ob open business

share business models that share

The Paraense *Tecnobrega* *Open Business* Model

Open Business Models Project

Core Team

General Coordination

Centro de Tecnologia e Sociedade da FGV DIREITO RIO:

Ronaldo Lemos
Oona Castro

Overmundo:

Hermano Vianna
José Marcelo Zacchi

Field Research coordination and accomplishment
FGV Opinião

Marcelo Simas (General and quantitative research coordination)
Elizete Ignácio (Qualitative research coordination)
Alessandra Tosta (Qualitative phase main researcher)
Monique Menezes (Quantitative phase main researcher)

Economic analyses
FIPE-USP

Ricardo Abramovay
Arilson Favareto
Reginaldo Magalhães

INDEX

5

GRAPH INDEX

7

1- INTRODUCTION

This document is the result of qualitative and quantitative research made on the Paraense *tecnobrega* for the *Open Business Models – Latin America* project, with the purpose of comprehending how the chain of agents works within this cultural scenario.

The *tecnobrega* market of Pará is part of a cultural industry that adopts a different business model when compared to most other music markets: under this perspective, the copyright laws who protect the artist's compositions do not constitute as a source for income nor give exclusive rights over their creation. Although *tecnobrega* is one of the most rhythmic sounds of Pará, its business model adopted by this market is very little known and, many times, not understood by major sectors of the music industry, that have in the production of CDs and at the receiving end of the copyrights revenues, a part in profits made for its sustainability.

The *tecnobrega*, musical style, typical of Belém do Pará, was created from the traditional *brega*[1] produced during the 1970s and 1980s. Since 1990, a series of reformulations of *traditional brega* have provoked the manifestation of different styles in this musical genre, such as the *tecnobrega*, *bregacalypso*, *cybertecnobrega* and *bregamelody*. Although these are all outcomes from *traditional brega*, such styles are in fact the result on different musical innovations: *bregacalypso* was created during the 1990s, whilst during the years of 2001 and 2003, *tecnobrega* was created, and from this particular musical style, *cybertecno* and *melody* have originated.

Tecnobrega parties and concerts are mostly restricted to neighborhoods of the Belém do Pará outskirts. Although this social-spatial delimitation exists, it is possible to affirm that *brega* music manages to attract a considerable public to its parties. Estimates show that *sound systems*[2] and *brega* bands promote about 3.162 parties and 849 concerts per month in

---

[1] **Traditional Brega:** The expression *"traditional brega"* shall be used in this document as a reference to songs that were produced during the decades of 1970 and 1980, period comprehended to be the starting point of the Paraense *"brega movement"*. The term *"traditional"* should not be understood as a synonym for authentic or true.

[2] **About the *Sound Systems*:** This term *"sound systems"* (*"Aparelhagens"*, in Portuguese), shall be defined throughout this document. To this point, what can be said is that these *sound systems* vary in size and how well

the metropolitan region of Belém, respectively. This certainly makes the *tecnobrega* parties and concerts one of the most popular means of entertainment in the metropolitan region of Belém. The numbers impress even more when taking into account that this is a particular and distinctive model for the music market, without the presence of major recording studios or labels.

In this context, we present a market analysis of the Paraense *tecnobrega*, seeking a better comprehension of the relevance and dynamics of this cultural phenomenon, of the state of Pará. The *tecnobrega* parties and concerts and the social network of this musical genre, are rich cultural *phenomena* that show a specific cultural musical expression, other than a peculiar business model with its own dynamics, distinctive from the traditional music market.

This work is divided in 8 (eight) parts, including this introduction and a conclusion. The second chapter presents the methodology used for the accomplishment of this research on the *tecnobrega* musical genre of Pará. The third (chapter) seeks to familiarize the reader with history of *brega*, since the 1970s, showing how this musical genre consolidated in Belém and how it transformed, giving birth to other music genres, such as: *brega pop*, *tecnobrega*, *bregamelody*, and so on… From the fourth chapter of this research onwards, this work shall focus on the *tecnobrega* market. This way, within this section, we shall analyze the business model implemented by this market that is, its functioning, network relations, actors' interaction, copyrights and so on… The fifth chapter shall concentrate on the characterization of each *tecnobrega* market agent: sound systems, party planner, artists, DJs, *non-authorized re-producers*, informal street vendors, and so forth… For being a quite distinctive business model from the traditional phonographic industry, the sixth chapter is dedicated to analyzing the distribution and promotion, or advertisement, of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs. As it will be observed, the *tecnobrega* artists release their songs in a very peculiar approach, if compared to other music markets. At last, the seventh chapter shows the economical importance of this cultural phenomenon, of Belém's *tecnobrega*; in this case, information shall be presented relating revenues, to creation of direct jobs, and the vending of CDs and DVDs of this market, amongst other data.

---

equipped they are. They serve for the purpose of re-enacting, that is, making performances, based on these recorded tracks.

2- METHODOLOGY

In this section, we adopted a concept that the participant in the *tecnobrega* market is not motivated only by questions in the economic order, but also by socio-cultural local factors. Comprehend the economical and cultural dynamics may reveal not only good rentable forms of business, but models that allow social, cultural and economical sustainability in other realities, even if that means not having the support of the formal market. From this conceptual definition, we shall try to conciliate two methodologies of research. These being to investigate Pará's *tecnobrega* universe, through: qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Qualitative Step

The qualitative methods of research have as their main characteristic, to comprehend deeply how the perceptions, values, and beliefs act on people's behavior. Since the *tecnobrega* universe is little known by the specialized literature, we opted to commence the field research utilizing qualitative methods. The techniques used were: *participative observation* and *in depth interviews*.

The *participative observation* is a technique developed from the anthropological field research, where the researcher observes the main components, even those that are not being noticed by the agent himself, like the moment when an informal street vendor (agent) trades a CD, establishing a negotiation process, sale strategies, convincing and persuading techniques that alter the consumer's perception of *brega* music. The *in depth interviews* provide the possibility to the researcher observe each player's, or actors', speech and the interviewees reaction to the formulated questions, as well as the appearance of connected themes that weren't previously thought in the script.

The interviews had two objectives: intake verified data from the *participation observation* and collect new data combined with new actors whom participate in this market.

The applicants were selected based on the identification of who the main agents were, such as DJs and singers, whom nominated other interesting informants worth considering for the research.

The field work was carried out during August 20ᵗʰ 2006 until September 20ᵗʰ 2006. During this period, formal and informal interviews were made with diverse *tecnobrega* market actors. All of the interviews were recorded and they all have the duration of 1 (one) hour, except those interviews where the applicants asked explicitly that the conversation shall not be recorded. Other than that, a constant check-up was made with some artists and DJs and the participation in concerts and sound system parties, the great majority in poor neighborhoods of the metropolitan area of Belém, that is, in the outskirts of the city of Belém do Pará.

Many applicants desired not to be identified or that the interviews were not recorded. Other than that, due to the fact that many times delicate subjects were raised, the citations made throughout this document have the names of the applicants non-identified or they had they names switched in the description of the cases. Even when throughout the document the participants were named, the citations are identified by the position they occupy in the *tecnobrega* market: studios owned by DJs or *Sound System DJ*, solo singer or of a band, party planner, amongst others. This method was used to the case when, even with the names being switched, it is still possible to know the position of such social actor being citied.

During this qualitative step of the research, audiovisual sources were also used: *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs that can be found in the informal market of Belém.

We will know demonstrate a synthesis of the main agents involved in the *tecnobrega* market, identified during the qualitative step and that will be detailed throughout this document.

- Sound Systems: These are sound equipments used as means to entertain the *brega* parties of Pará, including the *tecnobrega* ones. In general, they posses a control cabin with two or three towers with boom-boxes with stereo-speakers, also dedicated personal to assemble and operate these equipments.
- DJs (Disk Jockeys): Refers to the main employee of a sound system, they are responsible for dictating how the parties and the innovations will be presented to

the *tecnobrega* public. Other than owning home-based studios, these are the main source of the productions and distributions of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs.

- Artists (composers, singers and bands): The main distinction of *tecnobrega* in relation to other musical styles consists in the fact that the artist, in its great majority, writes and sings his or her own songs. Within this market, we did not detect the presence of artists that only compose, but 84% of singers whom compose. The solo singers aspire to create their own bands, which only occurs when one of their songs succeeds or *"explodes"*, using the market terms.

- Studios: These are locations suited for new independent CD productions. With the loss of prestige from the recording studios and labels, the domestic studios are the main source for the *tecnobrega* production. Many DJs are also studio owners using their contacts for the release of new bands.

- Non-Authorized Re-Producers ("NARP"): This is the agent responsible for re-producing CDs and DVDs that were originally produced by home-based studios of DJs or bands. This CDs and DVDs are sold by informal street vendors all over Belém. In some cases, the non-authorized re-producer distributes CDs in other states of the country. 80% of the CDs and DVDs commercialized by the informal street vendors come from these non-authorized re-producers.

- Informal Street Vendors ("ISV"): These are responsible for the vending of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs. The release of *tecnobrega* music through these informal street vendors is supported by the bands and the sound system personal, once they themselves take to the "ISV" the recorded CD from a studio with hopes that that shall arrive at the hands of the NARPs whom re-produce in large scales.

- Party Planner: This is the responsible person for organizing and promoting the sound system parties. The party planner, in general, signs the contacts with party houses, hiring the sound system and/or the band. He also releases the party and administrates the security, the revenues and the bar of the party.

- <u>Party houses, private club houses and concert houses:</u> These party houses are the designated locations for the presentation of the sound system parties during the night. Whilst the private club houses ("*balneários*", in Portuguese), are countryside-syndicated clubs, association of different types of professionals and private clubs, where the sound system parties occur from 10 A.M. until 10 P.M.
- <u>Radio and TV programs:</u> There are some radio and televised programs that are aired, in general, by *tecnobrega* DJs, supporting the release of *brega* music in Pará.

Quantitative Step

The second step of this project also included the accomplishment of a quantitative research of a *survey* type. This research methodology, in opposition of the qualitative, is very synthetic and provides information with very little depth. Nevertheless, it presents as its main advantage, the possibility of generating statistics from their results. This way, we can extrapolate results from the study to a population as a whole, with an error margin known and necessarily small that makes this sort of information resourceful. This step allows us to map in a very precise manner the main characteristics of the productive chain of the *tecnobrega* market, other than realizing a socio-economical assessment of the agents involved.

Since this industry is based on the informality, before the accomplishment of this research, the existing information was insufficient for the accomplishment of a previous register for a *sample*. This way, a *"snow ball"* sample was used, where the first identified interviewees in the qualitative research, provided data regarding other elementary items of the analysis of the population, who provided other elementary items of others and so forth, until it was possible to not being able to identify newer agents within this market.

The field work was accomplished between 08 and 28 of November, 2006, in all of the Metropolitan Region of Belém. Although the qualitative step has identified other groups who belong to the *tecnobrega* market, it was decided that the interviews made shall be with the following three main market groups:

Table 1 – Interviewed *Tecnobrega* Groups of the Quantitative Step

Sample Groups	*Total of interviews per group*
1. *Tecnobrega* bands	73
2. *Tecnobrega* Sound System Parties	273
3. *Tecnobrega* CDs e DVDs Informal Street Vendors	259

In each of these groups, the participant was previously determined, as a way of generating a pattern, appointing who would be interviewed in each one of the groups. The objective of this pattern procedure was to avoid that the variations found in the research were partially due to the difference in the positioning within each group, instead of the real differences in perception of *tecnobrega*.

- In the *tecnobrega* <u>bands'</u> group, we opted for interviews always with singer, once within this market; this agent usually is the band leader.
- In the *tecnobrega* <u>sound system parties'</u> group, we considered that the best participant would be the owner of each sound system.
- Lastly, the <u>informal street vendors'</u> group, the interviews were done with the owner of each barrack and never with one of his or her employees.

The *tecnobrega* market has shown a social network of trust in between diverse social actors, with well established roles. In order to map this market in a consistent way, we considered that three selected groups to the quantitative step are the most adequate for a complete description of *tecnobrega*:

- Sound System: These currently occupy a central role within *tecnobrega*, realizing parties all over Belém, acting as main vehicle releasing this music style. The interviews with the sound system personal allowed us to measure the quantity of parties that they do in Pará, fixed assets of the sound systems, the revenues received from each distinctive party model, and so on… This

way, it is possible to obtain a wide vision of how much the *tecnobrega* market circulates in R$ with the sound system's work.

- The Bands: In the past, these occupied a *'spot-light'* position in the *traditional brega* market, today they are dependent on the sound systems and on the DJs to releases their songs. Even still, they manage to make concerts all over Pará and also manage to move the *tecnobrega* market, mainly, through the CDs and DVDs sales, during their concerts. Other than that, they are, together with the DJs of the Sound System Parties, the main content producers of the *tecnobrega* market.

- The Informal Street Vendors: These are the major releasers, or promoters, and distributors. This way, they were valuable sources of information for from this data, we managed to estimate the volume of sold CDs and DVDs outside of the *tecnobrega* concerts and parties circuit.

ESTIMATES

The evaluation of the market dimension of Belém's *tecnobrega* was done through estimates of the total market, from extrapolations made from extracted group sample indicators analyzed in this research.   These estimates will be identified throughout this document as *"market estimates"*. For the completion of such procedure, during the accomplishment of the qualitative step, it was established an approximated total number of bands, *tecnobrega* sound systems and informal street vendors who sell *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs.

We utilized the expansion weight of the samples to correct the estimates of the research from a *fractional sample*, taking into account the total of each segment below:

- Bands 140
- Sound Systems 700
- Informal Street Vendors 860

3- PARAENSE *BREGA* MUSIC HISTORY

Tecnobrega is a music style that was born from Belém's outskirts, away from major recording studios and huge communication pipelines – radio and television broadcasting units. *Tecnobrega* music comes from the last few years, earning everyday more important spaces in the city of Belém and in the countryside area of the State of Pará. According to Antônio Costa (2004), the increase of public at the *brega* parties, the production improvements of CDs and DVDs, the inclusion of sophisticated clubs in the *"bregueiro"* circuit, the creation of local radio and televised programs and the accomplishment of *brega* concerts during important holidays in the countryside area of the states, have allowed the *brega* music to expand into other regions of the city and attracting an audience, everyday more varied, not being concentrated in the most poorer levels of Pará's population.

However, in order for us to talk about the origins of tecnobrega it is necessary to re-assemble the *traditional brega history*, musical genre that creates many other different styles of *brega* music. This way, in this section we will present the history of *brega*, the transformations implied within the *bregueiro* universe, the outcome of *tecnobrega* and the emergence of a new market for this musical style. Our objective is to familiarize the reader with the formation of the *brega* culture and understand the transformations of this market throughout the years and its adaptations to new public demands of *brega* music.

The Creation of the Paraense *Brega* and the Formation of the Music Market

Since the 1990s, a series of reformulations have occurred in the traditional *brega*, provoking the rise of different styles of this musical genre, like *tecnobrega*, *bregacalypso*, *cybertecnobrega* and *bregamelody*. Although these are all outcomes of the *traditional brega*, such styles are in fact the result on different musical innovations: *bregacalypso* was created

18

during the 1990s, whilst during the years of 2001 and 2003, *tecnobrega* was created, and from this particular musical style, *cybertecno* and *melody* are originated.

According to Junior Neves (2006), the designation *"brega"* is a generic term that designates a Brazilian musical genre that is originally well influenced by the *Jovem Guarda* musical movement. For this author, since they weren't part of any well defined musical movement, the *brega* singers were unknown by the major media, although they presented all over Brazil, even if sporadically. Singers entitled themselves as *"romantics"*, with compositions that talked about their usually day in life, and lyrics that explore untrue love affairs related themes, in special, commonly classified as *"bregas"*.

According to Junior Neves, the first "Brega Movement" of Pará started during the 1980s, when lead by major singers that, in some cases, possessed contracts with major recording studios. In the other hand, as it was outlined by Antônio Costa (2004), during the 1960s, there were already some composers and singers who produced and sang *brega* music in Pará. But the publicity of such musical style would only be reached starting from the 1980s, by singers who were connected to big recording studios.

In a text, citied by Costa (2004), Júnior Neves affirms that the recordings and re-recordings of the Paraense compositions started to be produced *"Only after the authorization of the editors and the payment, of at least what was due, and the certified authorizations and property rights and copyright (related, phono-mechanical, over the songs being played on radios, TVs and concerts…)"*. The AR Music editor, Silvinha Silva's property, seems to be the precursor of the gradual process of local compositions being registered. Currently with an office in Recife, the AR Music was responsible of the editing of a considerable part of the local compositions and Silvinha is the biggest reference for Belém artists when talking about copyrights.

The referred text cited the Studio M Productions and the Studio Digitape as the main recording studios of the Paraense *Brega*. It is important to remember that, although Junior Neves makes reference to the 1980s, it was still during the 1970s that disks were already produced on a local scale. Juca Medalha, *brega* singer, recorded his first LP in 1976, called "Yê, Yê, Yê", by the recording studio Erla, which was connected to Rauland Radio station and

that nowadays is part of the Rauland Group of communication: *"The recording happened in two channels: the singer's voice and the rest of the band. If one did a mistake, we have to do everything again".* His second disk, still during the 1970s, was produced by the Ortasom recording studio. The disks released during 1983, 1986 and 1988 were produced by the Gravassom Commercial Phonographic and Publicity LTDA.

At the end of the 1980s the *brega* rhythm lost space in the media to other musical genres. During this period, it is visible the weakening of the *brega* music with the reduction artist releases in radio programs. According to Costa (2004), the main motives for the goodbye of *brega* to the major press during this period were due to the reduction in disk sales and the reminiscence of few singers of the *brega* movement in the media.

With the competition of Axé[3], as charted by Neves, *brega* music would get away from the Paraense musical scenery for a few years. Nevertheless, since the second half of the 1990s, *brega* reappears with a new face. Presenting with a couple of reformulations in rhythm, with a considerable acceleration in pace and the introduction of guitars under the influence of the Caribbean music, *brega* reestablished in a more touching way in the Paraense music scenery: the *bregacalypso* is born. Still according to Júnior Neves' text, *brega* rescues its ancient singers as it also releases a new generation of artists, attracting new fans and starting to propagate to other states of the north and north-eastern part of the country and even to Caiena, French Guinea's capital.

This reinvigorating phase of the *brega* music seems not only consolidate the rhythm but also as one of the popular musical genres of Pará, also as a well established cultural industry. Roberto Villar, icon of this new step, represents the biggest phenomenon in *brega* CD sales in large scale. Nelsinho Rodrigues, another artist released during this period and still around nowadays, declared having sold 50.000 copies of his first disk. In 1993, Juca Medalha came back to the Erla recording studio, now under the name of RJ recording studio. His last disk, released in 2000, sang *"brega gospel"*, being an independent production.

The case of the company Leão Productions is revealing for it proves the on growing success of *brega* at the end of the 1990s and also the consolidation of a local cultural industry.

---

[3] **About Axé Music:** This is a *Baiano* musical rhythm that made a lot of success during the 1980s all over the country.

As an art director for a publicity agency, Leão completed his income being a *freelancer* with art cover jobs in disk productions. In 1995, after leaving the company he worked for, he invested all his money onto the disk production of *brega* singer Ribamar José. The singer became a success, having sold 15.000 copies of his disk, Belém alone. In 1997, Leão Productions, the label, was legalized and since then, it has produced 108 *brega* disks, amongst *traditional*, *calypso*, *tecno* and *melody*. The *brega* expansion as a business also was mentioned by Júnior Neves in one of our interviews during the qualitative phase. As it can be observed in the below citation, he outlines the first appearance of new singers, musicians, composers, labels, studios, editors, concert houses, radio and TV programs.

> Depending on the budget, [the artists] tried to enrich themselves, valuing their productions, not only on the harmonization, but with metals (blowing instruments) executed by real musicians (without samplers), and not just with keyboards, also with acoustic guitars with steel and or nylon chords, acoustic drums (most of them were electronic); the studios were trying more to improve, the editors we professionalizing, the important and effective participation of Silvinha Silva (AR MUSIC). Known singers in the national scenery started to select and record songs by Paraense composers. The proof of the Paraense rhythmic success are the nightclubs (Concert house A POROROCA, currently the main and biggest structure, the extinct Concert House Xodó, where the movement re-started during the 1990s, Mauru's, Kuarup, and so on…) specific to this genre, overcrowded, with only local attractions and a huge audience at the TV and radio (AM/FM) programs, dedicated only to this genre. [This] proves the passion that the Paraense population has for this rhythm. (Júnior Neves)

Through means of the interviewees responses, during the qualitative step of the research, it is possible of observe the public success that the new Paraense *brega* formulation acquired resulting in the **increase of actors whom participate in the disks production process**. The vending of CDs would be a cornerstone of this second *"brega movement"*, mobilizing artists, studios and labels. Other than that according to the interviewees, *brega* was responsible for the first local editorial institution, the AR Music. During this time, the interviewees also remember that the informal market of disk sales still did not exist or did not have such an important play as it does currently, which verifies that the *brega* music production market would have originated in the formal phonographic industry. The means of promotion, although, seems to have maintained ever since the beginning until nowadays:

radios, is a fewer degree during the first stage of the *"brega movement"*, and sound systems. This way, the *bregueiro* universe is built, onto the two first decades of existence, basically by the same existing elements in the huge phonographic industry – artists (singers, composers and musicians), radio and TV programs, labels, productions, concert and public houses – adding only the sound system parties, as a local component which represents an important instrument for the *brega* music broadcast in Pará.

The Reformulation of *Brega* Music and the Creation of a New Business Model

Between the years of 2001 and 2003, *brega* was submitted to a significant change, with the incorporation of electronic components and the establishment of a strong relation with technology in the process of music production. Inserting electronic beats onto *traditional brega*, artists gave a more speedy rhythm to the old *brega* and created a new classification of Paraense *brega* music, called *tecnobrega*. Different actors are appointed as *"inventors"* of this new genre, but some of these are more frequently citied in the narratives. Tony Brasil is consensually considered to be the inventor of a style to play only one note, singing with vocals and keyboard, while DJ André is appointed as the person who inserted the use of computers in the music production process.

> The music elements are modernizing, these elements become more animated, more dancing-like. This over here used to be a more romantic thing, nowadays the story is every time faster, the tecno is speeding up, therefore the story is a different one. (A Band Singer)

> On other rhythms, for instance, the dance used to be called house. And then dance because they changed the beats. And then I came up with this idea: 'why can't *brega* also change? Put a heavier beat. And then I got it and had that idea. The equipment here [appears] in one afternoon. And every worked out, assembling the *tecnobrega*. But actually it was only I, I had to assemble the *tecnobrega*. It was trance. Little sketch, out of everything. From music, a little bit. I was assembling. And then i got a beat, got a base of a song too, and i went on assembling. And then I got the

brega. I was only thinking what I was going to call it, which is a heavier rhythm. And then since there were people talking about *tecnobrega*, and it was still *tecnobrega*, it was only keyboards, only played the keyboards, then it was said to be *tecnobrega*. Then I said, this here will be the true *tecnobrega*. I released and everyone wanted to dance. Later on, others started to show up… and that until today. (A Studio DJ)

The following graphic presents the dimension that the electronic instruments posses in the *tecnobrega*. Out of the total number of bands that responded the question related to the main instruments the used in their respective concerts, 41% said they only use electronic instruments and 47% electronic and acoustic, totalizing in 88% whom use electronic instruments.

Graph 1 – Main Instruments used in Concerts
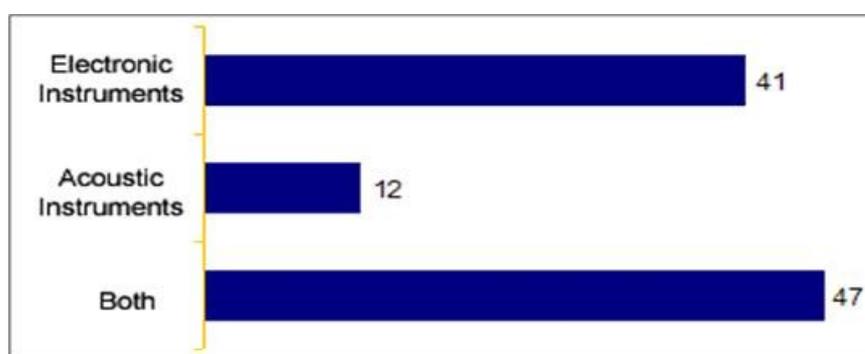
Other than being a new musical style, *tecnobrega* presents itself within the Paraense musical scenery, as a new business model for musical productions. It inaugurated, since 2001, a new pattern in the functioning of the cultural industry, basing its low cost production, and incorporating the informal commerce as its main source of content broadcasting. Instead of the last phase, where Junior Neves noticed the increase in labels and productions, with *tecnobrega* artists started to dismiss contracts with labels, having a expressive number of independent productions. The big studios were replaced by an on growing number of home-based studios, to the extent that the songs were created through the use of computers only. Other than that, *tecnobrega* has provoked a re-setting of the participative elements in the *bregueiro* circuit, with sound system parties becoming the main product within this musical business and, consequently, shifting the sound systems and the DJs to the central position in

23

this universe. Although instituted a business model that wasn't based on the formal rules of intellectual property rights, it can be noted that there is an increase in the number of editorials since the year 2000, with the creation of companies such as LBastos, JMK Productions and Transa Tape, other that the precursor AR Music.

Other than the change in the business model, *tecnobrega* established a shift in terms of musical compositions. The elaboration process of a *brega* song using exclusively electronic resources, added to the popularization of computers, and consequently, the multiplication of studios, have facilitated the production of electronic versions of *brega* music. With this, DJs started to remix existing productions and also creating compositions, transforming the musical production of the Paraense *brega*. This way, another electronic musical style was created: the *cyber tecnobrega*, with a more accelerated percussion and beats of *tecnobrega*, using computer (digital) sounds.

During the making process of the qualitative step, it was possible to see that the participative agents of the *brega* world consider that this musical style is made mainly for dancing, and the rhythm is the main form of appreciating this genre. This characteristic came from *tecnobrega*. Another important aspect of a good tecnobrega is the simplicity in lyrics and themes, that must be direct, with narratives that make part of the day to day life of the listener – this coming from the *traditional brega* which was played during the 1970s and 1980s, which looked out for the creation of songs with lyrics that allowed the public to relate to, as shown in one of the interviews made with on *tecnobrega* solo singer.

> The song has to be simple. It does not need to be complex. The biggest bands of this world were simple. The song has to have a story, has to be direct as a conversation. Either it shakes a lot, or it makes you cry. These are songs which people realte to. The Rubi song, for instance, it's huge reaction. The song must seem with something that has happened with you in the past. (Solo Singer)

The first transformations made by *tecnobrega* in the Paraense music market were also a result of the negative reactions of to this speedy rhythm. To some of the interviewees of the qualitative step, the creation of *goodbye bawls (bailes da saudade*, in Portuguese) and of a

24

new style of electronic *brega*, the *brega melody*, were a demand of the public. This movement would show up given the *"too"* speedy beats, that have making it hard for couples to perform dance moves. On the other hand, this process can also be interpreted as a way to gain space in the *brega* market. According to Costa (2004), some musicians and composers criticize *tecnobrega*, because they consider this rhythm has only contributed to the on growing demand for sound systems, partially due to the artists.

In conclusion, we have summarized the main first transformations made by *tecnobrega* in the Paraense *brega* music market, in four points:

- Market impact – the adoption of a new production and sales strategy of CDs with the multiplication of home-based studios and the incorporation of an informal commerce and/or the re-production of non-authorized copies;
- Organizational impact – a rearrangement of the position of the agents involved and the introduction of new agents in the *brega* musical circuit;
- Musical impact – a combination of the romantic songs with electronic rhythms in a more swingy manner; and the creation of another two new electronic *brega* styles: *cybertecno* and *melody*;
- Social Cultural impact – the recovery of old compositions, now called *flashbregas*, with the creation of the *bailes da saudade*.

4- MAIN CHARACTESITICS OF THIS BUSINESS MODEL

The Paraense *brega* music market is a dynamic sector of Belém's economy: it moves parties, sound systems, artists, studios, DJs, party planners, party and concert houses, promotion ventures and the vending of products related to *brega*. It comes from a source of income and taxation to the local public sector and it *"hires"* a vast number of professionals and artists. Given the focus of this research, this entire document concentrates on one specific segment of this market, of the music or *tecnobrega* genre that, dude to its complexity and since it has many different characteristics when compared to other segments (such as *brega calypso* or *brega saudade*), it was characterized itself as a market. The objective of this chapter is to summarize the main characteristics of the *tecnobrega* market in Belém, describing the specialties of the business model and the difficulties that must be overcome.

A model that builds itself through a network

The actors involved in the *tecnobrega* business do not have only one role. A studio DJ can also be a street vendor or a sound system DJ. A band singer is probably his or her producer and, eventually, party planner. DJs and singers are also composers and CD producers, reporters or radio and TV show hosts. This allows us to comprehend why a huge chunk of the interviewees during the qualitative step said they live of this *"music [business]"*, that is, from the simple insertion in the *tecnobrega* circuit. Such characteristic build this market as a network, not just as a productive chain, where the opportunity for reciprocal non-monetary trade is greater. On the table below, there is a synthesis of the main *tecnobrega* actors, the agents whom make part of each specific *"business"* within this market and how they relate between themselves.

Table 2 – Actors relationship in the *Tecnobrega* Market

Business	Business components	Most direct relationship
Sound Systems	Sound System owners Sound System DJs Employees Radio and TV programs	Party Planners studios owned by DJs Artists Non-Authorized Re-Producers (NARPs) and Informal Street Vendors (ISVs)
Studios	Studios owned by DJs	NARPs and ISVs Sound System DJs Artists
Artists	Singers Dancers Musicians Domestic studios for CD productions Concert houses	Party Planners Studios owned by DJs and sound systems NARPs e ISVs
Parties	Sound System Artists Party and Concert houses Waiters, security guards and *"hired employees"* Stereo Cars (Cars with huge speakers)	Studios owned by DJs and sound systems Artists Police and the Public Management
CD and DVD sales	Non-Authorized Re-producers Informal Street Vendors	Artists Studios owned by DJs and sound systems

Other than these *"main"* actors, fan-clubs can also be outlined, though they have been disappearing, and car-stereo crews that, from the innovation principle, belong to *tecnobrega*, have been gaining further space and characterizing as a side-venture.

By observing the above table, it can be noticed how difficult it is to understand the *tecnobrega* market as a productive chain. It is best to see it as a network of interdependent relations by which the actors deploy multiple parts or roles. As it will be shown ahead, the party planner is the one who detains the biggest cut in the financial resources in the *tecnobrega* market, and further more, he is the one who controls over the municipal bureaucracy that permits and licenses the accomplishment of such parties. He finances the

27

sound systems, negotiates with the party houses and organizes parties by hiring waiters, ticket-booth personnel, security guards, and so on…

In the distribution field, studios owned by DJs are the key elements for this market. They are the ones whom more actively address the songs to the non-authorized re-producers and to the sound systems. The NARPs substitute the labels in the distribution sector, re-producing CDs and DVDs in a large scale and promoting within and outside the state of Pará. On the other hand, the sound systems are able to hold the public, being the fundamental element for the entire market to exist. Also, they are responsible for releasing artists' songs and content productions within this network that, by the way, feed the sound systems with new materials. This way, there are three phases that constitute the *tecnobrega* music market: production, distribution and promotion. All these relations are measured – or made – at the studios owned by DJs, where these actors can find and establish new contacts.

This way, it is possible to notice two relation levels: the first being, the most vertical and hierarchal, which establishes the prestige positions (sound systems and artists) and the power (party planners and non-authorized re-producers). The second, more horizontal, establishes the exchange relation between agents, having as a great mediator the studios owned by DJs, a place where all the new successes and main innovations regarding *tecnobrega* come from. Within this relationship network it can be said that they behave in between "small" and "huge", that is, small party planners hire small sound systems, rather than "huge" party planners with "huge" sound systems. The difficulty with regards to access to more or less influential artists does not limit itself to the position they occupy or the financial resources or the prestige they have, but the personal relationship developed with them. The relations between the main *tecnobrega* market agents can be summarized in the following diagram:

Figure 1 –Network Relations of the Main *Tecnobrega* agents
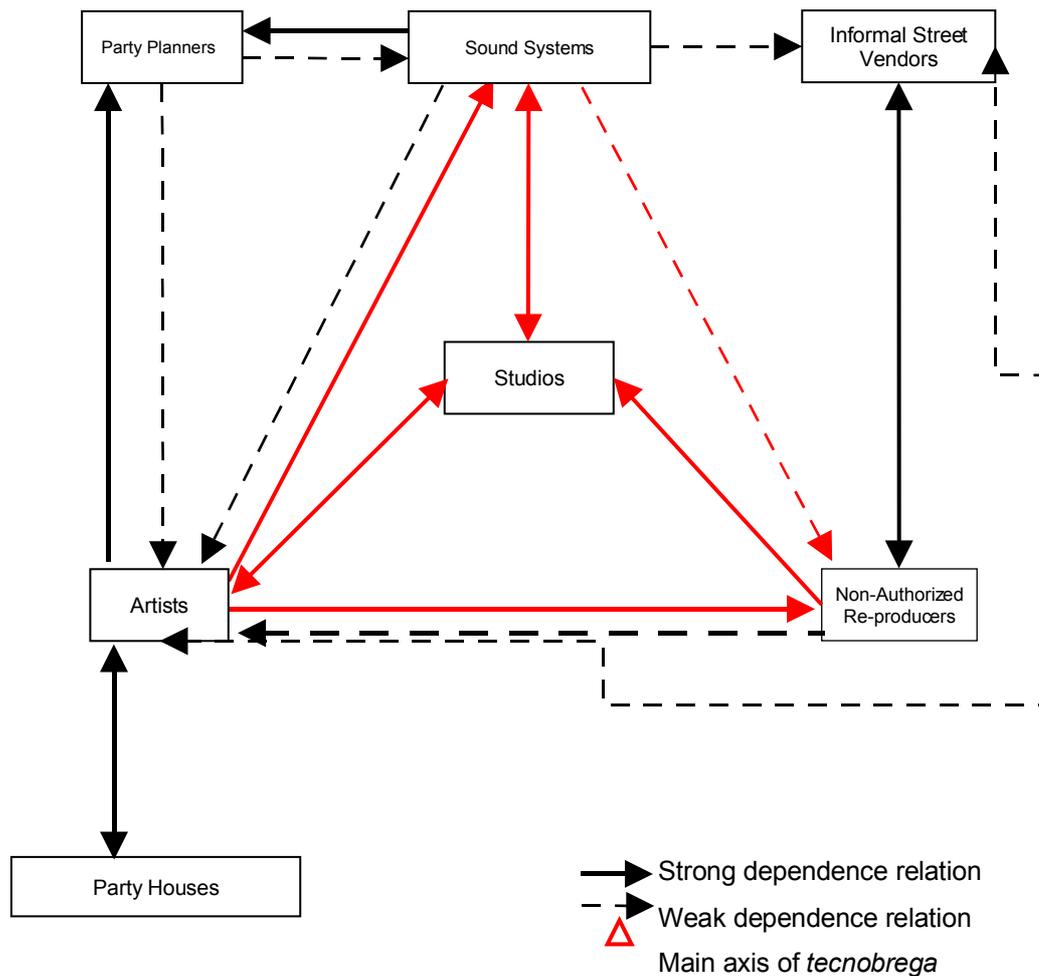
The relationship between actors does not restrict itself to a monetary relationship, where money or a generation of wealth is the only objective. *Tecnobrega* is characterized for being a familiar venture and strongly built within friendship relations. For that matter, the informality in the commercial relations (that dismisses formal contracts) does not become a problem, since the *"lip"*, better yet *"verbal"*, contract is based on the certainty that the other person is someone known, of which many other businesses shall be made in the future. This does not mean that there won't be splits in contracts, but that this break-up can be negotiated

29

in the friendliest way, seeking to preserve the commercial and personal relation. The personal relations interconnect with the commercial relations and allow profits and losses to be distributed in a more stable manner, reducing the risk for both sides.

The party planner relations with the sound system personnel whom may not fulfill the contracts' requirements, even though already having received advanced payments, is one example that shows how contracts are also undone without one of the harmed parts necessarily being re-paid. But there are rules of engagement, negotiation rules that establish: 1) between bands and party houses, the loss or the profits may be negotiated after the event, so that no one is damaged; 2) between party planners and sound systems, usually, the payment is in advance, due to the fact that this is a more competitive field. Where the financial resources are few and limited, the *"values"* are not reduced to money and a trade relationship is in fact established. In this relation what matters is that it is a reciprocal one. The biggest value that an actor can have is his *"contacts"*, which control each others businesses, opening or closing doors.

It is interesting to observe that this market is not only competitive, but also collaborative. There is a spatial division of concerts (between the capital and the countryside). While the sound system parties prevail within the capital, artists and bands concerts prevail in the countryside. This shows how artists, although having little space within the state capital, manage to establish themselves in the countryside of Pará, supplying the demand for an own sound system structure that sometimes becomes an obstacle for them.

It is possible to comprehend why artists and DJs do not worry about copyright revenues. The promotion of songs is understood as a mean of compensation from what the artists will gain ahead. For the involved agents in this market, the trade value is measured by the capacity and return rates that one of parts has to offer. This way, a successful artist can present free of charge arguing that it's about a *"support"* to a sound system. The same way, the R$50 given to a DJ from a studio who works at a radio can be caught as giving *"support"* on the promotion of a new song, by some artist. Also, in this sense, copyrights are *traded* by how many times a song is played in radios within the city and also by the multiplication of CDs in the informal market. Making the rights of ownership more flexible may result in a greater

feedback, in terms of promotions and contacts, than if demanded to function according to the formal rules of intellectual property rights.

During the interviews of the qualitative step, the most bothered participants with non-authorized re-producing actions were those whose businesses are strongly dependent on the formal model of the phonographic industry or that they were in the *brega* market before the emergence and the first modifications made by it. The relationship with the non-authorized re-producers within *tecnobrega* is not linked to the (*"established"*, *"intermediate"*, *"novice"*) market agent's position, but to the production process and disk distribution. This way, the same agent, *"established"* or *"novice"*, start to go through steps, having different perceptions: during the release phase of *singles*, the non-authorized re-producers are seen as *"official supporters"*, or the main form of releasing this content. Though, while a certain prestige is reached and when the artist starts to produce his *"original"* material, this time being more elaborated, it is perceived that non-authorized re-producers are *"competition"*. These two moments can be demonstrated in the table below:

Table 3 – Phases of the Market's Participation Process

	PRODUCTION	PROMOTION
1st Phase – Music production for promotion	Home-based studios for the production of singles	1) Sound Systems 2) Compilations 3) NARPs 4) Radios
2nd Phase – Production of original CDs and DVDs	Home-based studios or more elaborate home-based studios for the production of an *"original"* CD and DVD	1) Sound Systems 2) Labels 3) Vending in concerts and/or stores 4) radios 5) Compilations 6) NARPs

In the above table, it is possible to observe all of the involved agents in the production and distribution of CDs and DVDs. Even a band which possesses original productions, when releasing *singles*, notices the NARPs and the ISVs as releasers of their respective material. In the *tecnobrega* market, it is very common that bands with an established career release

singles and try to release them through the sound systems and through the informal market. Many times, the established band follows the same promotion road of a novice (band) and takes their respective songs to the DJ of a sound system party and to an ISV, in the hope that some re-producer shall listen and become interested in copying it. This way, different from the traditional phonographic market, where the singers release a CD with many tracks, in *tecnobrega* the releases are more frequently placed as *singles*.

The following figure shall present how produced CDs and DVDs in the *tecnobrega* market are circulated, in each one of the phase presented in the table above.

Figure 2 – Musical Production Phases

1st PHASE – Songs production for promotion (NARPs considered supporters)

Sound Systems

Studios

Artists

Public

Non-Authorized Re-Producers

Informal Street Vendors

→ Press-release   ⇢ *"License"* to sell   ⇢ Direct sale
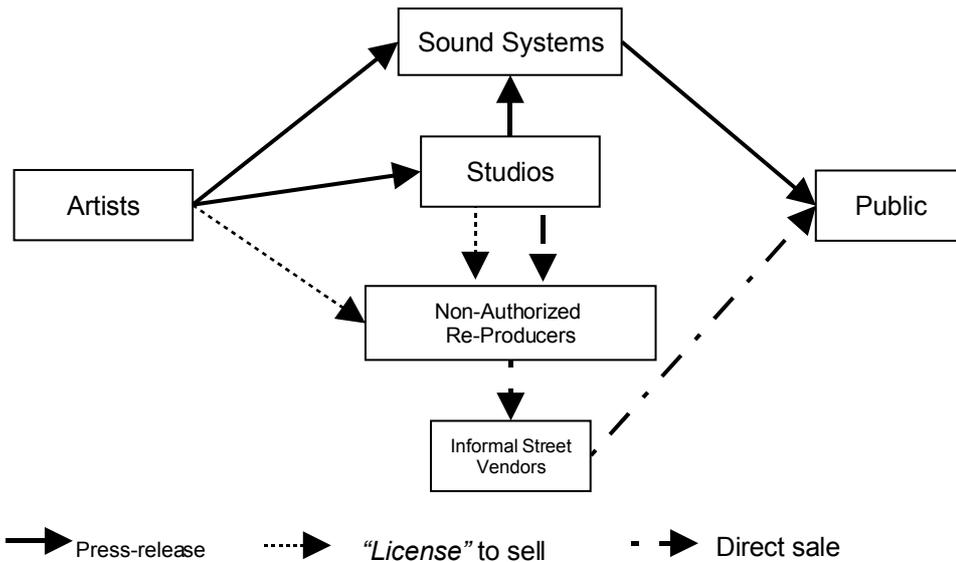
2nd PHASE – "Original" CDs and DVDs production (NARPs considered competition)

Artists/Sound Systems

Stores

Public

NARP/ISP

→ Direct sale – main form   ⇢ Store sale – secondary form
↔ Competition Artist/NARP
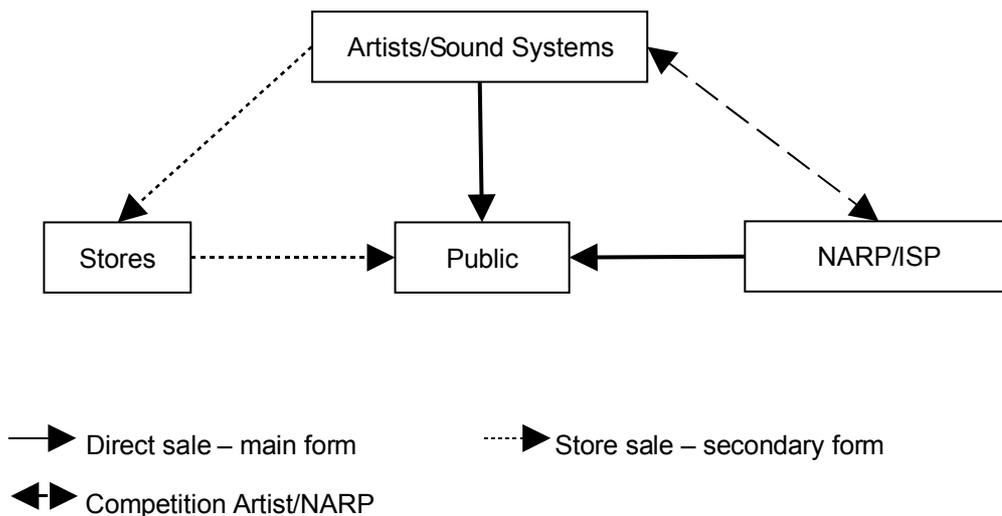
The exception for this rule seems only to be valid to the novice artist in particular. This singer is actually an agent who is returning to the market, and is instituting within the Paraense

brega music the idea that it is possible that an artist gains profits with a CD and DVD sale. Deliberating music, NARPs and commercial propaganda seem to have inaugurated a new business model in this local cultural industry. This singer presents himself more like a technical and business person than as an artist. It is believed that artists are unorganized and that they don't keep up with the organization of the Paraense music market. He is the interviewee that demonstrates the greatest interest for copyrights, especially due to the fact that he desires to be recorded by a very successful artist. Although, also innovated in the distribution form of CDs.

For a novice party planner, the *tecnobrega* market is fragile and poorly structured. In his opinion, the artists and sound system owners have little management capacity of their business and this is the reason why sound systems are in debt and artists can't manage to do good contract.

> The song [that I done for a sound system] isn't a song, it is a *jingle*, it's something that you will not manage to remove from your head. I am a technical guy. I've been a musical producer for four years, making market analysis to know what the market wants, because I make the people, the outskirts. The songs I assemble the people understand. They are simple lyrics, of our day-to-day lives, straight. When I recorded the song to the sound system, I was very criticized. They said: *"You're gonna place this beat? This keyboard isn`t cool!"*. I said: *"Look, I am responsible for the things that I do"*. And today the song is a huge success, because actually people live from a constant evolution. I always say: *"The human being lives of ideas. One innovative idea works out and hopefully all goes well"*. So, the song issue must be planned. And then you play cool, take it to dude to listen…

> The northeastern music until here is completely open, piracy has taken over the world. So it's like that: either you are small or you are big. There's no middle term. Either you make one million Reais to invest and buy one million CDs, or you have to give your CD to the non-authorized re-producer to sell. There's no middle term. Because, nowadays, in this country, it is more profitable to work in the illegal [market] than the legal [one]. (Solo singer)

The example of this singer, the party planner speech and the big dependency position of the other agents within this market (as shown in figure 2) are illustrative in order to show the

34

neediness that artists have for acquiring new abilities of organization and commercial negotiation with the other actors.

This market is characterized for having many ways of transiting symbolic and material assets. *"Contacts"* are traded and mediated by all of the social actors, as do CDs and songs. Artists make at musical studios and sketches to be played at sound systems. These songs make success and they are called for concerts. The public asks that these songs shall be played at radios and the artists leave Belém's circuit to the countryside region of the State. The sound system parties make success and their compilations go to the informal market of distribution, attracting a bigger audience for their concert. The artists leave their songs at the hands of the studio DJs whom make compilations and sell these to the NARPs. These compilations make success and attract the attention of the sound systems, which play the songs at the parties making the artists further known by the public. These are called for concerts and so forth.

Whether you belong to a label is irrelevant, though to posses a good infrastructure for production and distributions phases, and in this sense, a label is welcome. When the participants notice the advantages in having a contract with a label can be obtained or substituted by other agents actions (a good home-based studio where its possible to make a production, a good manager that makes a the promotion of concerts and a structure for informal sales), the contract is no longer the best option. As it will be seen ahead, the *"original"* CD, with a recording studios' label, brings prestige to the artist – this strategy of have such CD, or a production with a more elaborate material, serve so that the artist gains further acknowledgement or reaffirms his career.

Although this market posses a distinctive rationality of the formal phonographic industry, it presets the same economical logic as any other cultural industry. According to Pierre Bourdieu, (1996), the artistic industries of any nature transform the cultural assets into commerce like any other, prioritizing the diffusion and measuring the success through sales volume. At last, they adjust their art for preexisting public's demand. In this case, we can argue that the main difference between *tecnobrega* in relation to other phonographic markets consists in the way *copyrights* are treated in this market.

The radios, when compared to other musical styles, become necessary means of releasing *tecnobrega*, although secondary. Radios play an important role in the promotion of artists' songs outside Belém and in the countryside region of the State of Pará, where they are more frequently asked for concerts. But these are the main vehicles for the sound systems which substitute old forms of promotion in radios and the forms that compose *"decisions"* over the promotion, similar to known *"jabá"*, when you pay the radio to play a song. Nowadays it is still possible to *"pay"* for a radio to play a song, though it is no longer seen as jabá but as *"support"*, in trading of interests.

In the promotion field, the small and medium size sound systems have set up a major role, for they are the first to play new songs that, once known, are played at the big sound systems parties and later on they reach the radios. This format also allowed other *tecnobrega* actors to outgrow the resistance generated by these radios in relation to this genre, for they were "ordered" to play in the programming due to the public's demand. The public's gain is of becoming more *pro-active* and having their musical taste being considered the normal taste since this market is more directly moved by public's acceptation, expressed by purchasing of CDs and also the public's appearance at concerts.

Nowadays, since it's practically online the single with the studio, the song comes straight. Also because you can no longer pay the promoter. The promoter, other than you having to pay him, you also had to given him some extra money to place your name in a radio. Because he had to get there already with the money in hands, to give to the kid who does the programming, to include your song. If it wasn't really good and people didn't call to ask for it, you were screwed. You would have to keep on paying until the song became popular. Nowadays, no. It became a lot easier. People distribute the songs at the sound systems. I mean, the song is played at the sound systems, then it exploded, and then people started to call the radio asking for it. I mean, the roles were inverted. In the old days, radio did the song go up in the charts. Nowadays, from some 7, 8 years until now, the sound systems were occupying this space. Thus, the songs were paying well for the sounds systems, the public already call the radio asking for it. Then, they are obliged to play. (Studio DJ)

Advantages and disadvantages of the model

The *tecnobrega* market reveals a creative form of production and distribution of disks that acts in parallel to the formal phonographic industry's model. The mapping of this business model allows us not only to know this new structure, but mainly to think of the possibility of its replication. To this, four aspects deserve being taken into consideration: the innovation with value, the *"technology cultivation"*, the promotion system based on the NARPs and the absence of payment to that individual who is only the composer.

The innovation is an important aspect of the *bregueiro* universe. It talks about not only the incorporation of new technological apparatus, but also the demonstration of the personal creativity of the artist. For instance, there is the case of DJ Gilmar, who started to play facing the audience, inaugurating a new form of reacting with him; or of DJ Iran, who introduced a new *"beat"*, creating this new *"musical genre"*, and who started to sing during the performances. The constant need for innovation is a relevant aspect of the *bregueiro* universe, for it is the fundamental step for competition amongst the involved actors, stimulating them to always quest for new forms of action and problem solving.

The *"technology cultivation"* is a more concrete form of innovation, practiced by actors and the public who follows them and mystifies the image of DJs and the sound systems: these are huge sound systems and their rituals of adoration towards technology have driven the Paraense *tecnobrega* market. Other than that, the quest for new technologies has allowed artists to produce their CDs in an extremely low cost and independent form, giving the possibility to hire other partners (ballerinas, musicians and support crew) only when the song *"explodes"* and the business seems to be going alright.

On the other hand, these two aspects have negative sides that deserve to be considered. If on one hand the requirement of constant renovation is what fuels the *tecnobrega* market, on the other hand it has generated huge debts for big sound systems, the most important economical agents of this entire market. These debts reveal how the generated resources are not well distributed and that may lead to the bankruptcy of big sound systems. It is important to outline that there are situation in which this *"technological*

37

cultivation", as a driving force of the market, can be substituted or alleviated by *"innovation"* and by the creative capacity of artists themselves, mainly between artists with smaller financial power: with the creation of the *"computerized chevete"* by an adorer of automobile stereo with no financial conditions to acquire a more modern car.

The basis for re-production and distribution of CDs, made by NARPs is also placed in an ambiguous manner: at the same time that a form of promotion of a local production make artists, DJs and sound systems known even outside of the state, the illegal situation with the illegal vending of other content with rights of ownership, including the big phonographic industry, can harm the replication of this model and even the viability of *tecnobrega* in the long term. It must be said that there is no piracy in the *tecnobrega* market since it was already conceived based on an "alternative" form of reproduction and distribution of disks. Although *bregueiros* consider this format as a greater advantage, it wasn't something planned, but subsequent to the outcome of this new style associated with the increase in the informal market and piracy.[4] The contact with NARPs is a sign of prestige, and it must comply with the promise of remaining silent between both parties. This must occur to preserve the NARP from judicial manifestations and not to preserve the *bregueiro*, whose business is not illegal. Promotional alternatives to piracy, which only focus on the promotion of content whose copyrights are free, are alternatives while the current model standing is of the formal phonographic industry.[5]

The promotion through informal street vendors is a central item for the *tecnobrega* open business model since it is through this model that artists and sound systems become known to make income with their concerts. Therefore, places that repress this type of commercialization in a more effective way would make the open business model of *tecnobrega* unviable. It is obvious that artists and sound systems abdicate from their rights of ownership allowing their vending in informal shops, which could occur anywhere. The issue standing is if in places where no piracy is present, would there be the possibility for an open business model to exist?

---

[4] **About Piracy:** Although it is not the objective of this paper to indicate actions to be taken, something that can be understood as a consequence of the Open Business project is the promotion of flexible licenses for copyrights and intellectual property.

[5] **About Promotional Alternatives to Piracy:** These are interesting forms for instance the vending at concerts or even the Mexican *tortilleria* adopted in the distribution fo books.

Therefore the second issue regards how is it possible to distribute new content without rights of ownership to an audience in a way of creating a promotional mechanism that drives this entire model?

At last, specifically within the *tecnobrega* music business, there not seem to be an actor who is exclusively a composer or that everyone deploys multiple roles, which certifies that someone to belong to one or many different sources of income. Within this model, someone who would want to be exclusively a composer has little or no possibility of earning money, for the copyright revenues would be the only form of paycheck. Another strategy adopted by *tecnobrega* singers/composers and that it can be adopted even by that individual who only wants to be a composer, is the creation of *jingles* and sketches for marketing campaigns. In this case, the road towards the composition for a sound system is that, if it becomes a hit, it will contribute for that he is called to compose for a publicity stunt.[6]

---

[6] **About Publicity Stunts:** It is important to mention the fact that writing for publicity stunts is not something new in the publicity market.

5- ACTORS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *TECNOBREGA* MARKET

Brega music, produced in the State of Pará, has as its main mean of promotion, the *brega* parties. These events occur in different places of the city of Belém, especially in the neighborhood outskirts, but also they dislocate to other cities in neighborhood states, joining a diverse crowd for four days a week, at least. These *brega* parties promote the gathering of hundreds of people, producing a type of sociability that involves entertainment, dancing, music, fan-clubs or automobile stereo crews, and so on… These parties also represent an on growing business for the local cultural industry set back to weekend entertainment. The entertainment ventures involve sound systems, artists, party planners, party houses, studios, and radio and TV programs.

To participate of a *brega* party can mean, not just being part of it, but also investing in the sound systems, selling tickets, producing CDs, purchasing songs, sponsoring artists, and so on… In this section, we will present an analysis of these events prioritizing the corporate aspect of this market, comprehending *brega* parties whilst a business model for the *tecnobrega* music market.[7]

Next, we will argue the constitutive elements of a *brega* party – sound systems, artists, party planners, party houses, fan-clubs and crews – seeking to demonstrate that the network field which connects them to the accomplishment of businesses related to *brega* party: exchanges, cooperation, competition, tensions and divergences.

Sound Systems

---

[7] **About the Tecnobrega Business Model:** It is important to stress that the research is focused on the *tecnobrega* business model – and subsequently in its two *"subtitles"*, the *cybertecnobrega* and *brega melody* – the actors here analyzed can also act in other genre of the Paraense *brega*, such as the *calypso* and the *brega saudade*. Although these genres are also based on the sound system parties, they differ from *tecnobrega* as regards to its structure. The fact that *brega saudade* is set back to a musical production of artists outside of Pará and that *calypso* is played with acoustic instruments, are some examples of the differences that lead to different business models.

The sound systems are fundamental to understand the musical venture structure, since they acquired a central role in the last few years. Its infrastructure is usually made up by a control booth, two or three towers with stereo boxes of about three meters high with speakers, other than an editing music table (sound-table), computers, equalizers, and lighting crew. Its' main function is to entertain the parties in Belém and its personnel is composed by a diverse group of responsible employees for the setting up and operating the equipments, all of them, under the administration of the owner of the sound system. These are familiar companies that manage the business, closing contracts for presentations and administrating employees.

The potency of the speakers and the investment on technological resources define the *"size"* of the sound systems, its infrastructure and personnel: there are sound systems which are considered *"big"*, *"medium"*, *"small"* (or *"mini"*). In 2006, there were four sound systems considered to be *"big"*, in Belém: Tupinambá, Rubi, Super Pop and Ciclone. These are the ones whom posses the best and the most modern electronic equipment for the production of a party: a sophisticated sound-table, video cameras recording the party, which is reproduced in two huge LCD television screens, a notebook, visual effects equipment (with laser rays, smoke) and lighting. One other issue must be remembered and that is the uses of lighting effects called *skywalker*, a signal-machine that bursts rays of lights into high altitudes, which can be see by a long distance.

The qualitative step of the research observed that the participants looked to the sky to see how many *"big"* sound system parties were happening during that day. As a joke, one of the participants compared Belém to Gotham City, making reference to the *bat signal*. In Belém, the *skywalker* is also used as a form of communication, calling to public and signaling that a sound system party is happening.

The graphic below shows an average of the quantity of equipments used at the *tecnobrega* sound systems. Big screen TVs, notebooks and video cameras are the most purchased equipment at the sound systems.

Graph 2 – Quantity of *Tecnobrega* Equipment used at the Sound System Parties (average)
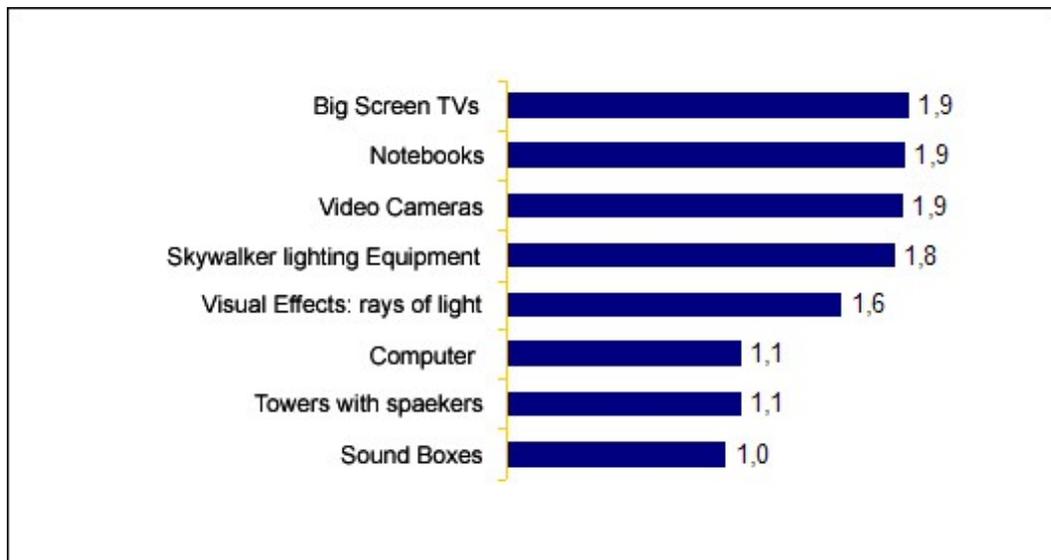
It was possible to observe the symbolic aspects that allow us to distinguish the big sound system from those who are small. At the big ones, the DJ's control room is considered to be the most important of the sound system, where the greatest number of visual effects is concentrated. The control room also has movement and lighting effects. The importance being attributed to the control room is confirmed whilst attending the fact that they are called *"Sound Altar"* of Tupinambá's; *"Sound Ship"* of Rubi; *"Eagle of Fire"* of Super Pop; *"Double Cyber Command"* of Ciclone. The control room and the visual effects that each of them can air not only differ in the size of the sound systems but also differ as huge sound systems used.

The main special effects that a sound system has are shown during the peak of the party, which is the arrival of the main DJ. This is the moment when the party becomes a huge show of sounds and visual effects in which the control room is moved around and the DJ presets to the audience all of the technological resources of the sound system. The main DJ becomes the central character of the party and is seen by the audience as a star as he

demonstrates his control over the technological resources. The citation below presents a track sample of a CD from a sound system, as it can be observed in the DJ's exaltation.

> Get ready! Starting now you are gonna listen, enjoy and dance to the best sound and the biggest sound system of all time: Tupinambá – the Earth Stomper! The biggest sound system is here to make your happiness. Three-dimensional sound, digital lighting and the best DJs under the command of the Sound Altar: DJ Toninho; DJ Wesley; the first woman DJ at sound systems – she, DJ Agatha; and the Fantastic DJ Dinho. Now it's TUPINAMBÁ! (CD track).

The most expected moment at the party, with the presentation of technological resources from the sound system used by the main DJ, is a recent change which contributes to transform the most popular agent at these sound system parties.

In the graphic below, we show the average degree of importance given by the sound system owners to each communication professional, to the *tecnobrega* music. The owners of these sound systems gave an importance degree to the DJ, similar to the sound system, confirming the evidences collected during the qualitative phase.

Graph 3 – Importance Degree attributed by the Sound System Owners to the Communication Professionals to the *Tecnobrega* Music (average)[8]
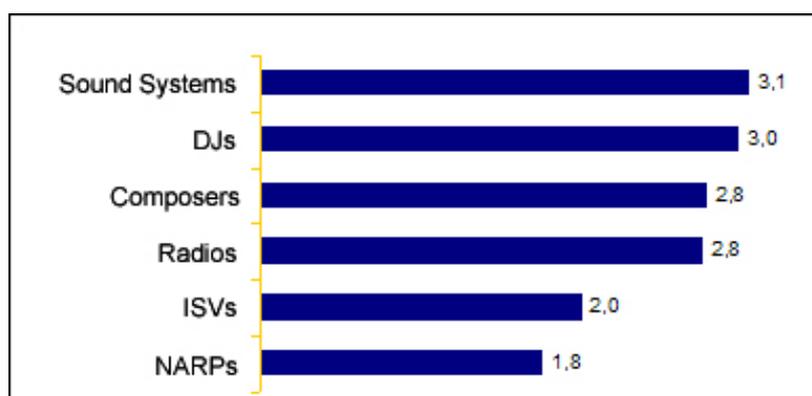
Other than the main DJ, responsible for the command of *tecnobrega* parties, the biggest sound systems also have *"backup DJs"*, whose main objective consists in opening and

---

[8] **About Graphic 3:** 4 (four) means Extremely important; 3 (three) Very important; 2 (two) Important; 1 (one) More or less important.

closing the parties. This strategy seems to value the main DJ, once his presentation occurs during the peak of the party. DJs carry the sound system's image, making a very tough competition in between the biggest DJs of the huge sound systems (…they represent) of Belém, through popularity.

The competition amongst the sound systems help stimulate this tough DJ dispute, that always want to impose their *"innovation"* to other competitors so that they become the *"one"* or the *"first"* to adopt such innovation. The creation of a good musical sequence, a flawless presentation, the control over the sound equipment and of the effects and the ability to communicate with the public, are the main characteristics of a *"good"* DJ. Although, it is possible to affirm that the communication with the public exerts a bigger role, announcing the presence of famous people and to fan-clubs, stimulating the public to dance and to participate singing their songs, are items that demonstrate the ability of a main DJ, who looks for fine professionals to help him out.

Although the *"artist"* of a sound system is the main DJ, the presentation of a *"good"* *"backup"* DJ is fundamental for the success of the sound system. This is the case of DJ Wesley. He is DJ Gilmar's nephew and helps him out at the Rubi sound system parties. His acknowledgement by the audience has risen in popularity and also his success at the Rubi parties which, other than DJ Gilmar, also include this notorious *"backup"* DJ. Seeking the same competitive success, the owner and "main" DJ for Tupinambá sound system has hired DJ Wesley. In July 2006, the disputed DJ went back to Rubi, factor that has been notably understood as one of the main reasons that explain Rubi's comeback, or recovery, together with the *"explosion"* (when it becomes a hit) of a song about sound systems.

In order to reach success, the sound systems need to innovate in the production of the *tecnobrega* parties and the work of the DJ is very important. For instance, DJ Gilmar of Rubi's Sound System was the first to work facing the audience, an attitude that was later on adopter by other DJs. DJ Dinho promoted DJ Agatha, the first woman to work as a DJ at the *tecnobrega* parties. However the most important thing to guarantee the success of this market is the investment in new technologies. Big screen TVs, plasma televisions, cameras that

44

record and transmit the party instantly, *skywalker*, notebooks, are some of the technological resources acquired and endlessly shown to the public seeking an increase in popularity.

The "*big*" sound systems establish an annual date for public presentation of their new equipment acquisitions. These events are known in Belém as *"début parties"* (*"festas de lançamento"* in Portuguese) when the main DJ shows the aesthetic upgrades (increase and renovation of the infrastructure), the quality of the sound (quantity and height of the stereo-boxes, acquisition of electronic equipments and accessories) and the upgrade of sound and visual effects. The *"festas de lançamento"* are very disputed by the public, which results in tickets becoming more expensive and paychecks too. The dates are already known by the public (the *"début"* of Tupinambá happens every month of May and Super Pop's during the month of November). The *"début"*, the adjective *"new"* is added to the sound systems during a period: New Tupinambá, New Rubi, New Super Pop, and New Ciclone.

The sound systems are family companies. As it was outlined by Costa (2004), the owner of the sound system is generally the head of the family and in some cases the DJs are their sons and the other employees are relatives. Such business model is not mainly played by little sound systems. The medium and big size also have are family companies, whose DJ is usually the owner or a relative of his.

Even being characterized as a family business, there are significant differences amongst the sound systems. The "medium" are characterized by a less financial availability to buy and to constantly rejuvenate their equipment and their DJs have less fame. Its infrastructure does not include notebooks nor sophisticated visual and sounds effects. These are composed by one or two sound-box equipment that make up the towers, but the computer used by them is stationed and the lighting equipment is too simplistic. Their *"festas de lançamento"* are less common and many times without a pre-determined date.

As it can be verified in the graph below, there are very few big size sound systems, only 4%, which receive more elevated paychecks and that occupy a substantial slice of the market[9]. The Musi Star sound system, of the district of Santa Isabel, is considered *"big"* in

---

[9] **About the source of Graph 3:** The size of the sound systems in graph 3 was obtained during the quantitative phase of this project, by means of auto-declaration of the owner. It was asked to they would consider the size of their sound systems in comparison to the existing others in Pará.

Mosqueiro, its city of origin. Every year, during the city's birthday, they organize a *"festa de lançamento"* of this sound system, when its infrastructure is renewed. But Musi Star is considered a medium size, when compared to the big size sound systems of Belém. In this sense, Musi Star's paycheck varies considerably according to the city in which it airs.

Graph 4 – Sound System Sizes (%)
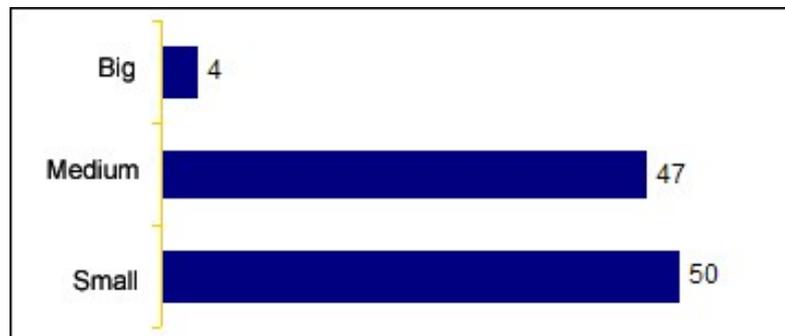
As we analyze the sound system sizes' graph and its average value of fixed revenue for the sound systems, we can observe that this is a very concentrated market. Other than very few sound systems being considered big, the difference in fixed revenue amongst them is significant. The following graph shows the average value for the structure of a big size sound systems is almost 10 (ten) times the averaged value of a small size. The investment in new technological equipment is very concentrated on the big size sound systems.

Graph 5 – Average Value for the Fixed Revenue of the Sound Systems, according to their Size
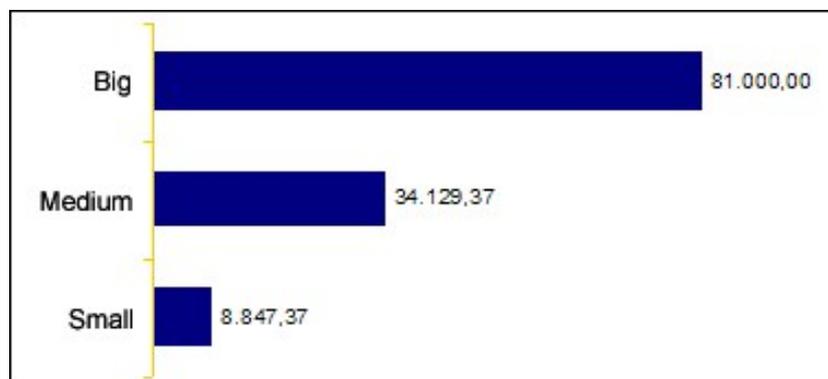
In general, the medium size sound systems accomplish parties in their own neighborhoods, at party houses nearby. With a considerable reduction in public, their contracts for gigs give out a much smaller paycheck when compared to the average paycheck of a big size sound system. This way the parties made in the countryside of the state of Pará are dominated by the big sound systems, whom charge more expensive for they take care of the transport and sound equipment costs, as seen in the graph below. The big size sound systems promote an average of 4,30 parties, where as the medium size only make a 2,5 average and, the small ones, with an average of 1,01 in the countryside regions, probably due to local connections.

Graph 6 – Monthly Quantity of Made Parties at the Capital, and the Countryside Region
By the Size of the Sound Systems
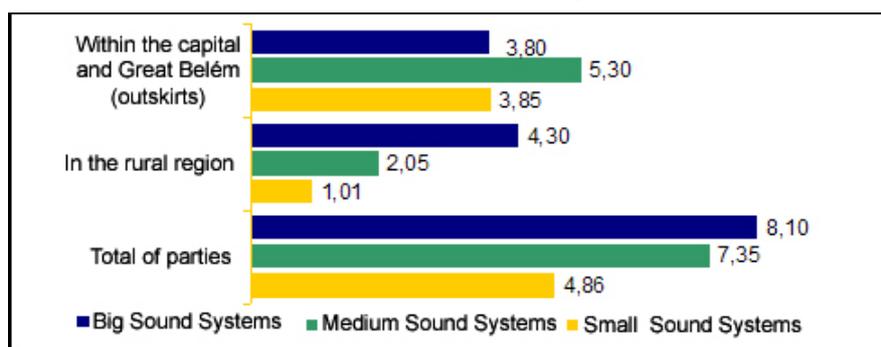
Sometimes the medium size sound systems are hired to air at the main party houses of Belém making what the call the *"first line up"* (*"cobertura"* in Portuguese), that is, the opening gig for the party at a *"big"* sound system. The paycheck, under this situation, may be even less than a party in which the medium size sound system is the main attraction, but the *"cobertura"* represents the opportunity to present to big audience in a notorious party house. This occasion represents to the sound system owner a moment of prestige, of quality

acknowledgement, of projection opportunity, since this is the type of presentation that seeks future ventures and contracts.

The same analysis description should be considered to evaluate DJs. Taking into consideration DJ Iran's case, from Musi Star sound system, his fame is compared to one of the most famous DJs of Belém. But this outline is not due to the sophistication of the electronic equipment of his sound system, but to his capacity of *"innovation"*, an item of extreme importance within the *bregueiro* universe. Iran is responsible for the creation of another type of electronic *brega*, the *cyber tecnobrega*, and he was the precursor of the tendency that nowadays is followed by many – the DJ who is also a singer. He writes and produces his own songs, great deal of them talking about himself or about his sound system.

Another example is the case of DJ Brás, the main DJ and owner of the traditional Ouro Negro sound system. His fame does not come from the modernization of the equipment, of his sound system, neither from the acknowledgment as a great *"idol"*, but for his reputation which is a result of his known capacity to release new hits (successful songs). In his studio in the neighborhood of Jurunas, a famous outskirt of Belém for concentrating a great deal of actors of the *brega* universe, he receives DJs whom seek help for *"new"* songs. Other than that, his studio is visited by DJs who order sketches to promote their names or of their respective sound systems. The new artist successes are taken in first hand to DJ Brás. He receives about 200 songs per week, and forwards to other DJs who promote in his daily program at Riomar Comminatory Radio Station. With his studio, a small wooden house with solidified-planned dirt, he is also requested a lot by commercials and propaganda productions for stereo-cars, he uses the songs he receives as a musical background, creating another vehicle of transmitting songs.

These two examples confirm the outlined position that a DJ occupies in the sound system and that his popularity can guarantee the success of his parties and also give him some prestige and financial profit. Professional experience, a wide social network and the capacity towards *"innovation"* are indispensable abilities to participate in this market. These factors can help the lack of financial resources for an investment in more modernized electronic equipment.

With the objective of releasing new songs to reach *tecnobrega* fame, the small and medium size sound systems do not limit themselves to execute their current *hits*. Quite the opposite, a little to be known DJ always searches to promote new songs that might become successes. The medium and small size sound systems exert a fundamental role within *tecnobrega* through the promotion of new songs and generation of a more dynamic flow to this market.

The *"small"* or *"mini"* sound systems are equipped with a stereo to entertain small parties of the neighborhood or of bars, and these are dispersed in between Belém's and Grande Belém's outskirts. Since the paycheck is really small, somewhere in the region of R$300, their owners affirm that it is not possible to make a presentation outside of their neighborhood due to transportation costs. Its infrastructure is very small, more simplistic, the equipment are clearly very old, using stationed desktop computers and possessing very few stereo-speakers. The taxes and tariffs that they are charged represent an obstacle for them to remain within this market. The annual fee for maintenance added to the functioning of the location's paycheck (*"alvará"* in Portuguese), values that are charged to all sound systems not mattering the size of each infrastructure, compromising a considerable percentage of the sound system's profit. Collected data during the qualitative stage show that the small size sound system owners end up paying annually somewhere in the region of R$500.00 with taxes.

The sound systems also pay a tax that goes to an association that deals with related matters to them and offers them services with a lawyer. Although big, medium and small size sound systems, some small size sound system owners resent the fact that this association is set back to the interest of the big size sound systems, leaving aside the problems that the others face. Having said that, there have been actions that help promote the continuity of small size sound systems such as mini-sound system competitions.

The small size sound systems can also be hired to do a *"cobertura"* at *"big"* and *"medium"* size sound system parties.

The comparison in between the average paycheck for the sound systems with parties, as seen in the graph below (obtained by *survey* data), and the following table with the

paycheck value and the some selected sound system activities (obtained during the *participative observation*) confirms the unevenness of the sound system market. The average paycheck for the making of a *tecnobrega* party without the participation of bands or artists is of R$ 652.00. Although, a big size sound system can receive a paycheck for any value up to R$10,000.00.

Graph 7 – Received Sound System Paychecks for Parties (Average)
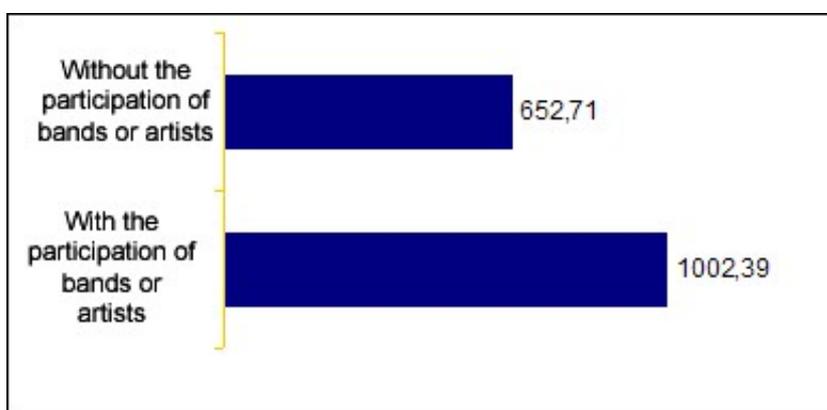
Table 4 – Sound System Paychecks and some selected Sound System Activities Table

Size of the Sound System	Paycheck*	Party's CD Live	DVD	Radio Program	TV Program
Big	R$ 10.000	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Big	R$ 6.000	Yes	Yes	No	No
Big	R$ 7.000	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Big	R$ 5.000	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Medium	-	Yes	No	Yes	No
Medium	± R$ 1.000	Yes	No	Yes	No
Medium	± R$ 500	Yes	No	No	No
Medium	± R$ 500	Yes	Yes	No	No
Small	± R$ 300	Yes	No	Yes	No
Small	±R$ 300	No	No	No	No

* Equivalent paychecks for the presentations made at their places of origin. Deals where by traveling is necessary, considerably alter the paycheck.

The *"support"* or *"sponsorship"* [10] seems to be the most important variable so that a new sound system manages to enter the *tecnobrega* market or so that an old one remains. The alternative to this *"support"*, usually given by party planner, is the personal investment by the sound system owner.

The informality aspect of this sound system market awakes a feeling of insecurity with their owners. For some of them, it is an uncertain market, unorganized and dependent on what is currently going on. They believe that at ay moment their sound systems may be replaced by another business. This way, the most innovative agents always quest to *"stay at the edge"* to attract a bigger public's interest. But they also search in new forms of complementing or substituting a generated income with *brega*. Below, there is a sample of one of the *in depth interviews* with the owners of sound systems:

> **Other than this direct work with sound systems, do you do other things that make money?**
> I also make calls for the stereo-cars. Like, you have a product or a party to announce… This also gives me some pocket money, sketches for television.
> **Everyone is talking that this election season gave a lot of money. Did this type of thing end now?**
> Oh my God, in heaven!! I just did two, but it now stopped. In my case, I was doing one for a congressman. This is a job that people know and that people seek doing better. Now, at the end of the year, I wanna to go to college.
> **Of what?**
> Publicity. I don't even know if that's really it, but nowadays is what must be done.
> **You really have to do it?**
> We have gotta be prepared for the future market, we gotta make the best because in a few days I don't know how the sound system might be. (Sound System and Studio DJ)

The following graph confirms the found pattern in the qualitative phase: the average total income for the sound system owners is superior to the one obtained with the sound system's work. The *survey*'s results show that 84% exert other professions, related or not to *tecnobrega*. The most citied were: commerce owners, painters, construction workers, vendors,

---

[10] **About the Sponsorships:** This form of *"financing"* sound systems and bands shall be explained in the following sections to come.

carpenters, and electricians. As shown in the following graph, only 10% of Pará' *tecnobrega* sound system owners have their income exclusively from the sound systems and the remaining 6% are retirees.

Graph 8 – Monthly Average Income for Sound System Owners (R$)
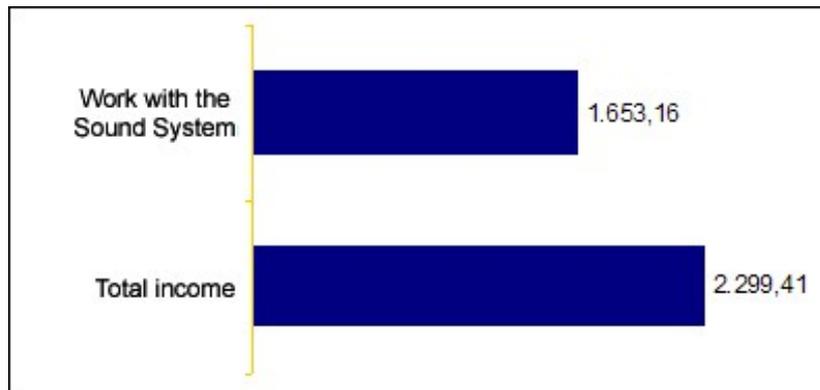
Graph 9 – Sound System Owners who poses Another Job
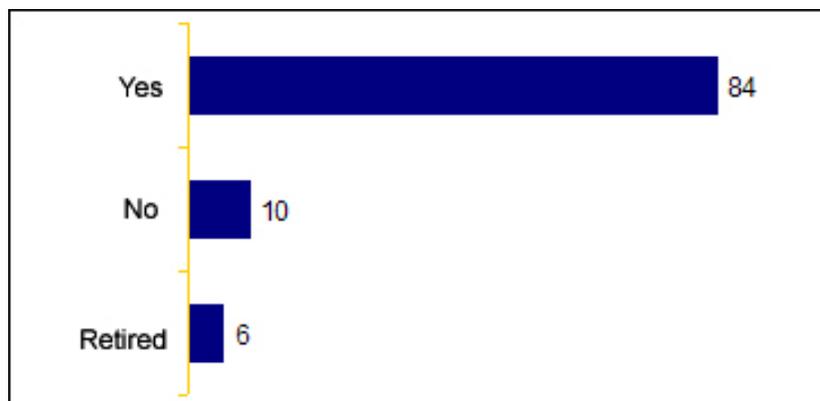
Artists

In the tecnobrega market the artists represent another group of actors whom constitute this musical universe: composer, singers and bands. Although the first posses a more significant presence in the *bregacalypso* genre. Tonny Brasil, Roberto Villar and Júnior Neves are the most important composers in the *brega* universe. These artists have come from the brega music scenery in the 1990s and today only write songs for singers. Júnior Neves, for instance, has about 250 (two hundred and fifty) recorded songs, edited by the first local

editorial, AR Music. The elevated number of recorded songs allows the composer to live off from the income resulted from copyrights.

It is important to mention that during the making process of this research, we were unable to find an artist who was only a *tecnobrega* composer. The great majority of solo singers and of bands also write their own songs, as it can be observed in the graph: 84% of the singers are also composers.

Graph 10 – Singers who compose songs
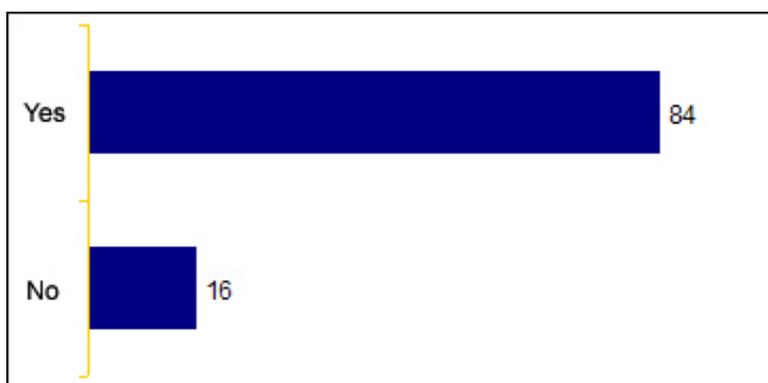
Within *tecnobrega*, only singers and bands make part of a song's production process. Actually, the bands seem to have a recent presence within the *brega* music. According to Júnior Neves (2005), during the 1980s (before the *"second brega movement"*, which occurred during the second half of the 1990s) there was a huge predominance of solo singers, and bands were the exception. Furthermore, women had a very discrete participation and men ruled this musical style.

According to the author, since the 1990s, women entered head on into the *brega* world, specially, leading the bands. The feminine inclusion within this market and the formation of various bands help demonstrate that not only there was a change in *brega* rhythm, with the creation of *tecnobrega*, *bregamelody*, *bregapop*, amongst others, but also in the perception about music productions' form, valuing collective productions and the presence of women. This way, the musical swift is accompanied by another innovating element within *brega*: the female voice and body at the choreography performances. The setting for the *brega* circuit is

mainly male: all sound system owners are men, as are the party planners, and the *"flashbregas"* singers, owners of studios and of party houses, radio hosts and the majority of DJs. The relative changes to a genre come from the emergence of bands, and more recently, in the hiring of female DJs for some sound systems.

Currently, bands and singers present their concerts with one or two dancing couple, whom receive an approximated R$30 paycheck. They are no fixed members of the bands and are often replaced. Research with this segment has shown that bands usually do not maintain the same dancers for more than a year, due to worker's litigant cases hold against the band owners.

Other than the change in *brega* music' genre and rhythm, the social positioning of these agents has also changed in the last few years. The sound systems have become more important to the Paraense *brega* music. Nowadays, more than simply being a promotional tool, the sound systems also became the main source of attraction for parties and also gradually were taking this prime location which before belonged to singers and bands[11]. This fact was verified with the party planners' depositions, who considered the contact with the bands as a very cost-ineffective business and that, many times, became unprofitable:

> Brega Band is a way less valued thing than the sound systems. That is: there is not as much competition. They can't manage to sell a more expensive date. When they sell a date, it's something from a different planet; it gets even worse when there's another *"asshole"* who wants that same more expensive date as you. It is not a valued thing. Because you make the party and it doesn't pay you back. (A *"novice"* party planner)

> The truth of the matter is that in the old days, sound systems already existed, but they were fewer. We used to be the main attraction, but what happened? Someone had the idea to make a song about sound systems. And then other things came along. Nowadays we gotta do it, because it's something very present. **They conquered their space, because they knew how to conquest entrepreneurs to invest in them.** And there are entrepreneurs that invest in sound systems. There is this big entrepreneur from around here who gives one hundred thousand to Tupinambá. Giving one hundred to Gilmar to invest on Rubi, and after it's ready, he gives twenty dates, thirty most expensive dates and so he gets some profit for him. The sound system guy becomes imprisoned until he can pay up his investment. (Singer who happens to sing with a band)

---

[11] **About the Artists and Singers:** As it was already mentioned, some sound system DJs have presented their concerts thru singing, confirming the major role that the sound systems have made throughout the parties, due to these artists.

Because now, everything has changed. The artist is hidden, buried, the solo singer. The real artist nowadays is the sound system DJ. It is DJ Dinho, it's DJ Gilmar, it's DJ Anderson, it's DJ of I don't what else they have there. In order for you to play one of these CDs, at one of these sound systems, you will suffer in order for them to play. You're gonna lose night after night, at that party, with all that noise crumbling in your ears and they won't play, are you following? Because they monopolize the business. It`s their world. The singers and writers themselves are to blame. (Solo singer)

It is interesting to notice that this devaluing that bands suffer partly due to party planners reflects in the way the concerts are made. As the bottom graph is shown, out of a total of 12,12 concerts made per month, 7,96 are made without the participation of other bands or sound systems. Since the party houses do not value the bands, making concerts with more than one band is not very attractive to the party planners.

Graph 11 – Monthly Amount of Concerts Made by Bands, with or without the Participation of other Bands or Sound Systems (average)
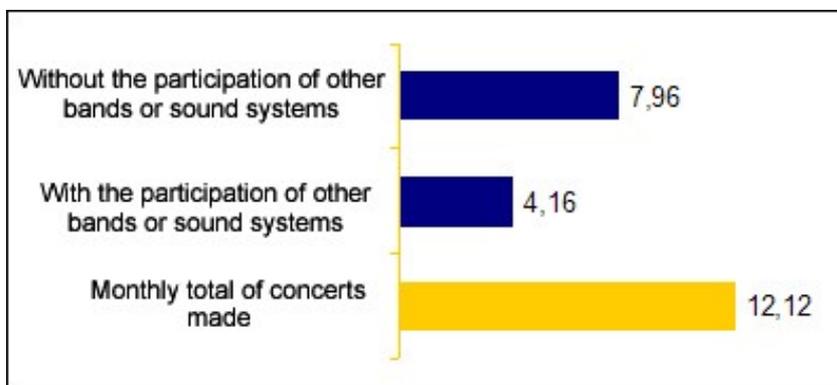
The sound systems also do not have much interest in making parties with the presence of bands, since they (...the sound systems) are the main attraction of the parties and the inclusion of a band would only increase the costs. In the graph below, this is more clearly seen, having understood that out of the 6,14 monthly parties made by the sound systems, only 0,70, less than a party per month, were made with the presence of *tecnobrega* artists or bands.

Graph 12 – Monthly Amount of Parties Made with Sound Systems, with or without the Participation of other Artists (average)

Without the participation of bands or artists	5,44
With the participation of bands or artists	0,70
Monthly total of shows made	6,14
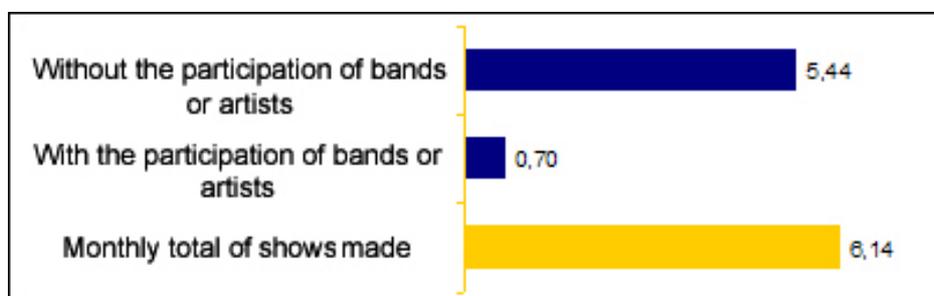
It is important to outline the fact that the average of band concerts is considerably bigger than of sound systems, due to the form in which each one of these *tecnobrega "submarkets"* are structured. Whilst the sound system market is concentrated and the big size sound systems help make up the parties at the main clubs of Belém, every weekend, these have a substantial slice of the market, bands help make up a more dispersed market, where the novice players can make many concerts throughout the countryside areas of the State.

Not considered by the party promoters, the artists feel sorry over the fact of the reduced number of concert houses currently functioning in Belém. The alternative for these artists survival has been going to do shows in the countryside regions. There have been evidences showing that the strategy used to compete with the sound systems is to make concerts in the countryside regions of Pará. The bands concentrate 50% of their respective agendas, in the countryside regions.

With the accomplishment of the quantitative study, it was possible to confirm this pattern. The following graph shows the monthly average for bands' concerts who play at the capital and in the Grande Belém[12] and also in the countryside regions of the state of Pará. Out of a monthly average of 12,22 made concerts per month, 6,05, about 50%, where concentrated in the countryside regions of Pará. The advantage for the bands playing in these regions, when compared to the sound systems, refers to the lower cost in transport of equipments to set up the parties in very distant locations. To the bands, the main cost is the transport of their band members.

Graph 13 – Monthly Amount of Concerts that Bands Make in the Capital

---

[12] **About Grande Belém:** Refers to the metropolitan region of Belém, including the capital' nearby municipals.

and in there Countryside Regions of the State (average)
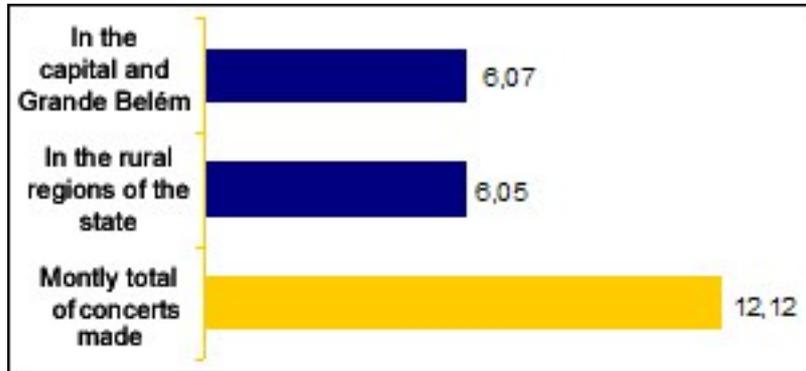
In the comparison between bands, we can notice different pattern in how the behave with the market, according to the number of employees[13]. As shown in graph below, the biggest bands concentrate their concerts in the countryside regions of the state, whilst the smaller ones set up their concerts in the capital and in Grande Belém. This difference can be explained by public's scope towards a bigger band, when compared to a smaller one. The biggest bands make more success, and consequently, awake the public's interest and of concert houses in the countryside regions, as opposed to the less known.

Graph 14 – Monthly Amount for Concerts Made by Amount of Band Employees

---
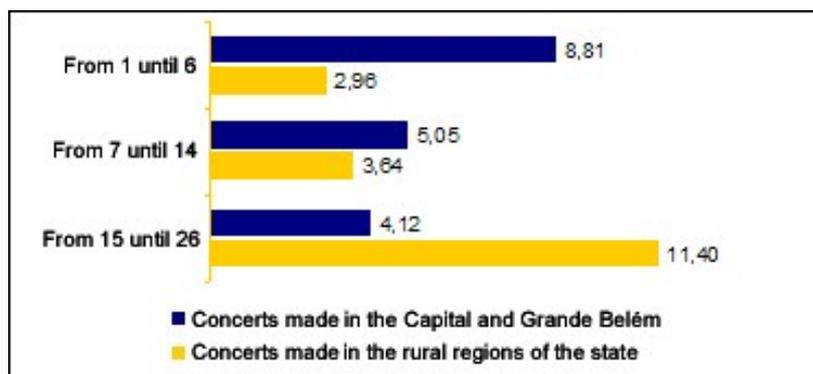
[13] **About Bands and their Employees:** The number of band employees was used as a *Proxy* to the band sizes; in this case, the greater number of employees, the bigger is the band's size.

It is through comparing artists with party planners that it can be clearly observed the difference of importance in between the sound systems and the bands, these occupying a secondary role at the parties or many times replaced by the promotional business of parties. This key position, acquired by the sound system, is observed by some artists as a hierarchal relation, since they feel subordinated and dependent to DJs.

> Now, the folks are starting to not have space. We have to go to the countryside areas. The artists are in a very difficult, serious and complicated situation, really. I think that there are some people who are scared to talk about it, but the DJ[s] closed the space for us. There are bands that they know that have conditions of making a party, but they won't play so that they don't lose their space. It happens. Now, I was in a sound system program where I was the reporter. And I said to him [program *"owner"*]: *'open a space for us'*. He said he would try. Now they're placing *pagoda* people, whom have nothing to do with anything. They could place the *brega* folks, who make songs to him. It would be a way that one would help out the other. But it won't happen, they pay for one song to me, to [the other singe], to the Amazonas band. Now there smaller crowd goes there and give the song for free, because of the space. So they could give more support. (Singer who happens to be with a band)

This inverted situation, in which the sound system plays CDs and becomes the main attraction of *brega*, imposes a dependency relation from the artists to the sound systems, to the extent that making songs to sound systems became an instrument of reaching the public or, like they, themselves say it, *"a form of media"*.

Some artists feel sorry over the fact that they are made to produce *"jingle"* and not songs. *"Jingle"* is a form that many artists use to define a song in tribute to a sound system, today a necessary road to be followed in order to remain within the market since these songs guarantee an almost immediate success. This song comprehension for the sound systems is seen as a *necessary evil* reflecting the artists` tension and dissatisfaction, who see forced to produce *"jingles"* to remain in the *"media"* and the market.

Although there is dissatisfaction it was noticed that some artists see this situation like a exchange relationship and a mutual promotion mechanism. Other than that, it generates two new forms of promotion and profiting. The first is about the opportunity of making small

presentations during the sound system parties. For instance, Nelsinho Rodrigues and DJ Maluquinho, other than their concert deals, have made eventual public demonstrations together with sound systems with their biggest hits as a tribute to Rubi and Tupinambá, when they took advantage to this opportunity to present the public, to their songs. The received value for this kind of show, usually with one singer, varies in between R$500 and R$1000. But also any kind of paycheck can't be demanded, when it is seen by the singer a form of received "*support*" by the sound systems.

The result related to the degree of importance of these communication professionals to the promotion of *tecnobrega* music confirms the above argument. For band singers, the sound systems are the main channel of promotion of *tecnobrega* music. What was pointed out during the qualitative study was confirmed in the quantitative phase: these professional acknowledge the given importance to the sound systems in the *tecnobrega* market.

Graph 15 – Degree of Importance for the Communication Professionals to Promote a *Tecnobrega* Song (average)[14] in between singers
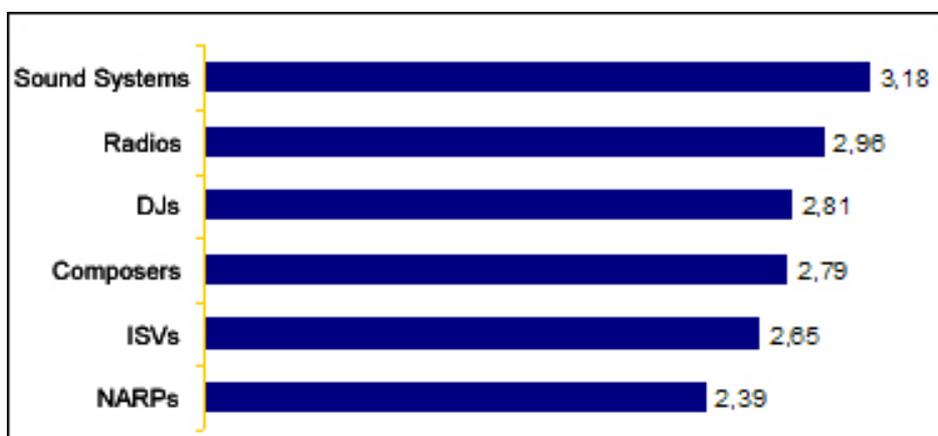
Other than the sound systems, the writing of songs presents itself as a form of promotion and artist paycheck. An *"exploded"* (a.k.a. *"hot"*) song, used category to classify a hit song, generates many *"jingle"* orders for other sound systems, but also for bars, DJs, fan-clubs, sound crews, and so on… jobs like that cost about R$300.

---

[14] **About Graph 15's legend:** 4 (four) = extremely important; 3 (three) = very important; 2 (two) = important; 1 (one) = More or less important

> I hardly sell a song for a sound system. We give. Because it's an exchange.
> If I make a song for a famous sound system, here in Belém, he will play my
> song. If it becomes a hit, directly or indirectly, I will be earning from this,
> because my song will be playing, right? Here we have some folks who are
> in love. My daughter has a daughter with a DJ… They are part of the family.
> These are people who we love a lot. We make some songs for them. They
> play and we say thanks. Because sound systems help many bands…
> People don't think so, but they play 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 songs per day. And then
> they're playing your song and the people keep on listening, and recording…
> It's an exchange of favors, I think. (Band singer)

This key position, acquired by the sound system, is observed by some artists as a hierarchal relation, since they feel subordinated and dependent to DJs.

> Now, the folks are starting to not have space. We have to go to the
> countryside areas. The artists are in a very difficult, serious and
> complicated situation, really. I think that there are some people who are
> scared to talk about it, but the DJ[s] closed the space for us. There are
> bands that they know that have conditions of making a party, but they
> won't play so that they don't lose their space. It happens. Now, I was in
> a sound system program where I was the reporter. And I said to him
> [program *"owner"*]: *'open a space for us'*. He said he would try. Now
> they're placing *pagoda* people, whom have nothing to do with anything.
> They could place the *brega* folks, who make songs to him. It would be
> a way that one would help out the other. But it won't happen, they pay
> for one song to me, to [the other singe], to the Amazonas band. Now
> there smaller crowd goes there and give the song for free, because of
> the space. So they could give more support. (Singer who happends to
> be with a band)

This inverted situation, in which the sound system plays CDs and becomes the main attraction of *brega*, imposes a dependency relation from the artists to the sound systems, to the extent that making songs to sound systems became an instrument of reaching the public or, like they, themselves say it, *"a form of media"*.

Some artists feel sorry over the fact that they are made to produce *"jingle"* and not songs. *"Jingle"* is a form that many artists use to define a song in tribute to a sound system, today a necessary road to be followed in order to remain within the market since these songs guarantee an almost immediate success. This song comprehension for the sound systems is

60

seen as a *necessary evil* reflecting the artists` tension and dissatisfaction, who see forced to produce *"jingles"* to remain in the *"media"* and the market.

Although there is dissatisfaction it was noticed that some artists see this situation like a exchange relationship and a mutual promotion mechanism. Other than that, it generates two new forms of promotion and profiting. The first is about the opportunity of making small presentations during the sound system parties. For instance, Nelsinho Rodrigues and DJ Maluquinho, other than their concert deals, have made eventual public demonstrations together with sound systems with their biggest hits as a tribute to Rubi and Tupinambá, when they took advantage to this opportunity to present the public, to their songs. The received value for this kind of show, usually with one singer, varies in between R$500 and R$1000. But also any kind of paycheck can't be demanded, when it is seen by the singer a form of received *"support"* by the sound systems.

The result related to the degree of importance of these communication professionals to the promotion of *tecnobrega* music confirms the above argument. For band singers, the sound systems are the main channel of promotion of *tecnobrega* music. What was pointed out during the qualitative study was confirmed in the quantitative phase: these professional acknowledge the given importance to the sound systems in the *tecnobrega* market.

Graph 16 – Degree of Importance for the Communication Professionals to Promote a *Tecnobrega* Song (average) [15] in between singers
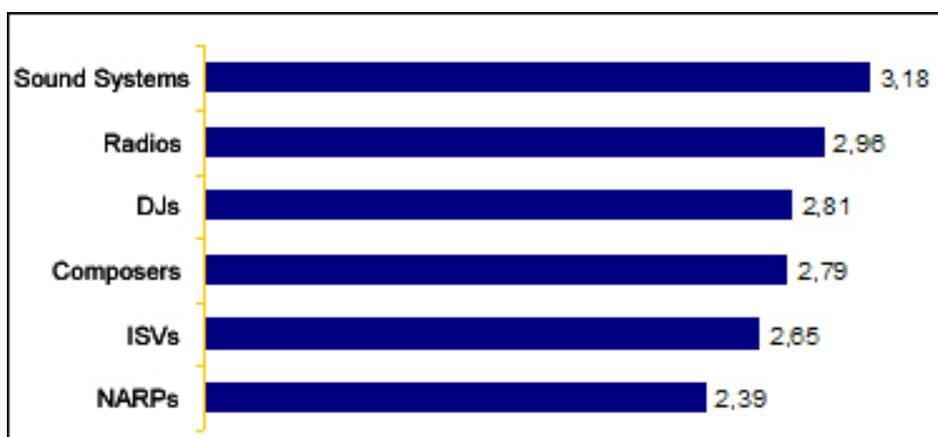
---
[15] **About Graph 15's legend:** 4 (four) = extremely important; 3 (three) = very important; 2 (two) = important; 1 (one) = More or less important

Other than the sound systems, the writing of songs presents itself as a form of promotion and artist paycheck. An *"exploded"* (a.k.a. *"hot"*) song, used category to classify a hit song, generates many *"jingle"* orders for other sound systems, but also for bars, DJs, fan-clubs, sound crews, and so on… jobs like that cost about R$300.

> I hardly sell a song for a sound system. We give. Because it's an exchange. If I make a song for a famous sound system, here in Belém, he will play my song. If it becomes a hit, directly or indirectly, I will be earning from this, because my song will be playing, right? Here we have some folks who are in love. My daughter has a daughter with a DJ… They are part of the family. These are people who we love a lot. We make some songs for them. They play and we say thanks. Because sound systems help many bands… People don't think so, but they play 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 songs per day. And then they're playing your song and the people keep on listening, and recording… It's an exchange of favors, I think. (Band singer)

> Participant 1 – When a song is also played in a sound system and the other hears: 'oh, I want a song from him, I want one too'. And this goes on promoting the bands` name. And then every song *explodes* and it's almost like that, making the sound systems to play a song from another sound system too, because the public enjoys that.
> Participant 2 – In the same way that they promote our work, the band` work, we are releasing their work. Because our songs have *jingles*. Making a song for a sound system becomes *hot*, the public goes on singing, and the sound system happens. Like I use to say: the band is music, not the sound system. (Band member)

> It's as if the bands were making a lot of money. Most of the big bands make this sort of money, with studios. Like, you place a song to play and this song *explodes*. And then what happens: every single sound systems, as for the big ones as for the small ones will seek this band who is noted, who is making success, to record. 'Oh, making a song with this sound system'. And then they will look, ask for that artist to make a song for them. This is another form of payment. (Solo Singer)

The graph below presents a crossing between monthly income[16] that band singers make and the fact that he is or is not a singer. As we can verify the monthly average income for singers who are also composers is much greater, R$ 1,813.00, for those who only life off the play at concerts, R$ 1,050.00. This income difference confirms the importance that a song

---

[16] **About the Monthly Income Calculation:** It is important to outline the fact that in this calculus of the monthly income for singers, it was only used the gain value with a song. The obtained income with other jobs was excluded from this calculation.

has in the artists` career in the *tecnobrega* market. For him to increase the relationship network within this musical market, which facilitates their stay inside of this market, the singer still manages to considerably increase his monthly income.

Graph 17 – Singer's Monthly Income per Song that he writes or does not
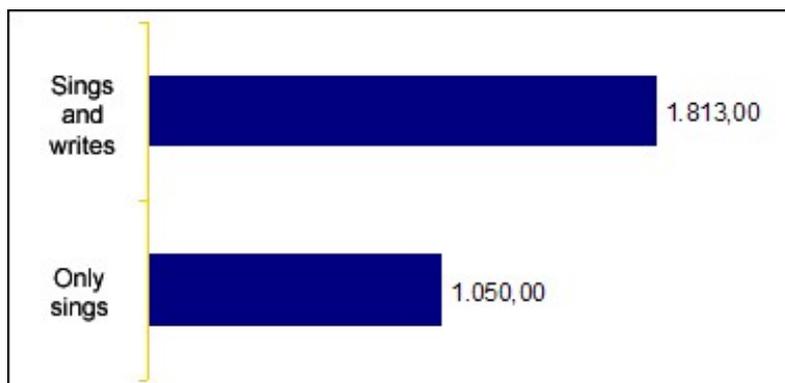
The tribute sound system song aired for the first time in 1999 with DJ Marcos, followed by the Nelsinho Rodrigues and Keyla Lima duet. After that, other artists adopted this form of composition, which currently seems to be the most accessible form of market participation. As said by many interviewees, technology allowed to the novice participant to record songs with very little resources and to offer them free of charge to the sound systems. Becoming a success, the artist is called to make presentation and only starting from this moment, a band is set up.

> Oh, for sure! [Nowadays] there are more bands. Even though nowadays, for you to start a band, you start by yourself. In the old days, you had to buy the instruments, find the musicians, make a band and make a song for that band. Nowadays you don't, you say: *'Alessandra and her band!'* [and] It can be only you. You make the lyrics, make a song, recorded in a studio, promoted, and grabbed a

6

63

> song. And then when they start to say: 'come on Alessandra, bring your band to make some concerts' And hen you go after the musicians. They rehearse, get you song and assemble. (Sound System DJ)

The first step for a beginner artist to make his own band and, later on, record a CD is to make that his song is success at the sound systems. Before that, his accomplishments must make part of several compilations produced by Studio DJs and these sold at the informal market. After only raising a considerable amount of *hits*, and also being hired for live performances, that a band starts their production process for making a CD. In the *bregueiro* universe occurs the opposite of what is seen in the formal phonographic industry: the Belém artists, whether if they are well-established or beginners, first release their songs, to only later, if they become a success, produce disks with their *"exploded"* (*hot*) song with new compositions. This way, **it is common that there are famous artists, but without any recorded disks (CDs).** These are the ***"exploded compilations"*** artists, using a local expression.

The qualitative step of this project coincided with the releasing of three songs by the Tecnoshow band. This way, it was possible for us to attend a visit with Gabi, a famous singer for a big *tecnobrega* band, to different studios, sound system parties and radio programs, asking DJs to play their new songs, tracking the same course that a novice artist would go through. Gabi used her old work's cover to present a recorded CD in her studio, which works in her bedroom, with her new songs. The same happened with the Companhia do Tecno band, with two years of existence. With this inverted course of action, when compared of the phonographic industry's formal market, there is no charge for copyrights.

The research data indicate that during this stage of the process, in which the production of a song and of a *demo* CD receive fewer investments, established artists and new ones do not simply utilize but also they count on using the alternative broadcasting means: sound systems, compilations and NARPs, local term used by CDs and DVDs gross-sellers which are copied and distributed amongst ISVs at the informal market.

Non-Authorized Re-Production, piracy and coyprights

Non-authorized re-productions, also known as *"piracy"* for some people, is seen by some artists as a *"media"* form, to the extent of *"promoting"* in some places whereas before it would be impossible of reaching, such as the countryside of the state of Pará and neighboring states. The artists' objective is that their song shall be freely released so that if it becomes a success they will then earn concert deals. *Tecnobrega* artists live off these live performances and not from the vending of disks or from copyright revenues. It is necessary to release the control over their content-work so that these songs shall be played in as many broadcasting means as possible and so they manage to earn some concerts contracts.

Like Carlos de Souza (2005) said, piracy consists in a modern concept used by the media and by authorities to define as a violation of intellectual property rights, in general. In this case, the discussion does not restrain itself to an isolated phenomenon, of a specific cultural market, but of much wider movement. Having said this, it is important to make evident what is piracy and what is not. In the *tecnobrega* market, most artists release control over their copyrights due the singular dynamics of music segment. The vending of CDs and DVDs in the informal market, therefore, is not piracy.

The logic behind copyrights is to protect the author by means of exclusive concession of the different forms of using the piece of work (Souza, 2005; 12). According to Peter Burke (2003), the birth of intellectual property still occurred during the Middle Ages, where some inventors saw the need to protect their *"secrets of trade"*. During this period, the necessity of a law to protect intellectual property was initially made by a movement of artists and *masters-of-trade* who feared that their ideas would get copied. The first patent law was elaborated in Venice in 1474, and the first registered copyright of a book was given to Marcantonio Sabellico in 1486.

The creation of copyrights was expressed by an individualistic conception, that is, the piece-of-work was *"an individual's property because it was made by an individual's brain."* (Burke, 2003; 139). On the other hand, as it was argued by Souza (2005), we should ask if this artist protection model is adequate to our contemporary times. Technological upgrades and the use of the Internet suggest other paths, allowing the possibility of a new business model for the entertainment world. The *tecnobrega* music market has shown us another logic,

in which singers, who are also composers, do not utilize from the vending of CDs and DVDs as their main source of income from music. For that reason, as shown in the graph below, most *tecnobrega* band singes, 51%, support a lot or very little the vending of the CDs and DVDs by the ISVs, for they see this street vendors as promoters of their music, and not as competition for their sales.

Graph 18 – Singers Incentive for the Vending of CDs and DVDs by ISVs (%)
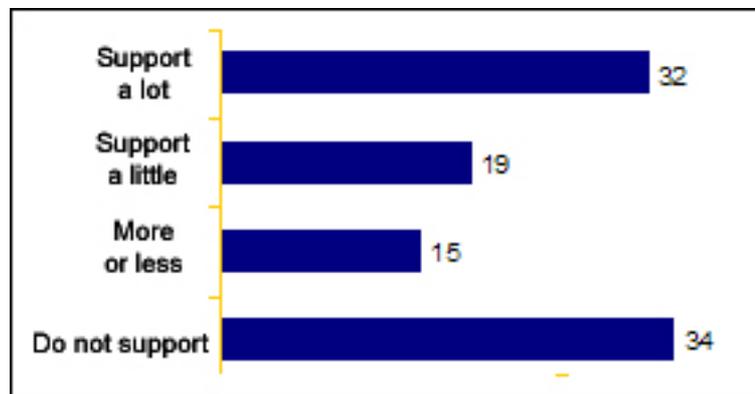
The following graph shows a role assessment of the street vendors on how they affect the *tecnobrega* artists' careers. It also reflects the opinion of most singers over the vending of CDs and DVDs in the informal market of Belém. As it can be seen, 59% of the interviewees positively assess the work of SVs for the artists' career.

Graph 19 – Assessment of the Street Vendors Role in the Singers Career by themselves
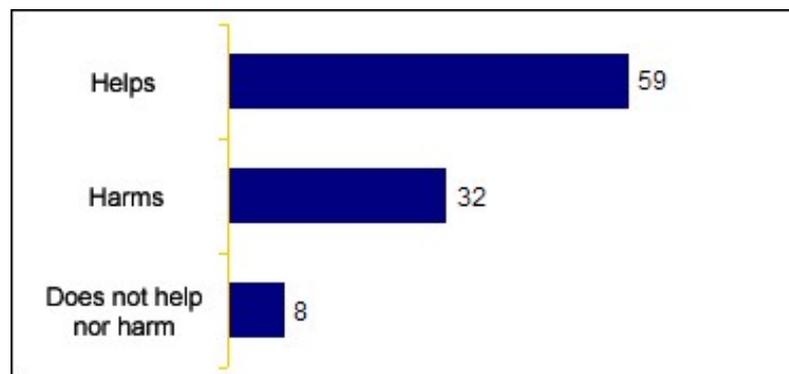
Since in the compilations made, whether by studio DJs or by local labels, the names of the composers do not show up, and in the re-productions made by the NARPs, there is little care in registering the artists names, and strategy of singers to guarantee their names' of

being promoted is through the use of sketches, played during the songs[17]. Therefore it is understood, that this way, there is difficulty for the existence of artists who are exclusively composers within the production scheme and music promotion.

> Piracy is the fastest medium that there is, because the guy grabs and orders to make 50 thousand CDs, and then distributes all over Pará. The CDs here in Belém go to Maranhão, Amazonas. Therefore our music is, through piracy, reaching in other states. This is a very big promotional source. The important thing is that the song is playing and that people wanting to know the artist's name. (Solo singer)

> Sometimes people do a work and have no money to enter in a professional studio, because it ends up being expensive. And piracy is here for this matter. Therefore each one of them enters in one of these studio living rooms, bedrooms, records a song and goes to the *pirate* [a.k.a. NARP], unfortunately or fortunately. Fortunately, because they end up promoting their work. (Band member)

It can be noted that in these citations the term *"piracy"* acquires a different meaning, that being: every informal approach for producing a CD. Therefore *"piracy"* can mean the non-authorized re-producing of an author's work or the informal, domestic production, of a CD made by the author himself. In the sense, *"informality"*, it is common to hear that a home-based *tecnobrega* production is considered *"piracy"*, but it is not *"piracy"*, to the extent that it's about the production or re-production of the same work. As it is explicit in the Law no. 9.610/98 (Brazilian Copyright's Law), in the articles 28 and 29:

> *"To the author, it is held exclusive rights of usage, transition and disposability over its literary, artistic and scientific work."* (Article 28)

> "Depending on previous and the express authorization over the usage of work, by any means possible, such as: the re-production, partial or complete; the editing, the adaptation of a musical arrangement and any transformation; the translation, the phonogram's inclusion or the audiovisual production, the distribution (...)" (Article 29)

The production and vending activity of the work in the informal market is ambiguously known by the artists. Although they defend that *"piracy"* is the most efficient mean of

---

[17] **About Sketches:** This matter shall be better explained ahead.

promotion, at the present moment, in which bands reach some success and produce their CD or DVD, the non-authorized re-production is also faced, by some, as a competition. In order to cover expenses for a better quality of production, essential item to prove *"professionalism"* and, consequently, obtain better contracts, artists see themselves in a perspective that they are harmed by NARP` actions, when they can not recover their invested capital. The Tecnoshow band, for instance, was the first to record a DVD, which the cost was of R$45 thousand. Until this moment, they only recovered R$5 thousand of the investment made by singer Gabi. Nowadays, the production for a DVD costs in region of R$10 thousand.

> Seeing it one way it is [harmful], but on the other hand [...it's not], because we do not order a huge quantity of CDs. We have a low quantity, 3000, 4000 CDs. It is not possible to have a huge damage. The important thing for Belém artists is having the song play, no matter how. Whether it is a pirate disk or an original CD. In our case, where we order the CD, it gets a little bit in way of the vending, right. But it also does not give any damage. (Solo singer)

> We arrange strategies. Strategies made to face piracy. Firstly, we take the CD or the DVD to them. Or they end up getting it anyway. Sometimes we go to see, and they already have it. Even yesterday, a person called from Macapá, where we are still about to go to Macapá and she already bought our DVD. And we wonder how? How Macapá already has? In other words, this piracy is inevitable. And what is our biggest strategy? We try to sell at a cost to try to take out exactly what we invested. At a cost much lower cost, as a steal-deal, at first to any social class, to compete with piracy. At the present moment in which we compete with piracy, our public will decide whether they want the original or the pirate. (Cia. do Tecno member)

A deviating position in relation to *"piracy"* with artists who posses CD/DVD can be found it the declarations of a solo singer, the newest success of *tecnobrega* in Belém. Ex-member of the Tecnoshow band, this singer returned to the market in June, reaching a huge success with five or six songs for the sound systems. In September, he recorded his first DVD and created a new strategy to reduce production costs and still gain from the re-productions made at the informal market. One of the adopted strategies by him in order to have zero costs during the production of his DVD was to *"sell"* a thirty second space for ten different commercial endeavors, at the cost of R$300,00. Other than that, he also negotiated with two NARPs – one within the State and the other outside – the *"matrix"* (Original DVD) of his DVD. One of them

gave 200 blank DVDs and 200 copied, and the other gave 500 copied, both with his performance on it. This way, he had 900 copies of his matrix and so he could re-sell at a very low price in his concerts, without the need of any investments. This example demonstrates how commercial abilities can aid singers and bands to take more aggressive positions within this market.

> The cost I place it as an investment, for instance, the cost for my DVD will be three thousand Reais. But out of these three thousand, there is the vendor's cut. There are already ten people who are gonna come in with three hundred Reais each one. Sponsorship.
> **Ah! Are ya gonna have sponsors?**
> I will. Because just image, [with] cheap stuff, you need people in that segment to support you: because three hundred Reais today, what I have to offer to that person, she will buy instantly, because it cheap, it's practical. And then when the DVD starts, and the name of the song appears, it will show the name of the sponsor next to it. On another songs, another name, for thirty seconds, and that's it. That is the difference! (Solo Singer)

More into the conversation, he continues:

> I'm gonna tell ya something: a pirate already arranged with me. He is gonna take as support, two hundred blank DVDs and he's gonna record them, he's gonna give them to me and keep the matrix. The other is gonna give me two hundred DVDs and sell the other five hundred at cost. Therefore I will have nine hundred DVDs that I can sell at my concert for seven Reais. This equation make things happens. My *tape*, just so you have some idea, I didn't pay one penny and I sold at two thousand Reais (Solo singer)

This declaration shows us of the necessity of a wide network of contacts with other artists, studios, radios, entrepreneurs, non-authorized re-producers to facilitate the entrance or stay in the market. CDs and DVDs are produced at extreme low costs and the debts are paid with the exchange of favors, promotion, future promises, and so forth… An ex-singer and currently a sound system reporter affirms to have left and returned to the market quite easily, due to her *"contacts"* who established her in her seven years of career: mayors, secretaries of culture, radio talk show hosts, DJs, and so on… This business strategy set up by a famous solo singer wouldn't be possible if the artist did have accumulated knowledge and experience.

As it can be observed, the entire promotion of their new work is based on the *"contacts"* which he possesses with big re-producers:

> "I closed [a deal] with a [re-producer] of Pará and another from another state, so he will distribute here and throw it in the market. I know a guy in Recife, and I will give him, so that he will distribute it."

What we have here is a typical example of a singer who tried to use an informal CD and DVD sale to her advantage, adapting herself to the *tecnobrega* market logic by means of her network of contacts. It is interesting to notice that smaller bands have the tendency to invest more in the CD and DVD sales through street vendors, as it can be verified in the following graph – by the necessity to promote their songs, since they are less known by the public.

Graph 20 – A Band who supports the Vending of CDs and DVDs through Street Vendors by the Quantity of Band Employees (average)[18]
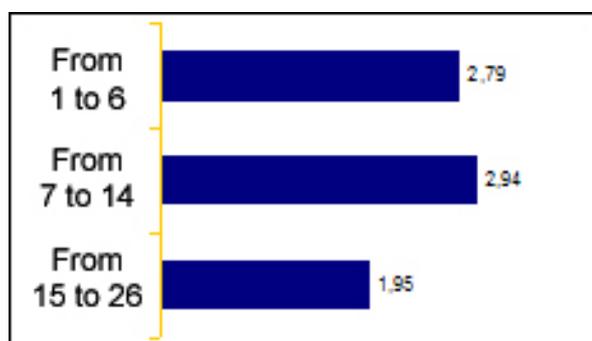
It is important to chart out the fact that most *tecnobrega* bands also sale their CDs and DVDs during their concerts. As it can be observed in the graph below, bands manage to sell an average of 77 CDs and 53 DVDs per concert. Such sale should not be seen as a form in which the band obtains a profit but as a form of promoting their songs. The main objective of this is that CDs and DVDs prices are mainly set to cover the production costs.

Graph 21 – Quantity of CDs and DVDs Sold per Concerts per Band (average)

---

[18] **About Graph 19's Legend:** 4 (four) = Supports a lot; 3 (three) = Supports a little; 2 (two) = supports more or less; 1 (one) does not support.

CDs — 77

DVDs — 53
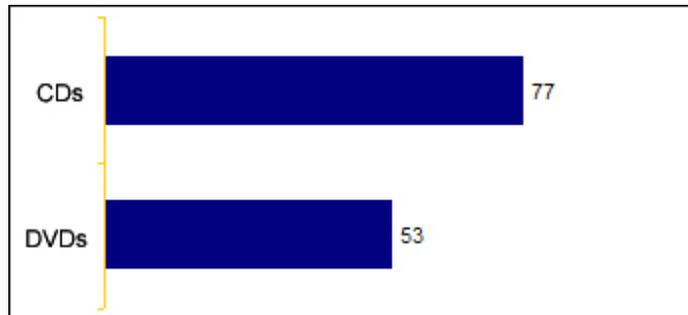
Graph 22 – Average CD and DVD Price Tag that are Sold at Concerts (R$)

CDs — 7,46

DVDs — 10,00
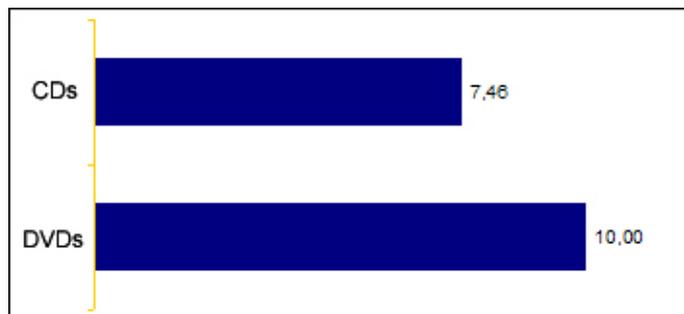
Only 29% of *tecnobrega* band singers only live of the band's work. Most of them seek to diversify their *"business"* or activities in the area of music itself. That is, although they have other activities not directly related to the musical production or of the sound systems, they set up other functions related to the production of artists and bands, sound systems, radios, studios, and so on… Not only has that but the table below shows that some singers have professions outside of the musical field.

Table 5 – Other Jobs, other than Singing in a Band

	Basis	%
Musical Producer	8	14
Merchant	4	7
State Employee	3	5
Radio show host	3	5
Composer	2	3
Comunicator / Stereo-Car Annoucer	2	3
DJ	2	3
Dance Professor	2	3
Beauty Salon	2	3
Topographic Assistant	1	2
Dancer	1	2
Band promoter	1	2
Food Merchant	1	2
Electronic Technician	1	2
Natural Gas Delivery Boy	1	2
Band Designer	1	2
Delivery boy	1	2
Driver	1	2
Construction Worker	1	2
Street Vendor	1	2
City Hall Representative	1	2
Other	1	2
Does not have another job	17	29
Total	58	100

The following graph presents a monthly average income for *tecnobrega* band singers. The singers present a total average income much superior to the band's income. In average, less than 50% of the income comes directly from the band's activities.

Graph 23– Monthly Income for Band Singers (R$)

Chart showing: Singer's Monthly income with the band — 1.685,83; Total income — 3.634,58
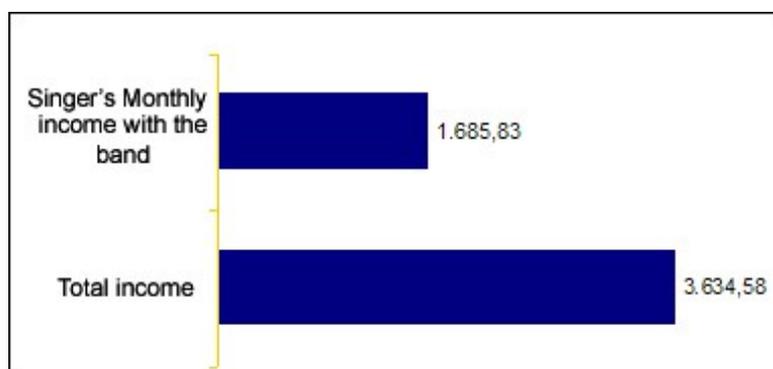
Party Planners

Party Planner is a local term used to define a person who promotes sound system parties in Belém[19] – or *"promoter"*. The *bregueiros* classify party planners in *"big"* or *"strong"* and *"small"*. These agents are, in general, men.

The main role of a party planner consists in the accomplishment of contracts with a party house, but he is also partially or fully responsible for the production of the party. In general, the party planner's task consists on renting a house, hiring the sound systems and/or bands, making the party's promotion, taking responsibility for security and ticketing and fueling up the bar with drinks. Talking in specific about the drinks, the party planner will hire someone to administrate a crew of waiters. This person shall be responsible for the bar, and he will receive a percentage over the vending of beers: for every box of beer sold, he gains the profit over one beer. The waiters pay to enter the house, which varies in between R$10 and 20, and also pay for the ice for the party planner's beer[20] and they gain R$ 0,50 per beer sold. A *"big"* party planner sells in between 5 to 15 thousand boxes of beer every month. The party planner also hires a security safety firm which offers services such as military police officers for R$ 50 and civil officers for R$ 25. The ticketing and doorman positions are occupied by members of the family: R$ 50 per party.

---

[19] **About the Promotion of the Sound System Parties:** In general, the making of sound system parties is exclusively of the party planners. For what was observed, only the Musi Star and Poderoso Sombra sound systems promote parties.

[20] **About the Entrance Fee:** Every single party participant pays for their entrance, exception made for the *"celebrities"* or friends of the owner of the party.

In order to obtain success, the party planner must invest in the promotion of his party at the local media. Stereo-cars are the most utilized way of broadcasting, for they are seen as more efficient, to the extent that they can enter the tiny streets of the cities' outskirts, reaching more intensely the public that most frequently goes to these parties. To hire them, it costs R$ 18 per hour and R$ 50 per company. There is also the fee of R$15 per promotional track. During the making process of the qualitative step, it was possible to observe that the use of television has become a mode more frequently used to attract the public. Since these adds have a really high costs, about R$ 800 per add (Liberal TV's price, affiliated with Rede Globo), a "partnership" deal is made between the party planner and the TV network: 25 to 30% of the entrance-fee are directed for the payment of the broadcasting. Radio advertisements usually cost around R$ 200 per week per add during a program.

State licenses also have a fixes cost which must be taken into account by the party planners, the main taxes are: R$ 50 for the State Police Station against Environmental and Urbane Crimes (*Delegacia Estadual de Crimes Contra o Meio Ambiente e Urbanismo -- DEMA*) and R$ 86 for the *alvará* license for the party. Party planners usually stress the benefits that these taxes bring, through paying them, to Belém: *"now, this year the government is taking around 8 million"* (citied phrase from an interviewee party planner during the qualitative research) The volume in fund raising and the business' capacity to generate direct or indirect income for hundreds of families were used arguments by one of the party planners to justify the need of more investments by the public (state) administrators for the *"people's culture"*: *"We directly employ 100 people in average, and 300 people, indirectly"*.

> If you were to count the jobs being created, it's a lot! At the sound systems', there are twenty transportation-movers. There is the DJ, the responsible technician for the sound, the sound system manager. On the formal employment, there's the taxi driver, the guy who cleans the windows, waiter[s]… They forbid for some time. S… it was F…ing awful! They made a movement to that they could come back. (Novice party planner)

> What we wanted to do here was that the State government had a cultural fund to further support our parties. That a place be constructed for our parties. And then they would name someone to direct that segment and in each neighborhood there would be a

7

74

specific place for making these parties. It would be good for everyone for the state would gain in taxes and we would have how to control the parking lot, cheaper tickets, overall everything. But this does not interest anyone – the government, the deputies, the mayors, to nobody. (*"Old"* party planner)

In order for this type of business, the party planner's experience must be fundamental in every step of the production process of a party. Other than that, since there are no formal contracts, this agent's experience in market is considered a must, so that it's possible to conquer the trust of those of whom he negotiates with. According to participants, the contracts are verbally made and they can be done in two ways. The relationship between the party planner and the sound system crew, the party planner can pay 50% of the contract's value to the sound system and solve his debt after the end of the party. But also he can make the payment of 100% of upfront paycheck. A novice party planner narrates another situation which he says to be very frequent within the business of *brega* parties. In the absence of formal contracts, under his perspective, it is allowed to renegotiate the deals without previous information of all the parties involved:

It's normal. You come to a sound system, come near X (who i won't say the name) and tell him: *"Seven thousand, ok?"* It's like that, for example: you give one half. When the week of the party arrives, you are gonna take the other three and five hundred to him, and then he says: *"F… you wanna know what happened, dude? I needed the other half. I sold it to Tiago, now the party is yours and his. Enter there with him and talk it out, see what you guys are gonna do about media advertisements".* This is what mostly happens. This only does not occur if the guy pays everything upfront. (Novice party planner)

For this party planner, the relationship between the party's organizers with the sound system's owner is an uncertain and insecure relationship. This is due to the contract's informal character. Although the participant affirms that the fulfillment of the deal is only guaranteed through the full payment of the contract's value, in another moment he declares that even with the full debt being solved, it is common that previously settled deals are ruptured:

On the second Sunday of November is the Círio de Bragança. The guy already sold a date for the dude to make here in Belém. A sound

system is settled with you on this day, but he is only going to play in Belém. The Bragança dude calls him: *"Damn it, I want the second Sunday of November date!".* And then he says *"Damn it dude, I already sold this date"*. And then he says: *"Damn it, you sold for how much?"* The guy says: *"*[I...] *sold it for seven".* And then he gives twelve. Get your date, leave and give back your money at the same moment. (Novice party planner)

The informality and insecurity of the firmed deals between the main actors of this market are explained by the level in structure of the sound systems and bands. The following graphs show how the great majority of sound systems and bands are not officially registered bands with *CNPJ* (*Brazilian Certificate for Companies*) and the City Halls' *Alvará*[21].

Graph 24 – Registered Sound System as a Company with CNPJ and the City Halls' *Alvará*
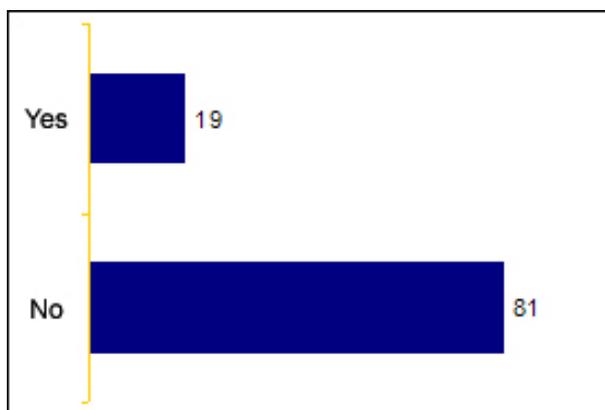
Graph 25 – Registered Band as a Company with CNPJ and the City Halls' *Alvará*

---

[21] Alvará is a permit provided by the City Halls in Brazil so a commercial establishment is authorized to open and operate.
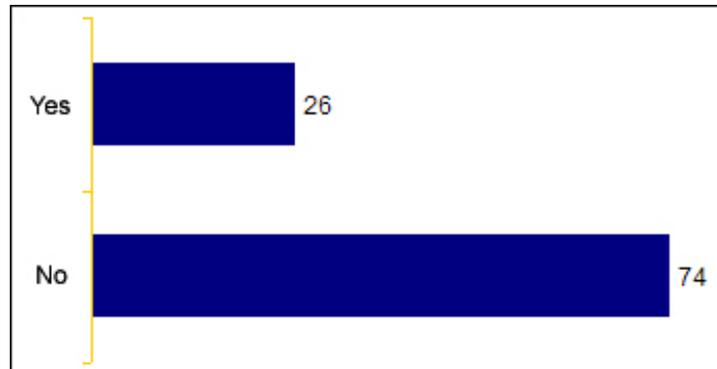
The entrance of new actors in the market of promoting parties, indicate the participants, seem to be a difficult and risky business. The first factor that stops or makes it difficult for the entrance of new agents in this market is due to the financial resources. During the qualitative step it was possible to observe that it is necessary and initial capital of proximally R$ 22 thousand to promote a big size sound system party. Other than the necessity of this cash-pile, financial damages are frequent and it is not possible to count with profit made to pay unsolved debts. The party planner must always have extra capital for the case of non lucrative parties. This way, it is possible to conclude that the necessity of high investments and the demand of a capital reserve constitute as barriers for the entrance of new agents to this market of party promotions with *"big"* sound systems.

> The party planners, who are entering, only enter to indebt themselves. There is no talk, no dialogue. When it over, you gotta pay, there is no other way. That party there [at the Palmeiraço Club] was so bad, that I ordered to get the money at my house to complete paying the tabs. If I didn't have money at home, what was I going to do? I had to pay. If I don't, then the stereo-cars up ahead, the security guards, they go. If the guy does not have self-assurance, the best thing he can do is not entering *in partying*. Because otherwise he is gonna *dance* […get hurt].
> ("Novice" party planner)

Another factor the stops new actors from entering this market of parties, refers to the high rivalry amongst party planners. In Belém, the big size sound system parties are organized

by party planning groups who together promote a series of parties, and not by individual actors, like it usually happens with smaller sized parties. According to the information raised during the field work's *participative observation*, there are currently about ten groups, made up from five business partners, acting in the market of parties in Belém, but only four of these are considered "the stronger kind", that is, that they manage to organize o greater number of parties. These party planning groups act by together organizing parties and sharing equally amongst their group participants, the obtained profits of the parties. For example, a group of five part planners organizes five parties, in previously settled places in between all of the party planning groups, during the week the reunite, do their accounting and share the profits.

They seek acting in an organized fashion so that they do not generate a financial damage to an opposing group. One *"strong"* party planner, whose group promotes about five parties per week, affirms: *"It's because when a group is in a neighborhood, the other is in another. Nobody invades the neighborhood so that nobody will have any problems"*. There is a previous arrangement for the neighborhood partition, in between these groups. The same, however, does not occur when is said about a new party planning group that, whilst seeking entering this market, is strongly boycotted. In the declarations of a novice party planner, there is a clear indication of cartel actions and the practice of *dumping*[22] in the market of party promotions for big size sound system parties, in Belém.

> A very big profit, at a good party, the guy more than doubles his capital. In a one day. Sound System parties when the profit, they profit. When they don't, the *caboclo* who entered showing off that he's *all that*, ends up bankrupt, at first chance he can. There's also the schemes made by the older party planners, because there are newer ones entering… The new party planner piles up his cash, assembles ten thousand to make a party, e does it. Then what happens? The older party planner places the best sound system near him, puts the cheapest beer, [and] finishes with the guy, closing the guy through all the possible ways. The guy loses his ten thousand. There's no other place to get the money. He is no longer a party planner, leav[…ing the party planning business out of…] getting cheated. (*"Novice"* party planner)

---

[22] **About the Practice of *Dumping*:** This is an artificial reduction of prices, many times at lower rate than the costs for production, with the objective of forcing bankruptcy onto the competition. This is considered as an unlawful competition practice.

The competition between party planners seems to indicate that the sound system partying business in Belém is a profitable one, though there is a high risk involved due to the volatility in income with the ticketing. As seen in the previous narrative, a well succeeded party can make a profit of 100%. The party planner for the neighborhood of Tapanã went after emulate, as an example, his friend, whose parties where giving him good earnings. Another, more experienced, said that he is currently investing in real state, so that he can leave the party business behind. To illustrate how profitable this business is, he describes his brothers' experience:

> I have three brothers who work for me. To help me administrate. Because when they started to work with me, they didn't have a thing; nowadays one of them has two stereo-cars, one motorcycle and owns a house, the other has two stereo-cars, one motorcycle, and a steady life, and the other also has a steady life. This is for you to see how something such as this can help out the employee as does the employer. (Old party planner)

Other than the made earnings with the *tecnobrega* party promotions, the party planners also make a very interesting business model within this market, the *"sponsorship"*. The term acquires different meanings depending on the actors who are referred to. In the case of the small size sound system parties, it means paying for the costs or helping out on the purchase of a determined product for the sound system, with commercial advertisement objectives. In general, it is noted by the benefited parties as an *"exchange"*, *"aid"* or *"support"*. The sponsor can be a party planner, a small company or a politician. DJ Brás, owner of the Ouro Negro sound system and of a program at *Radio Comunitária Riomar*, received a *"support"* from a politician whom gave CDs to be distributed at a party in exchange for the announcement of his name at the event and at the radio station's program. DJ Márcio from Vetron's sound system, of the neighborhood of Benguí, is also searching for *"sponsorship"*:

> **And this thing that I heard of called sponsorship? Because sometimes, some party planners give such sponsorship…**
> Participant – Now, we have a sponsor. We are going there, soon. It's at the *"Visal Paintings"*. And then they will paint the t-shirts.

So there will be t-shirts?
Participant – That's it. There will be some t-shirts. And then they will promote their graphic design's name onto it.
Ah, so it's a graphic design shop?
Participant – That's right.
But then how is their sponsorship? With the t-shirt deal or they help out with...?
Participant – If a t-shirt were to cost R$ 7,00 , he would make it for R$ 4,00 to us. He helps us out, and we help him out. He places the name of the sound system, [and] his graphic design shop's name at the back.
(Sound System DJ)

The *"sponsorship"* for big size sound systems means financing, and also making loans for purchasing equipments. It is customary that the sponsors and in fact, *"strong"* party planners or citizens with vast wealth who spot this kind of business as an investment, seeking future takings. The statements point out that these *"sponsors"* are the result of the sheer competition between sound systems crews, who need to renovate their equipment annually. In order to keep their foremost position amongst big size sound systems, their owners take loans with interest in order to obtain technological innovations, presented at the *"festas de lançamento"* (*"début* [technological] *parties"*). The payment of these debts is made through the use of "dates", that is, a good part of the presentation agenda of a sound system belongs to the sponsor, who usually is a party planner. For a participant, these debts explain why the owners of most famous sound systems still live in very simple houses in the outskirts of Belém, even though of the high paychecks: exception being for the Super Pop[23] sound system, all others find themselves indebt with their respective party promoters. The below citations help understand how a competitive relationship between the sound systems help determine other business models within the market of making parties.

Look, I'm going to show you everybody's paycheck: Tupinambá 10 thousand, Super Pop 7 thousand, Rubi 6 thousand, Ciclone 5 thousand. These are the big size sound systems. And then, what happens: I am a party planner, I hire you: *"Ciclone will play"*. To me, awesome. *"Oh, when is it?"*. *"Tomorrow"*. I give you two thousand before the party – upfront. And then, I'll give ya another thousand at the party. From five, it went down to three. Now why do people accept this?

---

[23] **About the *Super Pop* Sound System:** This Sound System is registered as a company; therefore it hypothetically demonstrates a higher level in organization.

Because all sound systems, with the exception of Super Pop, are owing money to the party planners. There's a very steep competition in here. They release the sound system, make money and before they can quit paying, they start to fall onto the same problem, and then, they must release all over again. (Novice party planner)

The Tupinambá sound system, owned by DJ Dinho, was apprehended, yesterday, within the interior of the *'Mauro's Drink's'* concert house. The search for equipments was made in accordance to a judicial decision made by the Judge Luzia do Socorro Guimarães, of the 4th Capital's Civil Chapter, whom ordered the kidnapping of the sound system's equipment and place as *unavailable* DJ Dinho's assets, including cars and real state. During the equipments' apprehension, a photographer-reporter for *Amazônia Hoje* was assaulted with a punch onto his head. The photographer was within the back of the establishment and he was surrounded by many employees who worked for the concert house and the sound system. The action that resulted in the sound system's equipment apprehension was moved by DJ Dinho's ex-business partner, Elisângela Saldanha. Elisângela requested in the Judiciary the give-back of the money she invested at the moment of the creation of the sound system (R$ 198 thousand). In a judicial action, she asks for R$ 400 thousand. Elisângela Saldanha told a reporter of *Amazônia Hoje* that she worked with the production of events and that DJ Dinho looked for her so that they would assemble the *'Tupinambá'* sound system. She entered with R$ 198 thousand, amongst the money that she lent to her business partner, lighting, equipments and even a pick-up truck. But, according to her, everything was in her name. 'I invested my money because I thought that there wasn't a way of it not working out, which ended up happening. But he didn't pay me one Real out of what I lent him', said Elisângela, who today is a cultivator, in the countryside region of the State (*Amazônia Hoje*, [*Amazon Today*, in English] Newspaper 08/04/06)

To grow, then, must the equipment be renewed?
It's the compressor, drive, equalizer... Everything, because in the old days, it would be huge, it was from 7 meters to 15 meters, it was outrageous. Nowadays no, it got smaller, but the sound increased and a lot.
And what is needed to become into a big crew? That is, because the sound systems I saw, I was impressed with their size, [so] how is it done, running after a sponsor? Because everything its too expensive.
You gotta run after a party planner that wants to invest on ya. Our [sound system] was [invested] by a party planner, it was half and half, were he sponsor for one part.

But then it's everything? Computer? Everything?
No, the computer were us, it's a ...quantity. We aren't ready yet. We still don't have a mattress; nor a big screen projector. We do have a big screen TV, but he [the party planner] wants to release a new, totally new [one]. (Assistant DJ)

The above citations allow us to conclude that although there are foremost positions obtained by the sound systems in the *tecnobrega* market of Pará, the biggest ones are financially dependent on party planners. This dependency is mainly due the informality of this market. As citied above, Super Pop is not dependent on party planners, for it formally registered itself as a company and has access to a wide network of credit.

The following graph shows that only 6% of the sound systems receive support from the party planners to buy new equipments. Such percentage reflects the loans that big sound systems make with party planners. For these, it is uninteresting to sponsor a medium or small size sound system, for the financial return is not good. On the other hand, sponsoring a big sound system give them a high return rate, since the party planner can be schedule the dates with these crews who are his dependents.

Graph 26 – Origin of the Sound Systems' Equipments
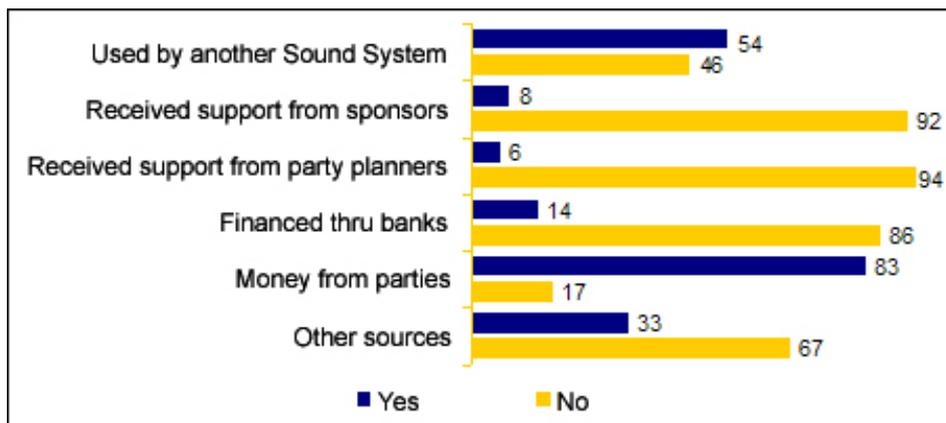
Party Houses

Bregueiros do not present a term to designate the establishment where they make their parties. This way, in this text we will exercise two categories to appoint night houses and clubs

of the city where these sound system parties and bands occur: party and concert houses. The first refers to places where the sound system parties happen; the last is resolved for the presentation of singers and bands. Other than these two representations of nighttime ventures, there are also what in Belém is called *"balneários"*, recreational clubs where eventual are upgraded to sound system parties during the day.

"Balneários" are Countryside-syndicated clubs, association of different types of professionals and private clubs which offer swimming pools or *igarapés*, green areas, sporting facilities, party salons and bar. Here is where sound system parties called *"domingueiras"* happen, that is, events made on Sundays from 10 AM until 10 PM. The *"balneários"* parties, organized by party planners who rent the space, can present two sound systems or simply count with one music structure.

Promoting parties uniting sound systems with a *hot* artist is a strategy adopted by party planners and party houses' owners to attract a much larger public. During the field work period, it was possible to identify this form of party organization which is frequently made with the same artists, DJ Maluquinho and Nelsinho Rodrigues, two of the biggest *tecnobrega* successes in 2006, both with *"exploded"* (*hot*, or *off the charts*) songs about sound systems. The most common, though, is a combined presentation of two sound systems. This mainly occurs in party houses in neighborhood outskirts, where the party planner's strategy if to hire the neighborhood's sound system to attract the local public.

The houses where the biggest number of sound system parties occurs are concentrated in the metropolitan region of Belém. In the qualitative step, we identified that some establishments are more frequently used for *brega* parties, as shown in the following table:

Table 6 – Establishments for the *Bregueiro* Circuit of Belém

Establishment	Neighborhood
Caldeirão do Alan	Entroncamento
Palmeiraço	Cidade Velha
Carrossel	São Brás
Palácio dos Bares	Guamá
Pompilho	Guamá
Mauru's	Tapanã
Sudan's Area[24]	Tapanã

To the exception of Palmeiraço, all of the other establishments are located in the outskirts of the city. This establishment, actually, seems to have taken as reference for sound systems' owners as a measurement instrument of their capacity of attracting the public. Other than that, since it is located at Belém's docklands, central area of the city, this establishment can attract an audience from different neighborhoods, including the noblest areas of the city.

Brega artists demonstrate annoyed with the reduced quantity of concert houses in the city of Belém. They remember that in a recent past, when artists were the main attraction of the *brega* parties, the concert houses were more numerous. They suggest that this fact is related to the on growing successful sound system presentations. The guarantee of public at the sound system parties seems to be an incentive for new investments in this kind of event. As explained by the *bregueiros*, houses that traditionally did not hire these music structures have invested in sound system parties.

The Afrikan Bar nightclub, a very hip club amongst the middle class a few years back is located in the central region of Belém, adopted *brega* parties as one of its strategies to relocate itself within the entertainment market, after a few years being excluded. This house instituted a program called *"The Sound System Thursday Parties"* (or *"A 5ª das Aparelhagens"*, in Portuguese), with music structured presentation, on Thursdays. As this research came along, only the *"big"* size sound systems presented in this house which, in some cases, promoted presentations which combined sound system parties with a famous artist. A singer's concert of Paraense's Popular Music (MPP)[25], Lia Sofia, also played in this

---

[24] **About the establishment area known as Sudan:** Sudan's area consists in a big grass field which is not covered and is set back for *"big"* size sound systems' performances.

[25] **About Paraense's Popular Music (PPM):** Also known as *"Música Popular Paraense"* – MPP (in Portuguese), PPM is defined for being broadcasting instrument by their appreciator. A *Bregapop* site, which has the objective of being a website about Paraense music, presents varied musical styles. One of definitions given to PPM was: *"Every song made in Pará: brega, carimbó, "música popular brasileira" ("mpb"), lambada,*

nightclub. In this concert, the singer presented her new disk, a reenactment of the *"brega classics"*, with a special participation of *brega* singer Gabi Amarantos, of the Tecnoshow band.

Bregueiros indicate Pororoca as the most *"traditional"* concert house of Belém. Its owner is one of the only people who do not hire sound systems, although there is a lot of insistence from some of these musical structure owners. Pororoca is considered the most important promotional location for Paraense's Popular Music. There, it is possible to find on a weekly basis, varied presentations for *brega*, *forró*, *padoge* amongst other groups. Nowadays, only Pororoca (located at the Sacramenta neighborhood) and Kuarup (located at Tapanã neighborhood) maintain a policy of only hiring singers and bands.

> Belém do Pará was a place where people played a lot. People used to make five gigs per night. We were asked a lot. There was a big change, the ECAD. Nowadays the artists make gigs outside, in Belém many houses closed down, due to financial difficulties. Back in the days, there was this concert house called Xodó and the House of the Artists. Today, there's the Pororoca, Alan's [Layer], Mauru's, and Kuarup. But our concerts are more requested in the countryside regions. (Solo singer)

> During weekdays i am more present at the studio, recording, producing. Now, during the weekend, we play through the countryside regions of Pará.
> **There aren't that many houses in Belém, right?**
> Nope. For bands, there should be more cultural space. For bands of our genre. Now, to play other stuff, there are other places. Jazz, these things, there are other places. For the *brega* bands, there are only some 3, 4 places. (Solo singer)

Pororoca is a family company, in the sense of being administrated by two brothers, their uncle and cousin. The concert house has the capacity of five thousand people and it hires forty employees. According to the owner, all of the employees are regulated under the *Worker's Lawful Permit*, regime (*CLT,* in Portuguese). This concert house exclusively maintains itself with the exhibition of local artists` performances, especially with the *brega* musical genre. The tickets vary in between R$ 3 to R$ 10, depending on the day and on the attraction. The owner emphasized that: *"Actually, I never profited from an outside band"*.

---

indigenous music...".

To hire a local band, according to one of the owners, varies in between R$ 1500 and R$ 4 thousand, depending on the band and the moment in their career. He explains that an artist's success from Belém can be meteoric, thus not being possible to establish fixed values for wages: *''There are bands who today manage to bring a six thousand people crowd to the house, and during the next month, when the band comes back, nobody shows up.''* Generally, deals with bands are made so that the money raised at the ticketing line will be allocated to the performers and the money profited from the bar stays with the house.

It is so frequent in this marketplace that the owner affirmed that there are no formal contracts made nor fixed and established deals between the house and the bands. For each case, a different negotiation is made, so that both parties can be beneficiated. The trust relationship held with artists, under his perspectives, allows that deals can be revised even after the performance. This way, he tells us, in some cases where the deal met was set to pay R$ 1500, for instance, and the concert house did not receive what they expected at the ticketing line, the band's paycheck can be reduced to R$ 1000, without any resentment from artists. The same can occur when the tickets sold is higher that expected, raising the band's wages, again leaving the previously set target in the deal.

There are rare deals where the house is rented for a band – these only occur in cases of extreme confidence, where the artists are well-known. In these cases, a negotiation is established based on the division of the profits made, from the sold tickets, and also the distribution of lighting and sound costs. The security, the bar and the kitchen are always the club's responsibility: *"We can't give the club's responsibility onto a person's hand, everyday"*. In these cases, it is also set who will be responsible for the promotion of the event, including radio and TV ads, stereo-cars and outdoors.

The concerts houses, in fact, have faced a few conflicts with the local population, given the sound systems high volume and the theft and fight frequencies that have occurred outside of these nightclubs. The statements found in the research indicate that the outcome from a series of interventions from the *Public Attorney* (*Ministério Público*, in Portuguese) and judges' ruling was a rigid legislation for the functioning of party houses. This strict control of parties by the state administrators (over the control of decibel sound emissions, fines for presence of

underage, tax payments) has generated an hiatus period for these events, creating a massive financial damage of the owners of these nightclubs, but also to party planners, sound system owners and people who are directly or indirectly beneficiated from this business.

> The community complains. The police make their interventions through suspending the *Alvará* permits. But, through judicial decisions, nightclub point as being the focal place for noise and confusion almost always end up to their normal activities, leaving the population who lives in the immediate areas unhappy and they directly suffer from the effects of what is called 'the party's finale': theft, fights and, in some case, even murders.
>
> The open-close of some night-time establishment has already become common. According to Sheriff Luiz Alcântara, director of the Administrative Police Division (*"Divisão de Polícia Administrativa" – DPA*, in Portuguese), responsible for the authorization permits of these companies, ten nightclubs of Belém currently face administrative proceedings made by *DPA* due to neighbors complaints. *'In the last two years, we account more than 50 shut-downs. The most frequent complaints refer to noise pollution and gang fights at these parties or in the immediate areas'*, said Sheriff Luiz Alcântara (Amazônia Hoje Newspaper – 29/01/2006)

The participants' statements outline the rigidness of police authorities in regards to the inspection of this type of venture, the nuisance of varied licenses and *alvarás permits*, for the functioning of these houses and the prohibition of these establishments, based on the non-compliance of these rules, as factors that have harden business' maintenance. The necessity to maintain legal functioning conditions, other than expenses related to taxes and investments on physical upgrades of these establishments' structure, have forced some nightclub owners to invest in security, seeking to stop fights and avoiding the intervention of the police at the parties.

> There are always problems at the parties. Problems related to confusion are an exception, because there is security. Always when there is a mess in a house, the house automatically closes. If there is confusion in the house, the guy goes to the police station and registers his complaint. Automatically the main Sheriff orders to close down the house, until the owner of that establishment fits accordingly and manages to get his establishment working again. This is normal, at one given time the club is closed, at another time, another club is closed.

> Until people legalize their situation. Once normalized, the discussion is all over. There are two types of licenses today: the party's functioning license, which states that every legalized club can only make two parties per month, and there's also a type of special license which only two establishments in Belém have, which are Caldeirão do Alan and Pompilho. These houses have acoustics, where the sound does not go very far. These establishments can frequently operate. (Novice party planner)

Some conversations suggest that the achievements made by one of the party planning groups is due to the fact that two of their members are ex-cops, thus, this would allow an easy access to the police and a good relations with public authorities. During the field work, our researchers acknowledged, during the *Sesc-Senai*'s *"Domingueira"*, the presence of three on-duty military police officers. A participant revealed that they were *"friends"* with the party planner, whom secretly hired them to provide their security services along with the other non-uniformed security guards.

> Yeah, I reckon that the pressure [against parties] has gone way down. Even 'cause the party planners themselves have connections from within the Police; ya got that? If something happens that they dislike, they manage to invert the situation. The have a lot of influence over the Police. I know this 'cause yesterday I went on to ask a favor to someone. My party, today, wasn't gonna happen. I asked a favor to a person at five in the afternoon and at seven at night, he called me, saying that my license was released. (Novice party planner)

Fan clubs and crews

According to information provided by the party planners and sound system owners, the average public that a *"big"* size sound system can mobilize at a party varies in between 3000 to 5000 people. If a party's performance includes some sort of *new* element, like the *premiere* of a new physical structure, a DVD recording, the public can get up to 8000 people. At nightclubs which are located in more isolated outskirts, with small size sound system performances, the frequency audience ratings is calculated between 500 to 2000 people. Within this public, there are customary participants, such as the fan clubs and the crews. In this subsection, we shall present the fan clubs and the *tecnobrega* stereo-car crews.

Fan clubs

The relationship between the public and the sound system is made at the parties through the DJ, whom also exerts the role of host and entertainer, establishing empathy with the public, being an important item to measure the DJ's performance and, consequently, the sound system. The public waits that the DJ announces the presence of his friends and sound system admirers, just as he also announces the presences of celebrities. The fan clubs and crews are proud to be voluntarily acknowledged by the DJ.

Fan clubs are groups of friends who re-unite to participate in a group party. They usually adopt a patterned shirt, a uniform, as an instrument of identifying the group. The members can be identified through their own names, written at the back of their own shirts. One fan club can exclusively go to one sound system party that he admires, or not. The most common thing is to show up at any party within Belém, but leaving the city, only go to the sound system parties in which she is a fan. They can be made up by women only or both sexes. This research did not obtain any information with regards of an exclusive male fan club. In general, these fan clubs occur due the well-successful performances of the sound system DJs.

'
> Participant 1: We get used to that [sound system]. Every weekend it's the same thing. We don't even go to a band concert which arrives here, not even *forró* we go to.
> Participant 2: We get used to them, talking outside of the parties. We already have a connection with them. If we don't go to some party, some time passes by; they call us up, wanting to know what's going on. There's a relationship. (Members from the *"As Marias do Pop"* fan club, from the Super Pop Sound System).

Fan club members show some proximity to key personalities within the *bregueiro* circuit, like owners, sound system's DJs and employees, studio DJs and bands. To justify choosing a peculiar sound system, their arguments are based on the DJ's performance, in the established relationship with him and with the sound system's employees, other than a feeling of well-being at the parties. The fan clubs can be defined as social clusters which are intensified within these parties, resulting from friendships, and outlined by the intensity of his

89

involvement with the party and the sound system's members, extending to new relationship networks, from participating in these events.

> Not just because of the sound system, but more due to the people who work, who are really cool. We are great with Edilson, with Edielson and the boys who work for him, who are with them in the lighting box and in other stuff. (Member of the *"Furacão Sonoro"* Fan club, from the Ciclone Sound System)

The many announcements put forward by the DJ over the presence of fan clubs help demonstrate a certain prestige to the sound system, which accounts for the present of loyal members who keep track of the parties and also promote the sound system's name. On the other hand, being announced by the DJ, receiving compliments, seeing your uniform on the sound system's members also aids the group's name and, consequently, attracting new members. This relationship, based on a prestige exchange, fuels the popularity for both parties.

Competition amongst the sound systems seems to interfere in the performance of fan clubs. Since these groups are identified with the sound system and DJ, it is common to see some hatred feelings against some music structure, which in general, are set back to the image of the main DJ, seen as the sound system's representative.

> We like the other ones, but with this one [Ciclone], we feel as if we were at home. Now, there is no one who will make us go to see Tupinambá.
> **No? Why is that?**
> Because DJ Dinho is very arrogant, he wants to be the best in the world. We don't like him a lot. It's just Ciclone, Super Pop, Pop Saudade, Rubi Saudade, Rubi, and Alex's JCei. (Member of the *"Furacão Sonoro"* Fan club, from the Ciclone Sound System)

It seems that fan clubs had an expressive performance at the parties a couple of years back. Nowadays it is difficult to find them and many participants said that they no longer exist. For a fan, the termination of the student-ids which guaranteed discounts on the purchasing of tickets for parties is what explains the sudden fading of fan clubs.

Stereo-car Crews

Stereo-car crews are another form in collective participation at the sound system parties. Participant statements suggest that there is a similarity between *"fan clubs"* and *"crews"*, which sometimes are mentioned as synonyms: both say regards to groups of friends who organize themselves to go to a sound system party together. Just like the fan clubs, these *"crews"* also identify themselves through names and uniform. The difference, however, resides in the fact that the members of a *"crew"* who collectively participate at the parties are connect to themselves by the admiration of the car stereo equipments. It is about *"automobile sound crews"*, a new element to the *brega* parties` scenery of Belém. According to the participants, these started to make part of the sound system parties, about three years ago. There are another two significant characteristics which help separate fan clubs from *"crews"*. The first says regards to gender. *"Crews"* are mostly made up by men and female participation is restricted to following a group as colleagues, girlfriends and wives. But the most meaningful difference refers to social class. Since in order to be part of a *"crew"* it is necessary to own a car with a considerable amount of sound equipment, a good part of these group members come from a middle class, which proves that there is a shift in audience as regards to *brega* music in terms of social-economic positions.

On the contrary of what occurs with fan clubs, which compete amongst themselves to demonstrate a greater control over their respective choreographies, the *"automobile sound crews"* compete to present the biggest and most powerful sound equipments. Some equipments are bigger that the cars themselves and need to be transported by car tolls. The main crews are *Red Baron* (*Barão Vermelho)*, *Rock Folks* (*Galera do Rock*), *Shark* (*Tubarão*) and *Sound Box* (*Caixa Som*). One crew consists in the gathering of many cars equipped with car stereos. The *Barão Vermelho' "crew"* possesses 12 (twelve) crews: *Barão Vermelho*, *Garfield Sonoro*, *Carretinha Terremoto*, amongst others. These *"crews"* can be connected to a sound system, like the *"Tupinambá's Bad Asses"* (*"Safadões do Tupinambá"*, in Portuguese) and therefore they may confuse people or be considered as a fan club. But usually they participate in any party, irrespective of whose sound system is currently playing.

Musical Hurricane, or *Furacão Sonoro* in Portuguese, is another example of how hard it is to classify these groups. One of their members has classified their group as a fan club for the Ciclone Sound System. However, one of their members is a sound equipment admirer and invested in transforming his car into an *"automobile sound crew"* creating the *"Computerized Chevy"* (*"Chevete Computadorizado"*). *Furacão Sonoro* is considered a fan club and also has an automobile sound crew.

During the last few years, the crews started to *"professionalize"*, making opening gigs or *"coberturas"* for sound system parties and also doing the cheering in private events. They charge R$ 400 per presentation and each *"crew"* represents about three professional to the making of the party. The can present the same structure of a sound system: DJ, notebook, lighting box, smoke machine, visual and sound effects equipments, and so on. Some of them also have fan clubs, people to follow these *"crews"* onto their presentations or trips.

Fan clubs and *"crews"* do not posses a formal organization; neither there are any requirements to become a member of one of them. A new member must only have affinity with the rest of the group and accompany them to the parties. This open filiation's model demonstrates how the origin of these organizations is associated with friendship and the fact that the members are neighbors to each other, that is, an informal relationship.

6- *TECNOBREGA* FORMS OF PRODUCTION AND PROMOTION

During the making process of the first phase of this project, the qualitative step, it was possible to notice that receptivity in regards to *brega* music in Belém is still very concentrated in the outskirts. Even though there is this social-economic delimitation, as we analyze the interviewees' statements of the *brega* universe, it is possible to clearly observe an increase of production opportunities and a spatial widening of broadcasting music which *brega* conquered. The participation of a huge crowd at the sound system parties, the adoption of these parties by nightclubs in the central regions of the city and the consolidation of a business in the countryside regions of the state by the artists, help demonstrate the gradual success that this musical genre is conquering. This section intends on presenting our research results on the main agents involved on the different forms of production and promotion of material and symbolic *tecnobrega* assets: studios, recording studios and labels, promotional/advertisement companies, non-authorized re-producers and *parallel ventures*.

Recording Studios and Labels

As it will be shown in this topic, the recording studios and labels lost their importance the *tecnobrega* field. However, they will here be explored, for the allow us to comprehend, more ahead, the passage which transformed studios owned by DJs as the main *locus* of *tecnobrega* CDs' production and distribution in Belém. The research data indicate that the phonographic production of *brega* music in Belém started still around the 1970s. Juca Medalha started his career in 1974, as a freshman, after the visit of *Chacrinha* to the city. After wining the contest, he received as an award, a medal, creating his artistic name (*Medal Juca*). He recorded his first CD at the *Studio Erla*, a Rauland company. Still during the 1970s, he recorded his second CD from the Ortasom recording studio. During the 1980s, Juca recorded three CDs through the *"Gravasom Commercial Phonographic and Publicity LTDA."*

(*"Gravasom Comercial Fonográfica e Publicidade LTDA"*, in Portuguese). During the beginning of the 1990s, Rauland is restructured and Juca releases his new disk through the RJ Recording Studio, which substituted the older Studio Erla. Another of his new CDs is produced by *"Atraction"* (*"Atração"*, in Portuguese), a recording studio from São Paulo, and, recently, in an independent production, his newest work was released within the genre which is classified as *"gospel brega"*.

The career of this notorious singer, with 30 years of experience, reveals the historic records of the *brega* music phonographic venture of Belém. The local recording studios show that the success of this genre in this city made the phonographic venture a profitable business. During the interview, Juca mentioned the name of five recording studios (others could have been forgotten). According to Costa (2004:138), many others were created in Belém, a good part of them during mid-years of the 1990s, with the *boom* of *bregacalypso*. This set of recording studios reveals a well-successful Paraense phonographic industry, at least until the end of the 1990s, with a promotional capacity of its local production to every state in the north region and in some northeastern states of the country – even still to the Guineas. The Paraense production just only never managed to make its disk manufacturing work, which was, and still is, done outside of the State of Pará.

During the 1990s, *brega* music went through an ostracism period. With its recovery, the emergence of a second *"brega movement"* occurred, during the end of this decade, when new investments in the phonographic production were made. An exemplification of this is the *"Lion Productions"* (*"Leão Produções"*, in Portuguese) company. This label was created in 1997, even though it has been around since 1995, with the album production for *brega* singer Ribamar José, which sold 15 thousand copies of his first disk, in Belém alone. Leão produced, since the company's creation until now, 108 disks amongst the different styles of *brega*. In the beginning, every production process was made by Leão Produções: the production in studio, the making of the copies and the distribution. Nowadays, with the dissemination of home-based studios, and the informal re-production, they only distribute the disks.

To Leão, the dissemination of computers and the utilization for the non-authorized re-production of CDs have enormously harmed the phonographic production business in Belém.

One of the first consequences, in his perspective, was the shut-down of specialized disk stores. He remembers that *"Disks Here"* (*"Aqui Discos"*, in Portuguese) network alone, had ten stores in Belém and all of them were closed. Nowadays the city has two shops, but one of them is about to be sold. He tells us, that with this, one of the difficulties that he is currently facing in order to maintain his business, is the lack of places which sell disks.

Leão points out that there is a second obstacle to be met in the formal music business and that is the multiplication of home-based studios. These studios provoked the reduction of the label's work in regards to the fabrication and distribution. Before, Leão acted in all of the stages of a disk production: the hiring of musicians, of the recording studio, disk fabrication, distribution and promotion. During the last few years, many artists have gone to his company with the sole purpose of inserting their work in the formal music market. Other than that, he affirms: *"If the artist does not have an original CD, he remains non-prestigious. It gives a certain status to him. He won't leave here with a pirate disk in his hands"*.

Today, Leão Produções only distributes the work of artists who present him a finished CD. He is no longer responsible for the recording of songs because artists assemble them in their own studios; he no longer works as a *"promoter"* given that bands and singer directly seek the sound systems and rely on non-authorized re-productions for promoting their work; it is no longer necessary to send a matrix to SP to order make the medias, since it is possible to do it from a home. To him, the *"damned computer"* reduced a lot the labels' market. It was like that, that the Tecno Show CD got distributed. Their first CD was totally produced by their own members, which sold 20 thousand copies. Another huge success was the *"Sensual Fruit"* (*"Fruto Sensual"*, in Portuguese) band, whose CD was also produced by this respective band, and distributed by Leão.

The following graph confirms the revealed indications during the qualitative step: 19% recorded CDs at friends' or some member's houses. This is a very elevated number, considering that 41% never recorded a CD. Out of the *tecnobrega* bands who recorded CDs, 67% did so, using home-based studios.

Graph 27 – Place where the Bands Record their CDs

Category	Value
Studios at friends' houses	19
Studios at a band members' house	19
Big professional studios	15
Other	4
Never recorded a CD	42
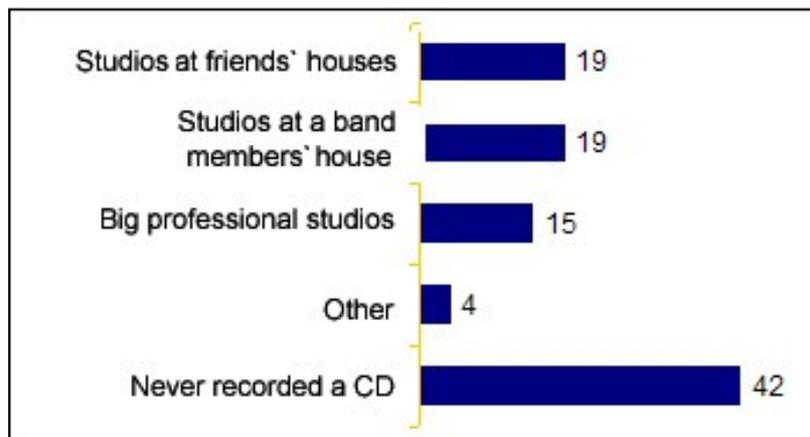
Since recording in these studios posses a low cost, 48% of the bands pay for the financial production costs of the CD. The diffusion of computers and of necessary programs for the recording of a song resulted in a technological revolution for the *tecnobrega* bands, considerably modifying this business.

Graph 28 – Financial Responsibility for the Production of a Band's CD

Category	Value
The actual group or the singer	48
Sponsor/support	10
Never recorded a CD or DVD	42
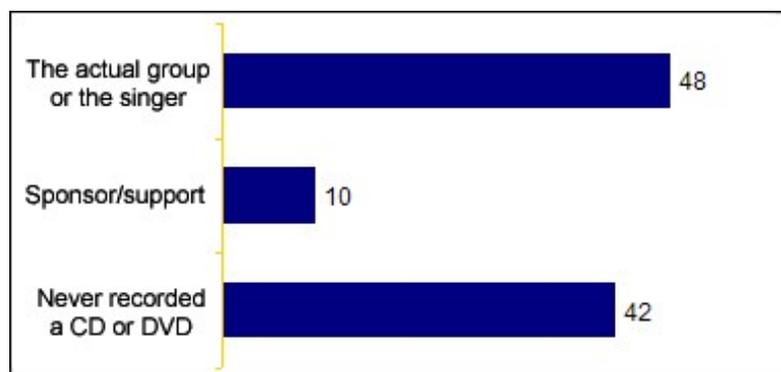
It is important to outline that these technological advancements can not be seen as a negative factor. Joaquim Falcão (2006) argues that the drop in the vending of CDs and DVDs is a phenomenon in the phonographic industry as a whole. According to the author, the business model defended by Leão Produções is in a crisis, specialized shops on CD sales are closing in Brazil and all over the world. The easiness for people to *"download"* songs through the Internet obliged a new dynamic onto the phonographic business. As argued by Falcão (2006), the musical industry possesses a business model that must be reformulated to incorporate the Internet into this business. The solution comes from the adaptation of the phonographic market to the new demands and habit modifications of this public, since it is unreasonable to ask people to let of a technology which brings them comfort, especially when it is already so diffused.

In order to remain in the business, one of the solutions found by Leão Produções was to adopt the same strategy adopted by non-authorized re-producers: producing compilations. His first compilation, which he believes to be first one to produce using a legalized known label, was released in 2002 and it sold about 8 thousand copies. The *"On the Rocks"* (*"Na Batida"*, in Portuguese) CD was produced in a *"partnership"* with DJ Dinho, whom during this time was know as the main DJ for the *Pop Som 1* Sound System. This DJ selected the tracks, gave a name to this disk, the same title as his radio program at the Rauland Radio Station, and contacted the artists to authorize the inclusion of their songs onto this disk. They were all formally released by the bands and singers involved, who released control over their copyrights in exchange for promoting their songs: *"With the compilations, nobody wins; they're already gaining with the promotion. They themselves don't want [the rights], they prefer the advertisement"*, To Leão and the artists, the compilation productions represents a musical *"exchange"* for advertisement.

The same procedure was made for the premiere of three compilation volumes for the Tupinambá Sound System, now under Dinho's control. This DJ selected the tracts and contacted the artists who once more released their songs in exchange for the promotion of their songs. Another release, and 1500 copies were sold, but it is believed that if it weren't for the non-authorized re-producers, that this number would actually be doubled. He argues that

The same investment onto a DVD, under his perspective, is even more disadvantageous, since it gains a greater value for the non-authorized re-producers. His only experience with this manufacturing was – sending the matrix to a company in São Paulo to reproduce – and then distribute. He tells us that 2 (two) thousand copies arrived in his room at five o'clock in the afternoon. About thirty minutes later, he took his copies to a friend's store, which is located across the street. During the next morning, every singe non-authorized re-producer in the central neighborhood of Belém had sold a copy of his manufactured DVD. Even still, he managed to sell everything.

To Leão, the created access to technological resources has made possible the creation of *tecnobrega* in accordance to the *calypso* style. To him, the possibility that artists have, to create songs using a computer, introduced an enormous quantity of low quality songs in the market and fired agents who were fundamental in the production process of a disk.

With this market's retraction, today his company only accounts with his work and of another employee, who is responsible for the vending of CDs in shops. His current *hit* success in sales is called *"brega saudade"* or *"flashbrega"*. The only problem for a greater investment in this style of *brega*, to him, is the difficulty in having access so that artists will release the copyrights over their songs. Leão admits that he does not pay for copyrights to some successful *traditional brega* singers because many of them left their artist careers and they no longer can be found.

Under the artists' point of view, the relationship with the formal phonographic industry is ambiguous. During the qualitative step, few interviewees affirmed that they were interested in the recording studio deal in an unrestricted manner. The majority of them saw advantages, such as long as some conditions are respected. The band called *Calypso* is an example, set as reference, in almost every case. For participants, more important than having a recording studio, in order for an artist achieve success, is counting on the performance of a good manager, a good production and CD distribution structures, that together can substitute the

recording studios' functions: *"If we catch a good structure, a wicked guy, a good producer for selling our concert, we don't even need anyone [else]"*. Other actors affirm:

> I think that necessarily [a recording studio] isn't needed, what I need is a manager. *Calypso* is an independent label and sells millions of CDs; they know how to do it. But it would be interesting to have a wicked label, which didn't change the essence of an artist. I worry about this. (Band singer)

> Look, I think that it's worth it. Because in these studios, they got the financial control to sell, to make a good deal. During the Tecno Show's time. Even the folks from Gema [, the label,] started to look for us, to close a deal with the labels for 2 years. But during that time, it wasn't really good to us… we already had the contact with all of the vendors, everyone who bought from me in the State. Because we didn't sell only here, in Belém. I sent to Santarém, to Macapá, which is in another state. I sent to Maranhão, to Maceió, until the music could get. The dude would phone me, and I would send it through mail. And so the recording studio came and I said: I shall sign this deal with you guys, counting that the sales in the state of Pará is ours. The rest of Brazil is on you and Pará is ours. So then we only have to run within Pará, and then I don't need to. Because I'm already advertising. It wasn't a coincidence that we sold 12 thousand instantaneously on the second CD. It was mad. (Studio DJ)

> Look, I was at recording studio, but I didn't know how much did enter and how much did leave. How would I? So it is much faster if I record, since I know how many disks I have at home. It's much easy to invest in the independent. Of course that there are serious recording studios who correctly pay, but… there are some absurd things that, if ya aren't prepared, you keep giving money to other people. (Solo singer)

> **And this *tecnobrega* structure, informal device, of recording at home, do you think that for them to manage to *"swing"*[26] that they need a recording studio?**
> It must be done with more quality. There must be more technology. Fair enough that you record over there, but do take it inside a good studio, to make a good mix, a good sound mastering, so that it's a quality business (that you listen anywhere else, standard).
> **But what if there's a small studio, with quality...do you think that a recording studio is needed?**
> No. It needs a make a good mix, a good sound mastering, of quality. I see the recorded songs from small studios, here in Belém, who have

---

[26] **About *"Swing[ing]"*:** We made use of the same category used by the participant. In this case, to *"swing"* means to *"explode"*, that is, to make a *hit* or to succeed with a song.

a quality that a big one does not have. But it is necessary to make a difference, having content, lyrics, a message, understood? (Solo singer)

The current relationship between bands and recording studios is represented in the next graph. As we can observe, 88,37% of the *tecnobrega* bands never made a deal with a recording studio nor a label. Nowadays, only 4,65% of bands posses some sort of deal with these agents, demonstrating that for *tecnobrega* artists, this business model seems over. These artists do not see huge advantages in firming a contract with a recording studio or a label.

Graph 29 – Contract with a Recording Studio or a Label (%)
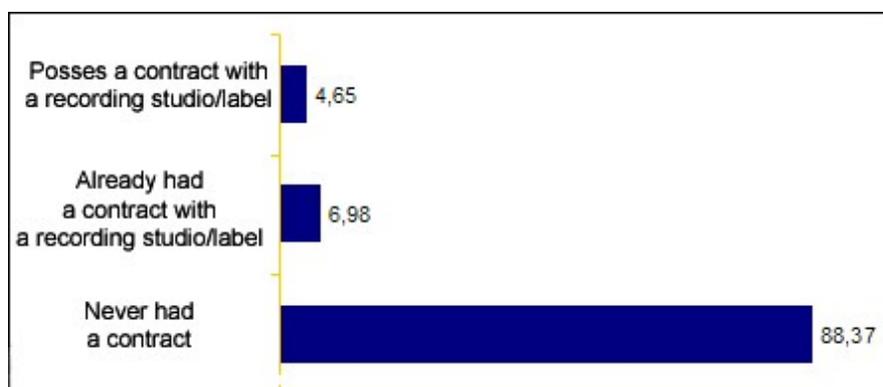
Studios

The phonographic industry's crisis in Belém was accompanied by the opening of several recording studios during the 1990s, offering artists, an alternative of working with independent recording studios. Neves (2006), quotes M Produções Studios and Digitape Studio. Other participants also citied, *Gravodisco*, *XD* (a studio of the old nightclub called *Xodó*), Digi Records, and Transa Tate, other than suggesting the existence of other studios.

100

Transa Tape, for instance, exists for more than twenty years, according to Harrison Lemos, who came forward to this venture after his father, Cláudio Lemos. Studio, label and video production owner for Transa Tape, Cláudio Lemos was one of band members of the old rock band called *"The Panthers"*. His son, a well-successful *brega* singer and currently 19 years old, records his albums and rents the studio to other singers, for the price of R$ 300 per song.

> Because during the time that my dad used to record, they still had those rolling tapes. He was the first would a computer, in 94, 95, more or less. When he went sleep, I would get the studio key and started to play on the computer and learn how to record. (Solo singer)

During the beginning of the 2000s, with Belém's *brega* music being restructured, expressed by the creation of *tecnobrega*, imposes not just a change in rhythm but also in the recording process. The strong connection with technology and the easiness in access to electronics resources, have promoted a proliferation of domestic studios, making the production process of a song more accessible and less expensive. The production of independent disks, to circulate in the local market and also being sold at the concerts, became a thing popular thing amongst the *tecnobrega* artists.

> We record the [independent] CD, order to make the covers. We never take them to the stores because it isn't worth it, we know that there's no financial return. We sell at the concerts. There're a lot more profits. 100% profits. Sell it at R$ 5,00. It's possible to pay for the cover. It works like a promotion. Sending it to everywhere. But profits, there's no such thing. (Band member)

> I still haven't seen a *tecnobrega* band being released by a recording studio. Even cause it will be a very heavy national investment. The *tecnobrega* groups are independent; they make the *demo* and promote their own work, in a way that it's easier for them. There is a tecno market, a specific public which the recording studios don't invest. (Composer)

AVD studio's case, of the *"Gunner brothers"* (*"irmãos Metralha"*, in Portuguese), perfectly reveals this reformulation in the market of music production in Belém. Beto Metralha, one of the most notorious *tecnobrega* DJs (produced the Tecno Show band, biggest success

of this genre until now), was requested by other artists who wanted to produce his CDs. After a few years actively working with audio production, his studio stopped producing music because, to him, *"There are no more bands, only sound system[s]"*. Other than that, his business stopped being profitable as bands were making their own home-based studios.

Nowadays what is referred to as a studio, actually means a computer, with some specific programs, and a keyboard. Some have better technological resources than others. Today, Beto Metralha still works with *brega* music, but he acts in the production of videos:

> *"Irã's DVD was my first editing. But I've seen many editions, like I told you. Graduations, weddings, Dinho's program, it's me who edits them. Television, which is an hour's recording, television commercials, of parties, of sound system. I do it all".*

Beto produces DJ Dinho's radio and TV programs; he is DJ Dinho's manager and also DJ Agatha's, both from Tupinambá. Leaving from his wide contact network within the *brega* universe, Beto is starting a new developing project, still new within this business: the production of video clips for singers and bands.

> Well, for instance, at the sound system I do this: audio opening in videos. And now were making for bands that have more resources. Because there are bands that get a very small wage, do not have money to rent a projector, to put a date for the concert to do this sort of thing. And that is also an investment because it is a little high, to do an audio and video opening. I have a project that I am seeing if I manage to move the bands a little bit more, making video clips for the bands. Because I don't have a bigger space… I record, but I have to present the program. I want to increase it, in order to record the video clips. Because this way, I can move money around. I can get [a deal] with the band. *"Look, record 3 video clips for me that I will place them in the sound system"*. It will be another space that i am trying to open. But until now, we still didn't manage to do it. (Studio DJ)

> The studio that they are talking about isn't really a studio. It's a computer with a keyboard. And then they record the song, their way. In my case no, people do a professional job, that they can get here in Belém and show, get in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, it can get to any studio and play it 'cause it's gonna be of a good quality. And then the guy from these studios with only a computer can't do that. Because you don't have

102

reference resources […*know how*…] to mix a song, place it at a right volume. (Solo singer)

The graphic art, we do it. It's not 'cause it's home made that it isn't of a good quality. We work with the *Companhia do Calypso*. We record in a studio, inside a bedroom, more homey-like, but the equipment is good. That's why the work, when done, has quality. It's cheaper, but of quality. (Band member)

The use of technology has provoked the proliferation of home-based studios (owned by DJs and artists) and of the number of artists. Low costs and the easiness for production have allowed singers and bands to make their own studios. If, on one side, it has democratized the production process of a song, on the other hand, it has interfered in the Studio DJs' market; assuring that the DJs lost space to artists themselves who, now, produce their own songs.

Today, many studios maintain their businesses with the production of *"sketches"* that consist on very short calls played during a song. In the case of the sound systems, the *"sketches"* are used to outline the quality of the music structure. It is a publicity strategy of the sound systems and of the studios themselves, who promote their names. But in the case of the singers and bands, these *"sketches"* play a more fundamental role in the promotion of the artist's name who is singing the song. Taking into consideration that in this business, artists do firstly release their songs and only later, after acquiring some *hits*, release their CD, these *"sketches"* have the objective of identifying the artist with his public, and they are a kind of band, or singer, signature, depending on who is singing. It is interesting to stand out the fact that it is not necessary to identify who wrote the song. Other than that, keeping an eye onto the possibility of their song being included in a compilation and also the fact that the non-authorized re-producers do not worry with the covers' production and author's credits, a *"sketch"* can be the only possibility for the promotion of an artists' name before the production of a band's disk.

Other than the production of *"sketches"*, studios also make *"narratives"* that are played during the entrance of the main DJ at a part, which in general, tell the sound system's history. Within these narratives are outlined the county of sound systems, their advanced technology

and the quality of the DJ. The text is presented in a verbal form, following by sound effects and the sound system's history is presented with metaphors which refer to disputes and wars

> In a very distant episode, in a place where human beings fight for a space... Where the fittest shall survive. Through continuous battles onto different fields, the strongest and most complete airship of the planet was born. Flying a lot higher than all the rest. *'Ouro Negro, the people's airship'*. This one, yeah, it really goes up high! The airship climbs. *'Ouro Negro, the people's airship'*. The most perfect project out of all the seen airship in music and entertainment. Controlled by the biggest DJs of the planet. DJ Diego, DJ Levi, Amoral and DJ Absolute of the sound systems. From now on, your emotions will beat stronger. Prepare yourself to the most exciting and electrifying flight that you've seen. It the people's airship which is climbing up. Attention to the flight. Tell me, what is your location? Crew, authorized flight. (Presentation of the Ouro Negro sound system)

> It was very difficult. It very difficult, really, because at that time you would do the lyrics, and then you had to find a really good musician for us to do all that production, and lock us up in the studio. And then had to shove 3 guitars. Had to place drums, base. So it was a very expensive thing. Not everyone had conditions to do it. Because at that time to make a disk, a LP, you had to leave at the studio, for at least, 2 thousand, 3 thousand Reais. Because each song, usually, the folks put 20 Reais, 50 Reais, onto the instrument, or with a *backvocal*. It's very expensive. And nowadays with a computer, it's not! You do it all with a keyboard. With only your lyrics, you take it to one of these kids who plays the keyboard, and he assembles the entire production and you make it in the same moment. In the old days, you couldn't. In order for you to close a package with 10 songs, 12 songs used to cost 20 thousand Reais. 7 thousand, at least. All due to the human material. A lot of people doing it, due to the mixing. The studio was expensive. They would charge you a lot for the hour. It was too complicated. So that means that, nowadays, in one afternoon, you can do 2 songs (Studio DJ)

The studio still unwinds an important role in the promotion of songs produced by the *tecnobrega* artists. In the studios owned by DJs, it is possible to find a wide network of *'contacts'* who articulate different studios sound systems, radios, artists and non-authorizes re-producers, making the songs move around the entire *tecnobrega* universe. The *"new"* songs

are frequently traded within the studios, which are considered privileged spaces for music distribution.

At the studios owned by DJs, successful *brega* compilations are made, which later are sold in the informal market – and these are the main instrument for the promotion of the studio DJ's name. They reunite the biggest success of the moment in one CD which cover's, shows his name. Since there is no guarantee that the re-producers shall keep this identification, the used strategy is the same as for the artists: making use of *"sketches"* to prove they made it. The most requested compilations are created by the most notorious DJs. Having a song included in these compilations can mean a successful guarantee in the promotion of the song, since NARPs do not hesitate in re-producing them. The most famous DJs, charge a *"tiny wage"* (*"cachezinho"*, in Portuguese) which varies between R$ 20 and R$ 50 per artist.

The following graph presents the result of the quantitative step made with the Belém street vendors. As it can be observed, for 44% of the interviewees, the sound system compilations are the CDs most sold, followed by the compilations made by DJs with 39%. To only 13% of the street vendors, the band CDs are the most sold, confirming the prestige thesis about sound system and DJs followed by *tecnobrega* bands.

Graph 30 – Type of *Tecnobrega* CD which Most Sells in the Informal Market of Belém (%)
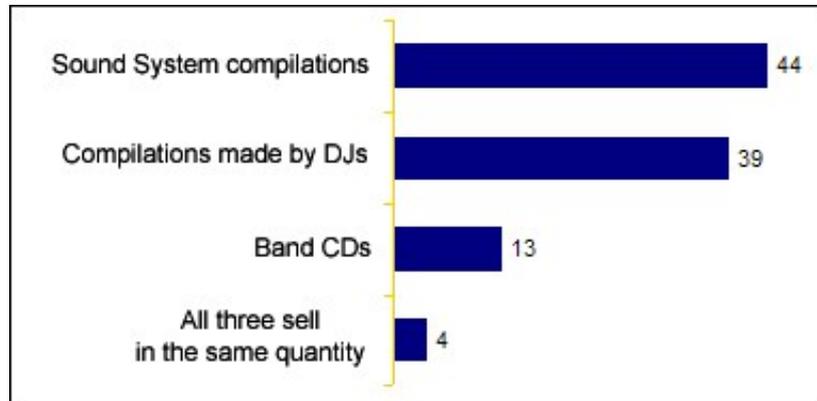
The action of producing compilations in Belém already occurred during the *"LP times"* and it seems much older than *tecnobrega*. The case of a sound system DJ fits this description. He started his business with a studio and during the weekend he sold door after door cassette-tapes of compilations he, himself, did from known artists. These compilations were demo tapes, produced and later distributed in a process also called *"promotion"*, just like the current practice of producing compilation CDs to be distributed in the informal market.]

And this music distribution? Because today, like you said, people come here, you already give to someone else, makes the MP3 and so forth. And before it was LP. How was that?
Before, using LP, there were plenty of promoters, who brought a free sample, right? Promotional. I had a store, under here. It was a mess. We would soon run after to buy the LP, when we couldn't get it of the promoter's first hand. I bought the LP down here and kept promoting like this, working with tapes. Recording with tapes and everything else. Nowadays since everything is practically done on-line, one with another, the singer with the studio, the song comes straight. Even cause nowadays you don't need to pay for a promoter. (Studio DJ)

The most influential DJs, who other than working at the studios, also work at some radio program or are connect to some sounds system, also have the possibility of *"exploding"* songs, through playing them at the varied means, making them popular:

"(...) It can be the worst song ever, I can explode it". (Popular DJ)

This way, Studio DJs are directly connected to activities such as: the circulation of songs between other actors, promotional stunts at the radio stations, distributing these compilations in the informal market, supplying new releases for the sound systems.

> Usually people arrive at the studio talking like this: *'do you have a new song?'*. And then I say: *'Yes. Grab a few melody [songs]'*. And then the folks from another studio arrive and they also take them, and then from one to another, hand in hand, and so forth. Now, with the Internet, we send it through the Internet. (Sound system DJ)

> This market works for singers who do not have a recording studio. I mean, since you had easiness of working on the computer, having programs that make a quality of good music. This is the really strong beat, the *melody*, the *tecnobrega*. And so you write a lyric, make a song and include a beat. CD is ready, just spread it. The studio also works like this. It is a big promoter, because all friends, for instance: DJ Maluquinho, is in his top game, Nelsinho Rodrigues, Calypso started like this. So making a song, bringing them here, and we go on spreading. And then, since many sound systems move around here, we go bringing the songs. *'Oh, there's a lot of new stuff?'* *'Yeah'*. And then we play it to them. They like it and work on it for the party". (Studio DJ)

> It [the non-authorized re-producer] is directly connected to the band business. And there aren't that many bands. Because there are singers who do not have the conditions of recording a CD – send it to be made, go to São Paulo, go through all of those procedures. There are those people who have the money but they do not yet know how to order. And so, the guy records 2 or 3 songs in his keyboard. And then he says: *'I well release it there! If I'm lucky of recording, of it becoming a success, I will keep on recording'*. And then, there he goes, leaving the studio. We don't know who the pirate is. The guy come here and says *'Oh, DJ, make a mixed CD for me'*. I treat him like a regular customer. I do it for anyone. The guy come here, pays his 15 Reais. Goes and chooses the songs. *'Ah, what is this hit? Put this one'*. I mix it all up, to him. And then, when we se it, in the commerce, there is the CD. All mixed, there. And they go spreading in a way that you can't even imagine. When you see it, your song on the sound system, it already is on the radio, playing. Not because the guy paid but cause he managed to outrun the *jabá* obstacle. Now, the radio which I working for, at the Liberal, started to play the *Brega* in their normal programming. They are already playing. And then, what is the *hit*? If it wasn't for the *jabá*... Piracy has such a huge influence that you don't even imagine. (Studio DJ)

There are no *'middle men'* that make the connection between the artist and the informal market which sells the CD. The Studio DJ is an agent whom most frequently plays this role, but anyone who acts in the production and promotion of songs can act as the link between the non-authorized re-producer, which copies the made CDs from the studios owned by DJs and distributes them in the informal market. In other words, artists themselves can leave their CD at a studio or directly leave it with an informal street vendor which later on shall get to a NARP.

The table below presents the music monthly average which each one of the street vendors and *tecnobrega* musicians receive for the promotion and, from this total, how many are placed for sale.

Table 7 – CD Quantity that each Informal Street Vendor Receives per Month from the *Tecnobrega* Bands (average)

|	Average
Quantity of CDs that the Informal Street Vendors receive per month, from *tecnobrega* bands and musicians for advertising	65
Quantity of CDs that the Informal Street Vendors place for sale	46

Non-Authorized Re-Producers (NARPs)

The NARP is an important agent for the promotion of *tecnobrega* songs in Pará, for the large scale re-production allows that the musical style reaches the street vendors of Belém, as from other states. In one of the interviews, an informal street vendor, who sold CDs in Belém's informal market, revealed that he already had received some matrixes from one of Ciclone's Sound System DJs and from *Sem Limite* band members. The material would be delivered to some person who would do the re-production. When asked about this *"person"*, he affirmed

that he couldn't speak of the matter. He only told us that he receives the artists' matrixes and delivers them to a person responsible for the re-production in large scale.

The street vendors, in general, are not interested in the re-production of CDs and DVDs that they receive from artists. To them, it's best to deliver the songs to NARPs, who may or may not be interested in the re-production. In economical terms, it could be more viable to the vendor if he, himself, did the re-production of the CDs he receives. Having said that, this job involves a certain investment in risk since not everyone is willing to face. This way, 80% of the informal street vendors sell *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs in Belém, buy from big non-authorized re-producers. Only 16% do their own re-productions.

Graph 31 – Origin of Sold CDs and DVDs by the Informal Street Vendors of Belém (%)
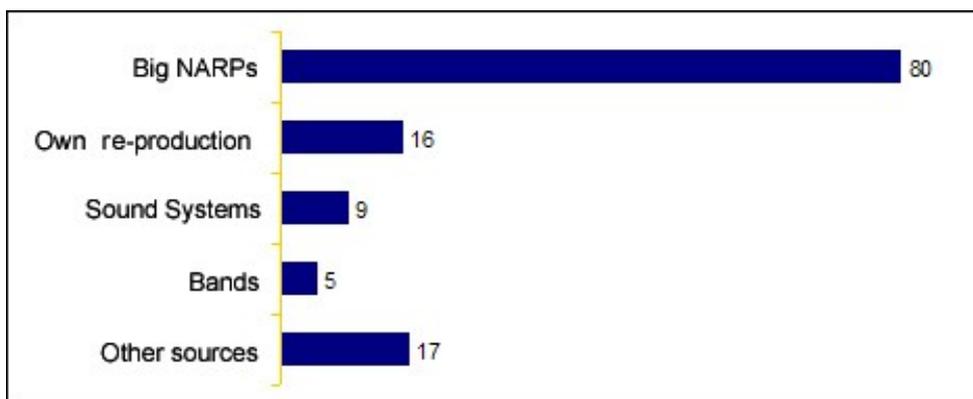
Street vendors who make their own re-productions can reach higher profits with CD sales. Although during at any moment of our research our objective was to find at what value NARPs sell their CDs and DVDs to the street vendors, the graph below allows us to conclude that these vendors who rely on their own re-production possess a superior income than those who buy from NARPs.

Graph 32 –Street Vendors' Monthly Income from the Vending of a CD and DVD[27] by the Origin of the CD and DVD (R$)

---

[27] **About the ISV's monthly income:** During the making process of the quantitative research with the street vendors, it was not possible to separate the total made income, from only the vending of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs. This way, the average income presented in this graph is the informal street vendor's total income, including the vending of other musical styles.
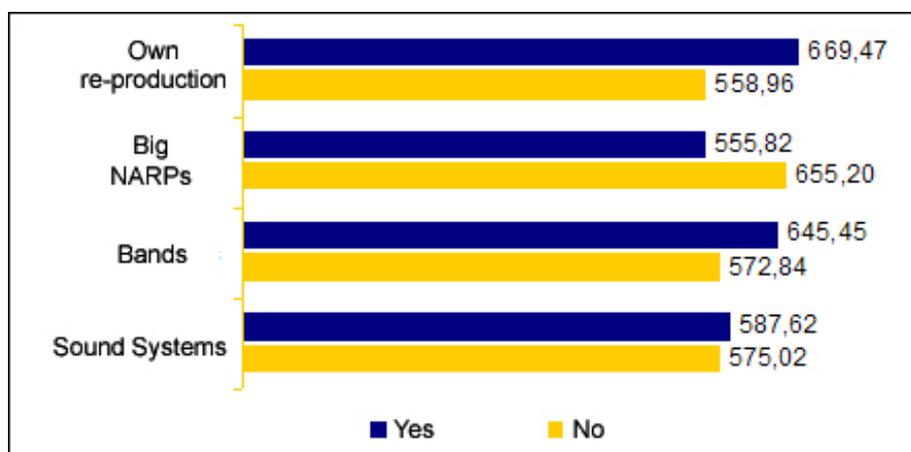
An interesting example of how this market presents the possibility on an actor playing multiple roles is the case of DJ Márcio. Other than being owner of the Vetron Sound System, he is also a sound technician and works as a vendor at a small tent in the commerce of the neighborhood of Benguí. As a street vendor, other than distributing the songs in his studio, he also promotes this received material at sound system parties and in the informal commerce.

This informal market which sells CDs and DVDs through its agents, the non-authorized re-producers, is considered as an important tool for circulating and promoting *tecnobrega* music in Belém, next to the sound systems and the radios. They represent an alternative for artists who do not base themselves on the formal rules of the rights of property. This way, the non-authorized re-productions are considered one of the main channels for broadcasting music to the consumer market of Belém. The big agents who act in this activity have been requested by artists who are interested in the promotion of a song, outside of the State of Pará, which represents the possibility for a business expansion for both parties involved.

> At the very beginning I wanted to kill the NARPs, I was against them.
> **Why?**
> C'mon, my biggest sacrifice to prepare my compilation, [and] the[se] guys prepare them and sell at nothing. Then I went to see if they were helping me out, they are promoting me and I didn't know. I had to understand it in the sense that it was something else. Today, I see that I didn't have the conditions to take the music ahead, because I didn't have any money to pay for the promotion. (Sound System and Studio DJ)

1

Look, in the end its *piracy* and it's not, because, like I told ya, we do not have promoters. I am now going to make my second DVD. How am I going to make this work arrive in Maranhão, if i don't have a promoter? It's the *piracy* who ends up doing so. And then, there comes the big boss who orders making a thousand copies, and takes it over it and puts it in the commerce.
And is it easy to get to this big boss?
No, I don't know him nor I'm interested for that matter because a lot of people died (Sound System and Studio DJ)

Non-authorized re-production is ambiguously seen by the actors who are more directly involved in the production of songs. If, on one hand, it allows the broadcasting of music and of CDs, and on the other hand, there is no guarantee as regards to the quality of the recording, which can damage the author's image:

"(...) because sometimes we are penalized for this compilation. Re-producers who badly re-produce". (*Tecnobrega* artist)

Although it has this dubious treatment, in general, *tecnobrega* DJs and artists see that what they call *"piracy"*, as a *"necessary evil"*. It was found way in which they could maintain themselves in a market without a recording studio's contract to promote their songs.

It wasn't just one copy. I did a DVD. And there, there it is, ready is the DVD. Ok, so let's make a menu. But the dude didn't know how to, so he passed it on to someone who did. But this dude re-produces, it's him who distribute to the people. When I arrived at Castanheira, in the shopping mall, the DVD was already there. On one side, it was good for the promotion. But when I arrived there in Santa Bárbara to sell: *'I already got one'*; *'I already have one'*. Even the cover the guy re-produced, it was another one; even the production company was another. And then I went after the guy to know what that was. I had to pay him 2 thousand. I said that I would pay because I was already damaged, but promoted the sound system a lot. (Sound System DJ)

It did, 'cause we did a DVD, we produced it. Do you know how it happens? In the DVD copy leaked out to the piracy.
Before you guys?
Before we ordered to get it. We were gonna get it, but then it leaked to the piracy. And then to us it wasn't really worth it anymore since the *pirates* were selling and almost everyone had the DVD. We are now going to record our second DVD and we are going to be very careful.

> On one hand, many DVDs were sold and we can now perform in many places, such as in Maranhão. In Maranhão, when the DVD arrived, everyone was mad for us to play there. Almost every week we performed. There in Macapá. And then we got this DVD, since it was already in the *piracy* and we weren't really interested in order get the DVD and start to copy. In Belém, we sold somewhere along the lines of 7 thousand to 8 thousand DVDs (Solo singer)

During the research, it was possible to observe that to the interviewees, the *"piracy"* theme was a delicate subject to be discussed with someone who doesn't know you. The illegal character of this type of activity is always outlined and, for that matter, provoked insecurity amongst the participants, which tried to change the subject or affirmed not knowing the procedures of the informal market. Some involuntarily ended up revealing that they knew the *"strong pirates"*, although they had guaranteed not having any knowledge about the matter; others suggested that the biggest *"pirate"* of Macapá, for instance, was connected to a fan club of a sound system of Belém and another insinuated that one of the biggest responsible for the large scale re-productions was the owner of a legalized store, located in the center of Belém, of computer materials, mainly blank CDs and DVDs.

> Its a subject, like, very restricted, because our work isn't legalized, it's a job that we do. And there's persecution. There is this guy, in commerce, who is capable of making five thousand copies from a single CD.
> **And then you take it to him? This guy called a pirate?**
> He is a pirate. I am capable of dying here. I die, but i won't say who it is. (Sound System and Studio DJ)

Access to *"big pirates"* seems restricted to few. This proximity has a symbolic and economical value to someone who manages to enter this area. For the DJs who reveal, still in a limited fashion, just like the negotiation with the non-authorized re-producers, this contact is presented as a form of prestige. To someone who does not manage to access them, the contact can be mediated through economical relations, exchanging money for the insertion of a CD onto this market, which could cost, proximally, R$ 30. Two notorious Studio DJs reveal that they can charge somewhere between R$ 30 and R$ 50 per matrix – a type of original CD

– to the informal market. One of them affirmed reach a much right value for his matrix when he manages to reunite the strongest re-producers and making the sell to a group, and not just one individual. The matrix for the *'Central da Periferia'* DVD was sold for R$ 100 and this sale to the re-producers group, was accordingly narrated:

> The work only really *explodes* if I take it. You buy my compilation. You're an amateur… you bought it, heard my compilation, when you're over, it goes to a shelf, and it won't *explode*. It's from you stereo to the shelf. When I prepared Central da Periferia, I walked by the Commerce and I didn't see it, because whoever bought it, kept it to himself. The risk I took was of having a relative [someone] who worked with it. But even running this risk, I make this it work […being profitable] in four days. How much? One hundred Reais for the matrix.
> **One hundred Reais for the matrix?**
> And then what happens: 'How much do you guys give me per copy? This is the only one'. And then the other manufacturers [pirates]… *'Give me twenty bucks per copy'*. *'Gimme ten copies'*… *'No, I'll buy it later'*. *'No, I will only sell it if it's all together…for everyone'*. I call a meeting. I have a compilation here. Wanna see it? *'Ah, sell that to them that later on, i will buy'*. *'So, I won't sell it to anyone'*. The others go mad: *'You don't want us to buy it'*? *'C'mon DJ, sell me'*, Do you follow?
> **I do, because there isn't just one who controls the entire market.**
> I know the strongest ones. (Sound System and Studio DJ)

The vending of a matrix for R$ 100,00 or even at R$ 30, reveals that the NARP's work can be very profitable, specially if we consider that the re-production does not only reach the informal market of Belém, but also of other states. Since it wasn't possible to have interview with these big re-producers, it is hard to estimate the financial moving of how much this agent can reach.

Having said that, the interviews with the street vendors allowed us to map with a confident degree in precision, this second agent of the informal market. As we can observe in the following graph, prices for CDs and DVDs sold by these street vendors are much lower than the prices sold by bands at their concerts[28]. While bands sell a CD in average for R$ 7,46, a street vendor manages to offer the same product for half price, R$ 3,54. With such attractive prices, each street vendor sells an average 332 CDs and 207 DVDs in average per month, according to the graph below.

---

[28] **About Concerts' data:** Please check graph 18, of this document.

It is a tough competition for bands but these have to their advantage to possibility of selling during their performances, where the public is motivated by the spur of the moment.

Graph 33 – Average *Tecnobrega* CD and DVD Price, sold by Street Vendors (R$)

CD	3,54
DVD	4,17
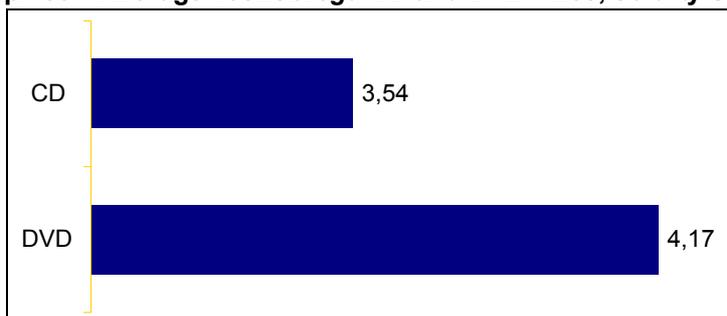
Graph 34 –Monthly Quantity of *Tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs sold by Street Vendors (Average)

CD	332,8
DVD	207,8
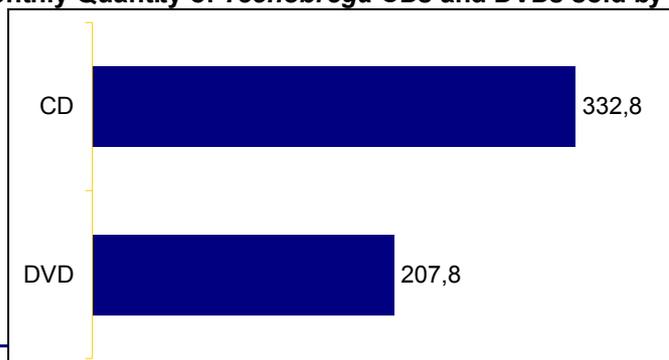
Promotional/Advertisement Companies

During this research, it was possible to find traces which revealed some difficulties in relation to the accepting of *brega* outside of Belém's outskirts. Having acknowledged that, many declarations made refer to the past. Currently, the *tecnobrega* growth is outlined to outside of the city's boundaries and of the state. A space considered as an important victory to *tecnobrega* are the radio stations. Although, they still have some resistance, the conquering of radio station is seen as a reached victory and imposed to this communication vehicle, to the extent where the public admirers of this musical genre demanded that this music be played.

> Let's go through a complete opposite path. We record, make exactly what we think the people will enjoy. Take it to the sound systems. When the radio stations aren't managing so many requests, they are forced to play… And then in radio, when the song becomes a success, it starts to sell. (Band singer)

> Because the sound system is who promotes, is who plays in the mist of the *real* people. Cos the radio, can even promote, but they don't play this part, because if the radio were to play all of the bands that there are in Belém, it will be playing *brega* all day long. The radio has the *brega* styles, that one with more lyrics, that more *tecnobrega* one, that one that a story in the song, this is the *brega* for radio. Sound System *brega* it's not, anything with a rhythm is playing. So you arrive at the radio station and the guy says: *'I am not gonna play this here'*, but then the sound system does. But radio is also fundamental to releasing romantic songs, for example. So, today, 30% of the songs who become *hits* are due to radio and 70% due to sound systems. (Sound System and Radio DJ)

> I am 7 years at this radio. The others used to ignore *brega*. Just like it happened in Rio de Janeiro, there they didn't play *funk* because it was *favela* music. What happened to *funk*? It took over not only there, but Brazil. Here only 99 [radio station] well supported this side of the *real* people, the *brega* side. Today they have to play it cos it makes *hits*, and like 99 used to play, they still do. It's like I say it, the radio has to evolve, everything has to renew itself. (Sound System and Radio DJ)

As shown in the above interview, *tecnobrega* has been facing similar difficulties initially by the *Carioca funk*, musical style which is currently diffused in all of the social layers of the Rio de Janeiro population. But, like *tecnobrega*, *funk* was initially a musical style only adopted by suburban and *"favela"* teenagers. According to Hermano Vianna (1990), when DJ Malboro released his *LP Funk Brasil*, the recording studio didn't make any effort in promoting and the *Carioca* radio stations refused to play this musical style, with the exception of *Manchete FM*. Having said this, just under a few months, this CD sold more then a hundred thousand copies. The success obliged other radio stations to play *funk*. Today, in Rio de Janeiro, successful radio stations posses a dedicated programming for this market and TV channels have programs exclusively set back to the *funk*.

With the making of some interviews it was possible to see, that for *tecnobrega* artists, the relationship between radio stations and *brega* music has been historically felt by a resistance, by these communication enterprises, in the promotion of this musical genre. The

interviewees made explicit that the advertisement basically depended on the sound systems and, after the made success at the parties' dance clubs, they are promoted at radio stations. Although they affirm the importance of a sound system in the music broadcasting process, radios fulfill the role of making a song into a *hit* beyond these parties and, with this, the result in concert deals in Belém and in the countryside.

Figure 3 – Ways of Circulating New Songs[29]
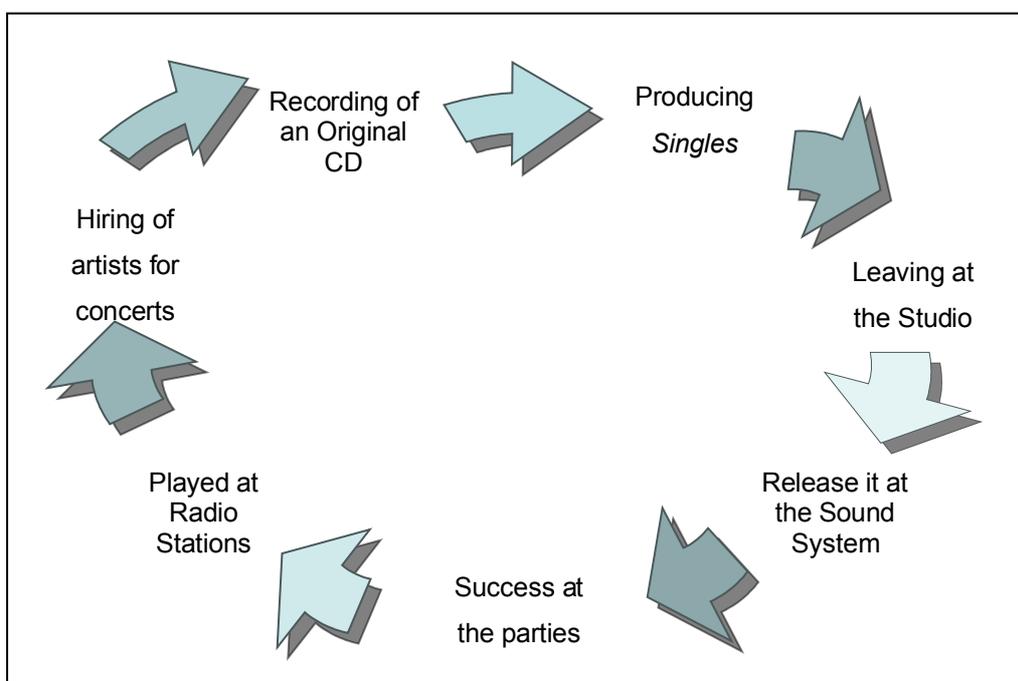
Some radio stations have been including *brega* music onto their programming for a few years, especially those considered more popular. The performance of *Radio 99* is outlined during the interviewees' statements. Others, on the contrary, created specific times to play this musical genre, which under the *bregueiros* perspective represents a commercial strategy of the company not to lose their audience and not a form of valuing this musical genre. In this case, included are the radio stations *Liberal* (affiliated to *Rede Globo*) and, mainly, *Cultura*, which created the *Tuita* program a few months ago.

---

[29] **About Figure 3:** The above diagram only represents an ideal scheme for movement. Observing the statements held by the interviewees, we noticed that a song, after becoming a *hit*, at the sound system, can lead to the immediate hiring of an artist to make a performance and the recording of CDs, before they play at the radio stations.

116

With the exception of the programs on the Radio Stations *Liberal*, 99 (*Radio 99*) and *Cultura* (in this case, the program is not made by a DJ), the schedules are sold to DJs, who transform their programs into promotional tools for music and also their own sound systems. These daily programs, usually with one hour duration, are partially financed by of small ventures (clothes' shop, glasses' shop, breweries) or with the payment for announcements from nightclubs, artists or other sound systems who pay to promote their performance agendas.

Although radio stations have adopted *brega* music, this relationship is not seen in a friendly way. Even though radio stations have an open space to play *brega*, even if it's still seen as a pressure from the public and not a form of valuing this music, the creation of specific times for playing *brega* music acquires, to *bregueiros*, an ambiguous sense. On one hand, it represents the conquering of an important space for the exclusive playing of *brega*. On the other, it disallows the radio station of playing *brega* during their normal programming, when they don't play these songs, because they are considered by the owners as *"jingles"*, free sound system *"advertisements"*, bars and also others credited.

Another important broadcasting tool for *brega* music consists on the community radio stations and the *"Cipó"* radio stations. These are small commercial radio stations that promote music and advertisements through boom boxes and megaphones (colloquially known as *"iron mouths"*. or *"bocas de ferro"*, in Portuguese), hanged from crowded neighborhood's lampposts. Two *"Cipó"* radio stations that we talked to live off announcement contracts and they legally function paying monthly taxes: city hall's license and lamppost rent which proximally added together are R$ 400 per month. A radio station owner said he makes the payment to ECAD. The other interviewee revealed that he prefers to only play *brega* music because *"Songs from outside are difficult, 'cause of ECAD"*. To avoid problems this is institution, he only uses the promotional CD to escape from copyright payments.

The community radio stations that were contacted consist on FM broadcasting ventures with limited transmission, to the extent of the neighborhoods where they are located. On the

contrary of *"Cipó"* radio stations, also known as *"Sound publicity"* (*"Publicidade Sonora"*, in Portuguese), their programming was directed to informing news and local information. There were two interviewees, two sound systems' DJs, one of a small size and another of a medium size, both did not show any wariness with the copyright fundraising institutions (ECAD, for instance). Since both agents are directly involved in the Paraense *tecnobrega* music business, both tried mainly playing the produced songs of this local market which, in general, are offered to these radio hosts by the artists themselves.

To singers and bands, these radio stations are an easy and accessible approach of promoting their songs, since they are not charged for the *"jabá"*[30], although one of the *"Cipó"* radio station owners said that eventually he receives some sort of gratification. Other than playing the songs, the most famous artists or who posses a friendship with the radio station owners, can be interviewed, gaining an opportunity to promote their performance's agenda. This radio station owner said that through interviews his listener ratings increases, resulting into new advertisement deals.

> It gives [ratings], people do listen. They listen to the commercials, merchants gain from this, they extent the contracts. One thing leads to another. (A *Cipó* radio station owner)

Another promotional tool used by artists, sound systems, party planners and nightclub owners are the printed Medias such as banners, outdoors, flyers, and so on... There is also a graphic design company specialized in the production of printed or virtual material for *brega* bands and singers, who's most notorious client is the *Calypso*[31] band.

Parallel Ventures

The term does not refer to a local category. What is hereby considered as a parallel venture are the varied commercialized businesses and products that surround *tecnobrega* and

---

[30] **About *"Jabá"*:** This term is used to refer to a charged value imposed by the radio station, in order that a song is played.
[31] **About the Calypso Band:** This company has a website at: http://www.bregapop.com/arteton/

do not directly refer to the production and distribution of CDs. A well-succeeded example is the case of the *'Absoluta'* clothes' shop, which started selling sound system clothes, three months ago. The clothes models were created by Vera, DJ Edielson's wife, of Ciclone Sound System, and re-produced by the store. There are pants and shirts with the sound system names written onto them. The pieces most sold are from the Tupinambá and Super Pop Sound Systems. The average price for a piece (long pants and *'capri'*) is R$ 80. Between July and August, about sixty pieces were sold. Nowadays, Vera resells her shop's clothes in her *"stand"* set at the sound system parties. Other than clothes, she also sells lingerie, shirts, caps, mugs, little towels, mints, pants and Bermuda with the sound system's name on it.

Another clothes' shop involved with this market is called *'Estátua'*, located at the São Brás shopping mall, a popular center for commerce. This store sells surf-wear clothes and offers the original DVD for the biggest sound systems at low prices: Ciclone's DVD costs R$ 4 and Super Pop's DVD is sold at R$ 12. The material is sold to a shop at cost price by the sound systems' owners themselves, with the objective of increasing their promotion. In order to sell their last copies, the store makes a sale: clients who spend more than R$ 150 on their shopping, win a DVD. *'Estátua'* is also one of sponsors for Sound System Tupinambá's TV program and also their radio program, as well as Ciclone's, other than being a ticketing convenience shop for highly anticipated tickets for parties.

The dancing gyms are also another type of *parallel venture* which they have activities, even if early-developing, with *brega*. There were two gyms who announced *tecnobrega* dancing classes: the first, during the qualitative research, was out of a dancing coach; and the other had just concluded their activities.

7- TECNOBREGA'S ECONOMICAL IMPORTANCE

Tecnobrega has shown, throughout the course of this work, to be an important cultural of Pará. In this chapter, we will show the economical force of this musical style. Information regarding vending of CDs and DVDs will be shown, also showing bands and sound systems' revenues and the quantity of people who are directly employed by this market. Such data are based on estimates made from the quantitative step of this project.

Tecnobrega Jobs

Tecnobrega employs many different people through direct and indirect jobs. In order to organize a party, the party planner must hire people to work in the security department, at the restaurants and at the ticketing booth. The number of necessary people to make a party varies a lot depending on the sound system size or the hired band's success, but, unfortunately, it was not possible to estimate the exact number of people involved with these events.

It was possible to estimate the number of employees for the sound system market. Despite *tecnobrega*'s informality, this is an important working market in Belém. As it can be examined below, sound systems directly employ about 4.050 workers. It's an expressive number, mainly if we take into account that this market is mainly made up by small and medium size sound systems, which have few resources.

Table 8 – Average Quantity and Estimate of Employees at the Sound Systems

Average Quantity of Employees at the Sound Systems	*5,79*
Employees Estimate at the Sound Systems	4.053

The main working people in a band are the dancers, musicians and support crew (*roadies*). As it can be observed in the following graph, bands are mainly made up by musicians. During the qualitative step it was possible to identify that most bands hire dancers and support crew as the concerts go along and not through formal working permits. In this

case, only an amount of the *tecnobrega* bands consider dancers and the support crew as effective employees of the bands.

Graph 35 – Quantity of People who create Bands (Average)
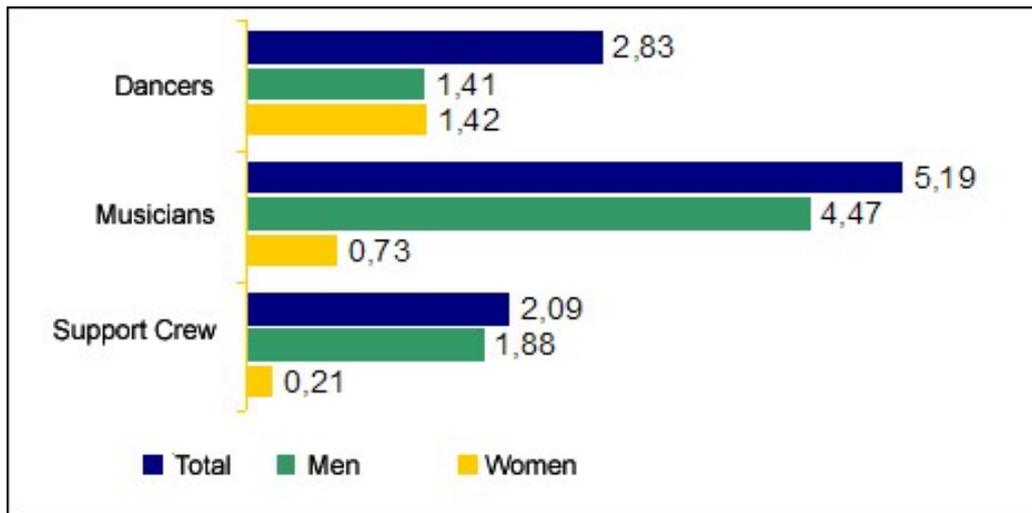
Since they don't have big sound structures which rely on many people to set it all up and later bring it down, bands employ, in average, fewer people when compared to the sound systems. As it can be verified in the graph below, bands directly employ 1.639 people, where 1.236 are men.

Graph 36 – Quantity of People Estimate who Directly Work for the *Tecnobrega Bands' Market*
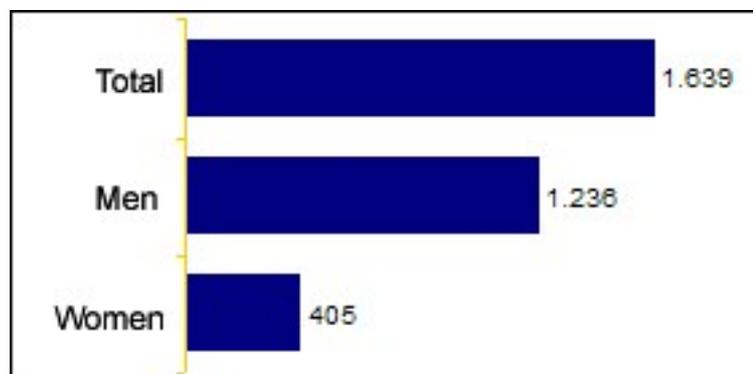
It is important to raise awareness related to the quantitative research which only allowed estimating the direct jobs offered by the sounds systems and bands. However, we consider that the *tecnobrega* market as a whole indirectly employs a much greater number of

1

workers, involved in activities related to parties, re-production of CDs, studios owned by DJs, stores, radio and TV programs, material suppliers, equipments and so on…

## Revenues for Bands and Sound Systems in the *Tecnobrega* Market

Since *tecnobrega* is a very strong cultural movement in the state of Pará, the quantity of made parties and concerts by the sound systems and bands is impressive. As it can be seen in the following graph, the *tecnobrega* bands' market makes about 1.696 concerts per month, where 1.114 without the participation of other bands or sound systems.

Graph 37 – Monthly Concerts Estimate which the Bands' market makes with or without the participation of other bands or sound systems (Addition)
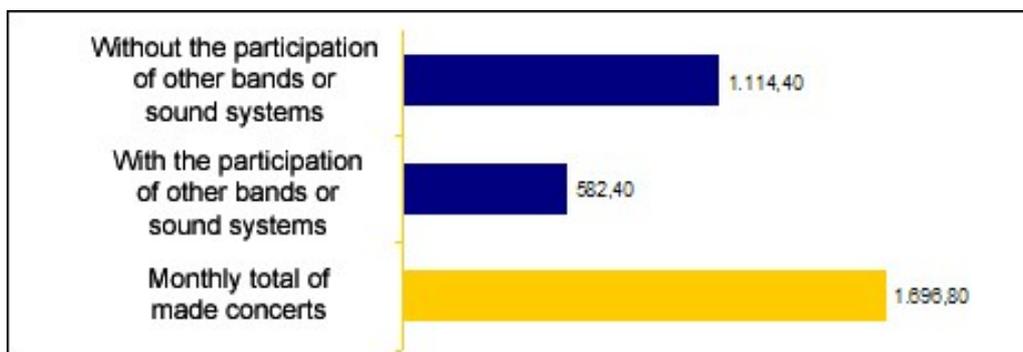

The following graph presents a pattern in the sound systems' market similar to the bands' market. Estimates show that the sound systems make about 4.298 parties per month, where the majority, 3808 without the participation of bands or artists. That is, the sound systems also usually make their parties by themselves alone.

Graph 38 – Monthly Parties Estimate which the Sound Systems' Market makes with or without the participation of bands and/or artists (Addition)
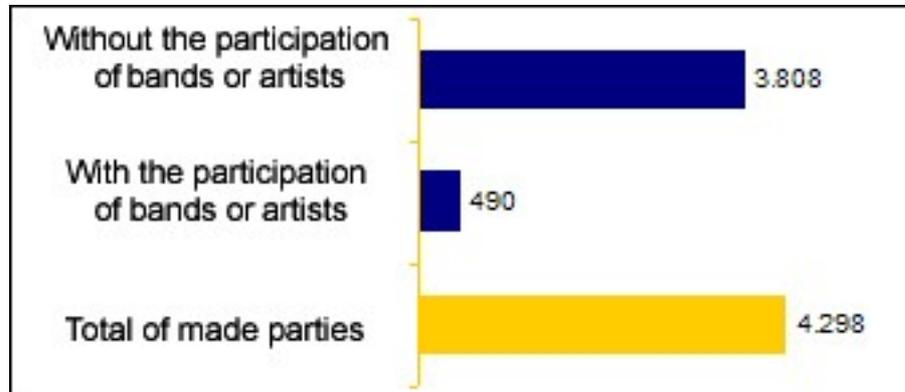
Despite the fact of making fewer parties than the sound systems, the band market presents superior monthly revenue. As it can be seen below, bands have a total monthly revenue of R$ 3.283.412,89 through making concerts, whilst the sound systems' monthly revenues is about R$ 2.980.478,83 with the *tecnobrega* parties.

Graph 39 – Monthly Revenue Estimate for the Bands' Market through Concerts (R$)
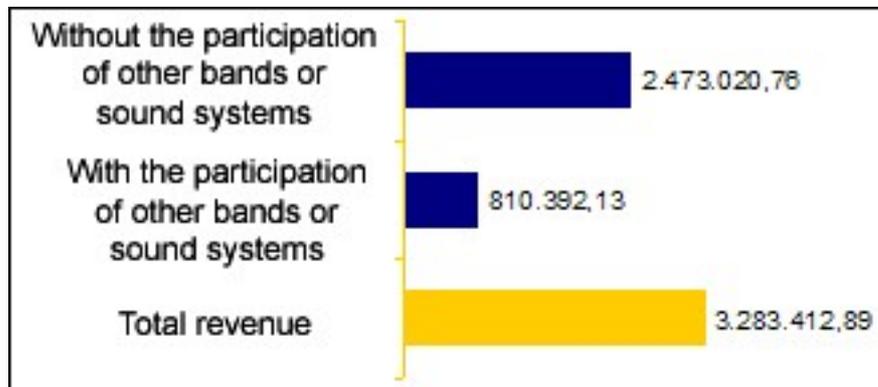
**Graph 40 – Monthly Estimate of the Sound Systems' Market through Parties (R$)**
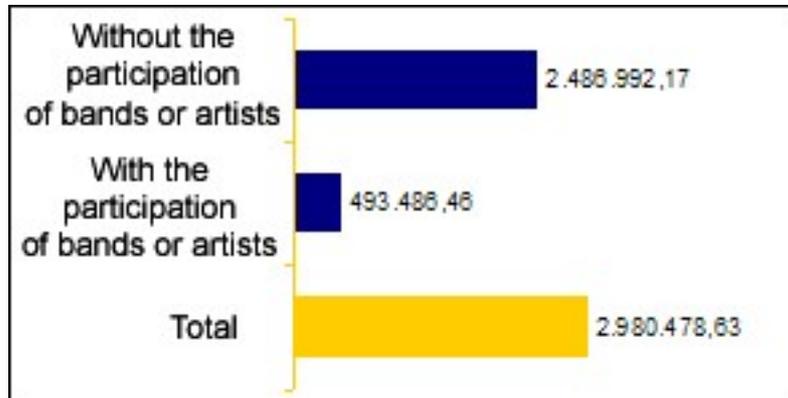
This difference in revenues can be explained by the greater concentration of the sound systems' market in relation to the bands' market. Out of the 700 existing sound systems in the *tecnobrega* market, only 10 are considered big. In other words, the great majority are small or medium size structures. Although they make many parties, only the big and some medium size receive elevated wages. Many small sound systems do not charge or charge very little for the parties, while the bands' market seems more even.

Vending of CDs and DVDs in the *Tecnobrega* Market

During the making process of the field work, in the qualitative step, it was possible to identify that street vendors are an important source for the promotion and distribution of the *tecnobrega* market. Since it was argued in the past chapters, DJs, sound systems and the bands depend on this informal market to promote their songs. Although during some interviews this relationship seems a bit ambiguous the informal market is positively evaluated by the majority of the *tecnobrega* agents.

As we can verify in the graph below, the attributed importance to these streets vendors, for the promotion of *tecnobrega* music, is justified by the quantity of CDs and DVDs sold, by them. Like the following graph demonstrates, the compilations made by DJs monthly sell about 116.960 CDs, whilst the sound systems and bands sell 102.856 and 66.392 CDs, respectively.

Graph 41 – Total Estimate for CDs Sold per Month by the Informal Street Vendors in this Informal Market
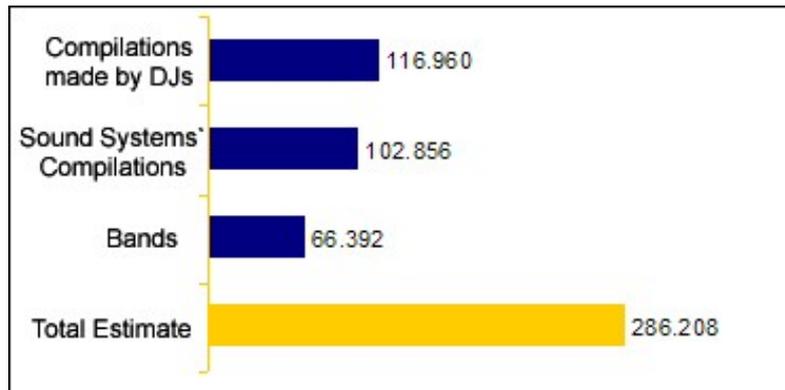
The estimates for the monthly DVDs sold in the street market present a different pattern than of the vending of CDs. The sound system compilations are the most sold, with an average of 68.800 units, whilst the bands and compilations made by DJs sell 58.568 and 51.428 DVDs respectively (see the graph below). This difference in the leadership of DVD and CD sales can be explained for the fact that DJs have been investing more in the elaboration of the CD compilations. The recording of DVDs is usually a more utilized resource by bands during their concerts or by the sound systems during their parties. The DJ can only release control from this resource when he owns the sound system.

Graph 42 – Total Estimate of DVDs Sold per Month in the ISV's Market
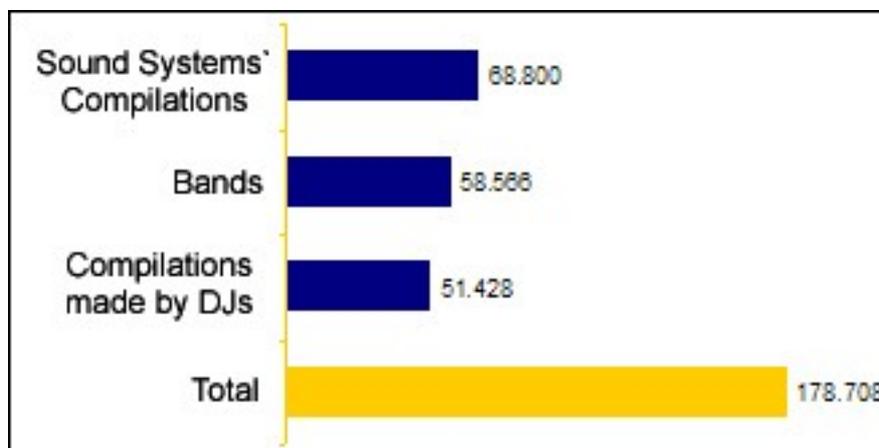
Since it is a phonographic business with very little promotion, if compared to the formal music's industry, the sales made by the street vendors are expressive and help artists in the market to promote their work. The non-authorized re-producers are the ones who are promoting more *tecnobrega* outside of Pará, giving to many *tecnobrega* artists the chance of performing in other states in the North and Northeastern parts of the country.

The vending of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs by the informal market presents not only advantages to artists, but also to the street vendor, to whom this business is also advantageous. The quantitative step of the research allowed us to estipulate the monthly revenue average to each street vendor with the vending of *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs. As we can verify in the following graph, they have an average revenue of R$ 1.178,11 with the vending of *tecnobrega* CDs and R$ 866,53 from the *tecnobrega* DVD sales.

Graph 43 – Average Monthly Revenue with the Vending of CDs and DVDs by the Street Vendors (Average)
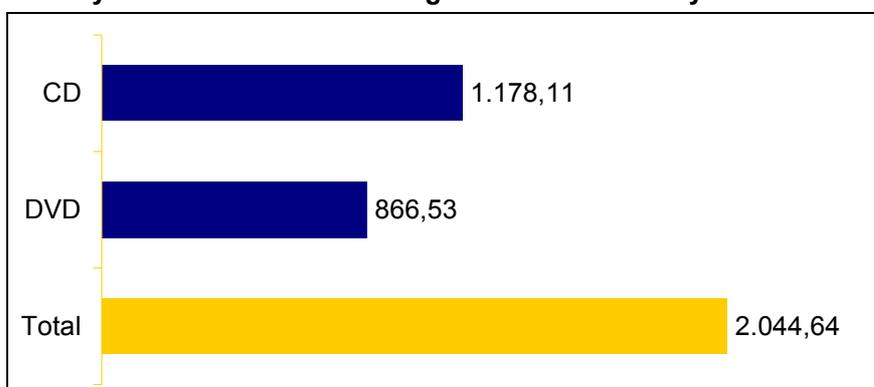
With this information, it was possible to exaggerate a sample from this group to the street vending market as a whole and estimate the average revenue and the total vending of CDs and DVDs. The vending of a *tecnobrega* CD in Belém's informal market presents a revenue of, proximally, R$ 1.013.174,60, whilst the vending of a DVD has an average revenue of R$ 745.215,80, confirming the importance that this musical style has to the Paraense market.

Graph 44 – Estimate of the Average Monthly Revenue with the Vending of *Tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs in the Market by Street Vendors (Average)

FGV
DIREITO RIO

FUNDAÇÃO
GETULIO VARGAS
cts
Centro de Tecnologia
e Sociedade

FGV
opinião

OVƎRMUNDO

fipe
Fundação Instituto de
Pesquisas Econômicas

CD	1.013.174,60
DVD	745.215,80
Total	1.758.390,40
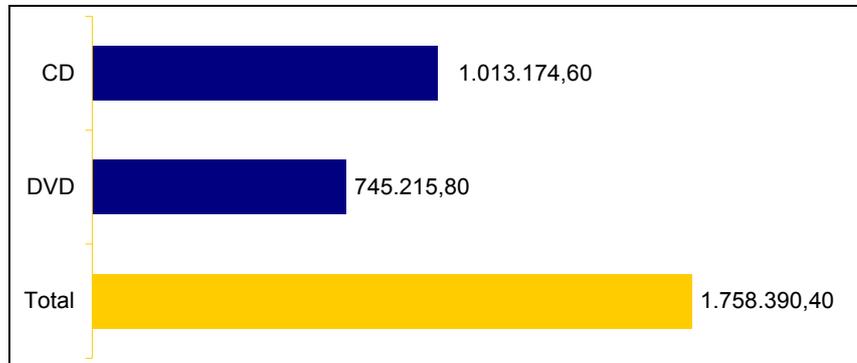
Since there are only two stores in the formal market who sell *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs, street vendors have become an important agent in the promotion and distribution of this musical genre. It is important to outline the expressive CD and DVD sales by the bands at their concerts: in average 77 CDs and 53 DVDs per concert, as shown on graph 20.

The following graph presents the monthly revenue for bands with the vending of CDs and DVDs at the concerts. Each one of them profits approximately R$ 7.467,00 selling CDs and R$ 6.890 selling DVDs, per concert. However, many bands guarantee that these sales do not cover recording studios costs within the formal market. This way, when a *tecnobrega* band records their CD or DVD through a label or recording studio, the informal market becomes a strong competitor, like the other markets of the phonographic industry.

Graph 45 – Monthly revenues with the vending of CDs and DVDs at concerts per band (R$)
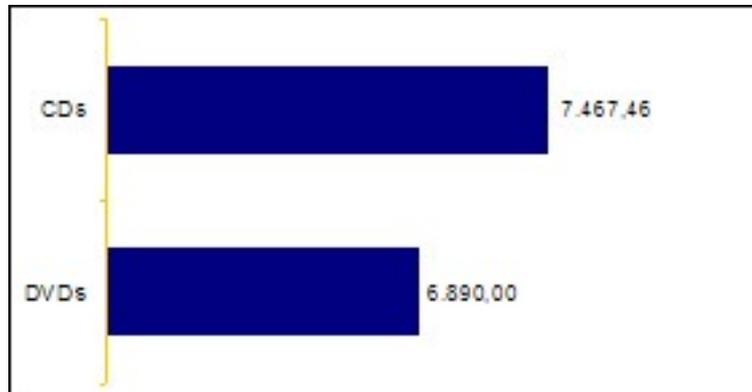
The following graph shows the monthly revenue estimate for the bands' business with the vending of CDs and DVDs. As it can be observed, the R$ 1.045.444,40   profit from vending CDs and the R$ 964.600,00 from vending DVDs are superior to the street vendor's market shown above. This is because regardless of them being able to sell a greater quantity, the average prices placed by the bands are much superior.

Graph 46 – Monthly Revenue Estimate of the Bands' Market with the Vending of CDs and DVDs at the concerts (R$)
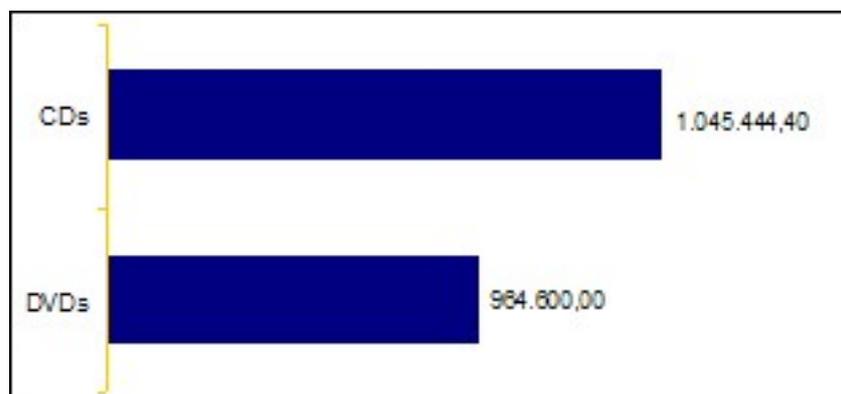
As it was previously argued, *tecnobrega* is perceived as an *"evolution"* of *brega* music being produced in the 1970's and 1980's. The redefinition of *brega* in Pará started in the 1990's and has provoked the emergence of new styles, such as the *bregacalypso* and the *tecnobrega*. It is a musical genre that characterizes itself by its speedy rhythm and mixture of drums and electronic music with melodies and lyrics of the *"traditional brega"*. It is also defined by the moving rhythm set back to having fun. The *bregamelody* has appeared from an inversion of *tecnobrega*, with less speedy drums, more romantic lyrics and slower dance movements. The *cybertecnobrega* is the *"radicalization"* of *tecnobrega*, with a more accelerated pace of percussion.

As it was seen throughout this text, more than a music genre, *tecnobrega* instituted a new market model for the production of music. This movement inaugurated, in 2001, a new functioning pattern in the cultural industry, basing its low cost production, incorporating the informal commerce as its major instrument of product diffusion and propagation. The artists dismiss the hiring of labels. The number of independent productions and of huge studios which are being replaced by an on growing number of home-based studios is impressive, to the extent that songs are being created through the use of computers. *Tecnobrega* has provoked a re-sorting in the position of the elementary participants in the *brega* circuit, that being with sound systems becoming the main product for this music business, placing these equipments and their respective DJs at the center of this universe.

Before recording a CD, the artist needs having his successes recorded on compilations produced by studio DJs, and these compilation CDs are sold within the informal market. Within the *brega* universe, the opposite occurs when compared to the formal phonographic industry: the artists first release their music and, later, if there's a considerable amount of songs that become a success, they manage to produce CDs with top-charted (a.k.a. *hot)* songs and new compositions. It is common that there are famous artists whom lack recorded disks. With the entire route being inverted, with regards to the phonographic industry's formal market, there is no charge for copyrights.

1

129

The main source of income of *tecnobrega* artists come from their live gigs, and not from their disk sales or from copyright revenues. Therefore, it is necessary to let go the control over their work so that these songs can be played in all the possible broadcasting mediums, so that these artists, later on, get hired for concerts. Although the participation in sound system parties is an opportunity for exhibition artists, in Belém these artists usually play in concert houses. During the qualitative step, the artists show that they are resentful towards the fact that there is a limited quantity of concert houses and also due to the fact that party planners prefer the sound systems parties when given the choice of gigs performed at the concert houses.

One of the main objectives of this research was to map the *tecnobrega*, in order to understand its cultural dynamics and economical relevance within Pará. The estimates presented in chapter 7 allowed us to evaluate the dimension of this market. Within the key *"findings"* we can outline:

- The monthly average volume for accomplished concerts performed by bands and artists is of 1.697, whilst the sound systems parties performed reach an average of 4.298 parties.
- These data help the conclusion of the qualitative research which have pointed that the Sound Systems as the main agent of *tecnobrega*, replacing the no.1 spot that was occupied by bands and singers.
- Sound Systems' party market allocates R$ 3 million per month while the bands and singers manage some R$ 3.3 million per month.
- In average, singers and bands receive for the concerts they perform by themselves, without the presence of artists or sound systems and DJs, R$ 2.219, meanwhile the sound system ordinarily only receive R$ 652, 00.
- The market for the sound systems seems very concentrated with very few (only 4%), that receive highly elevated paychecks, and that occupy a substantial slice of the market's revenue.
- The bands and singers sell in average 77 CDs at the average price of R$7,5 and 53 DVDs at the average price of R$10 in each concert.

- These sales represent a significant amount of resources for the *tecnobrega* business. The monthly revenue for the singers and bands' market with CDs and DVDs sales at the concerts was estimated at a value of R$1 million per each type of media.

- An interesting fact was encountered during the qualitative research and confirmed in the *survey* research, and that being: the shy participation of women within the bands' market.

- Estimates show that bands hire directly about 1.639 people, amongst musicians, dancers, and support crew.

- Within the sound systems' market, estimates show that 4.03 people work directly with activities related to the set-up, operation of equipments and DJs.

- The *tecnobrega* sound systems are part of a very important market to the *Paraense* music scenario, estimating the total structure value for all of the sound systems, in about, R$ 16,3 million. In average, the equipment for such sound systems costs some R$23.000.

- Since many singers and bands never achieved a contract with a recording studio or a label, informal street vendors, also known as *"camelôs"*, are the most important agents for the promotion of these songs:
  - 88% of the bands never had a contract with the recording studios or labels;
  - 51% of the bands support CD sales through informal street vendors;
  - 59% positively evaluate the work of informal street vendors for the artist's careers.

- Estimates show that the average profit of the informal street vendors for *tecnobrega* CDs and DVDs is of R$ 1 million and R$ 745,000 respectively.

- To bands the great advantage of selling through informal street vendors is the promotion of their respective songs, for 80% of the CDs and DVDs sold are provided directly by huge *non-authorized re-producers*, not offering any straight financial advantage from the sale. The advantage for the bands is indirect, that

being, by means of promoting their respective songs that lead to gigs for all of Belém and even to other states.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

COSTA, A. M. D. (2004), Festa na cidade: o circuito bregueiro de Belém do Pará. Tese de dissertação defendida no PPGAS da USP. São Paulo: USP.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. (1996), *As Regras da Arte: gênese e estrutura do campo literário.* Companhia das Letras, São Paulo.

BURKE, Peter. (2003) *Uma História Social do Conhecimento: de Gutenberg a Diderot.* Jorge Zahar Editor, Rio de Janeiro.

FALCÃO, Joaquim. (2006), "A Indústria Fonográfica e o Marketing do Medo". Artigo disponível em www.culturalivre.org.br

FRIDMAN, Luis Carlos. (2000), *Vertigens Pós-Modernas: Configurações Institucionais Contemporâneas.* Editora Relume Dumará, Rio de Janeiro.

NEVES, Júnior. (2006), "Brega: De 1980 a 2005 – do brega pop ao calypso do Pará". Disponível em: http://www.bregapop.com/historia/index_jrneves.asp

Jornal Folha da Amazônia .

SOUZA, Carlos A. P. (2005), "Considerações Introdutórias sobre Direito Autoral e Acesso ao Conhecimento". Artigo disponível em www.culturalivre.org.br

VIANA, Hermano (1990), "Funk e Cultura Popular Carioca". Estudos Históricos, Rio de Janeiro, vol.3, nº 6, páginas 244-253