Social representations as a spatial conditioner:
The talk of violence in Carioca funk and the social perception of territories in Rio de Janeiro

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SUMMARY

The work investigates the clashes of the representations of violence linked to "Carioca funk" and analyzes how they condition the identification of territories perceived as conflict zones. It is generally believed that these social representations are influenced by language, culture and narratives created by different players and their interests. In order to understand how this conditioning takes place, a specific event stands out as a case study, the "arrastão" (riot) on October 18, 1992, on Ipanema Beach, Rio de Janeiro. The theoretical-methodological contribution used is based on Chartier's notion of "representation" and Mbembe's concept of "necropolitics". Based on the work of these authors, we seek to show how power can be built, maintained and reinforced through the social representations that are created and disseminated. To analyze the event, sources in newspaper articles, television news spots, police testimonies, funk lyrics and the relevant scientific literature are used. Through the different representations of the same event, it was possible to highlight the condition they exert on the perceptions and recognition of "fearful" urban territories.

KEYWORDS: Representation. Necropolitics. Territorialities. Funk

1 INTRODUCTION

Carioca funk is a cultural manifestation produced and consumed mostly by residents of the favelas and peripheries of Rio de Janeiro ("Carioca" refers to denizens of Rio), and its social aspects are directly related to the territories, characterized by socioeconomic and spatial segregation (LAIGNIER, 2008). We believe that the representations related to the musical style's perceptions about the spaces in which they are connected, making it possible to develop analyses about their appropriations and urban experiences.

To this end, the *arrastão* (riot) of 1992 is brought as a case study, a moment in which funk raves, previously unknown by the population of the South Zone, began to be in evidence and gained notoriety in the media (VIANNA, 1997). It was from this that funk emerged in the collective imagination of the city. In the discourses of the mainstream media, there was a frequent fabrication of representations portraying this event, where the musicians and fans (*funkeiros*) were stigmatized and associated with gangs or criminal groups, as observed by Cymrot (2022).

That event will be the basis to demonstrate how social representations portrayed funk as a cultural manifestation associated with violence, and therefore a conditioning factor to reinforce the perception of *favelas* (slums, shantytowns) and peripheral neighborhoods of "fear", since they were the spaces where this musical style originated. For this, the theoretical references are the studies of Chartier (1991), with the notion of social representation, and Mbembe (2016), with the concept of necropolitics.

This contribution is relevant because, according to Chartier, it is possible to explore the relationship between representation and collective experience based on the argument that the former is a conditioning instrument of different worldviews. And associating it with the work of Mbembe (2016) creates a critical analysis of the use of the representation of violence as an instrument of government, drawing attention to the political, economic and social implications of necropolitics in the contemporary world.

Regarding the notion of representations treated by Chartier (1991), in the present work we use his propositions as a methodology to analyze the discourse of violence related to Carioca funk, in a specific event, the 1992 beach riot. The author argues that social experience is conditioned by the representations that are constructed, highlighting that this relationship is dynamic, and that changes in representation can affect the way the world is experienced. The idea is that representations are social constructs, produced by individuals and groups in a

given historical and cultural context, and that these are influenced by the power relationship between different groups. In her text, he points out that representations are not neutral, but ideological, and that they can be used to legitimize domination and oppression.

This is linked to the concept of "necropolitics", brought by Mbembe (2016), with the aim of analyzing how different representations of violence condition social control. This is used to show how the form of power is constructed, conditioned, maintained and reinforced through the social representations that are created and disseminated.

To develop the work, the object of study is the 1992 riot, which occurred on October 18th on Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro. We intend to show how the situation was described and interpreted by different actors and in different contexts. Furthermore, we develop an analytical and interpretative study, examining how the notion of "representation" can be explored in this specific case. The sources used to underpin the study are varied, such as news stories, police files, funk lyrics and academic papers. In this regard, we seek to use these representations as instruments to evaluate the impacts on the spatial dynamics of the city and to analyze how they condition a specific social world.

Chartier (1991) argued that it is necessary to investigate the relations and tensions that constitute the social pluralities of signs and shared cultural goods. To do this, a particular entry point is used, be it an event, a life story or a network of specific practices. In this displacement, the author does not consider there are practices or structures without the production of contradictory and conflicting representations, since it is through them that each individual and group gives meaning to the world they constitute.

Following this thought, the author argued that these representations are not neutral, but rather ideological, and that they can be used to legitimize domination and oppression. He identifies that these productions aim to rearticulate the practices on the forms of exercising power.

Chartier (1991) shows that it is not possible to qualify cultural motives, objects or practices as sociological forms, since their uses are not necessarily organized according to previous social divisions. Thus, in order to think about new perspectives of articulation between works or practices and the social world, the author states it is essential to be aware of the cleavages that make up a society and its diversity of shared codes.

He argues that cultural cleavages are not organized following a rigid social framework, but that they arise from the objects, in this study funk, its forms and its codes. Thus, he intends to list the false debates involving the division between the objectivities of the structures and the subjectivities of the representations that ended up treating the structuralist approaches (which work with the classifications of social segments) and the phenomenological processes (which focus on the values and behaviors of more restricted communities, often considered homogeneous) as being opposed to each other.

The author expresses two main thoughts. The first involves the construction of social identities conditioned by the result of a conflicting relationship between the representations imposed by those who hold the power to classify and the definition of acceptance and resistance that each community produces of itself.

By focusing attention on symbolic strategies, Chartier (1991) also operates in the social area, since these strategies condition positions and relations that construct social identities. He argues that interpretation is not limited to an abstract operation of intellection; rather it consists of how individuals position their bodies in space, what is this place in which

they are inserted and what is the subjects' relationship with themselves and with others. Thus, the author considers that the essential thing is to understand how the same object of study can be variously apprehended, manipulated and understood.

The lack of understanding of the representation may occur due to the lack of preparation of the public or to the arbitrary relationship between sign and signifier. Chartier (1991) calls this the perversion of representation, which aims to make things have no existence except from the image they display, aiming to mask what is the real referent. By working in this way, representation becomes a machine for manufacturing respect and submission.

In line with this thought, Mbembe (2016) describes "colonial occupation" as an assertion of physical and geographical control capable of imposing a new set of social and spatial relations over the conquered territory. This colonial territorialization was developed from the production of borders and hierarchies; the subversion of property regimes; the classification of people into categories; the extraction of resources and the creation of cultural imaginaries. According to the author, "sovereignty means occupation, and occupation means relegating the colonized to a third zone, between the status of subject and object." (MBEMBE, 2016, p.135)

Mbembe uses Fanon's description to classify the spatialization of the colonial occupation, which is described as a space with a very bad reputation, marked by hunger and want.

> The town belonging to the colonized people (…) is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, . (FANON, 1968, cited in Mbembe, 2016, p. 135)

When it comes to late colonial occupation, it differs from modern occupation due to its combination of discipline, biopolitics, and necropolitics. Based on Fanon's studies, Mbembe (2016) presents three characteristics that form terror, which he calls necropower.

The first corresponds to territorial fragmentation, the prohibition of access and expansion of settlements. The goal is to control and prevent movement, as well as to implement segregation. In this way, a complex network of internal borders and several isolated nuclei are created that relate to each other based on surveillance and control.

The second characteristic is in the way the infrastructure is laid out. From a fragmented occupation of space, it uses a network of highways, with bridges and tunnels that reinforce exclusion. According to Mbembe (2016), these fragmented conditions of colonial occupation cause communities to be separated, leading to the proliferation of spaces of violence.

The third characteristic of this terror is to make the earth scorched (bulldozed):

> "[…] demolishing houses and cities; uprooting olive trees; riddling water tanks with bullets; bombing and jamming electronic communications; digging up roads; destroying electricity transformers; tearing up airport runways; disabling television and radio transmitters; smashing computers; ransacking cultural and

> politico-bureaucratic symbols of the proto-Palestinian state; looting medical equipment. In other words, *infrastructural warfare* (." (MBEMBE, 2016, p. 137)

Mbembe (2016) presents a critical analysis of the use of violence as a instrument of government and draws attention to the political, economic and social implications of necropolitics in the contemporary world.

In this way, he argues that the power of the modern state is based not only on the ability to manage the lives of citizens, but also on the ability to control and manage death. He describes necropolitics as a form of power particularly evident in postcolonial societies, where violence and brutality are used as tools of social control.

Although Mbembe's (2016) concept and Chartier's (1991) notion of representation have emerged in different areas, it is possible to create a relationship between them.

By emphasizing that necropolitics is a form of power where violence and brutality are used as tools of social control, it is possible to perceive how control is conditioned and reinforced through the social representations that are created and disseminated. For example, the depiction of certain groups as threatening or dangerous can justify violence, segregation, oppression, and even death of those groups.

Besides this, the representations can also be used to resist and defy the necropolitics. As Chartier (1991) argues, they are not only instruments of power, and Mbembe (2016) presents a critical analysis of the use of violence as an instrument of government and draws attention to the political, economic, and social implications of necropolitics in the contemporary world.

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2 OBJECTIVES

The general objective is to demonstrate, based on the case study – the beach riot of 1992 - how the social representations portrayed funk as a cultural manifestation associated with violence, and consequently a conditioning factor to reinforce the favelas and peripheral neighborhoods as territories of "fear", since they were the spaces that produced this musical style. Our specific objectives are to:

- analyze the different representations;
- contextualize the political environment;
- evaluate the impacts on the spatial dynamics of the city.

We believe that from these answers, it will be possible to create an analysis of the representations produced within different social groups about Carioca funk and the violence linked to it, and how this conditioned the perception of urban space and the creation of territories.

3 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

We adopt the case study method, and use qualitative procedures for the analysis of documents and history, to understand the process of transformation of funk as a cultural manifestation and its social representations.

The 1992 riot acted as a milestone in the history of funk for having taken what was already happening in the raves in the favelas to Ipanema Beach. The sensation of violence felt by the residents of the South Zone of the city and the repercussion of the riot, made the manifestations of Carioca funk, until then little known by the middle class, gain notoriety in the media. In the discourses of the mainstream media, the funk aficionados ended up being stigmatized and associated with gangs or criminal groups, as stated by Cymrot (2022).

However, according to the author, there is a very big difference between the beach event and these criminal organizations. This is because, in article 288 of the Penal Code, criminal gangs are legally classified as a group of more than three people with the purpose of committing crimes. These groups may have similar characteristics with business management models, with the aim of obtaining immediate profits. Thus, Cymrot (2022) defines them as a phenomenon independent of the funk musical style.

Even with these reports, there is no doubt about what the intentions of the event really were. In fact, the "demonization" of *funkeiros* by new stories was intensifying, contributing to their marginalization in the face of governmental actions.

From the search to explore the complexity of the correct representations of this disorderly event, we also adopt the historical method to carry out the research. To this end, we use newspaper stories as the primary documents of the study, because considering the great media reach of the event, we believe these sources are fundamental to understand the main representations disseminated. We also use the pertinent scientific literature to enable contextualizing the political and social environment of the time.

With all the research on the 1992 riot and its different representations, it is possible to question the interests in portraying the event as violent or criminal. Placed within the concept of necropolitics, it is possible to evaluate the impacts on the spatial dynamics of the city and analyze how this power was used to condition the social hierarchy and the limitation of access.

4 RESULTS

With the emergence of funk parties and raves, the participation of the audience on the stages was allowed, for them to sing their own lyrics publicly and engage in competitions between favelas, which generated euphoria among young people. And as the artists also represented their favelas and hillside communities, some parties began to involve confrontations between groups, in the form of "corridor dances" (HERSCHMANN, 2005). At the end of these events, according to Cymrot (2022), the police were already concerned about the

disorderly and often violent behavior of the *funkeiros*. However, violence in these spaces was "naturalized" by the State.

Until then, these events were basically ignored by the public authorities. However, on October 18, 1992, the scenario changed when the gangs of from the Vigário Gral and Parada de Lucas favelas, who had had a disagreement at a funk event, scheduled a corridor dance on Ipanema Beach. The place was already one of the favorite destinations of *funkeiros*, due to the several bus line that ended at Praça do Arpoador, near the beach (CYMROT, 2022).

The event ended up making headlines:

> The gangs quickly took control of the sand... A human wall advanced on bathers... causing dread and insecurity... Without knowing the source... a great wave of confusion developed... Panic took over the beach... People ran in all directions...Women, children, desperate people in search of a safe place... The violence increased when the rival gangs met... A fallen young man was attacked... A few meters from there, another group advanced toward the volleyball court... The players scattered to protect their umbrellas and beach chairs, and the women and children... Two policemen...only two... arrived on the sand... They were armed, but did not seem to know what to do in response to the generalized confusion... Nearby, young men ignored the presence of the police and stole the belongings of bathers...
> (Rede Globo, 1992, cited by HERSCHMANN, 2005)

From this moment on, funk raves, previously unknown to the population of the South Zone, began to attract attention, as shown by Vianna (1987). Although these funk events existed since the 1980s, attracting thousands of attendees and occupying various spaces such as indoor soccer courts and samba school (carnival group) gymnasiums, a good part of the middle and upper class did not know of their existence.

A milestone in the history of funk was created by the feeling of terror that the event created in the frequenters of Ipanema Beach. As journalist Janaína Medeiros describes:

> The watershed in the history of funk was the month of October 1992. Rival factions of young funkeiros met each other on Arpoador Beach [contiguous to Ipanema Breach] and reproduced there, in the city streets and the light of day, the fighting rituals of the raves. This was a shock to the eyes of the elites, who knew nothing of this universe and ran in panic, thinking it was a mass mugging. The next day, photos took up the front pages of the newspapers all over the country and even the global headlines. The episode was popularly known as a riot. Misinterpreted as an uprising of robbers, the fact also gave a negative connotation of the term *funkeiro*." (MEDEIROS, 2006 , p. 54)

In the discourses of the mainstream media, the funk parties ended up being stigmatized and associated with gangs or criminal groups (Cymrot, 2022).

However, some passersby and public security agents did not classify the event of October 18, 1992, as a criminal act. This can be noted in the testimony of a Military Police [uniformed police] officer, cited in one of the few news articles that did not stigmatize the event as criminal:

> "The commanders of the 19th and 23rd BPMs [Military Polic Batallions] são incontrovertible: the "riots" that occurred yesterday on the beaches in the South Zone, did not have the purpose of robbing beachgoers. According to them, the participants were the same groups that attend the funk parties in the suburbs and West Zone. The meeting of the rival groups caused tumult and panic among beachgoers. The incidents that occurred by people leaving the beach, explained the officials, occurred due to the insufficient number of buses at the final stops.

Occurrences when leaving funk parties occurred in full daylight. These people, who circulate in groups, have antisocial behavior and cause uproars wherever they go. There was a meeting at the beach of rival groups. The fighting shocked beachgoers, who fled in mass."

(CF. Article entitleed "Comportamento idêntico ao da saída de um baile funk". O Globo, Rio de Janeiro, October 20, 1992. Section Grande Rio, p. 12.)

Even with the recognition that the "arrastão" did not have the objective of robbing beachgoers and with the reduced number of robberies recorded, the media continued to hyper-dimension the violence of the event, describing it as "the largest succession of riots in the history of Rio de Janeiro" (CYMROT, 2022).

However, it was not the first such riot that took place in the region, said Vianna (2000). In this way, it is possible to pose the question: Why did something that was not new, such as riots and funk itself, become such a big social debate and filled so much space in the print and television media?

Herschmann (1999) conducted a survey of 125 articles on funk in the printed media. According to his study, until 1990, there were basically no media articles about the funk scene. Between 1992 and 1996, the author found and analyzed 122 articles on funk, 56% of which were published in the police sections. It can be seen that in the days following the riot, the mainstream media focused on creating discourses aimed at portraying the musical style negatively. In addition, Huguenin (2011) pointed out that scenes of the riot were shown on national television and even had international repercussion. The event, although not the first, was intensely mediatized, which generated a crisis situation in the city by creating a perception of rampant disorder.

The *funkeiros* became public enemies of the occupation of a territory so coveted and symbolically important in the representation of the City (Figure 1). According to Farias (2016), the commotion around the event was based on problematizing the violence created in a place as "democratic" as the beach.

Figure 1 – Funkeiros go the beach

Source: O Globo, 1992

All the repercussions about the riot were reflected in the political scenario. The event took place on the eve of the municipal elections, noteworthy for the stark contrast of the two mayoral candidates: Benedita da Silva of the Workers' Party (PT), a black woman from a favela who proposed to represent the poorest communities, and César Maia of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), a white man and representative of the upper middle class (O GLOBO, 1992).

During the first debate of the second round of the election, promoted by Rádio Nacional, the candidates spoke about the conflicts that were taking place on the beaches.

Benedita da Silva tried to disassociate the event from her party, and held the public authorities responsible for what happened, saying "there is no connivance of the PT with organized crime in the favelas and on the streets. The residents of the hillside favelas descend because the government does not act. The children, who should be in the schools, are on the streets, armed." César Maia, on the other hand, stated that "these attacks were carried out by groups of vandals who need to be harshly repressed by the government. The mayor does not have control of the police, but he does have responsibility for public safety. He can even requisition troops from the Military Police. If the governor refuses, I can request Army troops" (Figure 2). (O GLOBO, 1992, p.7).

In the same issue, O Globo published an editorial claiming it was in favor of everyone's right to the beach, but believed that it was important to denounce the organized nature of the "rioters" (Figure 2). Arguing that only those "groups with a well-laid command structure and plans would be capable of concentration, infiltration, simultaneous action, and dispersion." The editorial sought to have a democratic and politically correct tone, but indirectly suggested apartheid in the same issue, by asking for greater policing and control of the bus lines that take children, young people and adults from the North Zone to the beaches of the South Zone.

Figure 2 – Candidates and debates about rioting

Source: O Globo. 1992, p. 7

Considering all these discourses, any of these alternatives pointed to the desire on the part of the ruling class to have the beaches of the South Zone as their private property, limiting the access of the "savages" of the peripheral neighborhoods and favelas, either through repression, or through the provision of other leisure options or by creating relevant activities, such as studying.

After the riot, there was frequent fabrication of maps of the city of Rio de Janeiro (with emphasis on the beaches of the South Zone) demarcating the places where the *funkeiros* typically gathered, and showing the "risk areas" on the beaches and in the city (Figure 3).

Figure 3 –Mapping of funk riots by the mainstream media

Source: O Globo, 1992

With the greater pressure from the government and the intense negative coverage of the media, the manifestations of funk began to occupy a new discussion in the political and intellectual debate: "the place of the poor". After the event, both the local government and the press began to deal with young people from the periphery and their culture based on the conflict (HERSCHMANN, 2005).

The news reports at the time announced that the number of troops and patrols had been intensified (Figure 4). At the bus stops in the North Zone and in the city center, passengers who were shirtless, without identification and without money for the ticket were expelled from the buses. In addition, there were changes in the transportation system, including the end points and itineraries of the bus lines, and an increase in the fares of the new ones that connected the North Zone to the South Zone. The purpose of this measure was to "spread out" bathers and reduce crowds, which effectively meant moving them away from their usual gathering places. The fight against rioting implied, mainly, the limitation of access and of peripheral people on the beaches of the South Zone.

Figure 4 – Reduction of bus lines nd increased policing at the South Zone beaches

Source: O Globo,1992

In a totally different sense, the funk parties represented, for their regulars, meanings very different from those displayed in the newspapers after the 1992 rioting. According to Cymrot (2022), the funk fans were characterized as forming a less tense network, composed of bonds of friendship and common taste among the participants. They did not resemble criminal gangs, as stated in the headlines of newspapers, and instead had the objective of developing activities related to the leisure and fun of young people, such as going to the beach, dancing, singing, dating, etc. The author stated that each person had their own codes of conduct, values and specific vocabularies, which allowed reading only for those who participated. Within these groups, Cymrot (2022) highlights the presence of solidarity networks, making it common for members to help each other with moral or material support.

The territories of the funk fans did not follow the delimitations of the official spaces of the city, having borders that were not visible, but agreed upon between the participants. The awareness of belonging to the territory generally increased in line with the fighting. The groups sought to expand their borders, appropriating the most disputed public spaces. To remain in these places, the groups developed an atmosphere of terror, which attracted fascination, glory, and a sense of power for those who participated (CYMROT, 2022).

Thus, territorial disputes made partnerships and fights between groups go beyond funk raves and parties, materializing in the experiences of the spaces. Clashes could be triggered by territorial disputes, a personal offense, an old local quarrel, or adhesion/solidarity with other people. However, they generally did not have the objective of committing criminal activities such as theft and robbery.

All these codes of the funk fan groups mobilized thousands of young people in the 1980s (according to Vianna (1997), with about 700 funk parties per weekend). However, they were unknown by the middle and upper classes of Rio de Janeiro.

In parallel to the repercussion in the mainstream media, the beginning of the recording and sale of funk compilations took place. In 1995, the album "Rap Brasil. Vol. 1" was issued, and in its second track, the musicians described their own map of the city's parties, but with a different view from the maps produced by newspaper articles.

The music of MC's Junior and Leonardo (1995) created a dialectic with the headlines of newspapers by portraying the same subject on maps, but resignifying the experiences of the spaces analyzed:

> É que no Rio tem mulata e futebol
> Cerveja, chopp gelado, muita praia e muito sol, é...
> Tem muito samba, Fla-Flu no Maracanã
> Mas também tem muito funk rolando até de manhã
>
> Vamos juntar o mulão e botar o pé no baile Dj
>
> Ê ê ê ah! Peço paz para agitar
> Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar
> Ê ê ê ê! Se liga que eu quero ver
> O endereço dos bailes eu vou falar pra você
>
> É que de sexta a domingo na Rocinha
> O morro enche de gatinha
> Que vem pro baile curtir
> Ouvindo charme, rap, melody ou montagem
> É funk em cima, é funk embaixo
> Que eu não sei pra onde ir

O Vidigal também não fica de fora
Final de semana rola um baile shock legal
A sexta-feira lá no Galo é consagrada
A galera animada faz do baile um festival
Tem outro baile que a galera toda treme
É lá no baile do Leme lá no Morro do Chapéu
Tem na Tijuca um baile que é sem bagunça
A galera fica maluca lá no Morro do Borel

Ê ê ê ah! Peço paz para agitar
Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar
Ê ê ê ê! Se liga que eu quero ver
O endereço dos bailes eu vou falar pra você

Vem Clube Íris, vem Trindade, Pavunense
Vasquinho de Morro Agudo e o baile Holly Dance
Pan de Pillar eu sei que a galera gosta
Signos, Nova Iguaçu, Apollo, Coelho da Rocha, é...
Vem Mesquitão, Pavuna, Vila Rosário
Vem o Cassino Bangu e União de Vigário
Balanço de Lucas, Creib de Padre Miguel
Santa Cruz, Social Clube, vamos zoar pra dedéu
Volta Redonda, Macaé, Nova Campina
Onde também tem muita mina que abala os corações
Mas me desculpe onde tem muita gatinha
É na favela da Rocinha lá na Clube do Emoções
Vem Coleginho e a quadra da Mangueira
Chama essa gente maneira
Para o baile do Mauá
O Country Clube fica lá na Praça Seca
Por favor, nunca se esqueça
Fica em Jacarepaguá

Ê ê ê ah! Peço paz para agitar
Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar
Ê ê ê ê! Se liga que eu quero ver
O endereço dos bailes eu vou falar pra você

Tem muitos clubes e favelas que falei
Muitas vezes eu curti, me diverti e cantei
Mas isso é pouco vamos juntos fazer paz
Se não fosse a violência o baile funk era demais
Eu, Mc Junior, cantei pra te convidar
Pros bailes funks do rio, você não pode faltar
E pra você que ainda não está ligado
Agora o Mc Leonardo um conselho vai te dar
Pode chegar junto com a sua galera
E no baile zuar à vera, pode vir no sapatinho
Dançar, dançar com a dança da cabeça
Com a dança da bundinha ou puxando seu trenzinho

Ê ê ê ah! Peço paz para agitar
Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar
Ê ê ê ê! Se liga que eu quero ver
O endereço dos bailes eu vou falar pra você
Ê ê ê ah! Peço paz para agitar
Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar
Ê ê ê ê! Se liga que eu quero ver
Mc Junior e Leonardo voltarão, tu podes crer.
(MC`s Junior e Leonardo, 1995. Endereço dos Bailes)

It is possible to see that the lack of familiarity with funk facilitated its demonization. The relations of power and violence were noted daily in newspapers that, in general, simplified events by placing them at opposite poles in a Manichean way, as seems to be the case of the division of Rio de Janeiro between hillside favelas and middle class streets. In the same way, ignorance of a certain social manifestation became a condition to transform it into a stereotype by groups for whom this phenomenon is considered exotic. The lack of knowledge of journalists, readers and beachgoers played a decisive role in the perception of the event and provided the necessary conditions for the fixation of this violent representation.

The Carioca funk scene exists, above all, in the periphery, in the favelas, and the category "*favelado*" (favela resident), in this context, continues to be used as a negative adjective. Although these residents claim heterogeneity, their social representation is that of a territory marked by social problems (sanitary, legal, urban) and shortcomings, both economic and of "domestication", which causes a perception of danger and immorality.

When thinking about the reasons for this cultural distancing, it is noticeable how the characteristics that form necropolitics, as framed by Mbembe (2016), are used to exert social control, especially when presented in a temporal context of great relevance in the political scenario. The use of the negative representation of a cultural element linked to the periphery was intensively used as a condition for territorial fragmentation and to limit equal access to the city by all residents.

5 FINAL THOUGHTS

The present work sought to explore the complexity of the narrative about funk. A discourse analysis was carried out on the representations of the 1992 beach riot, which allowed understanding how languages and media condition and are conditioned by social factors. Thus, we examined how different discourses construct specific representations of the world, and how these representations are influenced by factors such as culture and power relations.

This object of our study is a milestone in the history of funk, because it can be considered a gateway of funk into the imagination of the residents of the South Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro. By evaluating the representations about it and analyzing its political contextualization, it becomes possible to perceive the developments and interests present within this construction.

The fabrication of the representation of the riot by the mainstream media conditions the perception of violence of a certain social sector and stigmatizes its territories, justifying and legitimizing repressive and segregating actions within the social space. Thus, it can be seen that these representations were part of the necropolitics described by Mbembe (2016), as the representations of this riot prompted actions seeking to justify the place of the poor, their access to the city and their vulnerability to the surveillance and violence of the State

Chartier's text, "The World as Representation", was used as a starting point, seeking to understand how cultural representations condition perceptions and experiences of the world. His studies allowed him to analyze how interpretations and symbolic discourses are conditioning factors in the perception of a territory and its residents. Based on his propositions, it is possible to examine how different social contexts construct specific

representations of the world, and how these representations are used as tools to maintain power relations and the fragmentation of urban space.

Herchamann (2005), quoting Roberto da Matta, in the article, "The discourses of violence in Brazil", hypothesized that, if the structurally weak ask for their rights, this request will always sound like a form of personalized and "pre-political" violence, seen as a style of violence. This argument is reinforced by the analysis of the 1992 rioting at Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro.

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