; **Ramos-López**, 2003) and the role she plays afterwards becomes secondary.

This study starts from the premise that the consumption of music videos contributes to strengthening gender ideologies and stereotypes, especially among adolescents (**Jerald et al**., 2016), because it articulates the visual component that aims to impact the viewer (**Pérez-Rufí**, 2017). In this sense, we understand commercial music and its video clips not only as cultural products but also as the result of a dominant industry that loads meanings and information that, in turn, impact the consumption habits and behaviour of its recipients (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015; 2017; **Rich et al.**, 1998; **Roberts; Foehr**, 2008; **Vandenbosch; Vervloessem; Eggermont**, 2013). Therefore, the study suggests that going deeper into the construction of different representations could generate processes of reflection and analysis that, especially in the case of music, could also function as a tool for raising awareness (**Hormigos-Ruiz; Gómez-Escarda; Perdió-Oliver**, 2018) about how we construct the collective imaginary and the implications that this may have on the perpetuation of ideas, prejudices, and gender roles.

For all these reasons, it is considered relevant to analyse what and how these stereotypes are, how they are represented and whether they have changed over the years. Based on gender binarism, the aim is to determine the characteristics that pigeonhole the representations of singers or musical groups within the collective imaginary and to explore these stereotypes to problematise and deconstruct them. The consideration of the analysis of the artist or musical groups responds to the leading role they play in the representation among their video clips.

Method and materials

The study aims to analyse and evaluate the representations of femininity and masculinity, as well as their evolution over a decade, in the most popular commercial music video clips. To this end, a quantitative and qualitative content analysis (**Krippendorff,** 2004) is carried out to understand the data as symbolic phenomena loaded with meanings, references, values and possible intentions. The study also incorporates strategies from Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory, which facilitates a dialogue with the units of analysis and the data, so enables the

representations themselves to facilitate their reading and subsequent classification.

The empirical orientation of content analysis, its relationship with symbolic phenomena, and its ability to develop its methodology for research purposes (**Krippendorff,** 2004) make it a relevant method for linking qualitative and quantitative elements that we can identify in music video clips. Likewise, the concepts of postfeminist sensibility proposed by **Gill** (2007; 2017) are included as a tool to unravel other present characteristics that are interwoven in mainstream discourses, some of which can promote patterns, consumption habits and certain behaviours among the audience (**Soler-Campo; Oriola-Requena**, 2019). Thus, this study constructs categories of analysis that take as their starting point the two binary categories of femininity and masculinity, to which the post-feminist perspective is incorporated (**Gill**, 2007; 2017) and also other expressions of femininity and masculinity explored by various authors (**Anderson**, 2002; **Bridges; Pascoe**, 2014; **Connell**, 2005; **Connell; Messerschmidt**, 2005; **Gomillion; Giuliano**, 2011; **Parsons**, 1949; **Poynting; Noble; Tabar**, 2011; and **Schippers**, 2007).

For the elaboration of the categories of analysis (table 1), we start with Gramsci's concept of hegemony (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015) and the gender binarism based on emphasised femininity and hegemonic masculinity (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell; Messerschmidt**, 2005). Employing grounded theory (**Glaser; Strauss**, 1967) the different categories of analysis were incorporated, and the same binary logic was applied to them, deliberately making sure that one stereotype (feminine) responds to the other (masculine), and vice versa. Thus, the following categories of femininities and masculinities were established building up the work of **Bridges and Pascoe**, (2014), **Poynting, Noble and Tabar**, (2011) and **Schippers** (2007), and are pariah and hybrid femininities, and protestant and hybrid masculinities, respectively. The last categories, incorporated to include other types of stereotypical representations, dialogue with the works of **Gomillion and Giuliano** (2011), and **Anderson** (2002), and are: dike and trans femininities, in addition to sissy, trans and assured western masculinities, the latter as a unique case that is identified in masculinity. The specific characteristics of the 11 proposed categories can be reviewed in Table 1.

Table 1: Categories of analysis (characteristics)

FEMININITIES	MASCULINITIES
1. Western Hegemonic Femininity - The model depicts a delicate, submissive, care-oriented heterosexual woman. Situations of men or other women dominating her may occur (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell and Messerschmidt**, 2005).	**6. Western Hegemonic Masculinity -** The toned, bold and aggressive man. This is the type of man who appears elegant and glamorous, generally young, uninhibited, consumerist, powerful, narcissistic, happy and hedonistic (**Connell**, 2005; **Connell and Messerschmidt**, 2005).
2. Western Pariah Femininity - The heterosexual woman who is not socially desired or is not taken as an example to be followed because some of her qualities are outside the hegemonic and normative framework of femininity, either because of her skin colour, body shape or unfeminine behaviour, such as aggressiveness and episodic sexual celebration. (**Schippers**, 2007)	**7. Western Protestant Masculinity -** encompasses masculine representations that: 1. challenge the Western hegemonic pattern (working-class background, ethnicity or racialisation) and 2. are associated with undesirable social issues. It is a type of representation that continues to uphold a hierarchy of power, especially concerning women (**Poynting et al.,** 2011).
3. Western Hybrid Femininity - The generally white, slim, sensual woman who takes care of her body and represents herself as self-determined while retaining various patterns of idealised femininity (such as make-up, perfect hair, dresses, heels and jewellery, among others), while maintaining, at the same time, a generally elegant, jovial and sensual demeanour. (**Gill**, 2007, 2017).	**8. Western Hybrid Masculinity -** The man who incorporates some of the elements associated with marginalised or subordinate masculinities and, at times, some femininities. This type of masculinity unveils a new and positive representation that moves away from the aggression, brute force, and irrationality of toxic masculinity. It thus includes masculinity that is represented as vulnerable (**Bridges and Pascoe**, 2014).

4. Dike (Lesbian) Femininity - A woman who demonstrates a homosexual inclination in her (re)presentation, without relinquishing her feminine corporeality. This includes representations associated with both femme and butch (**Gomillion and Giuliano**, 2011).	**9. Sissy masculinity (effeminate) -** A man who demonstrates a homosexual inclination without renouncing his male body (**Gomillion and Giuliano,** 2011).
5. Trans-femininity - A person who does not fit into a cisgender identity. In their representation, although they may share characteristics of other femininities or masculinities, the difference lies in the fact that this woman (regardless of her passing) is still defined/differentiated by the hegemonic normative discourse as: "trans woman".	**10. Trans-masculinity -** A person who does not fit into a cisgender identity. In their representation, although they may share characteristics of other femininities or masculinities, the difference lies in the fact that this man (regardless of his passing) is still defined/differentiated by the hegemonic normative discourse as: "trans man".
A counterpart is not identified in the case of femininities because the preoccupation with maintaining the hegemonic normative canon is restricted to the case of mainstream male commercial artists.	**11. Western Assured Masculinity -** A heteronormative representation of a man who, despite having publicly declared his homosexuality, maintains in his (re)presentations patterns of hegemonic masculinity (**Anderson**, 2002).
Not Determined' (ND) for cases where it cannot be classified under the above.	**Not Determined' (ND)** for cases where it cannot be classified under the above.

(Own elaboration based on **Connell**, 2005; **Connell y Messerschmidt**, 2005; **Schippers**, 2007; **Poynting, Noble, y Tabar**, 2011; **Gill**, 2007, 2017; **Bridges y Pascoe**, 2014; **Gomillion y Giuliano**, 2011; **Anderson**, 2002)

Once the 11 categories of analysis had been defined, inter-observer reliability was calculated with 10% of the total sample (**Krippendorff**, 2004), obtaining an agreement of 0.80, which indicates a good level of reliability (**Krippendorff**, 2004; **Lombard; Snyder-Duch; Bracken**, 2002).

As a sample for analysis, the 10 most listened to songs from the three platforms/media were selected:

- Los40Principales Spain (dated 26 December 2009 and 28 December 2019, respectively);
- Billboard (Hot 100 songs [year-end charts] for 2009 and 2019); and
- Spotify (Top hits of 2009 and 2019), based on their rankings of the most popular songs.

The next step consisted of eliminating repetitions and overlaps between them, both in the first and second periods, to obtain the final sample of N=50 video clips of the most popular songs in 2009 (n= 25) and 2019 (n= 25). To carry out the analysis we used the official video clip of the artists within the YouTube platform and considered only the representation of the lead singer, man and/or woman, as well as duets, groups, or collaborations (where more than three artists and/or musical groups are linked and perform a joint production in a production).

Of the total of 50 videos, 15 correspond to women soloists, 9 to men soloists, 11 are duets (man-woman, woman-woman, man-man), 5 are men groups, and 4 include at least one woman artist. Finally, in what is categorised as collaborations, the study counts a total of 3 videos that include only men artists and 3 videos of mixed collaborations.

Analysis

The first section presents the data from the quantitative content analysis. Table 2 (Femininities and masculinities by year and genre of music) counts (absolute frequencies) the gender stereotypes detected in each music video according to the 11 categories designed.

Quantitative content analysis

Firstly, the representation of women is 48.52% (n=33). Of this figure, women artist performs as a soloist in 30% (n=15) of the cases, while in duets the percentage is 22% (n=11) and, to a lesser extent, she is also part of mixed groups with 8% (n=4), as well as in mixed collaborations with 6% (n=3). In duets (n=11), 90.9% corresponds to productions shared with a men artist (i.e. only one case corresponds to a duet of two women artists). In the case of the representation of men artists, their overall representation is 51.47% (n=35), which is slightly higher in the cases of women artists.

However, men artists are on stage as a soloist in 18% (n=9), as well as in all-men groups with 10% (n=5), and all-men collaborations with 6% (n=3). To this must be added the values of duets, which, as indicated for the representation of women edges, is 22% (n=11), as well as 8% (n=4) of mixed groups and 6% (n=3) of mixed collaborations.

However, when analysing these numbers through the two time-slices, we identified that from 2009 to 2019 the representation of women solo artists drops by -50% (2009 n=10 / 2019 n=5), while mixed duets increase by 167% (2009 n=3 / 2019 n=8). The mixed collaborations, on the other hand, fall by -50% for 2019, while mixed groups disappear for the same period. On the other hand, men solo artists slightly increase their presence from 2009 (n=4) to 2019 (n=5), by 25%, as well as in the video clips of all-men groups (2009 n=2 / 2019 n=3), which, incidentally, do not have a women's counterpart in any of the periods analysed. Finally, it is also evident that collaborations between men artists only take place in 2019, which, once again, is an isolated case of men representation. It can thus be seen that the representation of women remains a minority in terms of artistic forms (formats) (i.e., their presence in all-women duets, groups, or collaborations, which generally relegates them to two options: performance as a soloist and/or in duets, the latter generally performed with men artists). On the contrary, in the representation of men, a greater variety of artistic formats is observed, which includes both men-only and mixed formats. According to table 2, the total number of stereotypes identified does not correspond to the number of units of analysis (N=50) in the study. Instead, a total of 69 stereotypes are corroborated, of which 47.8% (n=33) correspond to stereotypes of femininities, while the remaining 52.1% (n=36) are identified as stereotypes of masculinities.

Regarding the cases identified as stereotypical femininities, the first place goes to western hegemonic femininity, with 51.5% (n=17), although it shows a decrease of 45.4% in its representation towards 2019. This stereotype, however, in both periods, is mainly associated with the pop music genre (among all its variants), with an exception with the hip hop music genre (3.3% n=1) for 2019. On the other hand, the western hybrid femininity stereotype ranks second in the number of identified cases, with 21.2% (n=7) of representations although it does not vary much from one period to the next (33.3%), it falls within the pop music genre. Furthermore, 18.1% (n=6) of the identified cases of western pariah femininity are also associated with the pop music genre, represented by 12.1% (n=4) and, to a

lesser extent, with alternative/indie and trap music genres with 0.33% (n=1), respectively. Overall, this stereotype shows a 50% decrease by 2019. Finally, within the representations of women artists, 9.09% (n=3) were not associated with any gender stereotype category.

Table 2. Femininities and masculinities by year and musical genre

Music genre/year	Femininities												Masculinities													
	Heg. O		PO		HO		D		T		ND		Heg. O		PO		HO		S		T		AO		ND	
	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019	2009	2019
Pop	10	5	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Hip hop	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rap	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Alternative	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trap	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Reggaeton	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R&B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total stereotypes*	11	6	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	13	1	4	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3

*Does not correspond to N=50 because in some of the videos there is more than one stereotype.

Most of the representations of masculinities coincide with the stereotype of western hegemonic masculinity within 58.3% (n=21) of cases. While the musical genre most associated with this stereotype of masculinity is also pop (33.3%, n=12), this dominant stereotype, unlike femininities, is not pigeonholed solely into one musical genre, but is also echoed in the musical genres of hip hop, with 11.1% (n=4), alternative/indie, with 5.55% (n=2) and rap, reggaeton and R&B with 2.77% (n=1) each. Furthermore, it is interesting that the stereotype of Western hegemonic masculinity increased its presence from 2009 to 2019 by 62.5%. It is also interesting to note that the representation of the stereotype of western protestant masculinity increases from 2.77% (n=1) in 2009 to 11.1% (n=4) in 2019 (i.e., it increases its presence by 75%, in addition to the fact that its representation is linked, especially, to the musical genres of hip hop with 8.33% and rap with 5.55%). Regarding masculinities, it is also interesting to see the 0.33% increase in the representation of the western hybrid masculinity stereotype,

from 5.55% (n=2) of cases in 2009 to 8.33% (n=3) in 2019. To our surprise, these representations were found in the music genres of hip hop and rap, with 5.55% (n=2), respectively, and only one case concerning the music genre of rock (2.77%). Added to this data is the representation of the assured western masculinity which in 2019 is evidenced in one single musical track associated with the pop genre (2.77% n=1), while the stereotype of sissy masculinity is also represented in 2019 with one single track (2.77% n=1) although, in this case, the musical genre to which it is associated is rap (fused with country music). Finally, as in the case of femininities, 8.33% (n=3) of representations of masculinities were not associated with any of the classifications.

If we take into consideration that the first data from the units of analysis suggested a greater presence of women soloists (n=15) in comparison to men soloists (n=9), the process of analysis makes it clear that the representation of masculinity continues to be in the majority since by including both groups (n=5) and collaborations (n=3) exclusively with men, the representation of femininity is relegated to solo performances (n=15), as no women-only groups or collaborations are identified. The only spaces where femininities are otherwise present are in performances within duets (n=11), mixed groups (n=4) or mixed collaborations (n=3), shared with men artists. Thus, if the same duets, groups, and mixed collaborations are taken into consideration to also assess the representation of masculinity, it is precisely masculinity the one that ends up dominating the different forms (formats) of representation in the most listened to music. This consideration is relevant when considering that, for example, in duets (which represent 22% of the forms of representation, both for masculinities and femininities), femininity is mostly of the western hegemonic type, while masculinity corresponds to western hegemony, giving rise to the relationship that Connell (2005) maintains of male domination over women, a relationship that we problematise in greater detail in the qualitative analysis section.

Qualitative content analysis

In this section of the analysis, the gender stereotypes raised are linked to the musical genres and their most salient characteristics. For this purpose, some images/frames are taken from some of the video clips analysed and included to illustrate the findings. To facilitate the reading of each category, the analysis is divided into two parts. The first is dedicated to femininities and the second to masculinities.

a) Femininities: from the emphasis on submissiveness to the masculine-sexual female

In the video clips analysed, western hegemonic femininity has more presence (n=11) in the first period, especially concerning the pop music genre. These representations are mainly associated with romantic narratives, either celebrating love or lamenting its loss. These data dialogue with the study by Illescas-Martínez (2015), in the sense that video clips that emphasise western hegemonic femininity are accompanied by a romantic narrative that, according to the author, corresponds to the majority of video clips in the music industry.

Although the presence of these representations decreases (n=7) in 2019, the existing references still follow the romantic narrative. While this does not limit western hegemonic femininity to always be framed romantically, the narrative accompanying examples such as Nelly Furtado with 'Manos al aire', Miley Cyrus 'The climb' and Taylor Swift 'Love story', in 2009; and Camila Cabello, with her song 'Señorita' (see image 1) in 2019, as an interesting example because it corresponds to the stereotype of the woman in love and need of the male figure.

These constructions of hegemonic femininity correspond to the social ideal of desired femininity. Although other studies have pointed out that the contemporary hegemonic representation of women tends to be one of increased sexualisation, self-determination and the 'up for it' of post-feminism (**Gill**, 2009; 2012; **Vandenbosch; Eggermont**, 2012), this study suggests that western hegemonic femininity fulfils its role as a hegemonic stereotype to the extent that it fits traditional patterns of socially desired femininity, including care, submissiveness and gentleness (i.e., a set of characteristics that facilitate male or other women's domination over her) (**Connell**, 2005).

Image 1. Music video 'Señorita', by Shawn Mendes and Camila Cabello, 2019 [00:01:05].

Western pariah femininity (**Schippers**, 2007), on the other hand, is particularly identified in 2009 (n=4), represented by figures such as Lady Gaga with the songs 'Poker face' and 'Bad romance', and Fergie (from Black Eyed Peas) with the songs 'I gotta feeling' and 'Boom peeling pow'. In these pop music videos, the sexualisation (**Attwood**, 2007; **Gill**, 2017) that is incorporated is glamorous and youthful, tinged with a constant apology for partying (**Illescas-Martínez**, 2015). In 2019, the stereotypical western pariah femininity is identified in the music genre of hip hop and rap (n=2), with Ariana Grande '7 rings' song, in addition to Billie Eilish's music video 'Bad guy', which corresponds to the alternative/indie music genre. However, in the case of '7 rings', as it can be seen in image 2, sexualisation and provocation are evident, while in 'Bad guy' the reading is more of an artistic, social and symbolic claim (image 3).

Image 2. Ariana Grande's '7 rings' music video, 2019 [00:01:43].

Imagen 3. Videoclip 'Bad guy', de Billie Eilish, 2019 [00:01:29].

Following the work of **Schippers** (2007), our study argues that the representations identified correspond to the type of woman who is not socially desired or is not taken as an example to be followed, especially

because of her unfeminine, liberal and indomitable behaviour. Likewise, this femininity often corresponds to song lyrics that mention the words 'bitch' or 'bitches' as a form of vindication of terminology that has traditionally been pejorative. In this sense, we agree with other works that analyse the double reading where a certain construction of femininity is praised or reproached (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015).

Western hybrid femininity corresponds to the stereotype that is most homogenised in both periods, it does not undergo a substantial change in the number of representations.

Image 4. Music video 'Tu x mi, yo x ti', by Rosalía and Ozuna, 2019 [00:02:24].

Both in 2009 (n=4) and 2019 (n=3), this category is mostly linked to the pop music genre (and its variants: pop country, pop rock, pop Indian), with the only exception in 2019 in the figure of Rosalía and her reggaeton (urban music) video clip 'Tu x mi, yo x ti', performed with Ozuna. It is relevant to highlight the case of Rosalía since, in general, Western hybrid femininity, in this study, accompanies the representations of female soloists (see image 4). In fact, throughout her video clip, Rosalía navigates between western hybrid femininity and western hegemonic femininity. The latter, although her identification is low, remains connected to the romantic scene in the portrayals she constructs with Ozuna.

The study shows that the slim, young, and sensual body is a common element in the identified representations, which corresponds to **Gill**'s (2007; 2017) post-feminist sensibility, although the key differentiator is that this stereotypical femininity does not abruptly break with the social conventions of traditional and socially expected femininity (**Fernández-Llaneza**, 2015**; Shields-Dobson**, 2014). Finally, the study does not identify any dike or trans representation within the units of analysis.

b) Masculinities: always dominant, either romantic or seductive.

In this study, western hegemonic masculinity is found in several musical genres, including pop (and its variations: ballad, electro or dance), hardcore, alternative/indie, reggae, reggaeton and hip hop, although to a lesser extent in the latter two. This stereotype, moreover, is present in both periods, as shown in Table 2 (2009: n=8), increasing by 2019 (n=13). An interesting relationship becomes evident when identifying that when the western hegemonic masculinity stereotype is on stage together with a female artist - in duets - the songs tend to be romantic. Therefore, the stereotype of western hegemonic masculinity is generally in the company of the stereotype of western hegemonic femininity. Examples of this relationship are the songs by Alejandro Sanz and Alicia Keys: 'Looking for paradise', Shawn Mendes and Camila Cabello: 'Señorita', and Bradley Cooper with Lady Gaga: 'Shallow'. The only atypical case in this relationship takes place with Black Eyed Peas, where the singers' representation corresponds to the stereotype of hegemonic masculinity, while Fergie, as previously mentioned, rather represents the stereotype of western pariah femininity. Here, however, it is emphasised that the group is made up of three men, so the romantic figure of the duet could not take place and, consequently, the representation may be read as simple 'party buddies'.

Western Protestant masculinity, on the other hand, is directly associated with the music genres of hip hop and rap. This result aligns with other works that discuss the construction of negative imagery around these music genres (**Schneider**, 2011; **Connell**, 2014), especially because of their link to working-class scenarios or racialised characters (**Poynting; Noble; Tabar**, 2011). Table 2 reflects one example in 2009, while in 2019 this stereotype is more prevalent (n=4). A particularity is that this representation is performed alone, either as a soloist or in an all-men group. Although there is a slight nuance concerning the stereotype of western hybrid masculinity, in the song 'Options' by NSG ft Tion Wayne, the protestant stereotype continues to be dominant. The music videos in this category are 'Strike a pose' by Young T & Bugsey ft Aitch, 'Sicko mode' (see image 5) by Travis Scott, and 'Right round' by Flo Rida.

Imagen 5. Videoclip 'Sicko mode', de Travis Scott, 2019 [00:02:00].

In contrast, the western hybrid masculinity stereotype, as Table 2 indicates, is present in both 2009 (n=2) and 2019 (n=3), with an increase in the latter period. Milow's video clips 'Ayo technology' and Fito & Fitipaldis' 'Before I count ten' are key examples in 2009. While, for 2019, the representative music videos are 'Old town road' by Lil Nas X ft Billy Ray Cyrus, 'Ladbroke grove' by AJ Tracey and 'Wow' by Post Malone. Interestingly, four of the five videos fall into the rap (or rap fusion) music genre. The study argues that a key feature to explain this relationship lies in the configuration of representation and narrative, as humour, male submissiveness or the statement of personal values transforms what might be anticipated as hegemonic or protestant masculinity (due to the social connotation of the music genre), into hybrid masculinity **(Bridges; Pascoe**, 2014). An example of this reading is in the music video 'Old town road' where, between Billy Ray Cyrus' country style, pink denim attire and lounge choreography, a representation is woven that differs from the constant objectification that the rap music genre usually has as an ingredient of its representation.

Imagen 6. Videoclip 'Old town road', de Lil Nas X ft Billy Ray Cyrus, 2019 [00:02:05].

Image 7. Music video 'Tabú', by Pablo Alborán and Ava Max, 2019 [00:02:43].

In this same musical theme, we find the only representation of sissy masculinity, in Lil Nas X (see image 6), who is transcendental in determining the positive representation of masculinity, especially within a generally controversial musical genre such as rap. Trans-masculinity is not identified within the study.

Finally, one case of assured western masculinity is identified, which corresponds to Pablo Alborán and Ava Max's music video 'Tabú' (see image 7). Although the news and publication of his homosexuality took place in 2020, the case of Pablo Alborán is still relevant insofar as he has sought and maintains today a representation that fits the patterns of hegemonic masculinity. The video clip 'Tabú' is not only relevant in the composition and role of the hero he plays with Ava Max, but in the final fight, the elements of sexualisation and corporeality typically normative of hegemonic masculinity are brought to the fore. The case of Pablo Alborán is like that of other artists in the music industry who, despite having declared their sexual orientation several years ago, have not allowed themselves to represent or allude to it in their music videos (e.i., Ricky Martin or Adam Lambert)

Discussion and conclusions

This study presents two types of analysis, quantitative and qualitative, based on a system of categories that explore the binarism of gender stereotypes to problematise these representations in the production of commercial mainstreaming music, specifically in the video clips of the most listened to songs in two time periods (2009 and 2019). With this objective, the categorisation of 11 gender stereotypes has been designed, among which the following stand out: Western hegemonic femininity, Western hybrid femininity and Western pariah femininity; in addition to Western

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hegemonic masculinity, Western protestant masculinity and Western assured masculinity.

Within the quantitative analysis, the study identifies 69 gender stereotypes in the total number of video clips in the sample (N=50). It is observed that the representation of masculinity encompasses more forms of artistic production and creation, since it is transversally present both as solo artists (18%), in duets with other artists especially women (22%), as well as in groups (10%) and collaborations (6%) only with men, and groups (8%) and mixed collaborations (6%), either with women artists or with other musical groups. In contrast, women's representation is limited to solo performances (30%) or duets (22%), mostly with men artists. Therefore, the representation of femininity encompasses even fewer options and forms of artistic production (Ramos-López, 2003).

The study points out that the first place of stereotypes of femininity corresponds to that of Western hegemonic femininity (51.5%), generally associated with the pop music genre and in two key formats: as a solo artist or in a duet with a man artist. The second stereotype of femininity is that of the Western hybrid femininity (21.2%), which is pigeonholed into the pop music genre. In third place, the study identifies the stereotype of Western pariah femininity (18.1%), associated with the music genres of pop, alternative/indie, and trap.

In the case of masculinity stereotypes, the study highlights that most representations correspond to the stereotype of Western hegemonic masculinity (58.3%), mainly associated with the music genre of pop (33.3%) but which, unlike femininity stereotypes, is also identified in the music genres of hip hop (11.1%), alternative/indie (5.55%) and the genres of rap, reggaeton and R&B (2.77%). A noteworthy fact about this dominant stereotype is the fact that its presence increases by 62.5% in 2019. Similarly, the study notes a 75% increase in the representation of the Western Protestant masculinity stereotype in the same year, linked above all to the musical genres of hip hop (8.33%) and rap (5.55%). The stereotype of Western hybrid masculinity, which also increases slightly in 2019, is in turn associated with the musical genres of hip hop and rap (5.55%), as well as a rock (2.77%), although to a lesser extent. In fourth place, the study highlights the stereotype of assured Western masculinity, which is identified only in 2019 and is associated with pop (2.77%). Finally,

the stereotype of sissy masculinity, with one case in the same period (2019), is associated with the rap music genre (in fusion with country).

It is therefore concluded that there is an evolution in the representation of stereotypes of femininity and masculinity in mainstream commercial music. It is identified that the representation of women is more closely related to traditional social connotations and, in this exercise, largely complies with hegemonic norms and standards. Western hybrid femininity dialogues with elements of **Gill**'s (2017) postfeminist sensibility and is framed in a discourse that is vindicatory - especially of sexuality - yet, at the same time, contradictory (**De-Miguel**, 2019). On the other hand, the stereotype of Western pariah femininity is misaligned with the normative framework of traditional femininity and is not represented romantically. On the contrary, the stereotype that accompanies the sentimental woman continues to be mainly the hegemonic one defined by **Connell** (2005) as emphasised femininity, which requires or allows someone (especially a man) to take care of her, save her or dominate her. In this sense, an example of evolution highlighted by the present study is Lady Gaga, because in 2009 her stereotype corresponds to Western pariah femininity, while in 2019 in a duet with Bradley Cooper, it shifts to the Western hegemonic type. In short, it seems that female autonomy and freedom are not compatible with love.

In the representation of masculinity, the study argues that masculinity is still centred on the hegemonic heterosexual male canon, both romantically and sexually. This does not exclude, however, the increased presence of other types of masculinities in commercial music, especially in historically controversial music genres such as rap or hip hop. Despite this, the problematic and socially criticised man of Western protestant masculinity does coincide with these music genres, which also corresponds with its representation in other current music genres considered misogynist, such as reggaeton and trap (**Guarinos**, 2012; **Martínez-Noriega**, 2014). However, it should also be noted that a racialised musical genre is not always synonymous of misogynist content (**Araüna; Tortajada; Figueras-Maz**, 2019). In this sense, hybrid masculinity opens a new mode of representation within the aforementioned music genres, hand in hand with sissy masculinity. Finally, the stereotype of assured Western masculinity is key when it comes to problematising the low presence of homosexual representations of men, not only in the context of the music industry but in media production in general.

This reflection goes in line with other works that put into context how women's homosexuality continues to satisfy men's fantasies (**Bourdieu**, 2000; **Gill**, 2009), which reinforces the conclusion that the representation of hegemonic masculinity is still strongly present. It is relevant to mention that when gender identities are studied, the problematisation of stereotypes continues to respond to the characteristics of the social imaginary promoted especially by the media (**Schneider**, 2011). Therefore, each category presented responds to the stereotypical characteristics of femininities and masculinities, and this is relevant especially concerning trans femininity and trans masculinity, because it allows, on the one hand, to identify the characteristics with which they are associated and, on the other, to discuss and problematise them.

In short, the classification of gender stereotypes presented in this study incorporates and describes several characteristics of both stereotypical femininity and masculinity that the music industry and young consumers might understand as breaking away from traditional models when they are, in fact, updates of them. This ultimately contributes to maintaining the hegemonic cultural configuration in the music industry.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

Firstly, the study has sought to categorise gender stereotypes to facilitate further discussion and reflection on them. In this sense, it is based on a binary formulation which, while simplifying, is the first step in addressing western gender representations and therefore requires revision and adaptation to be incorporated into future analyses of representations that are not framed within the Westernisation of the music industry or cultural production.

Secondly, the study argues that including these categories in future analyses, from a gender perspective, is a challenge we have within the research field since, especially in mainstream cultural products, these representations continue to be relegated or loaded with symbolism - even parodies - that distance the consumer from reality and overshadow the issues surrounding gender identity. For example, the study highlights two novel cases to take into consideration about mainstream commercial music: the video clips of Thalia and Pablo Vittar - "Tímida", to deepen trans representations, or Bad Bunny's - "Yo perreo sola" to problematise the stereotypical and sexualised parody of women.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that, although we employed a most listened-to music sample, the sample of songs analysed in this study is framed in a specific context. Therefore, although significant, the results are not generalisable. It is important to remember that, depending on the list of songs on the different audio-visual content platforms, music genres vary from country to country and from year to year. Therefore, as this is a first exercise in identifying stereotypes within mainstream commercial music, future work could focus on analysing a specific musical genre, as well as incorporating other variables of analysis such as racial phenotype, age, and socioeconomic level, to deepen the area of cultural studies in general, and that of music in particular. In this sense, an intersectional perspective (**Crenshaw**, 1989) can contribute greatly to the problematisation of these categories and other elements present in cultural and media products. Likewise, it is considered key to analyse in future research the representation of other participants -both women and men - who are part of the video clip (or other cultural product to be analysed), that is, background participants and extras, to enrich the reflection on gender roles, especially from a decolonial perspective (**Quijano**, 2011) and the hierarchies of power that may take place.

References (see original published article)

Between subject and sexual object: A decolonial analysis of sexualisation and racial phenotype in the most listened to commercial music in spain.

Abstract

This communication aims to explore the representations of video clips of the most listened to songs in Spain, in both years 2009 and 2019, considering two variables: 1) sexualisation (**Attwood**, 2006) and 2) racial phenotype bias (**Maddox**, 2004; **Maddox and Perry**, 2018). Drawing from a decolonial perspective (**Lugones**, 2008) - in dialogue with both intersectionality (**Crenshaw**, 1989) and postfeminist (**Gill**, 2007, 2009a, 2017) perspectives - a quantitative and qualitative content analysis (**Krippendorff**, 2004) of *N*=50 video clips is conducted. The analysis is organised into two groups: 1) artist(s), where the representation of only singers is considered, and 2) other participants accompanying the video clip. This second group is subdivided into: 2.1) protagonist participants and 2.2) general participants. In this paper, a theoretical line is drawn that facilitates the discussion between subjectification and objectification of the sexualised body. The main results highlight that women's sexualisation, in general, is largely in comparison to men's sexualisation. In the group of protagonist participants, it is identified that, in 2009, most sexualised bodies were white women and white, brown and mixed-race men, whereas, by 2019, the only cases were mixed-race bodies, both women and men. In the general participant group, the most objectified bodies, of both women and men, were phenotypically black in both years. The study points out that the constant objectification of racialised bodies not only has a greater tendency but, in its exercise, sustains and reinforces structures of power and domination that undermine these representations, even though many of

them may pursue the same ideals that the artists' representations supposedly promote.

Keywords

Sexualisation; subjectification, objectification, racialisation, content analysis.

Introduction

Contemporary commercial music production is centred on the three major labels: Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, and Warner Music Group, which constitute 91.6% of mainstream music videos, understood by **Illescas** (2015) as a mixture of music, sex, and spectacle. Following this logic, it is possible to anticipate why commercial music production generally forms part of the sexualisation of Western culture (**Attwood**, 2009), whose characteristics have been explored from different angles and in various spaces, such as advertising (**Gill**, 2003, 2009b), sports (**Calogero and Jost**, 2011), art (**Mcnair**, 2009) and, within the latter, music (**Álvarez-Cueva et al**., 2021; **Frisby and Aubrey**, 2012; **Kalof**, 1999), to cite a few examples.

Concerning commercial music, the sexual representations promoted by the most popular video clips have been discussed, as not only are they increasingly explicit, but they often transmit ambiguous messages that increase the self-objectification of the body. Thus, for example, it is possible to find cases of constant objectification of women's bodies in a denigrating way (**Eze**, 2020) and, on the other hand, vindicating representations that take place in the field of self-sexualisation, as a form of empowerment (**Alvarez-Cueva and Guerra**, 2020). However, in one way or another, these constructions generally continue to reinforce both gender role stereotypes and the sexual behaviours associated with them (**Karsay et al**., 2018; **Vandenbosch et al**., 2013).

Precisely, one of the characteristics that arouse most interest in the representations made by commercial music or the "song of consumption"[25], as **Guarinos** (2012) defines it, is the impact that this type of cultural product has on its audiences. However, as with the contradictions present in

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[25] Translated from the Spanish "canción de consumo"

feminism and in the neoliberal scenario in which most current cultural products are inserted (**Evans and Riley**, 2014), reading between the lines of the different representations and how they are constructed can facilitate the identification of social structures and beliefs that still marginalise, discriminate, and belittle, especially racialised social groups.

This paper starts from the idea that the most popular music videos contribute, precisely, to reinforce gender ideologies and stereotypes (**Álvarez-Cueva et al**., 2021; **Jerald et al**., 2016; **Pérez Rufí,** 2017; **Vandenbosch et al.**, 2013). In this exercise, the configuration of their representations is explored from a decolonial (**Lugones**, 2008) and intersectional (**Crenshaw**, 1989) perspective, not only considering the artists but also including the representation of other people who are part of the video clip. To this end, what **Maddox** (2004) calls the racial phenotype bias is incorporated.

In this communication, a line is drawn that differentiates the sexualised subject from the sexualised object, closely following **Fredrickson and Roberts'** (1997) theory of objectification, **Gill**'s (2017) elements of postfeminist sensibility and habitus among gender relations (**Bourdieu**, 1988; **Skeggs**, 2004). The aim is to determine how sexualisation is represented in the video clips of the most listened to commercial music in Spain, and whether it presents differences between the people who make up the representations of these cultural products. To this end, the study develops a quantitative and qualitative content analysis (**Krippendorff**, 2004) of a total of *N*=50 video clips, from 2009 and 2019 combined.

This paper is organised with a first background section, where the theoretical context and the state of the question are established; the methodology section, where both the study sample and the analysis carried out are detailed; and, finally, the results section, where the findings are presented and discussed.

Background

The saturation of sexual images within contemporary cultural production has resulted in much of Western society acquiring a degree of immunity toward them (**Mcnair**, 2009). This, in turn, seems to have given the green light to ever greater explicitness in the representation of women's and men's bodies. If we add to this dynamic the characteristics of post-feminist sensibilities - analysed and criticised by **Gill** (2007, 2017) - which advocate,

among other things, greater sexual freedom as a synonym for empowerment (especially in the case of women), it becomes complex to discuss which representations correspond to a vindication of the sensual and sexual subject, and which others, rather, are a pseudo-modernised and pseudo-feminist continuity of previous objectifying practices.

Some works in the area of cultural studies have brought to the table the discussion of gender stereotypes (**Álvarez-Cueva et al**., 2021) which, as with modern self-determination, tend to fall into clichés and, instead of contributing to a fairer and more egalitarian representation of society, sustain the structure of the capitalist world-system (**Illescas Martínez**, 2014), and contribute to reinforcing hierarchies of domination and marginalisation.

A similar dynamic is evident in communication studies. The work of **Schneider** (2011), for example, discusses the framework of censorship that exists in the rap music genre and how, through the constant negative narrative towards its artists and audience, rejectionist behaviours are also reinforced and constantly permeate society, thus intensifying rejection - not only towards the music genre but towards all its participants. (fans). This rejection, as the author points out, can also be understood within the historical continuity of systematised racism in the United States. In a similar work, **Martínez Noriega** (2014) discusses the dynamics of stereotyping and marginalisation that take place in Mexico and that are especially directed towards young fans of the urban music genre of reggaetón.

Popular culture in general, and commercial music in particular, function as mechanisms of sociological documentation (**dos Santos Silva and Medeiros**, 2021), where class, gender and race relations are expressed and contested (**Nathaus**, 2022), beyond the commercialisation processes of the music industry. For this reason, it is necessary to stop and try to unravel the elements that constitute them so that, based on their identification, processes of reflection and learning can be generated.

Sensuality and colour as determinants between sexual subject or object.

Within the saturation of sexual images, **Mcnair** (2009) argues about those that take on a more 'chic' tone through the incorporation of certain aspects of fashion, style and glamour. This representation, which he calls *porno-chic*, has also been analysed in the context of commercial music (**Alvarez-Cueva and Guerra**, 2021), highlighting the elements of class, social

distinction, and gender (**Skeggs**, 1997), which are indispensable in the cosmopolitisation of cultural production (**Regev**, 2013). The combination of these factors not only positions sensuality as a transversal feature of the postmodern cultural scene (**Hall**, 2011) but also allows us to draw a line between a sexual representation of a priori individual decision, called subjectification (**Gill**, 2003; **Gill and Scharff**, 2011); of the practice of objectification, especially concerning women's bodies (**Fredrickson and Roberts**, 1997).

Particularly since the rise of feminism, various sexual images have been reclaimed through arguments that commune with self-determination and empowerment (**De Miguel**, 2015), elements that are included in the postfeminist sensibility examined by **Gill** (2007, 2017). However, the constant presence of these sexual representations has so permeated cultural production that, in the face of any suspicion of objectification or gender violence (**Lozano Fernández, et al**., 2015), the argument of female sexual freedom is put on the table in a blunt, almost unquestionable way (**Guarinos**, 2012) and, in its place, feminist rhetoric draws scenarios of sentimental independence, open relationships and greater sexual experience, overshadowing, in turn, other representations that end up being mixed and nuanced, and that finally pass as vindicating even though, deep down, they may not (**Álvarez-Cueva et al**., 2021).

Without going too far, in the Spanish context, commercial artists such as Lola Índigo, Ana Guerra and Rosalía have struck a chord of freshness, creativity and musical hybridisation with feminist overtones (**Alvarez-Cueva and Guerra**, 2021; **Araüna et al**., 2019), characteristics packaged with elements of fashion and glamour, possible to achieve only through consumption practices that require significant economic capital. Going further, it is at the intersection of sensuality and sexuality, of subjectification and objectification, where problematising the different existing representations becomes an additional challenge when making sense of them and making judgements about their possible impact on the audience (**Guarinos,** 2012).

Following the work of **Arrizón** (2008), the starting point could be in the differentiation between sensuality and sexuality which, although they tend to overlap each other, in media representations do not always allude to the same meanings. Sensuality is more closely related to the embodiment of feelings, emotions, actions and thoughts. It is associated with a set of

elements that provoke emotions and stimulate the senses. Sensuality, as **Arrizón** (2008) understands it, is associated with consciousness and with exploring feelings and sensations of beauty, luxury, joy, and pleasure. Sexuality, for its part, not only tends to reproduce the gender hierarchies established in our patriarchal society (**Soler Campo and Oriola Requena**, 2019) but can also dehumanise the individual through the constant fragmentation of their body. For **Arrizón** (2008), sexuality has more to do with sex, sexual activity, and sexual orientation.

However, drawing this distinction does not mean that representations - especially of women - can be understood as self-determined and vindicating through sensual and sexual expressions, but rather that, by sharpening the gaze for these meanings, it is possible to open a discussion about how, while some representations allude to sexual agency and freedom within their process of empowerment, other individuals are subjected to representations that are more objectifying than emancipatory.

Arrizón (2008) problematises the Latino stereotype. She points out that the eroticisation of brown bodies echoes the power of the colonising gaze. Furthermore, she points out that an auto-eroticisation of the Latino body - in search of authenticity and self-determination - tends to reflect, at the same time, a complicated (and sometimes contradictory) form of signification. In the same vein, the work of **dos Santos Silva and Medeiros** (2021) discusses how the association of the black female body, generally represented as sexy, desirable, aggressive, and indomitable, does not actually contribute to a vindication of black women, but often echoes the racist sexuality to which these bodies have been subjected for years. In line with these arguments, **Frisby and Aubrey**'s study (2012), in their analysis of the sexual objectification of several black female artists in their music videos, argue that they are more likely to dress more provocatively, emulating in their depictions the normative sexual objectification of commercial music.

Methodology

Sample and method

This communication aims to explore and contrast female and male representations within the most listened to commercial video clips in Spain, in two different years: 2009 and 2019, to assess how they have evolved, based on two variables: 1) the sexualisation of culture (**Attwood**, 2006),

following the distinction discussed by **Arrizón** (2008) to demarcate sensual subjectification from sexual objectification, and how it intersects with 2) racial phenotype (**Maddox**, 2004). In this exercise, a quantitative and qualitative content analysis (**Krippendorff**, 2004) of *N=50* video clips are conducted, 25 for each period, with each unit of analysis understood as a symbolic document that evidences the society in which it is embedded. This purposive analysis sample is the result of a selection and elimination of repetitions of the most listened to songs on the platforms: Los40Principales España, Billboard and Spotify. Additionally, the analysis includes elements of the postfeminist sensibility (**Gill**, 2017), intersectionality (**Crenshaw**, 1989) and above all decoloniality (**Lugones**, 2008), as tools that facilitate the identification and differentiation of the characteristics that are woven into the representations of the video clips.

Of the total number of video clips (N=50), 15 are by women solo artists; 9 are by men solo artists; 11 video clips are represented by duets; 5 video clips are by men groups only; 4 video clips are by groups that include at least one women artist; and 6 video clips are collaborations, half of them between men artists only, while the other half are video clips where at least one women artist participates (see table 1).

	Solo(s)	Duet(s)	Grup(s)	Colaboration(s)
Women	15		0	0
Mix	0	11	4	3
Men	9		5	3

Table 1: Conformation of the study sample (Prepared by the authors)

Analysis

Two groups are organised for the analysis: Artist(s) - which examines the representation of singers exclusively - and 2. Other participant(s). This second group is further subdivided into 2.1. Protagonist participant(s) - which includes those performances that have a prominent role in the video clip - and 2.2. General participant(s) - refers to the set of extras that are generally part of commercial video clips. However, in all cases, the categories to be coded share the same structure.

For the coding of the sexualisation variable, the body is divided into parts, in line with the previous study on gender stereotypes (**Álvarez-Cueva et**

al., 2021). In addition, to facilitate the analysis, we also follow binarity when coding either 'sexualisation of women' or 'sexualisation of men' (see table 2).

Women sexualization		Men sexualization	
a) Head (face, lips, eyes, hair)		a) Head (face, lips, eyes, hair)	
b) Breast, back, arms		b) Pectorals, back, arms	
c) Abs (waist)		c) Abs (waist)	
d) Buttocks (hips)		d) Buttocks (hips)	
e) Legs		e) Legs	

Table 2: Sexualisation variable (subjectification or objectification) (Prepared by the author)

In the case of the racial phenotype variable (**Maddox**, 2004), following a binary structure, seven categories are established including: a) white(s) - white and fair skin-, b) black(s) -dark skin-, c) brown(s) -slightly lighter dark skin-, d) mixed(s) -mixed and indigenous skin-, e) olive(s) -tan skin with greenish tones-, f) Asian(s) -pale skin with slanted eyes-, and g) other(s) -undetermined- (see table 3).

Racial phenotype women		Racial phenotype men	
a) White		a) White	
b) Black		b) Black	
c) Brown		c) Brown	
d) Mixed		d) Mixed	
e) Aceitunada		e) Aceitunado	
f) Asian		f) Asian	
g) Other		g) Other	

Table 3: Racial phenotype variable (Own elaboration)

Additionally, the inter-observer reliability index was calculated using 10% of the total study sample, resulting in 0.80 as the match value, which

translates into a good level of reliability (**Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken**, 2002). The quantitative results, which are presented in the following section, are nominal and do not necessarily correspond to the exact number of the sample (*N*=50), as in some video clips there is more than one type of sexualisation, while in others there may be sexualisation either only of the artists, only of their participants, or there may be no sexualisation at all in their representation.

Results

The presence of solo women artists -from 2009 to 2019- has been reduced by 50% and, on the other hand, there is an increase (167%) of mixed duets. In the case of mixed groups, present in 2009, they disappear by 2019. However, men solo artists and all-men groups increase their participation by 25%, respectively, which is not the case for their women counterparts.

Sexualisation: between subjectification and objectification

From 2009 to 2019, sexualisation - in general - decreases by 21.42%, from 56% (n=14) in 2009 to 44% (n=11) in 2019. The musical genres that incorporated sexualisation in 2009 are pop (44%), hip hop (8%) and rap (4%), while in 2019, the incorporation of sexualisation is led by pop (24%), followed by hip hop (8%), and in third place by trap (4%), reggaeton (4%) and RnB (4%). The overall results of the sexualisation variable show that female bodies are much more likely to be portrayed in a sexualised way, either as artist(s), with 47.22% (n=85) or as other participant(s), with 52.78% (n=54). Likewise, 13.33% corresponds to the sexualisation of protagonist participants, and 39.44% to the sexualisation of general participants (see table 4).

As for women artists, they represent themselves as more sexualised than men artists. However, in the case of both women and men artists, in general, their representations are interpreted as subjectified practices of sexualisation (**Gill**, 2017; **Gill and Harvey**, 2012), especially accompanied by a sensuality (**Arrizón**, 2008) that dialogues with the cosmopolitanism they represent in their video clips. For this reason, throughout the analysis, the artists are perceived as individuals, women artists in 47.22% of the cases, and men artists in 50%.

SEXUALIZATION											
Subjectification women artists		Subjectification men artists		Sexualization protagonists women		Sexualization protagonists men		Sexualization general women		Sexualization general men	
a	25	a	16	a	6	a	8	a	12	a	0
b	18	b	9	b	6	b	7	b	16	b	7
c	15	c	2	c	5	c	2	c	13	c	2
d	13	d	2	d	3	d	1	d	15	d	1
e	14	e	1	e	4	e	1	e	15	e	1
	85		30		24		19		71		11

Table 4: Total results for the sexualisation variable, both for artists and other participant(s) combining both periods 2009 and 2019. (Own elaboration)

Overall, women artists focus their subjectification firstly on their face (29.41%, n=25), secondly on their chest, back and arms (21.18%, n=18) and thirdly on their abs (17.65%, n=15) (see table 3). Although women artists' subjectification practices seem to decrease by 53.45%, from 2009 to 2019, the data remains consistent in terms of the parts of the body that tend to be most sexualised. Men artists, on the other hand, mainly portray their face (53.33%, n=16), and their pectorals, back and arms (30%, n=9). This is constant in both years, in addition to the sexualisation of abs and legs, for 2019. (See table 5)

On the other hand, the sexual representation of the second group (other participants) is perceived, in general terms, as a practice of objectification (**Fredrickson & Roberts**, 1997), that is, as parts of a body - or several bodies - that accompany the scenes as filler and, therefore, are not perceived as individuals in their entirety (see table 4). In this sense, women's bodies are more likely to be portrayed sexually than men's bodies. The few exceptions are those representations that navigate between sexual subject and object, especially in women-authored video clips, where the romantic representation depicts (albeit minimally) a more sensual than sexual scenario. These representations, however, are pigeonholed into the group of protagonists(s).

Precisely, in the case of the sexualisation of the women protagonists, their representation focuses mainly on the face, in 25% of the cases (n=6) and on the upper body (variables b and c), in 45.83% of the cases (n=6 and n=5, respectively). The men representations of this group also tend to portray, to a greater extent, their face (42.11%, n=8), as well as their pectorals, back and arms (36.84%, n=7). It is precisely by being able to recognise certain individual corporeality, whether from the face or the upper body, that a small number of representations can be identified that allude to the subjectification, rather than the objectification of the remaining majority (see table 5).

Finally, when considering the sexualisation of general participant(s), there is a big difference in how women and men are portrayed. In the case of the sexualisation of women, there is a greater sexual representation between 2009 and 2019, with a 40% increase in the objectification of the face (emphasising the lips), and a 28.57% increase in the objectification of their breasts. The sexualisation of men in this group, however, declines over the same period, to the point that, in 2019, the few cases that objectify men's bodies focus solely on their pectorals, back and arms. Likewise, when comparing the representations of artist(s), protagonist(s) participant(s), and general participant(s), it is the latter group that displays a clear and mostly women objectifying representation (see table 5).

WOMEN		YEAR		MEN		YEAR	
		2009	2019			2009	2019
1. Artist(s)	a	18	7	**1. Artist(s)**	a	10	6
	b	12	6		b	5	4
	c	9	6		c	0	2
	d	9	4		d	1	1
	e	10	4		e	0	1
2.1. Protagonist(s)	a	4	2	**2.1. Protagonist(s)**	a	6	2
	b	4	2		b	5	2
	c	4	1		c	1	1
	d	2	1		d	0	1

	e	3	1		e	0	1

2.2. General participant(s)	a	5	7	**2.2. General participant(s)**	a	0	0
	b	7	9		b	5	2
	c	6	7		c	2	0
	d	9	6		d	1	0
	e	10	5		e	1	0

Table 5: Results of the variable sexualisation of artist(s), protagonist(s) and general participant(s). (Own elaboration).

Sexualisation and racialisation: the colour of agency?

By exploring the intersection of sexualisation with racial phenotype (**Maddox**, 2004), it is possible to identify that the most subjectified racial phenotype among women artists decreased by 50% in 2009, with mostly white bodies, to include both white and mixed-race bodies by 2019. In terms of the subjectification of men artists, the appearance, from 2009 to 2019, of brown and mixed-race bodies stands out, in addition to other white and black bodies represented in the first period (see table 6).

In terms of the sexualisation and racial phenotype of the group of other participant(s), it is interesting that, in 2009, most of the women protagonist participation corresponded to white bodies, while, in the case of the men protagonists, their representations included white, brown and mestizo racial phenotypes. However, although by 2019 these protagonist representations tend to diminish to the point of almost disappearing, the remainder represented corresponds to the mestizo racial phenotype, both for women and men (see table 6).

Concerning the sexual representation of general participant(s), there is a 50% increase in this type of representation in the case of men, particularly associated with the black racial phenotype. However, the most sexualised racial phenotype within the group of general participant(s) is black women, both for 2009 and 2019, with a 50% increase in the sample analysed (see table 6).

Finally, it is relevant to mention that some racial phenotypes were not possible to identify, either because of the fragmentation of the scenes or

because the general participant(s) used disguises. Nevertheless, all of them were coded as other(s) within the analysis.

MEN		2009	2019	WOMEN		2009	2019
1. Artist(s)	a	6	3	**1. Artist(s)**	a	2	2
	b	2	-		b	4	3
	c	-	-		c	-	2
	d	2	3		d	-	1
	e	-	-		e	1	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	-	-		g	-	-
2.1 Protagonist(s)	a	2	-	**2.1 Protagonist(s)**	a	1	-
	b	1	-		b	-	-
	c	-	-		c	1	-
	d	-	1		d	1	1
	e	-	-		e	-	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	-	-		g	-	-
2.2 General participant(s)	a	1	-	**2.2 General participant(s)**	a	-	-
	b	2	3		b	-	1
	c	-	1		c	-	-
	d	-	-		d	-	-
	e	-	-		e	-	-
	f	-	-		f	-	-
	g	8	5		g	7	5

Table 6: Results of the combination of the variables sexualisation and racial phenotype for artist(s), protagonist(s) and general participant(s). (Own elaboration).

Conclusions and discussion

The quantitative and qualitative analysis presented in this communication is a (still working on progress) contribution to cultural studies in general, and commercial music studies in particular. Firstly, although the study reflects a decrease in the general practice of sexualisation, and this may generate a sense of change in the representation of women's and men's bodies in music video clips, finding that these representations are not only pigeonholed into one or two music genres but are echoed in others, suggests that sexualisation continues to permeate cultural production (**Attwood**, 2009; **Mcnair**, 2009).

The analysis of the formats in which women and men artists are represented indicates that women artists, in general, have minority participation compared to men, as except for the few solo performances, the women artistic figure continues to be pigeonholed into sharing the stage with other men artist(s). Thus, women artists are relegated to performing as a soloist or in duets, the latter almost exclusively with men artists. The artistic representation of men's counterparts, on the other hand, has a greater variety of representation formats, even taking over - if possible - some of them, as in the case of current musical groups. Furthermore, it is worth noting that sexualisation in the commercial music analysed is mostly feminine, either through the subjectification of women artists (**Gill**, 2003) or through the objectification of bodies, especially racialised ones (**Fredrickson & Roberts**, 1997; **Maddox**, 2004).

Feminism has paved the way for (increasingly) representations that allude to a greater agency of sexuality - especially for women. Consequently, artistic representations in commercial video clips generally echo several of the elements of postfeminist sensibilities (**Gill**, 2017), alluding not only to sensual (**Arrizon**, 2008) and cosmopolitan (**Regev**, 2013) configurations, but emphasising elements of social distinction, class and, unsurprisingly, gender (**Skeggs**, 1997). Jewellery, luxury, youth, and the eccentricities of the postmodern cultural scene (**Hall**, 2011), permeate the artists in their different representations, coming to appear as a homogenisation of signifiers and meanings -especially those linked to sexuality-, which is difficult to disentangle from the intersection of the variable of racial phenotype (**Maddox**, 2014).

In this sense, and even though narcissistic and sexual representation seems to be the norm in the construction of commercial music representations (**Illescas**, 2015), this communication coincides with the discussion of other scholars who advocate problematising the eroticisation of racialised bodies. Racialised sexualisation, even as a subjective practice, not only fails to fit into the discourse of sexual agency promoted by the mainstream but also -indirectly- continues to sustain and reproduce power hierarchies that benefit patriarchal society (**Soler Campo et al.**, 2019). This, in turn, also reinforces gender stereotypes (**Álvarez-Cueva et al**., 2021). Going further, the subjectification of racialised bodies may well in turn have an impact on audiences whose fans tend to incorporate the fashion, styles and even perceptions of their favourite artists, stirring again the debate on sexual agency, self-determination, and its representation in Western society.

The impossibility of interrelating sexual self-determination with the romantic allusion to love is relevant, especially in the case of the representation of femininity in commercial music. For this reason, it is pertinent to suggest that "female autonomy and freedom are not compatible with love" (**Álvarez-Cueva et al.**, 2021), at least not in the commercial context of mainstream music. It is precise because of this statement that the few cases of other participants in the video clips analysed correspond to subjectified representations that allude, precisely, to hegemonic romantic configurations -from which most of the artists dissociate themselves-. These romantic representations, however, tend to emphasise configurations of Western hegemonic masculinity and femininity (**Álvarez-Cueva et al.**, 2021), framing themselves in the white racial phenotype in 2009 and the mestizo racial phenotype by 2019.

In line with this romantic subjectification, it is relevant that these representations are generally included in women-authored video clips, either as soloists or in duets with other men artists, as it replicates the traditional heteronormative understanding: the romantic couple is man and woman, the former in the role of hero and the latter in a submissive position, waiting to be rescued. However, it is not only that traditional gender roles are alluded to in their representation, but that, in their exercise, such configurations do not include bodies of more diverse racial phenotypes as protagonist participants, so that the subjectification is no longer only romantic, but discriminates by colour. However, in the representations of the group of protagonist participants, objectifying sexualisation is also visible, especially in 2009.

Behind the subjectification and empowerment of the artists, and some romantic subjectification of the protagonist participants, there is - literally - a set of objectifying representations (**Fredrickson & Roberts**, 1997), especially feminine and, above all, racialised.

On the one hand, it can be observed that the practice of sexual objectification continues to be mostly about women's bodies, which both women and men artists incorporate in their video clips. It is inevitable to ask whether or not the objectification of men's bodies is yet another consequence of feminism (or what some academics have disapprovingly labelled as 'the feminism of the enemy') (**WIM Network**, 2019). An example of this reflection, precisely, within the Spanish-speaking music industry, is the song "Eres lindo pero bruto" by Lali Espósito and Thalía, or even the song "Lo Malo" by Aitana and Ana Guerra which, among feminist narratives, pigeonholes "lo malo" with racist overtones. What is clear, however, is that objectification continues to take place even now that we are experiencing accelerated changes in gender rights, especially in Spain.

This communication shows that the sexual objectification in the sample analysed - especially of women's bodies - takes place on racialised bodies, particularly black ones. These representations, precisely, coincide with several of the discussions of **dos Santos Silva and Medeiros** (2021), especially when they connect the constant stereotyped configuration of black women and some cultural practices, such as twerking, with a new form of racism that contributes to the colonial imaginary that qualifies black bodies as uncivilised, sexual, and savage. Nor is it unreasonable to suggest that similar dynamic impacts racialised bodies in general, such as brown, mestizo and indigenous bodies, which, in idealised representations of vindictiveness, are once again placed as objects that satisfy the dominant (**Lugones**, 2008) and, above all, the male gaze of the music industry.

Finally, it should be noted that quantitative coding, as it only represents nominal values, is not generalisable. The coding is limited to indicating whether there is sexualisation in the variables formulated but does not count the number of times that one or more bodies are sexualised in the different scenes of the video clips analysed. However, as this is the first exercise of this kind, the results are relevant for the further deepening of cultural studies and, more specifically, studies on contemporary commercial music.

References (see original communication)

Research stays related to the thesis

2022: **KU Leuven** – School of Mass Communication Research, Belgium. Supervisor: Laura Vandenbosch. (3-months)

2020: **Universidade do Porto**, Portugal. Supervisor: Paula Guerra. (3-months)

Congresses and seminars related to the thesis

Name	Title	Year
International Conference AE-IC Barcelona 2022	Entre sujeto y objeto sexual: Un análisis interseccional de la sexualización y el fenotipo racial en la música comercial más escuchada en España	2022
Conference of emerging femininities and masculinities in 21st c. media and popular culture 2022 (Grece)	Evolution of heteronormativity and gender stereotypes through an analysis of the most popular music videos in Spain	2022
IAMCR Nairobi	Análisis y evolución de las representaciones binarias de género en los videoclips musicales más populares de España	2021
ECREA	When 'up for it' is not for everybody. An intersectional analysis of female and male representations in mainstream music.	2021
Jornadas Kantatzen duten herriak v.5. Universidad del País Vasco	Flores y 'tijeras': una reivindicación feminista del quechua y de la mujer indígena por medio de una fusión andina de música trap	2021

	La Rosalía': memorias culturales y colectivas en la encrucijada de los escenarios de modernidad"	
Jornadas Kantatzen duten herriak v.4. Universidad del País Vasco	Las narraciones de la cuarentena durante la crisis de la COVID-19, a través de la música: emociones y actividades compartidas en Desconfinamiento	2020
25NUPF events organized by the ERASMUS Network and the Unitat de Igualtat UPF	Reading masculinities and femininities in the media	2019
IV Jornadas del Centro de Estudios de Género UPF	A mercantile sexualization. Music, youth and identity	2019
III Jornades del Centre d'Estudis de Gènere (CEdGE)	Design of teaching tools to raise awareness of the role of women in the most popular music among young people	2018

Table 15: Description of participation at congresses and seminars related to the thesis

Other publications derived from the thesis

Title of the publication	Authors	State	Journal/source	Language	Date
Las narraciones de la cuarentena durante la crisis de la COVID-19 a través de la música: emociones y actividades compartidas por Stay Homas.	Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila; Masanet, Maria-José; Cano-Hila, Ana Belén.	Publicado	Hipertext.net	Spanish	November 2020

Flores and 'Tijeras': A feminist reivindication of Quechua and indigenous women through a fusión of Andean-trap music.	Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila; Sousa, Sofia.	Publicado	Todas as Artes. Revista Luso-brsileira de Artes e Cultura.	Inglés	December 2021
'Dio$ no$ libre del dinero'. Um ensaio acerca dos cruzamentos entre as retóricas pós-feministas e as industrias (pós)culturais na obra de Rosalía.	Guerra, Paula; Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila.	Publicado	Cidades, Comunidades e Territórios.	Portuguese	October 2021

Table 16: Description of items - other publications derived from the thesis.

Alvarez-Cueva, Priscila; Masanet, Maria-Jose; Cano-Hila, Ana Belén. Las narraciones de la cuarentena durante la crisis de la COVID-19 a través de la música: emociones y actividades compartidas por Stay Homas. *Hipertext.net*, 2020, 21, pp. 67-77, https://doi.org/10.31009/hipertext.net.2020.i21.06.

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Las narraciones de la cuarentena durante la crisis de la COVID-19 a través de la música: emociones y actividades compartidas por Stay Homas

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*The narratives of the quarantine during the COVID-19 crisis through music:
shared emotions and activities by Stay Homas*

RESUMEN

"Desconfinamiento" es el título del mix tape de cinco canciones del trío catalán Stay Homas, quienes han sido catalogados como la revelación del confinamiento. El presente estudio concibe estas canciones como narraciones personales. A través de un análisis cualitativo de texto (Krippendorff, 2004), el estudio presenta cinco categorías de elementos que relatan una realidad social vivida dentro del tiempo de cuarentena en Barcelona. Las categorías que el estudio presenta recogen: a) deseos, b) emociones, c) personas, d) prácticas y e) reflexiones, en tiempos de confinamiento. El estudio sostiene que las características descritas en el análisis conectan con las emociones y generan respuestas de interés, empatía y solidaridad más allá de las variantes de la edad, el género y la locación. Las canciones de Stay Homas funcionan como un "antídoto" que suaviza la complejidad de los tiempos que vivimos y sus posibles consecuencias. Finalmente, el estudio discute algunas oportunidades para futuras investigaciones, destacando dos consideraciones: mirar la música como una oportunidad para identificar elementos clave en el acompañamiento emocional, y considerarla como una herramienta que contribuye en el bienestar social.

ABSTRACT

"Desconfinamiento" is the title of the mix tape of five songs by the Catalan trio Stay Homas, who have been classified as the revelation of confinement. The present study conceives these songs as personal narratives. Through a qualitative text analysis (Krippendorff, 2004), the study presents five categories of elements that relate to a social reality lived within the time of quarantine in Barcelona. The categories that the study presents include a) wishes, b) emotions, c) people, d) practices and e) reflections, in times of confinement. The study argues that the characteristics described in the analysis connect with emotions and generate responses of interest, empathy, and solidarity beyond the variants of age, gender, and location. Stay Homas songs work as an "antidote" that softens the complexity of the times we live in and its possible consequences. Finally, the study discusses some opportunities for future research, highlighting two considerations: looking at music as an opportunity to identify key elements in emotional accompaniment, and considering it as a tool that contributes to social well-being.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Música; Análisis cualitativo; Bienestar social; Confinamiento; COVID-19; Stay Homas.

KEYWORDS

Music; Qualitative analysis; Social welfare; Lockdown; COVID-19; Stay Homas.

1. Introducción

El confinamiento, a partir de la crisis de la COVID-19, supuso un cambio importante en el modo de vida de millares de personas alrededor del mundo (Gómez Gerez et al., 2020). En marzo del 2020, las fotografías independientes y de los medios de comunicación ponían en evidencia desolación en las calles italianas y españolas, una realidad de la que se hacían eco cada vez más países, en todos los continentes. Sentimientos de miedo e inquietud se agolpaban en las plataformas digitales mientras los gobiernos de todo el mundo trataban de "contener" la pandemia. En medio de la ansiedad generada por esta situación y la creciente necesidad de desconectar -por un momento- del miedo, el sufrimiento y la angustia, cientos de personas encontraron un espacio catalizador dentro del arte, particularmente en la música, en un intento de conseguir algún tipo de conexión social que reforzara los sentimientos de compañía, apoyo y solidaridad.

Muchos artistas, en todas las latitudes, mudaron sus escenarios a un formato digital, haciendo uso de plataformas como YouTube, Instagram, Twitter y Facebook, entre otras (Zhao, Chen y Zhao, 2020). Desde Neil Diamond, con su adaptación de "Sweet Caroline", para concienciar sobre el lavado de manos (Lehman, 2020), pasando por los conciertos online gratuitos de varios músicos, como es el caso del español Alejandro Sanz con #LaGiraSeQuedaEnCasa[1] o el colombiano Andrés Cepeda con #ConciertoEnTuCasa[2], hasta la iniciativa de varios artistas ecuatorianos, encabezados por el rapero AU-D con #MusicaDesdeCaleta, que consistió en una publicación frecuente de varios videos colaborativos entre artistas, mientras interpretan sus temas más conocidos desde sus propios hogares. Todas estas iniciativas compartieron un mensaje en común: el de quedarse en casa, alineado con el momento y las medidas que se tomaban para frenar el número de contagios de la enfermedad.

En España, la canción *"Los abrazos prohibidos"* de Vetusta Morla (Santos, Bac y Elorrieta, 2020), marcó un momento importante al unir a varias voces conocidas para cantar en apoyo a la sanidad pública, con el objetivo adicional de que todo lo recaudado por la canción se destinara al Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) para contribuir en la investigación sobre el coronavirus (Santos et al., 2020).

Como se puede observar, los artistas encontraron en las redes sociales una manera de acompañar a las personas y expresar sus emociones en tiempos complejos e inciertos. Durante la crisis, las grabaciones o videos en directo se convirtieron en "escenarios virtuales, en la forma de unir a la gente y compartir la pasión por la música, (en) una manera de adaptarse a una realidad cambiante y de incorporar formas de comunicación con herramientas actuales." (Hernández y Pedraza, 2020, p. 164). Es en este sentido que la música emerge como una herramienta para reforzar los vínculos sociales en medio del escenario de incertidumbre (Partida Valdivia, 2020). De acuerdo con Partida Valdivia, "el afrontamiento de la contingencia por parte de músicos intérpretes y compositores, ha supuesto establecer relaciones sociales particulares en las que aparentemente se busca generar un clima de empatía y apoyo, ante la atmósfera de incertidumbre que la pandemia impone" (2020: 4).

Sin embargo, estas consideraciones no se han restringido únicamente a la música comercial. El contexto de crisis ha facilitado la participación de otros artistas cuyo impacto, en situaciones de "normalidad", no habría sido tan importante o no habría recibido tanto reconocimiento debido, justamente, a la dinámica de "la industria musical actual" (Illescas, 2015, p. 131). Este sería el caso del trío catalán Stay Homas, compuesto por Klaus Stroink, Guillem Boltó y Rai Benet, cuya conformación tiene lugar durante el confinamiento, por lo que su irrupción en la escena musical está demarcada por un contexto igualmente excepcional al de la crisis sanitaria en España.

A partir de sus interpretaciones -que se iniciaron en marzo de 2020-, transmitidas por medio de su cuenta de Instagram (@stay.homas) desde la terraza de su piso en la ciudad de Barcelona, Stay Homas se ha dado a conocer como "la revelación en el confinamiento" (Redacción, 2020), llegando a colocar algunos de sus temas dentro de la lista de las mejores canciones del año (Linés, 2020). Este trío ha pasado de improvisar temas musicales con una guitarra, un balde vacío y sus palmas, a conseguir que se agoten las entradas para su presentación en Barcelona -planificada para el 2021- en tan sólo quince minutos, además de lograr un contrato con Sony (Díaz, 2020).

A las características descritas se suman los más de 95.000 suscriptores en su canal de YouTube, más de 400.000 seguidores en Instagram y más de 38.000 seguidores en Twitter, lo que pone en evidencia el alcance que han tenido creando música en tiempos de confinamiento. Sin embargo, entre los datos más interesantes destaca que, de acuerdo con la entrevista realizada por Díaz (2020), antes de la crisis estos músicos tenía un grupo definido de seguidores -sobre todo jóvenes entre dieciocho y veinte y cinco años- y carecían de "la aprobación de una persona de más de cuarenta años" (Díaz, 2020). En cambio, de acuerdo con

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las estadísticas de Instagram que los artistas señalan en la entrevista, hoy en día cuentan con una audiencia que, mayoritariamente, supera los sesenta y cinco años.

Lo que evidencian estos datos es que, durante el confinamiento, Stay Homas ha sabido generar unas narraciones que han supuesto, de alguna manera, un apoyo y acompañamiento que la gente ha aplaudido y seguido con fidelidad. Es por ello que este trabajo toma como muestra de estudio el mix tape de Stay Homas, *Desconfinamiento*, que reúne los cinco temas más votados por sus seguidores (Stay Homas, 2020). El objetivo principal de este artículo es analizar las narraciones sobre el confinamiento, vehiculadas a través de la música, para entender qué acciones, emociones y/o situaciones se han destacado en la construcción de dichas narrativas. Para ello, se lleva a cabo un análisis cualitativo de texto (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 341) que, de manera inductiva, identifica qué elementos de la vida diaria y significados están presentes en las letras de las canciones del trío catalán, creadas durante la situación excepcional provocada por la crisis de la COVID-19, en España.

La hipótesis de partida de este estudio sostiene que las letras de las canciones producidas por Stay Homas relatan una realidad social vivida dentro de la crisis sanitaria en España que conecta, por un lado, con algunos de los hábitos, prácticas y emociones que se desprenden de la situación de confinamiento y, por el otro, con una audiencia que se homogeniza a partir de la identificación de una narrativa compartida que el trío presenta en sus letras, independientemente de variantes como la edad, el género, e incluso la localización física.

El texto se estructura a partir de un abordaje teórico sobre la música y su papel dentro de la crisis de la COVID-19, donde se enfatiza su importancia como un recurso generador de bienestar, tanto a nivel individual como a nivel social. A continuación, se plantean las consideraciones metodológicas que derivan en la presentación de los resultados. En el apartado final, se presenta una discusión y varias reflexiones para futuros trabajos dentro de esta temática.

2. La música: un antídoto al aislamiento social y una fuente de bienestar personal y social.

La música es un elemento cultural que cumple diferentes funciones en la sociedad moderna. Se trata del recurso primario de entretenimiento (Bennett, 2001) y también de una vía para representar la realidad de

la sociedad (Silva, Guerra y Santos, 2018). De la misma manera, la música puede suponer un apoyo emocional y de conexión que incentive el bienestar. Y es precisamente esta última característica la que ha destacado durante la crisis de la COVID-19, como indica Partida Valdivia (2020):

> *El fenómeno actual del coronavirus es un suceso fuera de lo común, en el que la música aparece como un aliciente para contrarrestar ese escenario de perplejidad y desasosiego. Aquí, cabe mencionar la importancia de la música no solo para generar un ambiente placentero o incentivar un estado de tranquilidad (...), sino para conectarnos y acercarnos con otros a pesar de que las circunstancias actuales requieren un necesario distanciamiento social.* (Partida Valdivia, 2020, p.15)

En buena medida, el distanciamiento social y las disposiciones gubernamentales, como la de "quedarse en casa", despertaron ansiedad en relación a la salud, la preocupación financiera y, por supuesto, los sentimientos de soledad en varios grupos sociales (Tull et al., 2020). De acuerdo con Tull et al. (2020), es importante lograr una conexión social para mitigar las consecuencias psicológicas negativas de la pandemia de la COVID-19. Esta *conexión social* es un elemento trascendental en la vida de niños y jóvenes, pues forma parte del desarrollo de sus capacidades de identificación (Erikson, 1994; Hall, 1996). Sin embargo, también es importante considerar a los grupos sociales de jóvenes adultos y los adultos mayores pues, como menciona el estudio de Beam y Kim (2020) son quienes podrían sufrir mayores secuelas psicológicas a partir del aislamiento social y la soledad. En este sentido, el estudio de UNICEF (2020) señala como uno de los principales efectos de la pandemia y, en particular, del confinamiento domiciliar, el deterioro de la salud física y mental.

Según la Organización Mundial de la Salud, la salud mental se define como un estado de bienestar en el que la persona desarrolla sus capacidades y es capaz de hacer frente al estrés normal de la vida, de trabajar de forma productiva y de contribuir a su comunidad. Ese estado de bienestar afecta el cómo pensamos, sentimos y actuamos; y determina cómo respondemos frente al estrés, cómo nos relacionamos con los demás y en qué medida (o de qué manera) tomamos decisiones. El bienestar psicológico, que incluye tres dimensiones interrelacionadas: la personal, la interpersonal, además de las capacidades y conocimientos (Diener, Lucas y Oishi, 2018), es un factor importante a tener en cuenta, especialmente en un situación de crisis como la gene-

rada por la COVID-19, pues los sentimientos de angustia y preocupación se exacerberan.

En la respuesta psicológica, que se desarrolla ante una situación de emergencia, influyen distintos factores entre los que destacan la autoconfianza, la capacidad de expresar nuestros sentimientos y estados de ánimo, además de la red de apoyo social. A esto se suma el impacto que juegan las condiciones socioeconómicas y habitacionales de cada persona, así como las condiciones familiares y personales particulares. Por todo esto es que, en muchos casos, se considera que la experiencia del confinamiento y la pandemia es muy personalizada y altamente subjetiva.

No obstante, más allá de las múltiples particularidades y casuísticas existentes, se ha podido percibir en las sociedades del mundo, sentimientos muy básicos y comunes como el miedo, la necesidad de encontrar apoyo y compañía en nuestros iguales, además del agradecimiento a los profesionales sanitarios y otros colectivos considerados como esenciales. Así mismo, se ha podido observar a muchas personas que han mostrado un nivel alto de altruismo, cooperación, y satisfacción al ayudar a los demás (Cano-Hilla y Argemí, 2020). Por ejemplo, a través de acompañar a las personas solas (por teléfono o a través de otros canales de comunicación), e incluso realizando gestos de ánimo hacia las personas aisladas o hacia los profesionales sanitarios, tal como ha tenido lugar en España, por medio de la canción "*Resistiré 2020*", coincidiendo con los aplausos de cada día, a las 20:00 horas.

Con la intención de lograr y fortalecer la conexión social en tiempos de confinamiento, las artes han jugado un papel trascendental. Ver, hacer y compartir música (además de otras prácticas artísticas), sirve como vehículo terapéutico. En primer lugar, porque ayuda a proteger la salud física, propiciando movimiento y actividad; en segundo lugar, fortalece el bienestar personal, mejorando la confianza y el optimismo; en tercer lugar, contribuye al bienestar interpersonal, reforzando la solidaridad, el apoyo social y la acción colectiva; y, en cuarto lugar, fortalece el desarrollo de capacidades y conocimientos relacionados con la superación de retos y la expresividad de las emociones. En definitiva, las artes en general, y la música en particular, proporcionan una especie de antídoto complementario y fortalecedor del bienestar y de la salud mental de la ciudadanía (Gupta, 2020). De acuerdo con el estudio de Zhao et al. (2020), las prácticas literarias y artísticas produjeron una influencia social positiva y desempañaron un rol

fundamental para movilizar la fuerza social en medio de la crisis de la pandemia.

Si volvemos a las reflexiones de Partida Valdivia (2020), coincidimos en que hacer o escuchar música refleja una manera de vivir y se convierte en una experiencia que trasciende a lo que podemos expresar con palabras. Así mismo, tanto el *hacer* como el *escuchar* están condicionados por un tiempo y espacio particular, y vinculan aspectos individuales tales como recuerdos, motivaciones y propósitos de vida. Sin embargo, estos aspectos individuales también trascienden hacia lo colectivo, ya que la música congrega también funciones sociales (Zhao et al., 2020). Es en este sentido en que las emociones juegan un papel muy relevante, pues un evento de las dimensiones de la pandemia de la COVID-19 contribuye, en efecto, a construir una fuerte asociación emocional (Smith y Mackie, 2015)

Si bien podría ser un error considerar a la audiencia *en confinamiento* como grupos uniformes que comparten las mismas prácticas y comportamientos (García Canclini, 2001), las condiciones textuales, extratextuales, estéticas y sociales (que se destacan al momento de analizar una creación artística), han puesto en evidencia un conjunto de características comunes que permean en la sociedad y generan un sentimiento de identificación (Hall y Du Gay, 2003); un sentimiento, más o menos generalizado, hacia ciertas emociones y prácticas de algunos grupos sociales (Fontana Sierra, 2020). En otros grupos, sin embargo, se han puesto sobre la mesa las condiciones de discriminación social que han tenido que afrontar durante la crisis de la pandemia (Ortuño et al., 2020; Palazuelos Covarrubias y Zamora Saenz, 2020; Rojo-Gutiérrez y Bonilla, 2020).

Los sentimientos y emociones que se generan en un escenario de incertidumbre y desesperación se pueden constituir como espacios que procuran un contacto, afecto, empatía y vinculación que, aunque fugaces, "son reales y suficientes para subvertir el malestar provocado por la pandemia" (Fontana Sierra, 2020, p. 112). En este sentido, la música se puede entender como una herramienta que estimula el vínculo, protege y restaura la salud mental y el bienestar personal y social, al tiempo que fortalece los lazos sociales (Rimé, 2009) y la acción colectiva, particularmente en momentos de crisis. Las emociones que se plasman en los productos artísticos son, en buena medida, en las que la audiencia se reconoce. Según Joan Ferrés (2014), las narraciones mediáticas únicamente tienen valor cuando las personas que interaccionan con ellas se ven representadas en ellas. Es decir, tienen sentido cuando las personas ven un reflejo de ellas mismas, de sus emociones y sentimientos. Y es a través de este ejercicio

que se convierten en el medio por el cual se desconecta, de alguna manera, de la ansiedad y el miedo generados por el virus. "Es posible identificar un proceso comunicativo establecido entre intérpretes y oyentes, en el que se pretende transmitir un mensaje de empatía en medio de la crisis sanitaria" (Partida Valdivia, 2020, p. 14)

La dinámica interpersonal de intercambio social de emociones (Rimé, 2009, p. 71-72) se refiere a las consecuencias interpersonales, tanto en lo cognitivo como en lo social, entre quienes reciben una emoción compartida con la que pueden interactuar. El autor sostiene que, a través de esta práctica, se pueden poner en manifiesto cinco respuestas: la del interés, el contagio emocional, la empatía y simpatía, comportamientos de apego, y un mayor afecto hacia el narrador. Si miramos las piezas musicales como productos narrativos que (re)presentan emociones y prácticas que, a su vez, conectan con las audiencias provocando algunas de las citadas respuestas, podemos coincidir en que la música facilita la participación y conecta con la capacidad social que marca una diferencia (Gupta, 2020), especialmente en un escenario de crisis.

3. Metodología y análisis

Las preguntas de investigación que guían este estudio son: ¿qué elementos, acciones, situaciones y emociones están presentes en las narraciones sobre el confinamiento? y ¿cómo estas narraciones están conectadas a su vez con su audiencia y el escenario de crisis derivado de la COVID-19?

Este estudio analiza el mix tape "Desconfinamiento" de Stay Homas, que consiste en una recopilación de sus cinco temas más populares: *"In the end"*, *"The bright side"*, *"Gotta be patient"*, *"Estamos mal"* y *"Volveré a empezar"*. El orden en que estos temas han sido presentados en su canal de YouTube[3] coincide con una narrativa que se puede entender como secuencial, tomando en consideración que cada canción da paso a la siguiente en base a las emociones, elementos y reflexiones del tiempo en confinamiento, como si se tratara de un día a día (o *semana a semana*). Por esta razón, este estudio considera a las canciones del grupo como narraciones personales.

Para responder a nuestras preguntas, se realiza un análisis cualitativo de texto (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 341) en el que se examina de manera inductiva qué emociones y elementos se encuentran en las narraciones de Stay Homas. Alineado con nuestro objetivo de analizar este fenómeno social, se siguen los principios de la Teoría Fundamentada (*Grounded Theory*) (Glaser y Strauss, 1967). Según este enfoque, las catego-

rías de análisis pueden desarrollarse interactivamente en paralelo con el material fuente de análisis antes de abordar cualquier teoría. Esto significa que la teoría emerge de los datos, ya que se les permite *hablar por ellos mismos*, en lugar de aplicar marcos conceptuales y/o teóricos, preexistentes. Siguiendo esta teoría, el análisis de los datos se organizó en dos fases.

En una primera fase, el texto de las canciones se compiló en una taxonomía descriptiva desarrollada a partir de la relectura y comparación de las diferentes instancias presentes en los textos. Las categorías surgieron inductivamente y se centraban en identificar los elementos, personas, prácticas, acciones y emociones presentes en las narraciones. Estas primeras categorías descriptivas se reagruparon, a posteriori, en la segunda fase, en categorías interpretativas. La lógica del proceso era pasar de una perspectiva "micro" a una perspectiva "macro". Las categorías y los datos fueron producidos, examinados y revisados continuamente hasta el final del estudio. El análisis se llevó a cabo a través del software de análisis cualitativo NVivo 12.

A partir del análisis, se detectaron cinco categorías centrales que responden a las preguntas formuladas. Éstas son: 1) deseos: donde se engloban las actividades que se desarrollaban previo a la cuarentena y que, en medio de la crisis, se anhelan con cierta insistencia; 2) emociones: subdividida en "positivas", "negativas", "inciertas" o "de añoranza"; 3) personas: donde la familia y las amistades se convierten en el papel principal; 4) prácticas: que detallan la experiencia durante el confinamiento; y 5) reflexiones: que, de modo esperanzador, procuran una contraposición entre el tiempo pre-pandemia y el futuro.

4. Resultados: Una lectura al (Des)confinamiento

A partir de los análisis realizados, tal y como se mencionaba anteriormente, emergen cinco categorías analíticas, las cuales se desarrollan a continuación:

4.1. Deseos: de la realidad cotidiana a la fantasía identificable.

Cuatro de las cinco canciones analizadas tienen referencias importantes hacia actividades que los intérpretes quisieran realizar, entre las que priorizan: viajar, salir a la calle, salir de fiesta (con los amigos), y olvidar la situación actual. Estos elementos están presentes en su narración desde la primera canción de *Desconfinamiento*, lo que dialoga muy bien con las restricciones que supone la cuarentena. Los deseo son sencillos y se focalizan en situaciones cuotidianas realizadas en tiempos de 'normalidad', como tomar un café acom-

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pañado/a. Curiosamente, estas actividades rutinarias se entremezclan con referencias a figuras de la ficción conocidas y fáciles de identificar (como Han Solo – de la Guerra de las Galaxias), a lugares fantásticos (como Disney Land), o a espacios de diversión que se recuerdan, en cierto modo, de una manera romántica (por ejemplo, Apolo, una sala de conciertos y fiestas en Barcelona).

De esta manera, observamos que los deseo se mueven en dos direcciones: a) volver a vivir la realidad cuotidiana; y b) dibujar una fantasía identificable. Estos elementos juegan un rol de identificación importante en la audiencia con la que comparten su música. Por una parte, la audiencia encuentra representada una realidad 'compartida' que impide vivir en 'normalidad' y, por lo tanto, apela al deseo común de volver a la cotidianidad, a los momentos sencillos que ahora se echan de menos, a aquello a lo que ahora se otorga valor. Solo se desea volver al 'antes'. Y esto se hace desde la empatía compartida. La canción *Volveré a empezar*, resulta interesante en este sentido:

Lo que daría por un café contigo / Arreglar el mundo sin llegar a ningún sitio / Mirar la luna y saber que estás aquí conmigo / Ahora quiero verte más, quiero ir a cenar / Dejar las tonterías y por fin poder llamar / Te lo prometo que muy pronto llegará.
(*Volveré a empezar*, Stay Homas, 2020)

Por otra parte, en tiempos de crisis e incertidumbre, presentar fantasías identificables puede ayudar a la audiencia a dibujar horizontes compartidos hacía los que caminar. Y, para ello, es necesario representar espacios y figuras fantásticas que la audiencia reconoce y da valor. Disney, en este sentido, se concibe como un espacio mágico donde viven los personajes con los que hemos pasado nuestra infancia. Es un lugar para soñar donde todo es posible. Y, también, un lugar que todo el mundo puede reconocer e identificar como un espacio ideal con el que soñar en tiempos de crisis.

4.2. Emociones: una mirada positiva a la crisis que no puede olvidar el malestar y la incertidumbre.

Esta es la categoría más extensa del análisis. Dentro de "emociones", el estudio ha creado cuatro subcategorías: Positivas, negativas, inciertas y de añoranza.

Las emociones positivas pueden alimentar los lazos existentes entre quienes comparten una experiencia (Rimé, 2009, p. 65). En las letras analizadas, estas emociones están presentes en la mayor parte de las canciones, y se encuentran en frases que invitan

a mantener la calma y ser pacientes ante la situación actual, procurando, a la vez, concientizar sobre la importancia de la autoestima y la vida como un regalo. En este sentido, por ejemplo, el tema *The brigth side* reúne una serie de frases que invitan a la reflexión alrededor de la libertad a partir de abrazar la individualidad, pero también la colectividad:

Si ves el lado positivo / Serás libre / Encontrarme a mi es el mejor regalo que tengo / Olvidémoslo esta noche / Ya verás / Encontrarte a ti es el mejor regalo que tengo. [If you see the bright side / You'll be free / Trobar-me a mi és el millor regal que tinc / Let's forget it tonight / You will see / Trobar-te a tu és el millor regal que tinc.]
(*The bright side*, Stay Homas, 2020)

De esta manera, se intenta buscar el lado "positivo" de la situación, la oportunidad para pensarse y encontrarse a uno mismo, pero también para reflexionar sobre el valor que "los otros" tienen para nosotros; una combinación entre lo individual y colectivo. La idea es "hacer una mirada positiva" de una situación complicada y difícil de llevar adelante.

Por su parte, las emociones negativas, que pueden estimular un intercambio social e incrementar el sentimiento de afecto, son minoritarias en las canciones analizadas. Estas emociones reflejan, principalmente, el cansancio de la rutina en confinamiento:

"Estoy harto del drama" ['I'm so sick and tired of drama'] / *"Yo no quiero vestir pijamas"* [I don't wanna wear pijamas]
(*In the end*, Stay Homas, 2020)

Como observamos, las emociones positivas vienen acompañadas de una visión/emoción más negativa (aunque minoritaria). Podría ser que un abuso de visión "positiva" se asociara a una mirada "naif" o "ingenua" de la situación. En cambio, estas inyecciones de emoción negativa parece que nos vuelven a la realidad y también encuentran una identificación, ya que en tiempos de crisis es difícil mantener continuamente "la mirada positiva".

Las emociones inciertas, por su parte, suponen un estado de inseguridad que, dicho sea de paso, mantiene cierto tipo de positivismo, aunque están vinculadas de manera irónica con calificativos negativos. Las emociones inciertas, en las canciones analizadas expresan, en general sentimientos difíciles de determinar cómo positivos o negativos, especialmente porque el ritmo que las acompaña es enérgico. Por ejemplo, en la canción *In the end*, que es el primer

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tema de *Desconfinamiento* (que inicia con la narrativa de la incertidumbre), encontramos letras como: "No sé qué decir" *['I don't know what to say']* (*In the end*, Stay Homas, 2020) y, en la canción *"Estamos mal"* se juega con la ironía y el doble sentido: "Estamos mal, pero es lo normal" / "Que estés en la mierda es lo más natural" (*Estamos mal*, Stay Homas, 2020).

Especialmente apropiada e identificable es la incertidumbre, en el caso que nos ocupa pues, si algo caracteriza la crisis que vivimos es la incerteza sobre el futuro que nos espera. No tener palabras o respuesta ('no sé qué decir') y normalizar los sentimientos inciertos que nos provoca la crisis, puede ser una nueva vía de identificación con la audiencia. Una audiencia que busca respuestas pero que difícilmente las encuentra y, de nuevo, puede evidenciar que se trata de un sentimiento compartido.

Finalmente, en la categoría añoranza, se reúnen las expresiones que tienen vinculación directa con la emoción de extrañar a una persona o una actividad. Así, las referencias a "añoranza", por ejemplo, están presentes desde la primera canción de *Desconfinamiento*. El tema *In the end* pone principal énfasis a todas las prácticas que se han dejado de hacer en cuarentena, como se ha expuesto ya. Sin embargo, el énfasis de añoranza principal se dirige hacia la figura de la madre, sobre todo, y de manera insistente, al final de la canción, cuando ésta dice: Yo realmente, realmente, realmente, realmente extraño a mi mamá *[I really really really really miss my mum]*. Se tratan de emociones estrechamente vinculadas al 'deseo' de vuelta a la realidad cotidiana que se analiza en la sección anterior. La crisis de la COVID-19 ha parado en seco todas nuestras rutinas y actividades cotidianas y hemos tenido que aprender a vivir una nueva vida sin "previo aviso". Esto, necesariamente, promueve una mirada al "pasado" que es melancólica y de añoranza. Frente a la falta de un imaginario futuro compartido, la imagen del pasado nos resulta romántica y se acaba idealizando. Esta situación o sentimiento se incrementa notablemente cuando la nueva situación no ha sido escogida, como es el caso que nos ocupa.

4.3. Personas: la necesidad del vínculo cercano.

Dos de las cinco canciones analizadas hacen una referencia directa hacia las personas a quienes, en general, se extraña. Este ámbito está copado mayoritariamente por las personas más próximas: amigos/as y familia. Las amistades conforman un nexo social importante y, a través de las prácticas compartidas, es posible fortalecer los elementos que juegan en el proceso de identificación y la construcción de la propia identidad.

Si la vinculación social se afecta, como sucede con el distanciamiento (a partir de la cuarentena), también se afectan algunos procesos de identificación y relación. La presencia de "amigos/amigas", en las canciones de Stay Homas, es la más generalizada y permite comprender que, por medio de prácticas con los pares, es posible eludir la situación y, de alguna manera, sobrellevar la rutina del confinamiento.

Sin embargo, la insistencia -como se menciona en la categoría anterior- con relación a extrañar a la madre, denota una mayor importancia hacia este personaje (sin dejar de lado a las hermanas o hermanos). De hecho, al mencionar a la madre, todos los otros elementos e ideas que están presentes en la canción *In the end* parecen diluirse de algún modo, pierden relevancia y el interés se centra, casi exclusivamente, en ella.

Cuando analizamos a las personas, en la narrativa de Stay Homas, podemos comprender que se habla desde un confinamiento (casi) en solitario o, al menos, lejos del núcleo familiar. En un momento donde factores como la soledad, la angustia y el encierro marcan el día a día, los lazos familiares se vuelven indispensables para afrontar el conflicto en el que entra el individuo. La madre, en este sentido, hace referencia a la figura que brinda el mayor grado de seguridad y apoyo para afrontar la vulnerabilidad ante la crisis.

Al referirnos a un confinamiento en "solitario" no enfatizamos únicamente la ausencia de una figura presencial (física) que acompañe el día a día, sino de la sensación de soledad que se llena a partir de la interrelación con las personas a quienes más se quiere y con quienes más vivencias positivas se tiene. De ahí que dar tanta importancia y repetición a la madre se percibe como una urgencia para llegar a una situación no sólo de compañía sino de calma y tranquilidad, que coincide con la breve presentación del video de la canción, en el canal de YouTube de los artistas:

> *"Esta canción trata de ser una reflexión sobre lo que creemos que extrañamos y lo que realmente extrañamos (…) Realmente extrañamos a nuestra madre, ¿y tú?"* [This song tries to be a reflection on what we think we miss and what we really miss (…) We really miss our mum, and you?] (*In the end*, Stay Homas, 2020)

Dentro de la categoría de "personas", Stay Homas también hace referencia a "los otros", lo que pone en evidencia el cómo nos construimos como personas a partir de lo que hace el otro. Ya sea en actividades o teniendo en cuenta las emociones, la identificación con otras personas trasciende el plano individual y, en

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la colectividad, encuentra sentido en la realidad que se comparte. Este proceso permite catalizar las emociones de angustia y temor porque, de alguna manera, la identificación y el compartir la misma situación crea una ilusión de que "no somos los únicos" y, por tanto, "no estamos solos en esto."

Finalmente, Stay Homas utiliza, en dos de las cinco canciones analizadas, una estrategia de autopromoción que ingresa también en la categoría de personas pues materializa al trío artístico que, precisamente, es el que narra su experiencia a través de las canciones. Así, por ejemplo, se encuentran las frases: "pero por suerte Stay Homas sacan nueva canción." (*Estamos mal,* Stay Homas, 2020) y "Pero con los videos de estos tres" [*Però amb els vídeos d'aquests tres]* (*Gotta be Patient*, Stay Homas 2020). Esta estrategia no sólo les permite poner su firma en los productos musicales que crean, sino que, de cierta manera, los promueve como figuras 'a identificar' (a seguir) cuando se busca un vínculo social y compartir (o sentirse comprendido/a) emocionalmente durante el tiempo de crisis.

4.4. Prácticas: uniformizar y homogeneizar el día a día.

Después de las categorías de "deseos" y "emociones", las "prácticas" ocupan el tercer lugar de importancia dentro de las letras de las canciones de *Desconfinamiento*. Cuatro de las cinco canciones detallan, y con bastante precisión, un día a día dentro de su experiencia. Esta narrativa coincide muy bien con algunas ideas que cita el trabajo realizado por Fontana Sierra (2020, p.105) en relación a aquellas "nuevas ocupaciones" que se han integrado a la vida de diferentes grupos sociales en España, desde la cuarentena: "ejercicio, yoga, pintar, tocar instrumentos, aprender idiomas, leer, jardinería, cocinar", entre otras. En este sentido, la canción *Estamos mal* es el ejemplo más relevante:

"Me levanto de la cama / me huele el wichiwama / Llevo así ya dos semanas / Tocando la palangana / Los platos sin fregar / No me levanto del sofá / Y si me mandas otro challenge lo va hacer tu mamá / Todo el mundo hace pilates, hace zumba y hace yoga / Y la receta de un bizcocho y muffins con leche de soja / El móvil echando humo / Un concierto en el salón / y te juro que hoy he visto una tuba en un balcón / Películas, libros y vídeollamadas / Estática, elíptica o abdominales / A veces incluso haciendo chorradas por encima de vuestras

posibilidades / Ya me he visto todo HBO / (*Estamos mal,* Stay Homas, 2020)

De nuevo, observamos la búsqueda de la identificación a través de la representación de las prácticas "posibles" durante el confinamiento. La crisis de la COVID-19 conlleva que todos veamos limitadas las actividades que podemos hacer en el día a día. Esto facilita las representaciones de prácticas y situaciones compartidas. Cualquier persona que ha vivido el confinamiento puede encontrar en *Estamos mal* alguna actividad de su rutina diaria porque se trata de elementos limitados. Además, se realiza una referencia explícita a esta rutina compartida e identificable cuando el grupo dice "todo el mundo hace". Así mismo, la lista de actividades intenta abarcar el abanico de prácticas posibles que puede realizar la gente durante el confinamiento.

Esto, en contrapartida, puede promover una representación uniformizada de las prácticas diarias durante el confinamiento. Parece ser que "todo el mundo", en efecto, lleva a cabo estas prácticas y que la excepción es quien no las hace. Querer representar la realidad del confinamiento a través de una lista reducida de actividades y prácticas que se "supone" todos hacen, puede conllevar una representación homogeneizada de la realidad social, que va más allá de la edad, del género e, incluso, de la locación. Sin embargo, esto reduce la complejidad de la situación a una mirada concreta, simplificando la realidad de varios grupos sociales donde los efectos del confinamiento han minado aún más la desigualdad económica, educativa y de oportunidades (Palazuelos Covarrubias y Zamora Saenz, 2020, p. 7).

4.5. Reflexiones: repensarnos y cambiar las dinámicas del pasado para empezar a 'vivir de verdad'

Finalmente, considerando la reflexividad que posibilita la música a partir de su discurso, el estudio también identifica algunas intenciones de cambio generadas a partir del confinamiento. La canción *The brigth side,* así como *Volveré a empezar,* son los temas que más reflexiones hacen al respecto de la "normalidad" que ha cambiado a partir de la crisis y el confinamiento. Ambas canciones tienen un tono esperanzador y se observa una tendencia a dibujar un escenario donde las cosas serían diferentes, donde se podrá "volver a intentar":

"Vivimos cada día como si fuera el final / Nunca hay tiempo para ver a quien queremos de verdad / La rutina nos ahoga y no podemos parar / No he valorado el amor que me das / Ya no sé de ti ya no te he vuelto a llamar / Ya no sé si te voy a perder, lo volveré a intentar / Todo este tiempo me ha dado

por pensar / que llegado el momento voy a vivir de verdad / Cuando salga de aquí yo quiero verte más."
(*Volveré a empezar*, Stay Homas, 2020)

Observamos que, en cierto modo, la situación actual nos lleva a replantearnos nuestras actitudes, comportamientos y actividades del pasado. La crisis promueve una "reflexión" alrededor de la vida en sí y la manera como queremos vivirla. Esta situación también supone que podríamos pensar en las cosas que realmente importan y darles valor. Se trata de una reflexión "popular" durante la crisis: la necesidad de replantearse la forma de vida que llevábamos, de detectar los 'valores' y brindarles mayor importancia. El modelo a seguir en este caso, y con él que concluye la reflexión, sería el 'carpe diem': aprovecha el momento y vive la vida. Esto coincide con la declaración de intenciones: "llegado el momento voy a vivir de verdad", dando a entender que las dinámicas que teníamos antes no eran "óptimas" o no nos ayudaban a vivir "de verdad".

5. Discusión y reflexiones finales

Los resultados de este estudio se engloban en cinco categorías que narran de manera secuencial un escenario del confinamiento derivado de la pandemia por la COVID-19 en España, mismas que han sido desarrolladas a partir del mix tape *Desconfinamiento*, de Stay Homas. Estas categorías son 1) deseos, 2) emociones (positivas, negativas, inciertas y de añoranza), 3) personas, 4) prácticas y 5) reflexiones que, en conjunto, constatan cómo, en el contexto pandémico confinado - insólito y de incertidumbre-, la música -en general-, y la música producida por Stay Homas -en particular-, se presentan como un recurso cultural clave que aporta entretenimiento (Bennett, 2001), a la vez que funciona como una vía para representar la realidad social (Silva, Guerra y Santos, 2018), actuando como un vehículo terapéutico, tanto a nivel físico como a nivel emocional.

El artículo pone en evidencia cómo la música de Stay Homas conecta, desde el plano individual, con varios sentimientos, nuevos hábitos y prácticas sociales del confinamiento, entre los que destacan las emociones positivas y una retórica discursiva de tono esperanzador, así como algunas "nuevas actividades" que derivan del tiempo en confinamiento y que se convierten en prácticas sociales fáciles de identificar. En el plano colectivo, Stay Homas conecta con un discurso alentador que enfrenta la angustia y la soledad derivadas de la crisis, a

través de invitaciones a la calma y la paciencia, o incluso a repensar la vida y el modo de vivirla.

El estudio destaca, tal y como apuntan los trabajos de Tull et al. (2020) y Beam y Kim (2020), que es importante lograr una conexión social para mitigar las consecuencias psicológicas negativas de la pandemia de la COVID-19, esencialmente provocadas por el aislamiento social y la soledad, sentimientos y estados que el estudio identifica en la narrativa de "Desconfinamiento". Dicho de otro modo, y en la línea que plantean otros trabajos (Gupta, 2020; Zhao et al., 2020), la evidencia empírica constata que la música se puede entender como una herramienta que estimula el vínculo, protege y restaura la salud mental y el bienestar personal y social, al tiempo que fortalece los lazos sociales (Rimé, 2009) y la acción colectiva, particularmente en momentos de crisis.

En su narrativa, las canciones de Stay Homas reconocen emociones de angustia, rutina, nostalgia, cansancio y, sobre todo, la necesidad de los seres queridos. Pone énfasis en prácticas cotidianas que se extrañan durante el tiempo de confinamiento, dando una importancia aún mayor a las personas a quienes se desea volver a ver. Al referirse al núcleo familiar, representado principalmente por la figura de la madre, Stay Homas pone sobre la mesa las condiciones de vulnerabilidad que se viven desde el primer momento de la cuarentena, y las enlaza con elementos populares y fantásticos que permiten catalizar la incertidumbre a través del deseo y la idealización hacia el pasado.

Estos sentimientos desembocan en una reflexión sobre el modo de vida que se ha llevado previo a la crisis, donde se permiten repensar las prioridades y lo que de verdad puede o no darle sentido a la existencia, para esbozar así una suerte de "propósitos" a alcanzar a futuro. Incluso aquellas emociones negativas, propias de la saturación de información y malestar generalizado, se leen entre líneas como puntos de partida hacia cambios que se podrían iniciar al término del confinamiento, en busca de una mejor vida en la "nueva normalidad" que tanto se comenta.

En este sentido, es relevante referirnos a la audiencia de Stay Homas pues, al analizar la narrativa de sus canciones, se pone en evidencia que sus letras pueden conectar tanto con niños y jóvenes, así como con adultos y adultos mayores, independiente de su género y localización. Este efecto, casi homogeneizador, es particular en el caso del trío catalán, como ellos mismos han reconocido. Sin embargo, es precisamente esta particularidad la que nos ayuda a comprender su impacto y éxito. La mayor parte de su mensaje (que además se desarrolla en tres idiomas) se transmite de manera

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positiva y con ritmos alegres, y es lo que los convierte en "un antídoto" que facilita la identificación de las emociones para sobrellevar la situación de la crisis.

Si bien el caso de producción musical en tiempos de pandemia y confinamiento no es exclusivo de Stay Homas, pues otras creaciones también han llamado la atención de los medios de comunicación, como es el caso de Rigoberta Bandini (Crespo, 2020), el trío catalán nace dentro del contexto de confinamiento, con el propósito de acompañar a su audiencia (igualmente confinada), mientras las letras de sus canciones hacen una referencia directa a la situación derivada de la crisis de la COVID-19. Es en este sentido en que sus piezas musicales tienen conexión social con su audiencia, lo que desencadena una dinámica de intercambio social de emociones (Rimé, 2009) que, a su vez, facilita la participación y la capacidad social, por medio de respuestas vinculadas con la empatía, el apego, el afecto, especialmente en un momento tan determinante como el confinamiento.

Finalmente, este estudio considera que es importante, en futuras investigaciones, incorporar un análisis de percepción e impacto desde las audiencias que reciben y consumen los productos culturales como la música, para ampliar la argumentación crítica y promover el diálogo que contribuya a formar una sociedad más justa, inclusiva, reflexiva y empática. En este sentido, se pone en valor las piezas musicales, tanto respecto a su narrativa como a su representación (particularmente en tiempos complejos), como vehículos que promueven el apoyo emocional y el bienestar social, mientras fungen como como un canal de representación de la realidad social. La música, sus letras y representaciones, es en sí misma un dato y un instrumento privilegiado de recogida de evidencias empíricas en el marco de las ciencias sociales y humanas.

Notas al final

1. Disponible en: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-LIWWT-eKOwU&t=365s
2. Disponible en: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWa91Q-JHpGM&t=1808s
3. Disponible en: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0PtwzSi-kWRnftscW9uI_Ug/videos

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FLORES AND 'TIJERAS': A FEMINIST REVINDICATION OF QUECHUA AND INDIGENOUS WOMEN THROUGH A FUSION OF ANDEAN-TRAP MUSIC

FLORES E 'TIJERAS': UMA REIVINDICAÇÃO FEMINISTA DO QUECHUA E DAS MULHERES INDÍGENAS ATRAVÉS DE UMA FUSÃO DE MÚSICA TRAP ANDINA

FLORES Y 'TIJERAS': UNA REIVINDICACIÓN FEMINISTA DEL QUECHUA Y DE LA MUJER INDÍGENA POR MEDIO DE UNA FUSIÓN ANDINA DE MÚSICA TRAP

FLORES ET 'TIJERAS': UNE RÉAFFIRMATION FÉMINISTE DES FEMMES QUECHUA ET INDIGÈNES À TRAVERS UNE FUSION DE MUSIQUE ANDINE-TRAP

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ABSTRACT: This article explores the song 'Tijeras', by Renata Flores, with the aim of identifying how the narrative of the message is constructed in the song, what elements accompany the representation and how they dialogue. To do this, the authors carry out an in-depth reading (Buonanno, 1999) where they identify five areas that allow us to understand the song as a weapon of protest and vindication, not only of indigenous women but also of the quechua language. In doing so, the article discusses the fusion Renata Flores makes between the mountains, the street, and the musical genre, while promoting a feminist message of union to face gender violence. In addition, the authors discuss the difference in cosmopolitanism that the artist projects, which in turn vindicates the representation of the indigenous Quechua-speaking woman. In general, the results suggest that the song 'Tijeras' contributes to the oral and musical transmission of Quechua, while promoting revolutionary and feminist ideals that connect with young audiences, to encourage identification processes that contribute to the elimination of violence against women, in general, and minority groups such as the indigenous, in particular.

Keywords: Quechua, vindication, feminism, music, trap, Renata Flores.

RESUMO: Este artigo explora a canção "Tijeras", de Renata Flores, com o objetivo de identificar como a narrativa da mensagem é construída na canção, que elementos acompanham a representação e como eles dialogam. Para tal, as autoras realizam uma leitura aprofundada (Buonanno, 1999) onde identificam cinco áreas que nos permitem compreender a canção como uma arma de protesto e reivindicação, não só das mulheres indígenas, mas também da língua quechua. Ao fazê-lo, o artigo discute a fusão que Renata Flores faz entre as montanhas, a rua e o género musical, ao mesmo tempo que promove uma mensagem feminista de união para enfrentar a violência de género. Além disso, as autoras discutem a diferença de cosmopolitismo que a artista projeta, o que por sua vez vinga a representação da mulher indígena. Em geral, os resultados sugerem que a canção "Tijeras" contribui para a transmissão oral e musical do Quechua, ao mesmo tempo que promove ideais revolucionárias e feministas que se ligam ao público jovem, e que encorajam processos de identificação que contribuem para a eliminação da violência contra as mulheres. em geral, e grupos minoritários como os indígenas, em particular.

Palavras-chave: Quechua, reivindicação, feminismo, música, trap, Renata Flores.

RÉSUMÉ: Cet article explore la chanson "Tijeras" de Renata Flores dans le but d'identifier comment le récit du message est construit dans la chanson, quels éléments accompagnent la représentation et comment ils dialoguent. À cette fin, les auteurs réalisent une lecture approfondie (Buonanno, 1999) où ils identifient cinq domaines qui permettent de comprendre la chanson comme une arme de protestation et de revendication, non seulement des femmes indigènes mais aussi de la langue quechua. Ce faisant, l'article traite de la fusion par Renata Flores de la montagne, de la rue et du

genre musical, tout en promouvant un message féministe d'unité pour affronter la violence de genre. En outre, les auteurs discutent de la différence de cosmopolitisme que l'artiste projette, qui justifie à son tour la représentation des femmes autochtones. Dans l'ensemble, les résultats suggèrent que la chanson "Tijeras" contribue à la transmission orale et musicale du quechua, tout en promouvant des idéaux révolutionnaires et féministes qui touchent un public jeune, et qui encouragent les processus d'identification contribuant à l'élimination de la violence à l'égard des femmes, en général, et des groupes minoritaires tels que les femmes indigènes en particulier.

Mots-clés: Quechua, revindication, féminisme, musique, trap, Renata Flores.

RESUMEN: Este artículo explora la canción Tijeras, de Renata Flores, con el objetivo de identificar cómo se construye la narrativa del mensaje en la canción, qué elementos acompañan la representación y cómo dialogan. Para ello, las autoras realizan una lectura en profundidad (Buonanno, 1999) en la que identifican cinco áreas que permiten entender la canción como un arma de protesta y reivindicación, no sólo de las mujeres indígenas, sino también de la lengua quechua. Con ello, el artículo discute la fusión que Renata Flores hace entre la montaña, la calle y el género musical, mientras promueve un mensaje feminista de unión para enfrentar la violencia de género. Además, las autoras discuten la diferencia de cosmopolitismo que proyecta la artista, que a su vez reivindica la representación de la mujer indígena. En general, los resultados sugieren que la canción Tijeras contribuye a la transmisión oral y musical del quechua, a la vez que promueve ideales revolucionarios y feministas que conectan con el público joven, para fomentar procesos de identificación que contribuyan a la eliminación de la violencia contra las mujeres, en general, y de grupos minoritarios como los indígenas, en particular.

Palabras-clave: Quechua, reivindicación, feminismo, música, trap, Renata Flores.

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1. Introduction

Renata Flores is a Peruvian, twenty-years old woman, composer, and singer, who participated in the tv show 'La Voz Kids' in 2014, in Peru (Saavedra, 2018) and became more popular in 2016 thanks to her interpretation of 'The Way You Make Me Feel' by Michael Jackson, one of the biggest hits in the history of pop music, sung in Quechua[30] (LifeStyle, 2016)[31]. By making covers of mainstream songs - such as 'The house of the rising sun'[32], by Animals - which is considered her first cover in Quechua (Guerrero Negreiros, 2018), she established a particular music style and conquered popularity, especially within digital platforms such as YouTube. Nowadays, Renata Flores has more than 46.1K followers in Instagram and 1.050 subscribers in YouTube, an audience that is increasing while she is actively participating in 'Mujeres que transforman #MQT', a Peruvian platform that congregates women's stories regarding social change to promote empowerment among them (Stakeholders, 2018), as well as in other campaigns such as 'Vogue Hope: 'Cartas de Esperanza desde México y Latinoamérica' (Urquieta, 2020), or by the song 'Yo Mujer' as part of the efforts against human trafficking (Andina, 2020). Renata Flores' recognition mainly stands in her musical interpretation in Quechua language, as an intention to reconnect with her heritage and past (Parkas, 2018). At the same time, Flores brings to the present the language and the elements of indigenous culture that are inserted in a contemporary setting of cultural creation, thus achieving a double causal relationship that transcends borders.

In 2018, Flores launched the single 'Tijeras', an electronic-trap song that encourages women to raise their voices against gender violence and to take care of each other (Antoñanzas, 2019). This song was one more step in the commitment that Flores expresses in each artistic appearance or creation, and it also meant a turning point since it not only incorporates a sound that is far removed from Andean artistic productions, even from other musical groups that also perform in Quechua, but also appropriated a musical genre that has traditionally been associated with masculinity: trap music (Reitsamer, 2011). In Flores' presentation of the song 'Tijeras', on her YouTube channel, the artist points out the following:

> Los feminicidios hieren, aún más cuando quedan impunes. En mi tema quiero plasmar lo que sentimos al ver tanto sufrimiento de muchas mujeres (madres, esposas, hijas, hermanas y amigas) y mientras eso sucede los padres de la patria se dan el lujo de comprar flores caras, perfumando su entorno podrido. ¡Eso no nos debe desanimar, tenemos que seguir unidas cuidándonos las unas a las otras! Con este video quiero animar a las mujeres que NO CALLEN ante tanta injusticia y corrupción. [Femicides hurt, even more so when they go unpunished. In my song I want to capture

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[30] Pre-Columbian language that was spoken by the primitive Quechua people and is currently spoken mainly in Peru and parts of Bolivia and Ecuador.

[31] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvT9y0HqItE&ab_channel=RenataFlores

[32] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eX-9Pb-QlZs&ab_channel=RenataFloresRivera

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what we feel when we see so much suffering of many women (mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and friends) and while that happens the fathers of the country have the luxury of buying expensive flowers, perfuming their rotten environment. That should not discourage us, we must continue together taking care of each other! With this video I want to encourage women NOT to SHUT UP in the face of so much injustice and corruption.] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

Media outlets acclaimed the representation portrayed by the lyrics and images of the Tijeras' official video uploaded on Flores' YouTube channel, considering it as a vindication of culture, language and heritage (Página Siete, 2019; Oyola, 2019) with a powerful feminist narrative. Although Flores has argued that she does not represent the woman's stereotype accepted by the society, particularly in the cultural field, she also has declared that self-worth validation and identity have been key elements to face criticisms (Canalipe, 2019), and in that sense the usage of the Quechua language has been a key-factor to resist and re-invent the Peruvian musical industry.

These nuances allow us to consider Renata Flores as an important young woman representative of a marginalized community who are revendicating Quechua's language through a fusion of Andean sonority with pop music genres while, at the same time, reinforcing feminist messages among lyrics and portrayals. Therefore, we aim to highlight the construction of the symbolic elements and messages present in Tijeras by following a deep reading (Buonanno, 1999) and a sociological analysis (Guerra, 2021a) of the song to identify where and how a hybridization (Regev, 2013) takes place while connecting elements such as ethnicity and culture within late modern aesthetics, visuals, and sonority (Morris, 2020).

The article is organized as follows: i) the theoretical framework will contextualize both Quechua's language, connections with indigenous people and the discrimination they have suffered historically, and ii) the Tijeras' dance as a cultural practice and the role it has on indigenous identity; iii) we will present our methodology axes and afterwards, we will discuss, critically analyse and comprehend the work of Renata (iv), and finally, we will refer about future researches, given that the cultural and artistic expressions of the Global South are still lacking a deep and profound scientific and academic approach.

2. Theoretical considerations

According to Saroli (2005), Andean music has two basic characteristics. Firstly, there is the importance of music in a culture without a written language, such as Quechua. Due to the lack of a tradition or formal institutions that enable the teaching and transmission of Quechua language learning, the use of Quechua is minoritarian in Andean towns and cities along Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, or Peru. In fact, '"in the 20th century Quechua has begun to decline with the compulsory education in Spanish (in Peru)'" (Górska, 2014), which dialogues with other studies

that have argued that Quechua is indeed an endangered language (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Howard-Malverde, 1998). In the second place, there are essential characteristics of the Andean musical forms, such as the yaravi[33] and/or the huayno[34], considered as Andean sonorities and traditions typical from the region. Following Saroli (2005: 48): 'Andean music and poetry are often interconnected to the point that the Quechua words for "song" and "poem" can be used interchangeably'. Since Quechua has been restricted to the oral tradition (Górska, 2014), music seems to be even more appropriated to be used as a communication tool of the history, patrimony and identity of Andean indigenous people.

Some studies have analysed the relationship between different groups of people and Quechua's culture and language, raising awareness regarding the discrimination that indigenous people suffered for being considered less valuable, especially in a geographical context -urban vs rural areas- (Delforge, 2012; Hill, 2008; Lovón-Cueva & Quispe-Lacma, 2020; Rivera, 2017). On the other hand, some studies also argued that a vindication is taking place especially within youth generations of indigenous people -in general-, and within musicians -in particular-, which has been a remarkable shift in their depiction and social acceptance (Kidman et. *al*, 2021; Potskin, 2020). In this sense, Warren and Evitt (2010:141) have argued how indigenous hip-hop responds to racist discourses by demonstrating musical aspiration and love to the nation, culture, and values. In their words, 'indigenous hip-hop links up-and-coming with more experienced performers in what amounts to a semi-formal, political, transnational and anti-colonial creative industry'. The decolonial perspective (Mendoza Zapata et *al.*, 2020; Quijano, 2011) is particularly interesting in this matter since Quechua has suffered different types of impositions because of the conquer of Spaniards, these changes reflected themselves in subjects like religion, culture and of course, language itself, to mention a few. In this sense, young people that have identified themselves as Quechuas, seem to have updated their values and characteristics without placing themselves out of the capitalist and neoliberal scenario (Guerra & Val Ripollés, 2021). This is, they are capable of transforming their own experiences and practices by combining both the traditional view and values of their heritage and ancestors, with a modern vision of the world (Mendoza Zapata et *al.*, 2020). Within these practices, indigenous artists have the potential to reimagine and revindicate their space, social imaginary and challenge historical stigmas (Mays, 2019; Vik, 2018).

In his approaches, Lovesey (2011) tells us that the relationship between popular music and the postcolonial context is dismissed, and this is also a basic motivation for this article. The explosion of popular music happened between the 1950s and

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[33] A soft, sweet, and melancholic song that originates from some South American countries.

[34] A dance group in which the participants form a round and perform figures of great elegance. It is particularly well known in the Andean countries.

1960s, periods that were marked by numerous processes of decolonisation and, in this sense, there are few authors who reflect on the role that popular music had - directly and indirectly, but also in the short, medium, and long term - in the scope of anti-colonial cultural resistance. Music, in its most varied expressions, was also a central element for the definition of post-colonial parameters and for protesting against neo-colonial mimicry (Sánchez-García & Touhtou, 2021; Lovesey, 2011).

Thus, what we intend to denote is that Renata's music challenges the spatial-temporal boundaries of post-colonialism, with an inevitable expansion making it multifaceted, global, and plural, in a form that makes it possible to combine traditional and contemporary logics, such aesthetics, instruments, languages, and forms of production and dissemination. We are thus before different modes of resistance of popular music (Scott, 1990), which are marked by the existence of distinct forms of production and circulation, from recordings, radio, festivals, and pubs. However, we go further and affirm that besides there being few studies that combine music and the processes of decolonisation, even fewer are the studies that add digital platforms to these two elements (Sánchez-García et. *al*, 2020; Feixa, 2014).

Thinking about what was said at the beginning of this article, social networks and other digital platforms that Renata uses to disseminate her music can be seen as a re-appropriation or reinterpretation of the logic of oral transmission of the Quechua language, while allowing it to be disseminated on a large scale. Therefore, musicians have played a key role to maintain Quechua language and to preserve the tradition of orality, but also giving it a new guise, making it change in time and space. Based on this assumption, there is a latent process of hybridization (Regev, [1997] 2013) which is also permeated by the importance of digital. It is not exclusive to indigenous artistic creations (Alvarez-Cueva & Guerra, 2021b) but, when considered the historical segregation and continuum discrimination of minoritarian social groups -such as indigenous Quechua people-, the spectrum of possibilities that might be opened and from which new generations may link and feel identified, does help to subvert the stigma and also serves as a way to reappropriate symbolisms and language to place them in a globally context. In this sense, '[indigenous] artists challenge dominant racial logics of their society' (Swinehart, 2019: 461) and, therefore, is what transforms the cultural capitals of what is considered as valuable in it (Bourdieu, 1988). Inherent in such conceptions of artistic resistance are logics of power, in the sense that there is a struggle to know which voices matter, which issues are to be highlighted and which sounds are to be affirmed in contemporary societies. In Renata's case, as an artist who moves in the field of electronic trap, the influence of the market and of Anglo-American productions are profound (Bruner & Liechti, 2021). From rock -with bands such as UCHPA-, going through poetic historical adaptations -with examples

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such as Crónica de Mendigos [Beggars' Chronicle][35] and Tayta Bird[36]- (Vik, 2018), to arrive at a contemporary sounds' fusion of electronic, urban and trap music genres - where we highlight Renata Flores.

The Tijeras' (scissors) dance -also known as Danzaq- is a Peruvian tradition catalogued as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, that 'takes its name from the pair of polished iron rods, resembling scissors blades, wielded by each dancer in his right hand.' (UNESCO, 2010). Traditionally executed by rural communities, the Tijeras' dance gained terrain among urban spaces by implementing competitions associated with religious rituals, although its original link was with agriculture. According to Van Buren (2015: 3), the dance 'has survived colonialism, religious persecution, Peruvian nationhood, and migration', and allowed the evoke of patrimonial memories and heritage that are important for the communities and to consolidate identity, particularly within the connection with ancestors.

> Across Peru, dance affirms community through participatory practice of a complex language not only of local cultural symbolism, but also of the dramatic interplay of actors representing or commenting upon the social order. (It became a) transnational symbol of Peruvian indigenous identity.' (Van Buren, 2015:3-4).

Nowadays, Tijeras' dance has been appropriated by Peruvian women, particularly youths, and interpreted as a new artistic expression of themselves, that help to connect among each other and subvert the traditional portrayal of men's exclusivity (Oyola, 2019a; Purizaca, 2021). This shift coincides with the growing narrative and media communication regarding feminist ideals, where women may feel more confident to assume a revolutionary role in the society, particularly in historical and traditional practices. In this regard, a relevant example of how young women are revindicating the Tijeras' dance is Warmi[37] Danzaq (Hidrogo & Morey, 2019).

Music, particularly underground, has been associated with processes of revolutionary ideals that are incorporated in daily lives as a sort of 'anthems' that, in turn, generate unity among people and help to build community and to reinforce identity (Silva et. al, 2018). Beyond this, different music genres have been associated to different social groups and generations along the history (Bennett, 2001), transforming the depictions and associations of their practices, behaviours, and ideals in different periods of time. Nowadays, into the neoliberal context of music production, these practices have also changed and adapt to the consumerism of a late modern subjectivity (Giddens, 1997) and, somehow, in the process, mixing also

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[35] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/c/CronicaMendigos/featured

[36] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0eXZq-dkeKvcg_l78_2d8w

[37] Warmi means 'women' in quechua.

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different elements of feminist and post-feminists (McRobbie, 2009) depictions and narratives (Gill, 2017), especially among young women musicians (Araüna et al., 2019).

Into this context of revolution, vindication, youthfulness and feminism, Renata Flores irrupts the scenario of contemporary music with a fusion of music genres and a hybridization (Regev, 2013) of Quechua, not only the language but also the sonority of the Andean flute, violins, and scenarios of Andean nature. Renata Flores combines different cosmopolitan patterns of current fashion trends with the traditional Andean jewels and dresses that help to demarcate a terrain where she can create her own music and style without losing her heritage and roots while promoting both tangible and intangible values of the Peruvian indigenous people to a more global spectrum.

Other examples include the emergence of bands such as Los Chikitukus[38], a group of indigenous musicians from the Andes in Peru who combine traditional music chimaycha[39] with discourses of revolt and criticism of the processes of colonial domination, daily life, and experiences (Tucker, 2019). Although they are artistic productions referring to specific groups or communities, artists such as Renata or the Chikitukus, through their artistic practices and music-making processes, encourage the coming together of two worlds, the urban and the rural, but also the traditional and the contemporary. Thus, these contents assume themselves as a way of talking about and portraying social problems (Berger, 1995), while also criticising contemporary societies. In the case of Chikitukus, themes such as social anomie, alcohol consumption or poverty are recurrent themes, while in the case of Renata we encounter feminist and feminine empowerment discourses. If gender inequalities are already a constant in the music industry, and here we are talking about cis-gender women, for LGBTQI+ groups, non-binary gender individuals and young indigenous women like Renata, such inequalities become even more evident, because she is an artist from the Global South (Ballico & Watson, 2020), whose experience is marked by a patriarchal and oppressive society. Thus, the relation between artistic and cultural elements and the political dimension has always permeated cultural studies and the sociology of popular cultures. The result of this relation has been affirmed in the growing processes of resistance (Guerra, 2021b, 2020a), but also in the contemporary dynamics of artivism (Guerra et al, 2020) that guide today's youth cultures all over the world. Identities are assumed as being increasingly fluid, and the practices carried out by young people like Renata interconnect with multiple subcultural fields (Feixa, 1998), referring to various spaces of social micro-existence (Ferreira, 2016). Then, Renata's performances, style, aesthetics, and other resources are used as a means to 'keep herself in the scene', mainly regarding the fact that, being of indigenous origin,

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[38] A folkloric group, established in 1987 in the district of Chushi, that performs the indigenous and Andean music of Chimaycha.

[39] Musical genre and cultural expression with messages and content about the Andean cosmovision, love, heartbreak and suffering in socio-political and cultural contexts.

she finds herself behind the scenes of a macrosocial location, i.e., of exclusion, stigma and marginalization. In parallel, more than struggles for equality, Renata's path has been guided by a struggle for the subjectivity of the indigenous population, more concretely, of the feminine population (McDonald, 1999). In other words, music emerges as the vehicle for the struggles for self-realization and for identity definitions of individual character.

3. Methodology

Based on Guerra's (2020a) consideration of music as a weapon, we bring the case of 'Tijeras' into an analysis where the elements presented in the previous sections can be highlighted to understand Renata Flores' work. The study aims to analyse the song 'Tijeras', its elements through both lyrics and portrayals, and to establishing parallelisms within other studies that have analysed women music artists from a feminist perspective (Araüna et al., 2019; Guerra & Alvarez-Cueva, 2021; Guerra, 2020b). In doing so, the study anticipates identifying processes of hybridization (Regev, 1997), elements of cultural heritage (Heinich, 2011), and the construction of social class and gender (Skeggs, 2005, 2008). In concordance, the study follows a deep reading analysis (Buonanno, 1999) through five areas: 1. Context, 2. Construction, 3. Narrative, 4. Content and 5. Signifiers, which -in our opinion- are key points to comprehend the structures of an artistic music, especially one like the case we are presenting here, where there is a profound relationship with everyday life. This methodology, supported by a critical qualitative approach, is relevant for the purpose of the study as it allows to transit the text and elements that constitute the message of the song and link them within the contemporary cultural production to problematize different representations. In this sense, we agree with Bounanno (1999) when he argues that this method is 'inescapable' when making sense of a particular context with explicit premises, justifications, implications, and a particular approach. Furthermore, decolonial and postfeminist perspectives will be included transversally to dialogue with the many elements and constructions that take place in this artistic production. Finally, it is relevant to mention that both, lyrics, and video, were captured from Renata Flores' YouTube channel that, now of this research, already had 1.043.948 visualizations and more than 3.800 commentaries.

4. Analysis

The analysis of the study relates to the five areas proposed by Buonanno (1999) to generate a complete image of how to understand the artistic creation of Renata Flores and the song 'Tijeras'. The analysis understands context not only as the place or scenario where artists and other people portray themselves, rather also incorporates messages and ideas that construct a whole from where Renata Flores and other people raise their voices, such as political movements or social claims. Therefore, construction will follow the elements and the combination of them present especially

in the video clip. Narrative would be addressed mainly through the lyrics of the song, although also representations might be included since political context, for instance, will be read in banners or walls behind the artist and other people in the video clip. Finally, both content and signifiers will be addressed in combination of the previous areas and problematised in the discussion.

4.1. The fusion: Between Andean Mountains, the street and trap

From the first second, the fusion of Andean sounds and the musical genre of trap and electronics are present, accompanied by a staging characteristic of contemporary artistic production: the figure of the artist emerging from the smoked stage, while her name in large letters covers half of the screen. She is dressed in a coat, her hair is tied back, and she holds a challenging gaze directly into the camera. After five seconds, however, a traditional Renata Flores can be seen, behind a large harp full of colour and flowers, on the mountain. When the lyrics begin, four more female figures are distinguished, they are Renata's companions. At this time, the first parallelism of Tijeras' artistic creation is identified: Renata Flores, dressed in a traditional way, surrounded by four women dressed in black. Youth and femininity are evident (Skeggs, 2008), as well as the hybridization (Regev, 1997) that this composition suggests, mixing the feminine tradition of the clothing worn by Renata with the comfort and youth of the modern pants worn by her companions. This image and choreography are exchanged during the video with two more women who accompany Renata's traditional look, dressed in a poncho and traditional hat, while they play the violins, a characteristic instrument of Andean music and, above all, of the scissors' dance (Saroli, 2005; Scott, 1990).

Upon returning to the urban scene, the lyrics of the song begin with a powerful message of social denunciation:

> Nadie mira nada / No puedo hacer nada, quiero hablar. / Con mucha bulla, nadie escucha lo que digo / Entonces digo, ¡gritaré! / Escucha y te diré / Escucha y te diré [Nobody sees at anything / I can't do anything, I want to talk. / With a lot of noise, nobody listens to what I say / Then I say, I will scream! / Listen and I will tell you / Listen and I will tell you] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

This narrative links both scenarios in her video. On the one hand, the Andean mountain, with traditional clothing and the characteristic instruments of Andean music. On the other hand, the street scene, darkness, and modernity of the musical genre of trap and electronics. While the video places Renata Flores and other women in the mountain and urban street settings, the image of a women's march also stands out, with posters and legends associated to feminism movements, something that we explore in detail in the following sections. At this point, however, it is where we coincide with Guerra (2020a) in understanding music as a weapon that allows us to

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raise our voices and unite society around the same cause, as happens, for example, with the following verse:

> Tal vez mi grito lo cante lindo / Y así la gente escuche / Miro con tristeza tanto dolor / Gente corrupta, no hacen nada bien / Nosotros les dimos el poder ¿comprando flores? [Maybe my scream sings beautifully / And so the people listen / I look at so much pain with sadness / Corrupt people, they don't do anything right / We gave them power, buying flowers?] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

After the last stanzas of empowerment and the invitation to women to stay together, the video closes with a powerful shot of Renata Flores, again dressed in a traditional and cosmopolitan way, a hybridization (Regev, 1997) that accompanied her the entire video, with the other four women dressed in black, standing on the mountain, looking together towards the horizon, facing the sun, as if they were about to start a fight, upright and ready for action.

4.2. A construction in feminine: age, ethnicity, tradition, and protest

The video entirely denotes femininity (Skeggs, 2005), a construction and representation that emphasizes its inclusiveness by linking elements such as age, ethnicity -not only indigenous but Afro-descendant- woman, the tradition of the practice of scissors and, of course, a vindictive message of protest and struggle.

The representation of women is a key point to highlight in the video. While the lyrics narrate powerful feminist slogans, especially against sexist violence, girls, young people, and old women echo the narrative from what can be read as their own personal spaces, whether in the mountains, while they perform a dance, next to nature or from the same street. This construction is mainly vindictive for the song not only because it reinforces the message of unity among women, but because in doing so it generates a sense of equality that challenges the constant discrimination that many of these women have been subjected to in society. Here, for example, it is interesting to highlight the participation of an Afro-Peruvian woman (Soto Florián, 2001) as she belongs, precisely, to one of the least represented segments of the Peruvian population and whose marginality could correspond to the case of the indigenous woman.

Regarding the lyrics, the song maintains a tone of union and struggle, linking the two most important languages of Peru, Castilian, and Quechua:

> No tengas miedo de hablar / Mírame, ahora soy más fuerte / Mírame, ya no tengo miedo / Ahora sí, tengo esperanza / ¡Mujeres, estemos unidas! [Don't be afraid to speak / Look at me, now I'm stronger / Look at me, I'm no longer afraid / Now I have hope / Women, let's be united!] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

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In this sense, we find that the music of Renata Flores in general, and the song 'Tijeras' in particular, challenges the traditional racist and discriminatory discourse of society (Warren & Evitt, 2010), giving way to the unification of Quechua and Spanish in what can also be understood as a claiming poetry (Saroli, 2005), a hybridization that builds and allows to qualify the differences with positive and renovating overtones. In this construction, a decolonial perspective is also highlighted (Zapata, 2020) that is evident from, as we mentioned, the inclusion of intersectionality (Crenshaw,1989). Age and ethnicity, the latter that often goes hand in hand with socioeconomic strata and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1988), in certain contexts, refer to a diverse society, which values its differences and stands tall fighting for justice and equity.

Finally, at the moment of the scissors' dance, women appropriate the tradition and their cultural heritage (Heinich, 2011), not only in their movements but also in their clothing, giving way to the message of the song that reads: 'Don't be afraid to speak up' (Flores, 'Tijeras', 2018). This composition can be understood as part of a strategy of resistance (Scott, 1990) of contemporary music in Quechua and of the scissors dance performed by women. This demand determines a new, youthful, and feminine form of empowerment that is translated into joyful and vibrant sounds, that is, in a hybridization (Regev, 2013) that will allow other women, of diverse ages and ethnicities, to identify and thus revalue their own inheritance and heritage (Heinich, 2011).

4.3. Narrating feminism: 'Women, let's be united!' (Warmikuna quñusqa kasun)

As commented in the previous paragraphs, the song 'Tijeras' is a feminine narrative of empowerment and identity. In this sense, for example, at the second 00:00:23, the concert of images of women, of different ages, and with different clothes, takes place, in what we understand as a sum of voices that echo the song, that is, they also protest and want to 'shout'. The narrowed narration of feminism can be seen during this sequence of images that are accompanied by feminist legends such as: 'We want each other alive', 'united by justice', 'free and without fear', 'gender violence", which coincide with the Quechua lyrics that translates to listen and I'll tell you' (Renata Flores, 'Tijeras', 2018).

In this sense, Renata Flores goes one step further within contemporary artistic production, not only does it include representations that are read as feminist, but it also accompanies them with slogans typical of the revolutionary process proposed by the movement. That is, it is not enough just to appear, but consistency is necessary when emphasizing the demands that are claimed. In this sense, the study highlights a construction of femininity that is largely different from the commercial proposal of the dominant music industry (Illescas, 2015) since the representation that Renata Flores and the women in her video construct moves away from the youthful and late modern proposal of other female artists. In this sense, aspects such as sexualization

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(Attwood, 2006) or the cult of hedonism (Gill, 2017), in addition to explicit erotic provocation or consumerism are not present in the general representation of the song 'Tijeras'. Rather, what Renata Flores does is elevate elements associated with indigenous women to aspirational, aesthetic and youth levels (Giddens, 1997), such as jewellery or some elements of their clothing, makeup, and decoration, such as nails. These patterns are present in other musical icons of the moment (Alvarez-Cueva y Guerra, 2021) but, in Renata Flores, these elements are much more attached to the local context, that is, they link identity values of Peruvian indigenous women with feminism and, therefore, with the historical moment that the country is experiencing regarding the struggle of women.

4.4. Hybrid Youth Content: Indigenous Cosmopolitanism?

Following on from what is mentioned above, Renata Flores takes several of the traditional elements of indigenous women to take them to a more sophisticated level, of glamor and trend, which would suggest an indigenous cosmopolitanism. In line with this proposal, in another study, Alvarez-Cueva and Guerra (2021a) argue that the class condition also fulfils vindictive effects for working women. However, although Renata Flores would seem to do the same from her context as an indigenous woman, the clothes and accessories that add to her chic representation and that subvert the connotation that these elements have had in the social sphere, making them aspirational and cosmopolitan, construction made by Renata Flores does not directly highlight the consumption of these elements, but rather presents them as an extension of herself, of her own identity and heritage.

The strategy of cosmopolitanism (Giddens, 1997) corresponds to the late modern production scenario where the consumption factor is key to the construction of identity (Skeggs, 2005). However, in Renata Flores there is a difference because, contrary to what other artists in the music industry do, Flores uses these elements for herself. The women who accompany the choreography do not wear the same clothes or the same accessories, and the other women who accompany the video clip, dancing or looking at the camera, wear their own elements, some that may coincide with the jewellery or styles of Flores, others do not, but always from an individual space, that is, they do not seem being appropriating for commercial interests. In short, it is possible to understand each woman as authentic, faithful to their differences and their own tradition, while, in this exercise, they join the musical and youthful proposal of Renata Flores.

4.5. Vindication of the Quechua women

Finally, it is possible to identify that the 'Tijeras' song constitutes an artistic and cultural product that dialogues, on the one hand, with feminism and, on the other hand, with both material and intangible heritage of indigenous people. The song follows a very personal line of artistic creation, which Renata Flores has shown in

constant interviews (Antoñanzas, 2019; Parkas, 2018). Flores has recognized that Quechua knows him and learns through his grandmother and, by linking her in the representation of his song, it takes an even more vindictive form because not only does he dialogue from the most intimate of his emotions, but also becomes one of the women struggling through her song.

Likewise, the construction of the representations of the women artists who play the string instruments and dance the dance of the Tijeras transgresses the traditional male figure that dominates these traditions in Peru, offering new forms of appropriation that give an additional value to cultural practice and, therefore, to the very meaning of Quechua indigenous women in the country. Finally, the last key ingredient in this process of vindication of the Quechua-speaking and indigenous woman comes from the context in which Renata Flores inserts the theme, particularly through the modern sound of Trap and electronics (Guerra *et al.*, 2021). This strategy of appropriation of a musical genre traditionally associated with misogyny and extended male dominance has been part of other contemporary artistic creations (Araüna, et *al.*, 2019) and, however, Renata Flores incorporates the additional ingredient of indigenism to demarcate a space that is indisputably her: youth, indigenist, femininity and music.

5. Results and discussion

The present study examines the case of Renata Flores, particularly her song 'Tijeras' by following an in-depth reading (Buonanno, 1999). In this exercise, the study identifies that the five areas of analysis suggest that Renata Flores brings several of the indigenous elements to a level of aesthetic cosmopolitanism that is far from the contemporary strategy of consumerism in the music industry. Instead, Renata Flores opens the scene of the personal and intimate as a source of self-determination, identity and self-esteem that i) allows to vindicate the representation of the indigenous Quechua-speaking woman; ii) contributes to the oral, poetic and musical transmission of Quechua, based on feminist phrases and slogans that iii) promote revolutionary and equitable ideals, not only among indigenous women but also considering the feminine diversity of Peru and which, in turn, iv) connect with young audiences, not only from aesthetics but also from the vindication of all these elements and the Andean context of nature and its sounds, to achieve identification processes that contribute to the elimination of violence against women, in general, and minority groups, in particular. Renata Flores and her artistic production are framed in the scenario of late modernity (Giddens, 1997), breaking into the 'formula' of creating the music industry, although she maintains other strategies that facilitate the transmission of Quechua to different social contexts, around the world. In this sense, the present study considers Renata Flores as a creative and powerful young woman to consider within the area of cultural studies, emphasizing the way in which she stands out from other artists and/or typically post-feminist qualities (Gill, 2017), while

promoting various slogans that dialogue with the historical moment that the movement is experiencing.

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'Dio$ No$ Libre Del Dinero'. Um ensaio acerca dos cruzamentos entre as retóricas pós-feministas e as indústrias (pós)culturais na obra de Rosalía

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Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo último discutir e perspetivar as formas pelas quais Rosalía, enquanto artista, aciona um conjunto ampliado de narrativas pós-feministas, não só nas suas letras, mas também nos seus videoclipes neste contexto de modernidade tardia. Assim, mantendo o princípio de que as retóricas pós-feministas são abrangentes e multifacetadas, foram analisadas quatro canções: "Malamente" (2018), "Yo x Ti, Tu x Mi" (2019), "Aute Cuture" (2019) e "Juro Que" (2020)[3]. Desta forma, intentámos aferir da(s) dualidade(s) que pauta o discurso artístico de Rosalía, indo, assim, ao encontro de uma dialógica entre as indústrias (pós)culturais e o discurso sociológico acerca dos objetos, narrativas e imagéticos criativos delas emergentes.

Palavras-chave: pós-feminismo, Rosalía, modernidade tardia, indústrias (pós)culturais, *reggaeton* e *flamenco*.

1. *Yo x Ti, Tu x Mi*: Princípio

Pensando em grandes estrelas *pop* como Madonna ou Beyoncé, o seu sucesso pode ser enquadrado na era MTV. Desde o ano de fundação deste canal, em 1991, e mais ainda num período recente, temos vindo a assistir a uma mudança profunda em termos de programação, muito devido ao facto de as plataformas digitais terem vindo a adquirir um destaque cada vez maior. Castilla (2020) fala-nos mesmo de uma era pós-MTV, afirmando que tal se refere a um campo onde a indústria musical, bem como os artistas que dela fazem parte, se encontram envolvidos com novas e constantes dinâmicas que, essencialmente, se pautam por um conjunto de relações complexas entre aqueles que produzem a cultura, aqueles que a distribuem e, claro está, aqueles que a consomem. Sublinhe-se que

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o consumo de música no presente é feito também *pelas* e *nas* redes sociais – especialmente o Instagram, que Paula Guerra (2018b) indica assumir-se como uma experiência intensa e imersiva. Assim, estas plataformas tornam-se espaços de produção e de disseminação de conteúdos, com uma importante diferença face aos tradicionais e convencionais espaços públicos (Liew & Pang, 2015) no que toca às memórias coletivas e às interações *face-to-face*. Em paralelo à mudança de um espaço físico para um espaço virtual, plataformas como o Instagram demonstram o crescimento de uma cultura visual, no sentido em que existe uma combinação entre o formato mediático e o conteúdo particular (Guerra, 2018b), algo muito bem utilizado por Rosalía como estratégia de marketing: a cantora socorreu-se desta rede para se conectar com o público e lhe transmitir as suas ideias e os seus trabalhos (Manovich, 2016; Chesher, 2012).

A era pós-MTV trouxe consigo um manancial de símbolos e de interações que fazem com que o campo artístico e musical se demarque pela constante negociação, aceitação, negação e representação (Lieb, 2018). Griswold (2013) aborda a existência de uma espécie de diamante cultural composto por vários vértices e arestas que, na realidade, pode ser visto como exemplificativo das relações que compõem a indústria cultural e musical: desde os objetos culturais – nos quais estão compreendidos os valores, as crenças e as práticas efetivas – aos criadores de conteúdo cultural, ou seja, a todos os indivíduos-chave responsáveis pela criação e pela produção musical, juntamente com a audiência e o mundo social, um elemento essencial que nada mais é do que o próprio contexto em que as produções nascem, se disseminam e são consumidas.

Por que razão é que estas questões são importantes? Por um lado, estas são problemáticas que estão constantemente a ser reforçadas pelas mudanças que pautam a sociedade e, por outro, porque estão na base da necessidade sociológica de abordar o conteúdo artístico produzido por Rosalía[4]. Todas estas questões são inerentes ao trabalho desta artista, bem como a produção de múltiplos significados, intrínsecos e invocados, suscetíveis de uma análise profunda e sistemática (Green, 2001). Mais ainda, temos a dialética entre estas dimensões e a retórica feminista (McRobbie, 2009).

Mas porquê Rosalía? Por ser, conjuntamente, produto e resistência de e dentro de uma indústria musical e uma sociedade de consumo (Bauman, 2008). Castilla (2020) afirma que, ao nos debruçarmos sobre a indústria musical, nos iremos deparar com muitas artistas que, além de serem criadoras de objetos e produtos culturais, são também fruto de um emaranhado de relações que as tornam "vendedoras" de criações culturais – além de criarem um produto, acabam por se tornarem elas próprias numa marca de produtos culturais (Lieb, 2018). É nesta era pós-MTV que os agentes, os *managers*, os *bloggers*, os fotógrafos e os programadores ganham um lugar de destaque apenas ofuscado pelas plataformas digitais como o Spotify e, claro está, o YouTube. Autoras como Carey (2020) destacam que estas plataformas digitais criam diálogos contínuos entre os artistas e os públicos, conferindo, assim, a ambos o poder e a possibilidade de resistirem ao sistema. Em ambas as plataformas, Rosalía conseguiu uma posição de destaque, com uma audiência na ordem dos milhões[5].

Acionando o diamante cultural de Griswold (2013), todos estes astros devem *alinhar-se*; e, para Rosalía, foi exatamente isso que aconteceu. A artista entrou na indústria musical e passou a dominá-la. Aliás, Marmisa (2018) refere mesmo que a artista, desde que obteve reconhecimento artístico e cultural, tem adotado uma campanha de comunicação infalível, colocando-a no caminho certo para se tornar a nova estrela *pop*, isto se é que, desde 2018, tal *status* já não foi alcançado. Mas, além da estratégia de disseminação digital do seu trabalho, não podemos negligenciar a sua estratégia de imagem, demarcada por um estilo inconfundível, distintivo e marcante de uma cultura, que, no total, forma uma personagem muito bem conseguida. Esta conta, adicionalmente, com o apoio de gigantes da indústria musical, como a editora Sony, que alimenta esta subversão, algo que nos leva a questionar o papel contestatário unilateral das suas produções – ou seja, não podemos separar a originalidade da obra do *continuum* em que se gere a indústria musical.

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[4] Rosalía Vila, mais conhecida como Rosalía, é uma cantora espanhola que cresceu entre Barcelona, Nova Iorque e Paris. Foi nesta interface que adquiriu o seu estilo peculiar, definido como uma combinação entre *flamenco*, *R&B* e diversos estilos como a *soul* ou a *pop*. Em 2008, com apenas 15 anos, ganhou um programa de talentos, o *La nueva voz de España* e, hoje em dia, é representada como uma das artistas que invoca o poder feminino para a criação de conteúdos artísticos ampliados e massivos (Cabrices, Vogue, 2020).
[5] Rosalía tem mais de sete milhões de subscritores no seu canal de YouTube e mais de 31 milhões de ouvintes mensais no Spotify.

Rosalía, uma artista com apenas 27 anos, soma já o maior número de prémios atribuídos a uma única obra (Benzal, 2019; Fuentes, 2018). Atendendo aos vários elementos que já foram enunciados, podemos considerar Rosalía como uma artista transnacional que colocou o *flamenco* na ordem do dia. A artista rompe com estereótipos socialmente instituídos pois, apesar de ser oriunda de uma família de classe trabalhadora, Rosalía não experiencia a estigmatização e a rotulagem que outras mulheres desta classe experienciam (Oliva, 2014); pelo contrário, ela é reconhecida e apreciada pela utilização de elementos próprios dessa classe no seu trabalho. Como referido, a artista é reconhecida por uma imagem de marca construída a partir de símbolos e elementos da classe trabalhadora, tais como a estética *choni* (Willem, Araüna & Tortajada, 2018)[6] ou os recorrentes camiões de transporte de mercadorias que surgem nos seus videoclipes. Na verdade, Rosalía é dotada de um capital cultural (Bourdieu, 1998) que faz com que lhe seja atribuída legitimidade para se apropriar desses elementos, à imagem de Madonna e do *vogue*. Porém, o que para uns é visto como apropriação cultural (Giddens, 1991), por outros pode ser entendido como resistência e reivindicação de um espaço (Guerra, 2020; 2021), ainda que de modo silencioso ou subliminar.

Este artigo visa a compreensão e a análise de quatro canções de Rosalía, com o intuito de demonstrar que esta reivindicação que é feita se insere num amplo quadro teórico inerente às correntes feministas, ou mesmo às pós- e pós-pós-feministas (Guerra, 2018a) que confluem dentro de um contexto de modernidade tardia (Giddens, 1991). Aliás, procurámos perceber de que modo a retórica feminista pode ser, e é, utilizada para demarcar o seu próprio espaço (Guerra & Silva, 2015). A redefinição de formas e de conteúdos musicais de Rosalía procura, em última análise, reformular e recriar o seu espaço na indústria musical, bem como na própria sociedade (Guerra, 2019a; 2021). Este estudo é realizado tendo por base um quadro sócio analítico, em que a expressão artística em análise é entendida como um veículo de comunicação (Guerra, 2019a; 2019b).

Os produtos criativos de Rosalía podem mover-nos por diversos caminhos epistemológicos. Por um lado, devemos considerar a sua corporalidade quando age e se apresenta e representa a si própria e a outras mulheres (Amos, 2020; Guerra, 2017), sempre com uma estética particular que se tornou a sua imagem de marca. À semelhança do exemplo de Tori Amos e outras artistas (Gracyk, 2001), Rosalía, nas suas produções artísticas, pretende estabelecer um diálogo com a realidade dos seus ouvintes, em especial com os públicos femininos, num vaivém constante entre relações de poder e posicionamento artístico. Por outro lado, o conteúdo artístico e musical de Rosalía também pode ser lido como uma combinação de diferentes realidades, invocando conceitos como resistência (Guerra, 2020; 2021). Este estudo segue uma perspetiva pós-feminista que opera na arena da modernidade tardia e de um estilo de vida consumista que articula produção cultural, mercado e sociedade (Gill, 2008; Guerra, 2019b; Guerra & Figueredo, 2019). A nossa análise de Rosalía segue de perto a lógica de Howard S. Becker (2007) quando este afirma que a arte é uma forma de falar da sociedade, e é produzida e reproduzida por ela. Com o material compilado e analisado neste estudo, pretendemos estabelecer uma análise descritiva das letras de Rosalía utilizando uma perspetiva dialógica na qual a arte pode ser entendida como espelho e reflexo da sociedade e de outras realidades sociais diversas, como criadora de ações, e como produtora de conhecimento com características reflexivas. Ao fazê-lo, reforçamos um entendimento epistemológico (Guerra, 2019a; 2020; 2021) do campo das artes como elemento autónomo e representativo da realidade social e, ao mesmo tempo, uma força que o influencia.

Assim dividimos este artigo em seis partes. A primeira tem um caráter introdutório à artista e ao contexto cultural e artístico de produção e de disseminação de produções atualmente vivido; numa segunda parte, abordamos as principais linhas de pensamento das correntes feministas, seguida de uma terceira parte em que afunilámos a nossa abordagem, focando-nos no entendimento dos modos em que o *reggaeton*, enquanto género musical de eleição de Rosalía, é reapropriado e reivindicado de acordo com uma nova roupagem. Posteriormente, apresentamos o nosso processo metodológico e terminamos com uma discussão, reflexão e apresentação das principais linhas de conhecimento obtido em relação às músicas – selecionadas para análise – de Rosalía.

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[6] Trata-se de uma estética que apresenta uma representação depreciativa e caricata da mulher da classe baixa espanhola, associada a mulheres com pouca educação e a uma imagem fortemente sexualizada. Em geral, estas mulheres são retratadas com maquilhagem exagerada, acessórios de festa, brincos grandes e penteados extravagantes. Em suma, toda uma estética tida pelos cânones da sociedade convencional como sendo de "mau gosto".

2. Rosalía: Género, cultura e mudança social

Tendo como primeiro ponto analítico as abordagens feministas e pós-feministas anteriormente referidas, não podemos deixar de fazer referência ao trabalho de McRobbie (2009), pioneiro e basilar no estudo dos agentes sociais negligenciados, relegados às franjas da sociedade, tais como as mulheres, os negros ou as minorias étnicas (Guerra, 2018a). Curiosamente, até há relativamente pouco tempo, as produções culturais latinas, entre outras temáticas, eram também relegadas para as periferias do meio académico, em benefício da primazia de um certo eurocentrismo. Foi precisamente através das práticas artísticas de resistência que se insurgiram que se verificou um aumento do interesse sobre estas realidades e contextos.

No livro *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change* (2009), McRobbie tece uma analogia entre a corrente teórica pós-feminista e a cultura popular, numa lógica de dialética e tautocronismo entre ambas. Outrossim, Angela McRobbie (2009) visa um entendimento da articulação que é feita entre a retórica feminista e um retrocesso nos avanços previamente alcançados pela corrente desde a década de 70 do século XX. Trata-se, no fundo, de uma análise focada nas forças culturais e no negacionismo face ao feminismo enquanto movimento social.

Até meados dos anos 2000, o movimento feminista aparentava algum torpor – ou apenas um período de reagrupamento – algo que mudou radicalmente a partir de 2015, tal como referem Macarthur et. al (2017) em *The Rise and Fall, and the Rise (Again) of Feminism Research in Music*. Desde 2018 parece haver uma preocupação constante e (quase) generalizada com a reivindicação de ideologias e discursos que vão ao encontro desta corrente teórica. Aliás, o feminismo assume-se como pedra de toque para quase todas as jovens de hoje, mas especialmente avoca-se como um elemento de marketing para as artistas e, por associação, para as *influencers* da atualidade – muitas delas também artistas. Estamos, assim, perante um *double entanglement* (McRobbie, 2009), mas não nos moldes inicialmente propostos. A retórica feminista foi apropriada pela cultura musical, mais concretamente pela música *pop*, no entanto, é, simultaneamente, uma negação dela e do universo em que se enquadra. Do mesmo ponto de vista, o *double entanglement* – o emaranhado de duplo sentido – significa que coexistem valores neoconservadores face às questões de género, família, sexualidade e liberdades que, apesar de contrariados ao nível do discurso, são, por vezes, reproduzidos ao nível das práticas.

Além deste processo de vaivém, desde a década de 1990 que emergem autores que contestam e naturalizam as teorias feministas, tais como Butler (1990) ou Haraway, daí que se afirme a existência de um pós-feminismo, ou até mesmo de um pós-pós-feminismo (Guerra, 2018a). Basta pensarmos no caso dos média: a ideologia pós-feminista corresponde aos resquícios do que eram as verdadeiras necessidades das mulheres, nas décadas de 70 e 80, e, por outro lado, refere tratar-se de uma ideologia sustentada na lógica da meritocracia. Afirma-se também que as mulheres já obtiveram a igualdade em campos como a economia e a academia, a produção cultural e na atribuição de reconhecimento. É a teoria do teto de vidro, pois, apesar de existirem mulheres que ocupam posições de topo, estas continuam a ser uma minoria relativamente ínfima. É a partir do entendimento destas questões que McRobbie (2009) enuncia a existência da individualização feminina, um argumento que se baseia na necessidade de cada mulher tomar as rédeas da sua vida. Então, podemos afirmar que Rosalía, nas suas produções e na sua carreira, assume e enverga esta individualização, não sucumbindo à normatividade cultural que rege a indústria musical.

Recuando à década de 1990, período em que o feminismo se afirmou no âmbito da cultura popular, assistia-se a uma enorme circulação de valores e de ideais feministas, tais como a igualdade de direitos e o combate à violência e ao assédio, semelhante à nova vaga de circulação sistemática de valores e ideais feministas que tem vindo a surgir dentro da indústria musical – basta o exemplo do movimento #MeToo (Benedicts, Orgad & Rottenberg, 2019). As últimas décadas de movimentos feministas, no entanto, têm vindo a ser repudiados, ou até mesmo esquecidos, devido à forte incidência de movimentos reacionários contrários aos seus ideais. Porém, atualmente, os movimentos feministas renasceram sob a égide de novas formas de organização e de comunicação, em que as plataformas digitais assumem um papel pioneiro e de destaque (Gill, 2016) num feminismo digital, ou mesmo numa onda de feminismo interseccional (Zimmerman, 2017). Todas estas questões são o resultado das exigências

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e das mudanças da sociedade, e, como seria de esperar, refletem-se na música popular produzida por jovens mulheres artistas, como é o caso de Rosalía.

Araüna, Tortajada e Figueras-Maz (2020) oferecem-nos exemplos paradigmáticos desta realidade, tais como a reinterpretação e readaptação que jovens mulheres artistas fazem de géneros musicais como o *hip-hop* ou o *reggaeton* (Byrne, O'Connell & O'Sullivan, 2020), géneros tradicionais marcados pelo machismo e sexismo (Ramos, 2015). Esta apropriação assume-se como veículo de subversão que visa a distribuição e a disseminação de mensagens feministas. Mais do que isso, estamos perante um amplo movimento de sensibilização, que transforma a música numa forma de encetar o afastamento das mulheres dos sistemas institucionais opressivos – e aqui encontramos Rosalía. As letras das músicas e os videoclipes adotam, com maior frequência, atitudes feministas, face, por exemplo, a relações amorosas, ao empoderamento feminino e à atividade sexual. Partindo deste ponto, Rosalía destacou-se por ter trazido o *flamenco* para a ordem do dia das produções musicais contemporâneas, conferindo-lhe um *twist*. Assim, torna-se relevante perceber os moldes em que Rosalía utiliza a produção musical como contracorrente. Existe uma dupla hermenêutica entre o *flamenco*, a canção amorosa e o *reggaeton*, e é nesse domínio que Rosalía retrata a feminilidade e as relações, bem como as experiências de vida.

3. *A ningún hombre*: Géneros musicais amplificados

Não queremos aqui oferecer uma descrição sobre a composição musical, nem muito menos discutir todas as subculturas envoltas e envolvidas nesse processo. É sabido que a música popular é uma forma de disseminar modelos e valores que, por natureza, se associam às construções de identidades e de narrativas de género (Frith & McRobbie, 2005; Nieto-Álvaro, 2012). Historicamente, a música *pop* tem sido vista como produto de um mundo sexista (Bittencourt & Guerra, 2018; Pereira, Guerra & Janotti, 2019), no sentido em que os conteúdos que são produzidos nesse contexto sustentam desigualdades de género (López, 2003), reproduzindo representações hegemónicas sobre sexo e género (Hobson & Bartlow, 2008) evidentes em muitos videoclipes, na sua sexualização e objetificação da mulher. Neste sentido, Horton (1990), nos seus trabalhos, encontrou padrões repetitivos de relações sexuais descritas nas letras de canções inseridas na música popular, algo tanto mais evidente se pensarmos em artistas como Maluma ou Ozuna – tendo este último feito um dueto com Rosalía. Apenas no passado recente é que alguns artistas têm vindo quebrar com este paradigma.

Paralelamente aos conteúdos, igualmente a imagem desempenha um papel essencial, no sentido em que os média tendem a retratar as artistas como ícones de reprodução de padrões de beleza. No caso de Rosalía, parece criar-se um novo padrão de beleza que vai de encontro a uma cultura. A artista, apesar de se encontrar enquadrada nos circuitos de disseminação americanos – o busílis da indústria cultural e *pop* –, não se enquadra nos padrões previamente impostos, principalmente no que se refere ao corpo. Enquadra-se antes nos padrões mais recentemente estabelecidos face ao ideal de beleza latino, contribuindo em certa medida para uma fetichização em torno da mulher latina[7]. Aqui se evidenciam as dualidades acima referidas. Temos latente aquilo que McCarthy (2006) refere, isto é, que os seus corpos permanecem ainda como lugares de expectativas culturais.

Ao pensar na questão do machismo presente nos géneros musicais, Graebner (2000) enuncia que o *rock*, e as subsequentes atuações de artistas como os Rolling Stones, surgiram como uma contestação e uma oposição aos movimentos feministas. Neste sentido, podemos afirmar que as reapropriações que têm sido realizadas por artistas como Rosalía, Brisa Fenoy ou Ms Nina (Araüna, Tortajada & Figueras-Maz, 2020), vêm cumprir um papel antónimo ao que o *rock* cumpriu nos anos 80, isto é, vêm assumir-se como uma oposição ao machismo e à misoginia instaurados na indústria musical. Outro ponto interessante dentro desta lógica dualista e de oposições (Tortajada, Araüna & Willem, 2017) é o caso de Madonna e da subversão de identidades de género, no retratar desta de masculinidades duras e agressivas como atraentes para as mulheres. Rosalía vai contra esta questão, não

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[7] Tenhamos como exemplo artistas como Anitta, Karol G, Natti Natasha, Cardi B ou Selena Gomez. Note-se que – desde muito recentemente – parece haver uma necessidade de a indústria acompanhar a estética latina. Basta ver que artistas que anteriormente seguiam o modelo "americano" hoje desviam-se dele, quer pela estética, pelos ritmos ou até por cantarem em espanhol (mesmo não sendo falantes nativos dessa língua).

sendo feita uma representação subversiva do masculino nos seus videoclipes e nas suas letras, como seria apanágio do *reggaeton*.

O *reggaeton* pode ser descrito como uma espécie de estilo musical híbrido e *underground*, altamente reconhecível pelo ritmo "dembow" (Castilla, 2020), influenciado por outros géneros como o *reggae*, o *hip-hop*, a *bachata* ou o *merengue* (Pacini, 2014). O *reggaeton* é um género musical transnacional, que, tal como Rosalía, sofreu alterações profundas ao longo do tempo: passou de estar inicialmente associado a lirismos de violência (Gallucci, 2008) para se tornar num género musical sexualizado e sedutor que reina nas pistas de dança de todo o mundo. Assim, mais do que qualquer outro género musical, o *reggaeton* pode ser visto como uma manifestação cultural e artística que possui uma substância subalterna, mas que confere visibilidade aos processos de subalternidade, contribuindo para a des-hierarquização da cultura (Kolbe, 2021) na medida em que demonstra que na diversidade também existe resistência. Tal como a cultura *hip-hop*, o *reggaeton* surgiu associado à periferia e à marginalidade, relacionado com as classes baixas e pobres; hoje em dia, é talvez um dos géneros musicais mais populares na América do Sul e na Europa. Contudo, o olhar masculino sobre as mulheres permanece a sua grande característica (Marshall, 2008; Aratina, Tortajada & Figueras-Mas, 2020). Desta forma, podemos enunciar cinco pontos em que Rosalía contraria tendências características deste género musical, indo, assim, ao encontro da retórica pós-feminista (McRobbie, 2009; Gill, 2016). O primeiro prende-se com a ausência de violência verbal contra as mulheres, bem como, em geral, a ausência de violência verbal nos conteúdos, aspeto importante pelo facto de existirem artistas que – partindo de uma posição de resistência e de afirmação – adotam a mesma linguagem à qual se opõem. De seguida, não existe objetificação sexual em nenhum contexto, nem mesmo para sublinhar a masculinidade; paralelamente, as mulheres também não são apresentadas como dispostas a participarem em atos sexuais. Por último, as feminilidades não são denegridas (Dàvila, 2016, pp.68-69). A subversão reside nestes pontos de rutura, assim como na ausência de apropriação e (re)significação dos mesmos. Aqui se denota individualização feminina previamente referida (McRobbie, 2009).

Posto isto, impõe-se a questão: individualização em que sentido, se esta se encontra inserida numa indústria bilionária? Trata-se, neste caso, de individualização no sentido em que Rosalía sente a necessidade de tomar as rédeas do seu próprio percurso, conferindo uma nova roupagem ao *reggaeton*, particularmente ao nível do empreendedorismo, do *girl power* e da auto-objetificação como forma de promoção. Existe uma lógica de dar e receber, pois, ainda que sucumbindo às lógicas capitalistas e neoliberais, Rosalía promove um discurso feminista sem negar os prazeres da dança e do desejo. Coexiste a retórica feminista com a necessidade contraditória de se enquadrar numa indústria, isto é, há uma apropriação da retórica feminista por parte da cultura popular, como preconizava McRobbie (2009).

4. *Di mi nombre*: Análise e método

Para a realização deste artigo procedemos à construção de um *corpus* analítico cimentado na seleção de quatro canções de Rosalía. As três primeiras foram as mais vistas no seu canal YouTube na altura da nossa pesquisa: "Malamente", "Yo x Ti, Tu x Mi" e "Aute Cuture". Esta seleção em função do número de visualizações também se prende com a tentativa de perceber como a retórica feminista está presente nos seus trabalhos com maior disseminação.

"Malamente" é a primeira faixa do álbum *El Mal Querer* e, além de evocar uma panóplia de referências à memória e à cultura espanhola, possui também uma mensagem implícita referente ao medo e às relações amorosas. Os restantes dois videoclipes mais vistos são (co)executados com um artista masculino, Ozuna, famoso dentro de géneros musicais como o *reggaeton*, *pop* elétrico e *trap*, que apresenta uma mensagem profundamente sexista e machista na sua carreira individual. A quarta canção selecionada para análise, "*Juro Que*", é o mais recente lançamento de Rosalía à data da escrita deste artigo, e é uma canção interpretada exclusivamente por ela. Todas as músicas selecionadas têm diferentes tons que nos ajudam a analisar simultaneamente Rosalía na sua versatilidade como artista dramática, determinada, consumista, trágica e romântica e na sua vertente de resistência, subversão e retórica feminista.

A nossa investigação centra-se numa análise descritiva empírica (Guerra, 2020; 2019a). Examinamos indutivamente o conteúdo (Bardin, 1977) das canções e analisamos tanto as letras como os videoclipes. Ao fazê-lo, seguimos os princípios da *grounded theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) com o objetivo de destacar uma compreensão da sociedade moderna que deriva do trabalho de Rosalía. Por conseguinte, o nosso estudo adota uma abordagem qualitativa, baseada num estudo de caso alargado (Burawoy, 1998).

Antecipamos diferentes formas de Rosalía incorporar qualidades simbólicas, culturais e sociais, na sua (re)interpretação da sociedade, à luz de todas as *nuances* que combina nas suas letras e vídeos. No entanto, considerando todas as complexidades que fazem parte de um cenário de modernidade tardia (Giddens, 1991), e o consumismo que ele impulsiona, pretendemos ligar as adaptações culturais e comerciais ao processo de construção identitário (Guerra, 2016; Guerra & Costa, 2016) que, por sua vez, ajuda a subverter o rótulo *choni*. Depois de escutar as quatro canções em estudo, criámos as seguintes categorias: tema central, a posição do(s) artista(s), estilo de vida da modernidade tardia, consumismo, pós-feminismo e tipo de som. Na secção que se segue, apresentamos uma análise de cada uma destas categorias, embora ressalvemos que elas funcionam em interligação. Esta análise utiliza excertos das narrativas e conteúdos considerados para ilustrar este quadro interpretativo, do qual as principais conclusões serão apresentadas na discussão final.

5. *Malamente*, juro-te Rosalía! Inferências

Nesta secção do artigo, em que propomos uma discussão e uma reflexão em torno das temáticas que temos vindo a apresentar, ainda se assume de máxima relevância estabelecer um breve parêntesis sobre o nosso interesse nesta artista. Sendo uma artista *pop*, é pertinente destacar que o entendimento da existência de uma retórica pós-feminista, bem como as questões da resistência e da subversão, nas suas produções, são, de certo modo, de índole qualitativa. É certo que o leitor poderá enumerar um conjunto de artistas ou de produções que, no seu entender, melhor abordam estas questões – tal não está sob discussão. Pelo contrário, seguimos de perto a lógica de Theodore Gracyk (2001) quando este afirma que é igualmente essencial celebrar artistas que são tidas como adversas ao conceito de autenticidade artística. Aliás,

> Uma 'cantora' interpretativa como Dusty Springfield ou Linda Ronstadt podem perfeitamente ser centrais para o cânone do *rock*, tal como uma 'artista' como Joni Mitchell e Patti Smith, e hoje precisámos das Spice Girls, Britney Spears e Jennifer Lopez tanto como precisamos da Ani DiFranco e Tori Amos. (Gracyk, 2001, p.216)

Gracyk pretende transmitir a necessidade de serem ultrapassados estereótipos e preconceitos construídos em torno de cantoras *pop*, tais como a ideia de não serem talentosas, de serem meramente um produto sexual e sexualizado e, em especial, contrariar a lógica de que a música *pop* não pode ter um caráter interventivo ou reivindicativo (Amos, 2020). As artistas enumeradas na afirmação marcaram uma época e, consequentemente, marcaram gerações. Nesse sentido, parece-nos inconcebível que, em termos científicos, não seja tido em linha de conta o papel que esses conteúdos artísticos tiveram nos processos de construção identitários – individuais e coletivos – e, concomitantemente, que não sejam tidos em consideração os seus impactos ao nível das estéticas e dos estilos de vida. Os chamados *90's kids* existem em cada década. Como exemplo, a obra de Burns e Lafrance (2002) centra a análise de um conjunto de autoras que romperam com os ideais daquilo que era socialmente aceitável para uma mulher, demonstrando o poder contracultural da música contemporânea. Também no campo da sociologia da música têm sido feitos importantes avanços que postulam uma interpretação heurística (Araüna, Tortajada & Figueras-Maz, 2020), isto é, são estudos que levam em consideração a abordagem estética da música e o contexto social (Guerra, Bittencourt & Cunha, 2018), mas também o papel da música popular no confronto entre identidades e práticas geracionais, que visam o incremento de uma sociologia cultural essencial para a análise dos géneros musicais (Guerra, 2010; 2020; 2021).

Keller (2002) enuncia três aspetos essenciais na carreira de Madonna que, no nosso entender, podem ser identificados na carreira e nas produções de Rosalía. São eles: imagem, moda, e questões femininas. Apesar de Rosalía possuir uma imagem que, de certo modo, se baseia no princípio da fantasia masculina, esta também se

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pauta por retratar a mulher à luz da independência e da autonomia, tornando a sua presença dentro da indústria musical ainda mais notória, acentuada e, mais do que isso, apreciada (Lemish, 2003). A sexualidade e a sensualidade de Rosalía não têm por base a promiscuidade; antes, são algo mais latente, que, no entanto, não deixa de ser pensado e usado como estratégia para agradar a determinado público. Por outro lado, a adoção deste tipo de estratégias oferece aos jovens um campo de possibilidades alargado. A influência das massas inerente ao *pop*, neste caso derivado da popularidade de Rosalía, também se materializa em autorreflexividade e, por sua vez, conduz a um micro-agenciamento dentro da sociedade dominante (Guerra, 2018a).

Castilla declara que, na senda de um universo cultural global, artistas como Rosalía nascem do anonimato para marcarem o populismo e o massificado e "alcançar a indústria musical comercial e o êxito internacional" (2020, p.137). Como mencionado, esta artista surgiu numa época em que o audiovisual é fulcral. Além de cantar, Rosalía também compõe e produz. Pela multiplicidade de papéis que desempenha nas suas produções artísticas, Rosalía insere-se numa lógica meritocrática que, como já vimos, é amplamente valorizada pelos média (Guerra, 2018a; 2018b). Já a sua sexualidade é representada através de uma lógica sofisticada que transpõe o estilo *camí* (Castilla, 2020, p.137) para uma arena de *glamour*, tornando-o essencial na sua *performance*. Nos espetáculos ao vivo, a dança, a estética e a *performance* são elementos de referência que, mais uma vez, contribuem para o exotismo criado em torno da artista e do uso do flamenco.

Partindo da questão da auto-objetificação, é necessário ter em atenção o poder simbólico sobre a violência, especialmente no que diz respeito à agência sexual. Na verdade, tal como Tortajada e Araüna (2014) destacam, esta é uma estratégia do pós-feminismo – ou seja, as artistas são dotadas de uma agência sexual na qual é promovida a liberdade sexual e o uso livre do corpo como uma forma de afirmação e empoderamento das mulheres. O mesmo acontece quando as mulheres tomam comportamentos agressivos, através, por exemplo, da utilização de expressões como *I'm a bad bitch*[8]. Estas representações combinam duas dimensões (Castilla, 2020): a de "mulher guerreira" e a de "*fashion diva*", dimensões quase inseparáveis e tradicionalmente masculinas. De facto, Rosalía construiu a sua própria retórica e interpretação destas dimensões, evidente no videoclipe de *Aute Cuture* (2019), mas também em *Malamente* (2018) ou em *Pienso en tu mirá* (2018). Em *Malamente*, surgem imagens de Rosalía a dançar num camião em andamento, numa escola de toureiros e com uma moto, elementos associados à virilidade que, além de evocarem referência a um património cultural, evocam também um património profundamente masculino, que é neste videoclipe contestado por Rosalía. Rosalía está sob os holofotes às 00:01:35 no vídeo, enquanto uma encenação de uma tourada decorre em câmara lenta. Um jovem veste um manto e Rosalía anda de moto. Nestes breves segundos, temos relações dicotómicas transparentes face aos desafios que as mulheres ocupam no campo cultural (Silva, Guerra & Santos, 2018). A figura de Rosalía demonstra força e ferocidade, enquanto o seu olhar evoca beleza, sensualidade e feminilidade (Gill, 2008; Gill, Kelan & Scharff, 2017). Neste videoclipe, entendemos as referências à origem de classe trabalhadora de Rosalía desde o início. Embora outras artistas tenham utilizado referências semelhantes na sua música, como Madonna (Tortajada, Araüna e Willem, 2017), o uso que Rosalía faz delas é distinto. Ainda em *Malamente*, a (re)apresentação de Rosalía passa de uma mulher passiva e carinhosa para uma cena em que morre e renasce, forte e poderosa. A letra narra os acontecimentos desta forma:

> Aunque no esté bonita / la noche un dive / Voy a salir pa' la calle / (...) Y por delante / No voy a perder un minuto en volver a pensarte" [Mesmo que eu não esteja bonita / a noite un dive (Deus) / Vou para a rua / (...) E adiante / Não vou perder um minuto a voltar a pensar em ti] (Rosalía, *Malamente*, 2018)

Em quase todas as suas *performances*, mas especialmente em *Aute Cuture*, Rosalía utiliza o corpo como a sua principal arma, mas também como dupla dimensão. O videoclipe gira em torno da feminilidade, demonstrado por várias imagens ao longo do vídeo, por exemplo a de uma figura masculina com as unhas pintadas. Adicionalmente, temos presente a agressividade da mulher guerreira,

> Aqui todas las niñas tenemos tumbao/ Aute cuture, todo regalado/ Uñas de Dvine ya me las han copiado/ Que te las clavo, niño, ten cuidado /Otros como tú ya lo he dominado [Aqui todas as

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[8] Expressão utilizada em diversas músicas, por artistas como Nicki Minaj, Bebe Rexha, Megan Thee Stallion, Cardi B, Lizzo, entre outras.

> meninas têm tumbao / Aute cuture, todas doadas / As unhas do Dvine já mas copiaram / Eu
> prego-os, menino, tem cuidado / Já dominei outros como tu] (Rosalía, *Aute Cuture*, 2019)

Ainda sobre esta questão da "mulher guerreira" (Tortajada & Araüna, 2014), no videoclipe de *Aute Cuture* vê-se que Rosalía arranha com as unhas a cara de um homem ao volante numa demonstração de que é ela quem comanda. Logo de seguida surge a seguinte mensagem "*Green Bros. Rosalía's nasty business associated*". Trata-se de uma mensagem profunda que pretende demonstrar o poder feminino enquanto, em calão, são enunciados um conjunto de aspetos estéticos necessários para que a mulher possa superar o desgosto amoroso (Castilla, 2020; Gill, 2016). Rosalía é acompanhada por outras jovens mulheres. A sua representação também combina o código de vestuário do *choni-chic*[9] mas, neste caso, o vídeo localiza-as noutro contexto, onde são percebidas com outro estatuto. Elas celebram características de uma identidade que as poderia ter marginalizado e localizam-nas juntas numa apresentação de alto padrão, reforçada por práticas consumistas. Rosalía parece representar um grupo social tradicionalmente à margem da corrente dominante – ou pelo menos ridicularizado pela sua moda – com as suas (re)apresentações chiques. Novamente, Tortajada e Araüna (2014) argumentam que uma forma de questionar o patriarcado é substituir a figura da mulher indefesa pela mulher agressiva.

Nestas músicas encontramos também um desafio às noções do que são as escolhas pós-feministas e ao que é o empoderamento feminino. Esta ligação é poderosa, uma vez que pode ajudar outras jovens a aceder a um nível que outrora lhes era vedado e, assim, encorajá-las a fazer uma apropriação mais profunda e confiante do seu estilo de vida (Huq, 2003). Partindo de alguns dos tópicos já analisados, podemos afirmar que o pós-feminismo é um quadro complexo de análise. Contudo, este também permite que se possam compreender as novas feminilidades enquadradas num processo de mediatização que é sustentado por um léxico feminista e desprovido de conteúdo político (Gill, 2011; McRobbie, 2004; Araüna, 2012). Em ambos os videoclipes, Rosalía retrata-se – e, por extensão, às mulheres – como segura de si mesma, confiante e orientada para os objetivos e para o sucesso (Dobson, 2015). Este empoderamento é, aliás, quase retratado como um estilo de vida (Lotz, 2001).

Na música *Yo x Ti, Tu x mi* (2019), em que Rosalía faz dueto com Ozuna, o som *flamenco* está bastante presente. Aqui, o retrato de Rosalía enquanto *performer* difere totalmente das músicas anteriores: nele é retratado um estilo de vida "elevado", de luxos, vivido a dois, uma relação amorosa baseada numa certa dependência e que, por sua vez, retrata a importância do dinheiro, das joias e do poder. A corporalidade de ambos os artistas, denota força e (re)apresentações intocáveis-narcisistas. A letra é ilustrativa deste ponto:

> Colgando del cuello los juguetes / rodeada de flores y billetes / 'tamo Worldwide a machete /
> y mira bang-bang si con nosotros te entromete" (…) "Somos dos cantantes como los de antes /
> el respeto es en boletos y diamantes" [Pendurar brinquedos no pescoço / rodeada de flores e
> notas / somos Worldwide a machete / e olha bang-bang se te meteres connosco" (...) "Somos
> dois cantores como os de antes / respeito está nos bilhetes e nos diamantes"] (Rosalia & Ozuna,
> *Yo x ti, Tu x mi*, 2019)

A feminilidade está, de novo, na base deste vídeo, aliada à auto-objetificação já referida, evidente quando Ozuna canta "Eres única, mamacita Rosalía/ Tiene' el poder que mi mente desvá/ Yo por ti por ahí me titaría". Nesta música, além de uma referência à auto-regulação do corpo e à auto-objetificação, está presente a ideia de empoderamento na alusão de Rosalía aos seus bens materiais (Araüna, Tortajada & Figueras-Maz, 2020). No videoclipe de *Tu x mi, Yo x ti*, não é possível distinguir o rosto de nenhuma das mulheres que dançam com Rosalía, enquanto que a artista está sempre vestida num estilo *choni-chic*, repleta de cores e saias floridas, com botas militares ou sapatos desportivos.

Apesar de estar em dueto com um cantor do sexo masculino, Rosalía não recorre à promiscuidade, à sexualidade ou à objetificação sexual da masculinidade; antes, visa uma parceria, um amor romântico. O vídeo transmite a ideia de haver um equilíbrio de igualdade entre homem e mulher em que ambos querem o mesmo. Isto vai ao encontro do que Hall (1997) designa de rutura dos regimes de representação, rutura essa que é feita do interior. O empoderamento está associado à ideia de que o parceiro é importante, mas que, sem ele, Rosalía também seria

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[9] Trata-se de uma apropriação de uma estética, pautada pelo uso de fatos de treino baratos, geralmente rosa e/ou estampado animal. Ora, Rosalía utiliza a mesma estética, mas associada a marcas de luxo como a Gucci, Balenciaga, entre outras. O principal fator distintivo são as unhas de gel customizadas.

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"*Worldwide a machete*". Presente também está a ideia da mulher guerreira nos versos "Y mira, *bang-bang* si con nosotro' te entromete' (Pa-pa-pa)/ No quieres que lo aprete". Na canção *Juro Que* (2020), estas noções voltam a estar presentes, juntamente com a estética *choni*.

> *Bolso Gucci, diamante' y marfil / que yo lo empeño todo, que todito lo empeño pa' poderte sacar de ahí* [Mala Gucci, diamantes e marfim/ Eu penhoro tudo, penhoro tudinho para te tirar daí] (Rosalía, *Juro Que*, 2020)

Na sua letra, Rosalía evoca elementos do seu estilo de vida ao mencionar marcas de moda e joalharia. Esta combinação de modernidade com emoções de sacrifício e amor constitui um tom diferente na música de Rosalía. Assim, a ligação entre a letra e o videoclipe acaba por ser paradigmática, visto que no vídeo Rosalía aparece empoderada, repleta de símbolos de feminilidade como flores no cabelo e as roupas que usa. Ao longo do vídeo, Rosalía passa de um estilo feminino e jovial, repleta de roupas e acessórios cor-de-rosa, para, com o avançar da música e a mudança no tom de voz, roupa mais sensuais, associadas à condição de "mulher adulta," passando pelo amarelo e terminando de vermelho. Assim, além da letra, destacamos de novo a importância da imagem na construção da retórica feminista da artista. Por outras palavras, esta representação é forte porque reforça as emoções e o orgulho ao mesmo tempo que mantém as suas próprias características, agora tornadas desejáveis. Neste sentido, consideramos o papel da mulher particularmente relevante quando Rosalía estabelece uma ligação com as características que demarcam a sua feminilidade (Guerra, Bittencourt & Cunha, 2018). Esta mensagem serve, de certo modo, para propor uma rutura com as posições de importância e de vitimização às quais as mulheres são relegadas.

Esta música é um depoimento sobre o estilo de vida de Rosalía e é, simultaneamente, uma declaração da futilidade do materialismo face ao amor. Aqui, nota-se o *double entanglement* de McRobbie (2009) na presença e ligação de valores neoconservadores face às questões de género, família, sexualidade e liberdades – na medida em que é transmitida a ideia da mulher que espera pelo homem e que faz tudo por ele – mas que, em termos de *performance*, acaba por ser contrariado. Nisto, a tragédia e a paixão associadas ao *flamenco* tornam-se evidentes. O retrato de Rosalía como mulher oscila entre a força e a decisão sofredora e dramática, configurando um tipo de hibridização (Regev, 2013) que se liga facilmente com as qualidades simbólicas e culturais do género musical e com aqueles outros elementos que ressoam e transcendem no atual cenário moderno (Giddens, 1991), em que as gerações mais jovens baseiam a construção das suas identidades nos pilares do consumismo. Tomemos aqui a frase "*Lo hago para mi gente y lo hago a mi manera* [Eu faço-o para o meu povo e faço-o à minha maneira]", da música *Con Altura* (2019), uma parceria com J Balvin. Para ligar à nossa compreensão do retrato de Rosalía do *choni-chic*, é necessário primeiro compreender as características do *choni*:

> As *chonis* são consideradas raparigas de classe baixa, pouco instruídas, com um desejo sexual explícito e desenfreado. A sua representação cultural e de classe retrata-as como usando maquilhagem pesada, fatos de treino baratos (geralmente rosa e/ou estampado animal), brincos grandes e penteados específicos como rabo-de-cavalo ou o cabelo louro tingido, e como gritando e mascando pastilha elástica o dia todo. (Willem, Araüna & Tortajada, 2018, p.538.)

Seguindo esta descrição, Rosalía não é uma *choni* porque já não é de classe baixa e porque a sua educação profissional lhe permitiu realizar a sua produção artística conforme os padrões da indústria musical. No entanto, a sua representação ainda coincide com a maioria das características das *choni* acima detalhadas. Com base na sua representação híbrida e chique, é possível compreender estes padrões como elementos da sua própria identidade que, em consequência, reforçam o processo de subversão da etiqueta de *choni*. Mais do que isso, trata-se de uma forma de resistência e de reivindicação, através da qual Rosalía constrói uma personagem artística que, simultaneamente, se diferencia e apela às massas.

Malamente é um ponto de partida ideal para analisar a proposta de Rosalía e a evolução do estilo *choni-chic*, especialmente porque *Malamente* é mais autêntica e fiel ao cenário da classe trabalhadora de onde Rosalía provém e que a identificam (Rudinow, 1994). Os camiões, as paletes e mesmo o uniforme do fato de treino referem-se a uma estética cosmopolita fresca e jovem (Regev, 2013) feita a partir de características do *choni*. Apesar de Rosalía incorporar muitos dos elementos utilizados para caracterizar as *flamencas* em todos os seus vídeos, tais como batom vermelho, joias grandes e caras, consideramos as suas unhas longas e brilhantes, o seu código de vestuário

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e penteado como as (re)apropriações mais significativas que Rosalía (re)significou no seu estilo *choni-chic*. Além de criar um produto, Rosalía acabou mesmo por se tornar numa marca representativa de um produto cultural (Lieb, 2018). As duplas ações feministas presentes nas letras e nos videoclipes de Rosalía visam, por um lado, a conquista de um espaço simbólico para minar um subconsciente patriarcal e, por outro, demonstrar que o género e os papéis de género não são mais do que construções sociais.

6. Epílogo *con altura*. Rosalía, uma história de resistência nas (pós)indústrias culturais

Com este artigo viemos demonstrar, à luz do que nos refere Gracyk (2001), que artistas *pop* como Rosalía também podem enaltecer o conceito de autenticidade artística, visto que as suas letras e opções performáticas têm a capacidade de transmitir mensagens de empoderamento e de resistência, enfatizando o papel que o corpo, enquanto elemento artístico, pode ter (Amos, 2020). Assim, paulatinamente, desconstroem-se os estereótipos construídos em torno da música *pop*, ao mesmo tempo que se promove uma des-hierarquização da cultura (Kolbe, 2021), aspeto que Rosalía tem vindo a enfatizar nas suas produções com a introdução de elementos tradicionais como o *flamenco*.

Aquilo que podemos destacar em Rosalía é a sua imagem, o uso da moda e as questões femininas. São estes três elementos que, juntos, fazem com que esta artista se destaque dentro da indústria musical, um pouco à imagem de Madonna (Keller, 2002). A retórica pós-feminista encontra-se presente, principalmente no campo da auto-objetificação e face à individualização feminina de que nos fala McRobbie (2009); contudo, existe, simultaneamente, um esforço para ir ao encontro daquilo que é esperado de uma artista *pop* no seio da indústria musical, em particular no que se refere ao princípio de satisfazer fantasias masculinas. Mais ainda, não podemos negligenciar o impacto das plataformas digitais pois, caso não tivessem o alcance atual, seria improvável analisarmos uma artista como Rosalía, que construiu a sua carreira e se projetou mundialmente através de plataformas como o YouTube e o Spotify (Carey, 2020), ou redes sociais como o Instagram (Guerra, 2018b).

Como tal, Rosalía assume-se como uma artista paradigmática. Por um lado, exalta a cultura popular, ao utilizar o *flamenco* e ao adotar uma estética *choni*; por outro, enquadra-se intrinsecamente na lógica neoliberal, em convivência com as lógicas machistas, da indústria musical. Assim, podemos enquadrar Rosalía dentro de uma lógica pós-feminista (Tortajada & Araüna, 2014), no sentido em que a artista se reveste de uma agência sexual que visa o uso livre do corpo, enquanto forma de empoderamento. O corpo é, aliás, a principal arma, tendo a ele associadas expressões como a "mulher guerreira" (Castilla, 2020) e a *fashion diva*. O que é certo é que todos estes elementos, quando colocados em ação, surgem como características que marcam uma feminilidade própria (Guerra, Bittencourt & Cunha, 2018), única a Rosalía, que, no decurso da sua massificação, chega a um público abrangente.

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