

ARTICLE

# Tanning with Anitta, the New Girl from Ipanema: Creating Visibility Capital in a Global Look Economy

Jennifer Roth-Gordon<sup>1</sup> and Erika Robb Larkins<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, US, and <sup>2</sup>San Diego State University, San Diego, California, US

**Corresponding author:** Jennifer Roth-Gordon. Email: [jenrothg@arizona.edu](mailto:jenrothg@arizona.edu)

(Received 22 December 2023; revised 07 October 2024; accepted 30 December 2024)

## Abstract

In this article, we argue that Brazilian tan lines constitute a new site of race and class struggle on and over women's bodies. Popular in Rio's socially and geographically marginalized periphery, *fita* (electrical tape) bikinis leave sharp and shocking tan lines that call attention to the contrast between lighter and darker skin. Brazil's funk music sensation Anitta brings this aesthetic practice to the global stage as part of her brand, disrupting hegemonic beauty norms and attracting attention for herself and her fans. Through the public display of their bronzed sensuality, Brazilian women accrue "visibility capital" as they create new forms of bodily value and self-esteem in what we call a look economy. While global beauty hierarchies continue to promote and glorify whiteness, Anitta and *fitas* tanners simultaneously turn heads (in person), attract eyeballs (online), and lay claim to the right to represent Brazil.

**Keywords:** tanning; whiteness; gender; bodywork; Brazil

## Resumo

Neste artigo, defendemos que as linhas de bronzeamento brasileiras constituem um elemento emergente da luta de raças e classes nos e em torno dos corpos das mulheres. Populares nas periferias social e geograficamente marginalizadas do Rio de Janeiro, os biquínis de fita (fita isolante) deixam linhas de bronzeado nítidas e marcantes, que destacam o contraste entre a pele mais clara e a mais escura. A sensação da música funk brasileira, Anitta, incorpora essas práticas estéticas ao cenário global como componente estratégico de sua marca, desafiando normas hegemônicas de beleza e atraindo atenção para si mesma e para seus fãs. Por meio da exibição pública de sua sensualidade bronzeada, as mulheres brasileiras acumulam capital de visibilidade à medida que criam novas formas de valor corporal e autoestima em uma economia da aparência. Embora as hierarquias globais de beleza continuem a promover e glorificar a branquitude, Anitta e os adeptos do bronzeamento de fita simultaneamente capturam atenção (pessoalmente), despertam interesse (online) e reivindicam o direito de representar o Brasil.

**Palavras-chave:** bronzeamento; branquitude; gênero; carroceria; Brasil



**Figure 1.** Booths selling *fita* bikini construction line the beachfront area at the Piscinão. Credit: Marcelo Costa Braga

A new product is on sale at the blue plastic tarp *barracas* (stands) at the entrance to the Piscinão de Ramos (the “megapool” in Ramos), the world’s largest man-made, saltwater, sandy beach at a lake in Rio de Janeiro’s North Zone.<sup>1</sup> In addition to renting beach chairs and sun umbrellas and purchasing cold drinks and snacks, women line up to have disposable bikinis made out of *fita* (electrical tape) constructed on their bodies. The top part costs between R\$20–25 (US\$4–5), and the bottom part is sometimes a bit more, but the entire bikini is affordable and comes with the application of various tanning products. *Fita* tanning began in Rio’s predominantly nonwhite, low-income neighborhoods, often on *lajes*, the unfinished concrete rooftops of self-constructed homes (Siqueira 2018). The practice went viral in 2017, when the global megastar Anitta prominently featured this favela aesthetic in one of her music videos.

Electrical tape bikinis have improved over the years to include colorful tape and designs, and from a distance, they don’t immediately stand out from regular fabric bikinis (Figure 1). But customers aren’t really buying a bikini; they are pursuing a *marquinha perfeita* (perfect little tan lines) that will be revealed only after the bikini is peeled off and thrown away. If one has baked in the sun long enough, turned appropriately, and carefully avoided too many dips in the water or sweating too much, the tape lines will be sharp, perfectly straight, and shocking in the contrast they produce between lighter and darker skin. As stands with names like Barraca das Pretinhas (Black Girl Tanning) indicate, many brown-skinned women of varying skin shades participate in *fita* tanning (Figure 2). As such, this new aesthetic challenges assumptions that suntans are the domain of white and wealthy individuals who benefit from abundant time for travel or leisure (Cocks 2013; Paris 2008; Prasad 2018).

<sup>1</sup> The official name of the recreational area is o Parque Ambiental da Praia de Ramos Carlos de Oliveira Dicró, although it is commonly known as “Piscinão” or “Ramos” and is actually located in Complexo da Maré. For a collection of photography on the Piscinão de Ramos, see the website of Julio Bittencourt, at <https://juliobittencourt.com/ramos>.



**Figure 2.** Personal tanners construct *fita* bikinis in beach cabanas in Ramos. *Fita* is often carefully taped using the lines of existing *marquinhas* to deepen tonal contrast and preserve clean lines. Credit: Marcelo Costa Braga

In contrast to the expensive, “glamorous,” and “sophisticated” fashion trends associated with Rio’s Zona Sul and the world-famous neighborhoods of Copacabana and Ipanema, *fita* tanning is frequently connected to marginalized people and spaces. Anitta, who refines “lack of refinement” as part of her brand, wears a *fita* bikini in her wildly popular music video “Vai Malandra” (Go, Naughty Girl). The video is set on a scenic hillside *laje* in a famous favela (even though Anitta is from one of Rio’s distant low-income suburbs),<sup>2</sup> and the now well-known Erika Bronze (Erika Tanning) tapes bikinis onto the star and a backup cast of women who dance as they tan on beach loungers.<sup>3</sup> The song, like most Brazilian funk songs, is highly sexual, and the sentiment of the lyrics is well aligned with women in teeny-tiny tape bikinis flaunting a G-string paired with high heels—even if stilettos are generally not part of a tanning session. Accompanied by the male lead singers, Anitta splashes around in a jerry-rigged plastic pool. Designed to attract a broader and more international audience for the Brazilian star, the song also features the American rapper Maejor, who sings his part in English. The video showcases favela energy and suggests that all Rio residents have rights to leisure, fun, and sexual pleasure. Taking up

<sup>2</sup> While a hillside favela is the only image of Brazilian poverty that international audiences are likely to recognize, the distinctions between a favela and a suburban community are important to Rio residents, and Anitta has received critiques of her appropriation and marketing of the favela image as part of her own personal brand (Costa and Raphael 2020). One of her Coachella sets, created by a Disney theme-park engineer, features a busy favela backdrop, complete with multicolor houses, improvised electrical wires, and laundry hanging out to dry. The suburban community Anitta comes from is poor but not nearly as “scenic” or famous. In the “Vai Malandra” music video, the light-skinned Anitta also wears her long hair in African braids with extensions, which similarly raised questions of cultural appropriation and critiques that she has treated blackness as an accessory (Arantes 2021; Costa and Raphael 2020; Tenório 2022).

<sup>3</sup> See “Anitta, Mc Zaac, Maejor feat. Tropkillaz & DJ Yuri Martins - Vai Malandra [Official Music Video],” Anitta, December 18, 2017, YouTube video, 3:26, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDhptBT\\_VI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDhptBT_VI).

the politics of visibility and larger questions of who can represent Brazil, the music video foregrounds curvy Black women and gender-nonconforming people.

Through the creation of this now iconic juxtaposition of urban spaces, bodies, and aesthetic practices, Anitta joins a long line of famous Brazilians, mostly men, who play out global representations of Brazil on and through women's (scantly clad) bodies (Boscatti 2021; Netto 2021). In this article, we argue that both Anitta and *fita* tanners work to increase their "visibility capital" in what we call a "look economy" to gain self-empowerment, a sense of national belonging, and local and global recognition.<sup>4</sup> We draw on participant observation at tanning salons conducted between 2017 and 2024, interviews with women who participate in *fita* tanning, and conversations with professional personal bronzers. We complement our ethnography with a review of how the topic of *fita* tanning shows up on social media, including Facebook, TikTok, and Instagram. We also analyze Anitta's public presence in the news, on her social media accounts, in her songs and music videos, and in relation to the songs and videos of other internationally famous Brazilian performers as they vie to represent the country on a national and global stage. We suggest that electrical tape bikinis are especially well suited for attracting gazes in a context where many Brazilians, including *fita* tanners, hold aspirations for increased visibility— aspirations that dovetail with and are facilitated by Anitta in her rise to fame.

Through our use of the term *visibility capital*, we connect to other related concepts that seek to describe the social, political, and economic value generated by bodies, such as body capital (Edmonds 2007), physical capital (Vannini and McCright 2004), aesthetic capital (Hunter 2011), erotic capital (Pussetti 2021), and affective capital (Hordge-Freeman 2015; Jarrín 2017). But rather than focusing on how specific body types or notions of beauty allow individuals to accrue social status and financial resources, we emphasize how value (of various kinds) can be produced through attention paid to the body. That is, while we study bodily practices, forms of bodily alteration, and the public presentation of individual bodies, we remain focused on how people seek out and profit from both in-person and digital attention.

Michel Teló's record-breaking Brazilian pop song "Ai Se Eu Te Pego" (Oh If I Catch You) offers an excellent example of the scalar nature and interconnectedness of visibility capital. The song describes how the singer is captivated by the attractiveness of a girl he sees at a party on a Saturday night; the refrain attempts to capture how powerless he feels as she "kills him" with her beauty. The theme of this song thus describes visibility capital at an everyday interactional level, as one person is seen, valued, and desired and gains power through the ability to make an impact on another. But visibility capital operates at higher levels as well. The music video for this popular song features Teló performing live in a small club with an audience filled with light-skinned, well-dressed Brazilian women singing along to the repetitive but catchy lyrics. The singer receives a good amount of coverage in the video, but he splits his screen time with the dozens of women dancing for the camera and his attention. Illustrating another level of visibility capital, these women work to accumulate gazes. Strategically implying what the desirable and eye-catching mythical woman in his song must look like, there are no Black or visibly brown-skinned women in the crowded club.

The overwhelming success of this song also brings into sharp relief the dynamics of a look economy—in which power and resources are exchanged through all this seeing, vying to be seen, and value accrued from being seen. After the internationally famous soccer stars Neymar, Marcelo, and Cristiano Ronaldo used the refrain and choreography from this song for their respective victory dances after scoring a goal (a theme later included in FIFA

<sup>4</sup> Thanks to Anitta, this tanning trend has spread across Brazil as well. For example, the photographer Dalila Coelho has documented *fitá* tanning salons in Belo Horizonte in her photo book *Beleza*. See "Interview with Dalila Coelho," Digital Brazil Project, <https://www.digitalbrazilproject.com/dalila-coelho>.

and other blockbuster video games), the song went viral. Teló's music video joined the prestigious "Billion Views Club"—a record currently shared by only a few hundred YouTube videos and only a handful of Brazilian performers.<sup>5</sup> This unexpected crossover is also illustrative of how visibility capital circulates and connects in-person events and online asynchronous audiences in a global look economy: The renowned Portuguese soccer star Cristiano Ronaldo shares his visibility and massive audience of sports fans and video game fanatics with a Brazilian *sertanejo* (country) singer and a few dozen Brazilian extras in his music video. While YouTube views do not indicate the exact number of people who have watched a video, this imprecise metric still reflects a staggering amount of attention (see Goldschmitt 2022). Of central importance to our analysis is how the song—with its multiple interconnected audiences—displays and helps naturalize societal, national, and transnational ideas linking whiteness and beauty (see also Krozer and Gómez 2023).

While the racial politics of visibility are complicated and include hypervisibility that leaves nonwhite bodies open to state violence (Ceron-Anaya et al. 2023), pursuing visibility can also serve simultaneously as a bold proclamation of self-appreciation and a bid for public recognition. We suggest that both Anitta's emphasis on low-income and nonwhite community aesthetics and the practices surrounding *fita* tanning seek to perform "spectacular" visibility (Robb Larkins 2015)—asserting power through conspicuous bodily displays that make claims to belonging at urban, national, and global levels (Prasad 2018; Tate 2009). At the same time, cities and countries have long been concerned with their public image, and international events such as the Olympics, the World Cup, and earlier world's fairs showcase broader struggles for attention and recognition. While social media platforms have not democratized access, the publicity game has changed significantly, offering celebrities and fans new ways to participate in self and national display. Not all performances generate direct income or circulate as widely: "Selfies" are not the same as the Opening Ceremonies of the Olympics. But through our discussion of visibility capital generated in a look economy, we seek to emphasize how these forms of representation are similar and interconnected. We analyze how attention paid to the presentation of one's body creates a sense of self-worth for tanners and a new source of income and pride for the women who have become personal tanners (akin to personal trainers). While global beauty hierarchies continue to promote and glorify whiteness, Anitta and *fitas* tanners simultaneously turn heads (in person), attract eyeballs (online), and lay claim to the right to represent Brazil.

### Brazilian whiteness on the global stage

Tall, and tan, and young and lovely  
The girl from Ipanema goes walking  
And when she passes, each one she passes goes, "Ah"  
When she walks, she's like a samba  
That swings so cool and sways so gently  
That when she passes, each one she passes goes, "Ah"

—From "The Girl from Ipanema," recorded in 1964 and performed by Brazilian singer  
Astrud Gilberto

<sup>5</sup> At the time of writing this article, the other Brazilian music videos to have achieved this record included Michael Jackson's video for "They Don't Care About Us," filmed in Salvador with the Afro-Brazilian drumming group Olodum; MC Fioti's rhythmic funk song "Bum Bum Tam Tam"—which was the most viewed Brazilian music video; and MC Kevinho's funk song "Olha a Explosão."



Rio's famed beaches have become internationally renowned locations representing "the good life," which includes long hours of leisure, sociality, and flirtation under the sun (Banck 1994; Barickman 2009, 2022; Farias 2007). As Freeman (2002, 26) notes, "The beach is Rio's stage"—the place to see and be seen. In the 1960s, the famous song "The Girl from Ipanema" popularized and entextualized one of Brazil's proudest pairings: the tanned (white) woman at the beach (Farias 2007, 264).

Brazil has leaned into promoting its worldly "sophistication" through music like bossa nova and global superstars like Gisele Bündchen, Xuxa, and Carmen Miranda—the country's most famous white exports (Bishop-Sanchez 2016; Dennison 2013; Maia 2012; Simpson 1993). But Brazil has also sought to cash in on its reputation as "magnificently miscegenated" (Freyre 1986; see also Davis 1999; Edmonds 2010) by putting on display hypersexualized brown and Black women's bodies (Eakin 2017; Turner 2017). In an article describing how Brazil commodified the *bunda* (butt), Boscatti (2021, 42) analyzes how Brazil nationalized women's racialized and sexualized bodies as part of their global brand—as natural elements that had been turned into marketable goods like Argentinian meat or Brazilian coffee (see Pinho 2022). Afro-Brazilian feminists have long decried Freyre's romanticization of miscegenation that ignores Brazil's history of antiblackness, colonial rape, and ongoing tolerance of sexual violence (Barreto 2020–2021; Gonzalez 2020; Ribeiro 2019). Scholars have also linked the transnational circulation of these sexualized images of Brazilian women to sex tourism (Williams 2013), "the *mulata* as export" (Gonzalez 2020), and "the *mulata* as consumable" (Gilliam and Gilliam 1999; see also Caldwell 2007; Giacomini 2006; Pravaz 2003, 2009; Tenório 2022). The body of the *mulata* was presented as "the height of female attractiveness, as the perfect embodiment of the heat and sensuality of the tropics, and as a representation of Brazil itself" (Pravaz 2009, 84).

In 2016, when all eyes were on Rio de Janeiro as the first Latin American host city of the Summer Olympics, Brazil strategically showcased both of these gendered and racialized images. Anitta, then twenty-three years young, joined the legendary singers Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso in the reproduction of a Carnival parade that featured traditional Brazilian samba music and over a thousand dancers and drummers in a colorful and joyous celebration.<sup>6</sup> The frenetic energy of this finale contrasted sharply with an earlier number in which Daniel Jobim, grandson of composer Antônio Carlos Jobim, played "Garota de Ipanema" on a baby grand piano off to the side of the stage. The entire stadium of Maracanã went dark, and a spotlight followed the blond and leggy Brazilian supermodel Gisele as she catwalked the length of the entire soccer field alone for nearly two minutes.<sup>7</sup> The pairing of the song with the girl was meant to be iconic, even if the world-famous Gisele is not actually from Ipanema or even from Rio. As tens of thousands of Brazilian fans sang along to the lyrics in Portuguese live in the stadium, the television announcer reminded millions of home viewers that "The Girl from Ipanema" is the second most famous song in the world.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the slow-paced and lulling piano-accompanied melody, there was nowhere to look but at Gisele, once voted "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World."<sup>9</sup>

White and blond Heloísa (Helô) Pinheiro is credited as the source of inspiration for the original song ("Garota de Ipanema"). Now in her seventies, she continues to good-naturedly take pictures with tourists at the restaurant where the famous composers Vinícius de Moraes and Tom Jobim immortalized her as the vision of Brazilian beauty. As

<sup>6</sup> See "Isso Aqui, o Que É? - Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso & Anitta @Rio 2016 | Music Monday," Olympics, November 20, 2017, YouTube video, 7:41, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n\\_70iW75YG8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_70iW75YG8).

<sup>7</sup> See "Gisele Bündchen's catwalk at the Rio 2016 Olympics Opening Ceremony," Olympics, August 21, 2016, YouTube video, 1:42, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edTVaIXmaqk>.

<sup>8</sup> "Yesterday," by the Beatles, is believed to be the number one most recorded pop song of all time, according to the Wikipedia page for the song "The Girl from Ipanema" ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Girl\\_from\\_Ipanema](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Girl_from_Ipanema)).

<sup>9</sup> She was given this title by *Rolling Stone* magazine in 2000.

she and others tell the story, she was a seventeen-year-old girl who sometimes entered the Veloso bar and café to purchase cigarettes for her mother and frequently passed by on her daily walk to the beach. She never noticed the musicians and did not know she was the inspiration for the song until several years later. This endearing and innocent backstory parallels Gisele Bündchen's "spotting." Gisele had been taking modeling classes with her sisters in Horizontina, a small town in Rio Grande do Sul, a southern state home to many families of German origin like her own. On a free trip to São Paulo with a large group of girls from the modeling class, she was "discovered" by a modeling agent at age thirteen while eating at McDonald's in a shopping mall.

Gisele and Helô's well-known "rise-to-fame" stories illustrate how visibility capital relies on and naturalizes the desire to look at whiteness—even in a country like Brazil. Unexplored within these simplistic but well-loved stories are questions of how structural inequality, global beauty norms, and beliefs in white superiority impact a person's ability to get noticed in the first place. Perhaps even more importantly, they suggest that there is a meritocratic rationale behind "finding" a person and seeing their future potential. Intentionally critiquing this global aesthetic hierarchy and ranking of human worth, Anitta and *fit*a tanners do not patiently wait to be "discovered" in the marginalized city spaces they frequent.<sup>10</sup> Instead, they turn to practices like *fit*a tanning to actively capitalize on their newfound ability to create visibility capital by diverting attention in a look economy.

Jasmine Mitchell (2020, 179) notes that even in its most recent bid for international acclaim through the 2016 Olympics, Brazil continued to use the iconography of the *mulata* to sell itself as "an erotic playground" and "a multiracial paradise of passion, sensuality, and adventure." But while Brazil seeks to court heterosexual male tourism through the implied sale of brown and Black women's bodies, feminist theorists remind us that there are critical distinctions that must be made when women explore and embody sexuality for their own empowerment. In these cases, women become "focused agents of their corporeal expression" (McCoy-Torres 2017, 186) and embrace "forms of self that exceed capture" (Musser 2018, 2). Musser (2018, 2), in particular, explains how this process involves "citing" but not "becoming." Anitta and *fit*a tanners are uninterested in becoming the *mulata* who performs for paying customers by dancing in samba shows, parading naked during Carnival, or engaging in prostitution and sexual tourism. Nor can they entirely subvert a racial beauty hierarchy that still idolizes whiteness. But by flaunting and publicly displaying their enjoyment of their sexualized nonwhite bodies, they gain valuable visibility on their own terms.

### "We don't look like models": Diverting the white supremacist gaze

Hot girls where I'm from  
We don't look like models  
Tan lines, big curves  
And the energy glows  
You'll be falling in love  
With the girl from Rio

—Anitta's "Girl from Rio," sung in English, 2022

<sup>10</sup> Anitta's own "discovery" story also suggests natural talent, as she was selected by funk show producers based on a video she submitted to an open music contest at the age of sixteen. In this case, the story is often told to praise her "rags-to-riches" rise, as she sings into a roll-on deodorant that is meant to look like a microphone.



**Figure 3.** Anitta evokes a nostalgic Ipanema past as she poses along an imagined Rio beachfront, replete with the iconic mosaic sidewalk and Rio's famous cable car up to Pão de Açúcar in the background. Credit: Still image from Anitta's "Girl from Rio" music video, released April 30, 2021.

Sixty years after the recording of "The Girl from Ipanema," Anitta released the song "Girl from Rio" and an accompanying music video in which she cosplays the more conservative and "proper" era of the original song.<sup>11</sup> She includes scenes of herself in modest pastel bathing attire and male backup dancers outfitted in one-piece bathing suits and clean white sailor suits in front of an obviously fake and muted backdrop of the beach and the famous Pão de Açúcar cable car (Figure 3). A uniformed chauffeur drives her to the beach in a fancy black convertible. Even though she is heading to the beach, she wears gloves, as white wealthy women used to do in Rio to protect their highly valued fair skin from the sun (Barickman 2009, 2022). Anitta is playacting the kind of *carioca* (Rio resident) who has frequented these famous South Zone beaches for generations. In real life, she became a professional singer who performed at illegal funk dances (called *proibidas*) as a teenager before she even visited the beaches that international tourists flock to in her home city. As the pace of the music picks up and the color scheme in the video changes, she cuts to scenes of "a different Rio; the one I'm from but not the one that you know; the one you meet when you don't have no "real" (the Brazilian currency)."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Videos for the original song include clips of Frank Sinatra singing with Tom Jobim and a few performances by Astrud Gilberto: "Astrud Gilberto—The Girl from Ipanema (1964 with Stan Getz & 1988 ZDF Jazz Club)," roger b, April 22, 2013, YouTube video, 7:02, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sEDeYwZGPbQ>.

<sup>12</sup> See "Anitta - Girl from Rio (Official Music Video)," Anitta, April 30, 2021, YouTube video, 3:52, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CuyTC8FLICY>.





**Figure 4.** Wearing her contrasting “modern” look in the “Girl from Rio” music video, Anitta poses under an outdoor shower on the sand at Piscinão de Ramos. Credit: Still image from Anitta’s *Girl from Rio* music video, released April 30, 2021.

The beach in “a different Rio” is not a famous South Zone beach like Ipanema, but the man-made Piscinão de Ramos, and the shots include vibrant, pulsating scenes of beach life, replete with the kinds of behavior frowned upon by white middle-class beachgoers (Freeman 2002, 2008; Paixão and Leite 1996; Roth-Gordon 2017).<sup>13</sup> Families have barbecues and eat large, messy meals; women bleach their body hair by painting heavy white cream onto their arms and legs with brushes; and people participate in rough-and-tumble activities that might disturb others, like splashing water, playing loud music, threatening to fight, and engaging in very public displays of (heterosexual) affection.<sup>14</sup> All these beach practices blur the boundaries between public and private space and intentionally violate public “decorum.” Illegal activity (jumping out of bus windows to avoid paying the fare) and stigmatized life choices (“babies having babies like it doesn’t matter”) are both shown and discussed in the lyrics. Her skimpy electric-blue one-piece bathing suit is a dizzying set of lines and cutouts that resemble *fitá* tape straps and reveal more surface area than they cover (Figure 4).

In the song, Anitta foregrounds her roots in a low-income *comunidade*, name-dropping (as rappers do) the North Zone neighborhood, Honório Gurgel, where she grew up. Moving beyond the original song lyrics that describe the ideal Brazilian woman as “tall and tan and young and lovely,” she unapologetically fills the screen with women of different body types who display a range of favela aesthetics (including bright clothing, tattoos, and long acrylic nails). The music video continues in the vein of some of her previous videos, foregrounding “real-life” scenes of favela and suburban residents that celebrate racial diversity and

<sup>13</sup> See Penglase’s (2007) study “Barbarians on the Beach.”

<sup>14</sup> Despite many heterosexual displays of physical affection, Anitta identifies as bisexual and kissed another woman during her performance on stage at Coachella.

cellulite—a choice that provoked much public discussion after she refused to allow touch-ups in the close-ups of her jiggling butt in short shorts in the opening scene of the song “Vai Malandra.” Musical styles square off in “Girl from Rio” as the relaxed samba style of bossa nova and calm, choreographed, “proper,” and chaste dance scenes are juxtaposed to a pop funk sound, favela energy, and sexual movement. Anitta uses the song to continue her quest to introduce the world to Brazilian funk—“the demonized soundtrack of Brazilian favelas” (Pinho 2018, 159).<sup>15</sup> While clearly intended for a wider audience with its reference to “gringos” and the inclusion of English lyrics, the song was also wildly popular domestically, despite (or because of) its “critique of Brazil’s self-curation” (Goldschmitt 2022, 514).

Race is central to this struggle over the Brazil on display: Anitta may be light-skinned, but she would not be considered “white white” in Brazil (Pinho 2009; Roth-Gordon 2017), and her connections to Rio’s marginalized spaces and musical genres help disrupt what Simpson (1993, 164) describes as the “tyranny of the blonde” (see also Cottom 2023). As songs like “Garota de Ipanema” and “Ai Se Eu Te Pego” have made clear for decades, nonwhite women from the periphery aren’t the ones famous composers or pop stars generally write songs about, and they aren’t often the ones chosen to represent their city or nation to the world. As Anitta helps *fit*a tanning go viral, and community aesthetics like *fit*a help bolster Anitta’s favela brand (Freire-Medeiros and Cohen 2015; Robb Larkins 2015), both creatively challenge Brazil’s white supremacist gaze.<sup>16</sup>

### Selling the sun: Buying tan lines

When summer comes  
It’s going to get hot  
Your little tan lines will be a hit love  
On the shoulders and on your waist  
Show off your tan lines  
Old women, Black, white, and young  
You are bronzed and all attractive  
Curvy women, Black, white, and thin  
Come to the rooftop of your neighbor  
Get those lines taped on  
It’s summer and time to get attention  
Come to the tanning salon and activate the temptation  
—É o Tchan, “Casa de Bronze: Marca da Fitinha” (Tanning Salon: Electrical Tape Tan Lines)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Note that this is a kind of hypervisibility that includes unwanted—and dangerous—attention in the form of heavy surveillance by the police (see Silva 2014).

<sup>16</sup> See “Anitta nega objetificação da mulher em ‘Vai Malandra’: ‘É a dona da história,’” *Purepeople*, December 22, 2017, [https://www.purepeople.com.br/noticia/anitta-rebate-criticas-de-objetificar-a-mulher-em-vai-malandra-e-a-dona-da-historia\\_a208782/1](https://www.purepeople.com.br/noticia/anitta-rebate-criticas-de-objetificar-a-mulher-em-vai-malandra-e-a-dona-da-historia_a208782/1).

<sup>17</sup> Selection of lyrics from the song, translation our own. See “É o Tchan | Casa de Bronze (Marca da Fitinha) - Clipe Oficial,” Banda É o Tchan, February 17, 2023, YouTube video, 4:11, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=au94uQIyovs>.

As the É o Tchan lyrics that open this section suggest, *fita*, as a relatively new favela aesthetic, has generated income for hundreds of women across Brazil. Personal bronzers—women who now make their living as full-time personal tanners—sometimes work out of their homes, with tanning beds or ultraviolet lights that line the walls of small rooms, and they run small salons, where women can lay out on the rooftop or in a yard after getting their bikini constructed.<sup>18</sup> Personal bronzers sell the sun, and they do not lack for customers: Women, young and old, and from a range of racial categories and identities, are pursuing a specific bronzed or tanned “look” that radiates signs of leisure often associated with Rio’s more iconic spaces.<sup>19</sup> It is a personal tanner’s job to encourage women to engage in “bio-investment” (Pussetti 2021), not only to build her own self-esteem but also to accrue attention in a look economy. Describing the skin as a readable sign, Ahmed (1998, 51) notes, “the gaze of the other fixes the woman’s skin as a commodifiable sign of her body-value.”

Personal bronzers exemplify Kathleen Millar’s (2018) concept of form of living, whereby women not only “make a living” through a job but also engage in work that upholds their values, future aspirations, and a particular view of the world. Women who work in *fita* are often entrepreneurs running their own business, finding their own clients, and sometimes hiring other women to assist them. They often appreciate the job’s flexibility, despite the long hours and the competition they face. One personal tanner who had trained assistants who later opened up their own competing stalls noted cheerfully that she couldn’t serve all of the women waiting anyway, and “o sol brilha pra todo mundo!” (The sun shines for everyone!).

Tanners sometimes got creative with their electrical tape designs, creating logos to market their brand. Other times, they decorated bikinis for holidays—green, yellow, and blue for Brazilian holidays or soccer games—or created themed bikinis for Carnival costumes. Attracting looks was important for building their brand and running a successful business, but it also was the “product” they were selling. Killer tan lines could change how clients felt when looking at their own bodies; they also increased clients’ self-esteem by attracting positive affirmation from others. While the highly sexualized bikinis were sometimes created for the admiration of romantic partners or husbands (“People say that I save marriages!”; see also Vannini and McCright 2004), they were just as often about empowering women through accessible and affordable methods of bodily alteration (Novacich 2021; see also Miller 2003). Through the simple application of electrical tape and exposure to the sun’s rays, butts could be lifted, breasts shaped, waists narrowed, and hips accentuated. Tanners explained to us how carefully drawn lines impose symmetry on a body, even out discoloration, and call attention to anyone’s ability to model an ideal body shape: Once the tape is peeled off, a picture-perfect bikini remains on the body—in the color of one’s “virgin” skin (Novacich 2022). Perfect tan lines allow anyone, with the exception of the unfortunate few whose fair skin only burned (Farias 2007), to engage in the visual, aesthetic, and embodied pleasure (Borgerson and Schroeder 2018; Felski 2006; McCoy-Torres 2017) of skin that appeared to “glow” after exposure to the sun.

Despite the well-known warnings about skin cancer, tans continue to suggest health and well-being (Coupland and Coupland 1997; Paris 2008; Vannini and McCright 2004). But above all, even in a city like Rio, where the sun shines year-round and millions of residents can get to free public beaches, tans continue to signify access to leisure, time off from work, and the luxury of idleness or even tourism (Ahmed 1998; Cocks 2013; Coupland and

<sup>18</sup> Artificial tanning was legalized during the writing of this article in December 2023.

<sup>19</sup> *Fita* bikinis are also available for purchase on Rio’s more famous South Zone beaches, as ambulatory female vendors sell both the tanning products and the quick construction of a bikini (holding up a *canga* or thin beach wrap for some limited privacy). Customers on these beaches generally live in nearby favelas. Sometimes women arrive at the beach with their *fita* bikini already constructed either at home or at a local salon.

Coupland 1997; Prasad 2018). Personal tanners outside of Rio or far from the South Zone sometimes work to create the visual and experiential effect of hosting their clients on one of Brazil's world-famous beaches, playing themed music, offering them *picolés* (popsicles) and *água de coco* (coconut water, a popular beach treat), and even decorating their rooftops with the famous mosaic floor tile of Copacabana's boardwalk. Although *fitá* bikinis are associated with distant and decidedly not "modern" spaces given the social significance and self-constructed nature of the *laje* (Freire-Medeiros and Name 2019; Jarrín 2017), the practice of tanning in Brazil is still associated with Rio's famed beaches. By setting the scene, personal bronzers offered their clients the chance to look like a celebrity or to embody the iconic "Girl from Ipanema." One client described taking a motorcycle taxi to get up the hill to a tanning salon in Rocinha and told us she felt just like Anitta in her music video. Participation in these beauty rituals and symbolic proximity to the rich and famous made it easier "to be seen as someone who counts" (Machado-Borges 2009, 232).

While a good tan indicated time and energy spent working on one's body, the sharp lines of *fitá* bikinis also hinted at someone else's labor. One woman named Diva who worked as a *faxineira* in a luxury condo building proudly showed us the *fitá* tan lines hidden under her uniform. Even as she performed domestic labor for other people, signs that she also received services as a paying client were imprinted onto her body. As another *fitá* tanner told us, "Even if you only go twice a month, you stay tanned forever. It looks like you go to the beach every day, but no, you just have done professional tanning. So, from the moment you make your appointment, it just makes your whole week." Like more expensive and permanent plastic surgery procedures (Edmonds 2007, 2010; Jarrín 2017), tanning is part of a public "right to beauty" that is available to all in Brazil. Turning one's body "brown" (*morena*) is still commonly considered a *perfeição do corpo* (achieving perfection of the body; see Farias 2007, 264; Pravaz 2009). One professional bronzer designed a special tape bikini with a flap that lifted up for an assistant who had just had a baby. Even a breastfeeding mother from Rio's racial, geographic, and social periphery could *curtir o sol* (enjoy or make good use of the sun) and display bodily evidence of her right to be seen and admired.

Because public display is central in a look economy, professionals spend time crafting not only looks but also their social media presence (Figure 5; Novacich 2023). *Fita* tanners similarly make no efforts to hide their participation in what is a whole-body beauty ritual: Mirrors outside *fitá* beach stands allow women to reposition tape and check their tan lines. When women choose to tan at Ramos in *fitá* bikinis and engage in the care of their bodies in such a public space (applying lotions, taking pictures, and checking themselves out in front of a mirror), they engage in what Krista Thompson (2015, 10) calls "shared performances of visibility—practices that involve staging the act of being seen and being seen in the process of being seen" (see also Shipley 2015). Celebrities, especially funk stars, often post very revealing pictures of themselves in *fitá* bikinis. Jojo Todynho, who named herself after the popular brand of chocolate milk and promotes unapologetic blackness and body positivity for large curvy women, reminds viewers of her bodily value as she goes viral with a selfie taken in front of a mirror: "Acho que a marquinha tá de milhões. Uil!" (My tan lines look like a million bucks. Woohool!).<sup>20</sup> As Machado-Borges (2009, 230) notes in the article "Producing Beauty in Brazil: Vanity, Visibility, and Social Inequality," in Brazilian Portuguese, "vanity is sometimes used almost as synonymous to self-esteem, self-respect and pride." To look at oneself and admire brownness (especially publicly) is an act that subverts the white supremacist gaze.

<sup>20</sup> See Leandro Fernandes, "Jojo Todynho tira biquíni de fita adesiva e fica nua após bronzamento: 'Marquinha de milhões,'" *Contigo*, February 19, 2023, <https://contigo.com.br/amp/noticias/famosos/jojo-todynho-tira-biquini-de-fita-adesiva-e-fica-nua-apos-bronzamento-marquinha-de-milhoes.ptml>.



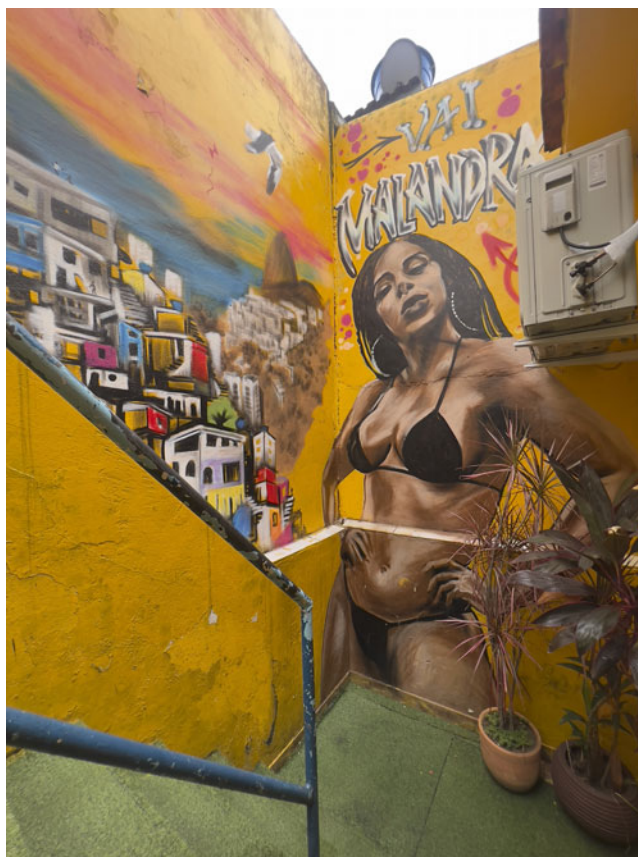


**Figure 5.** Erika Bronze on her famous *laje*, taking a selfie with *fitá* tanners for her social media account. Credit: Marcelo Costa Braga

Erika Bronze's salon in Realengo is as geographically and socially distant from Rio's "center stage" beaches as the Piscinão de Ramos. Given the lack of scenic waves and picturesque rainforest-covered mountains, Erika has added wall after wall of Instagrammable murals. Glow-in-the-dark graffiti has been painted on black walls in the tanning room to accent the rows of bright UV purple bulbs. A larger-than-life painting of Anitta in the *fitá* bikini that Erika Bronze herself constructed for the "Vai Malandra" video adorns the entrance to the stairs up to the *laje* (Figure 6). While there are no "The Girl from Ipanema" beach scenes, there are multiple murals (including in the bathroom) that feature the iconically colorful hillside favelas, as well as hand-painted renderings of elaborate feathered and jeweled Carnival costumes to pose in front of. Any or all of these work as scenic favela glam backdrops for a woman's big "reveal." On our very first visit to Erika's salon, we were approached to film these short video clips, holding a woman's cell phone as she carefully peeled off the top part of the black tape on her chest after hours of tanning to triumphantly show the shocking color contrast she had achieved. First-timers sometimes performed a dramatic, slow, full-body spin to show themselves "dressed" in their electrical tape bikini. Through these "spectacular forms of image-making" (Thompson 2015, 9), *fitá* tanners could feel like models and celebrities who engaged in "glamour labor" (Wissinger 2015).

All this looking and being looked at creates visibility capital through the blending of both in-person and digital attention. Women sometimes overtly play with this semiotic negotiation of bodily value through the cooptation of high-prestige, status goods. For example, at salons like Erika Bronze's, one can choose an electrical tape "decals" to stick on one's butt cheek, creating a *tatuagem solar*, or temporary solar tattoo, through the contrast between tanned and untanned skin. One woman we found on Instagram chose a Macintosh Apple logo. Another woman posted videos of her *fitá* bikini, which was constructed out of thin strips of white electrical tape stamped with the repeating brand logo for Louis Vuitton, effectively creating what we imagine would be an unexpected new product line





**Figure 6.** Mural depicting Anitta in *fita* from the video “Vai Malandra” graces the walls of Erika Bronze’s tanning salon in Realengo. Tanners often pose and take selfies in front of her colorful murals. Credit: Marcelo Costa Braga

for the company. Through these choices, women mock the clear distinction between the fake and the real and the symbolism of a tan (see also Roth-Gordon and Robb Larkins 2025). They may tan in “distant” suburban salons on concrete *lajes* and beside man-made lakes that are far from Rio’s celebrated natural coastline, but they too can attract attention for bikini tan lines that are seen by many as “the birthright of the Rio resident” (Farias 2007, 281; see also Gomes and Silva 2022).

### “Maior energia da gostosa”: Hypervisible sexuality as a superpower

The tiny triangles of tape in a *fita* bikini cover very little, and they hint at intimacy and proximity to what are usually inaccessible parts of a stranger’s body. “Se o biquini não for P eu nem quero!” (If the bikini isn’t size small, I don’t want it!), funk star Jojo Todynho proclaimed, showing off her curvy body on social media during a *fita* tanning session.<sup>21</sup> On one of our visits to her salon, Erika Bronze called out to her daughter, who was preparing to construct our research assistant’s bikini: “Make hers small enough to give someone a heart attack!” Often the tape covered little more than nipples, genitals, and the butt crack. Even if sexual desirability and availability are not every tanner’s intended message, there is no way to escape the fact that these bikinis are designed to draw attention to the body,

<sup>21</sup> See “TODDYNHU DIRETO DA FONTE!!! KKKKK,” David Tudopom?!, May 16, 2017, YouTube video, 1:15, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQ1AxGi5sqI>.

to one's status as a sensual and sexual being, and to one's power to have an impact on others. This recalls the lyrics of the song "Ai Se Eu Te Pego": "Delicia, delicia, assim você me mata" (Delicious, delicious, this is how you kill me). Given notions of propriety, even in Brazil, the ability to play with what is shown and what remains hidden is a source of racialized, gendered, and sexualized power that both Anitta and *fita* tanners flaunt.

Many women work to maximize the improper gaze that *fita* bikinis encourage: The hypervisible tan lines create a map on the body, and strapless or off-the-shoulder shirts (officially called *tomara que caia*, or "hope it falls" shirts) are frequently paired with fresh tan lines that circle one's neck (halter-style) and drop directly down to these off-limits parts of the body. Low-rise jeans show off the thin tan lines that rise above the hips, similarly plunging to meet in an eventual V that must be imagined. While nearly the entire back is left exposed to tan, the smallest of triangles rises above the butt cheeks and hides the butt crack in a bikini style called *asa delta*, or "hang-glider." This too can be made partly visible to nonintimates when paired with the right kind of jeans, and it leaves the hypersexualized, tanned butt fully exposed when in a G-string bikini or underwear. Anitta's outfits in music videos and live, televised performances often feature pants that scoop low enough in the back to reveal her well-crafted skinny tan lines. Drawing on Bourdieu in a study of tanning in the very different sartorial context of the UK, Coupland and Coupland (1997, 19) note, "For body-culture to be enacted, bodies need to be seen. Similarly, bodies need to be 'displayed' and 'advertised' if they are to enter the relational market and realize their symbolic capital." This kind of daily exposure is not difficult to achieve in laid-back and tropical Rio.

Even though it's just tape and sun (or UV rays from a tanning machine), and even though they are simply pursuing a Brazilian and especially *carioca* (Rio) tradition, *fita* tanners are very aware that hypervisibility is their superpower. The goal is often to have the darkest and most visible tan lines possible and to embrace exaggeration. *Fita* tanning is widely understood as a form of ostentatious grooming because the lines are so strong, pronounced, and designed to *chamar atenção* or call attention to themselves. Some women told us that with fresh tan lines, their skin looks "neon" and *sobre-salente* (very salient)—not unlike the bodily "shine" that Rihanna proudly displays in her Fenty advertisements (Musser 2023). *Fita* tanning also foregrounds intentional work on the body, as the lines are so perfectly straight and sharp that it is clear one has put in the effort to *conquistar a marquinha* (literally "conquer" or achieve a tan). Indeed, this is the part of tanning that requires the most work: To get sharp lines, the edges of the electrical tape bikinis are often black to better attract the sun, and bronzing products (creams and waxes) are applied most frequently outside the lines.

Tanning has been described as a kind of "all-body makeup," in which one revels in the freedom to use your whole body as a canvas (see also Novacich 2021, 2022, 2023). Some scholars have suggested that tanning is intended to highlight the original whiteness or lightness of one's skin, and in other national, cultural, and historical contexts, it may be true that tanning is primarily a "white thing" that allows one to temporarily flirt with nonwhiteness (Ahmed 1998; Barickman 2009, 2022; Cocks 2013; Dyer 1997). But in Brazil, and especially in Rio, it is widely understood that women of color are better positioned to draw on the power of their melanin to alter their bodies and to revel in the connections between flesh and sexuality. "Tadinha! Você é muito branquinha!" (Poor little thing! You are very white!), we heard one woman laugh to another, while another nearby lamented, "There's not much you can do with that color!" Tourists who burn are routinely mocked as un-Brazilian. "It's kind of funny," one personal bronzer who sometimes attended gringos confided to our research assistant, "because they are really so white that when they tan, they just turn a normal [untanned] color." Flipping the script on the "beauty" of white skin, women who engage in *fita* tanning unabashedly assert their own "sensuous and fleshy aspiration" (Prasad 2018, 103)—including the desire to have their skin seen and valued for its brownness.

Fully embracing funk's controversial and "cheeky" style, Anitta offers an irreverent response to bossa nova's affirmation of white "sophisticated" women who (like the music) "swing so cool and sway so gently." She has made *rebolado*—a Brazilian version of twerking that is associated with samba and brown-skinned Carnival dancers—a signature feature of her performances.<sup>22</sup> In addition to a song titled "Bola Rebola," one of her *rebolado* dance moves has inspired a TikTok dance. She frequently revs up her audience (including at high-profile global events) by asking, "Did you think I wasn't going to shake my ass?"<sup>23</sup> Using women's gyrating bodies to increase views (and their own profit), two of the other Brazilian songs currently in the Billion Views Club feature male funk singers performing odes to the hypersexualized Brazilian butt. One of these songs, "Bum Bum Tam Tam," includes the word for butt (*bum bum*) in the title—followed by a nonsensical but rhythmic chant *tam tam*. Both videos feature a cast of light-skinned women who dance and twerk for the lead singer and his male companions.<sup>24</sup> The videos include shots of the men singing while seated and pointing to an uncomfortably close gyrating woman's ass, playing to the heterosexual male gaze (Mulvey 1975).

While these videos may seem similar to Anitta's on the surface, feminist scholars have carefully unpacked the ways participation in West Indian dancehall allows opportunities for women to embody the erotic and affirm the power of female sexuality and sex appeal—without simply reifying male objectification (Cooper 2004). McCoy-Torres (2017, 186) shows how, through dance, a woman can "claim ownership of one's body and its external communication," while Musser (2018, 3) describes "brown jouissance" as a way to "revel in fleshiness." While Anitta and *fitas* tanners may follow the lead of others who have built up visibility capital for the nation through promoting the supposedly seductive powers of multiracial Brazilian women, they "self-actualize and author" their own sensual and sexual selves (Lindsey 2013, 56). Some object to using women's bodies and sexuality as the path to female empowerment. And yet, as one woman told us, *fita* tanning offers her "maior energia da gostosa" (all the energy of a hot or desirable woman). As Brazilian tanners turn their skin a deep bronze or a new shade of dark brown, they bask in the glow of their own sexualized bodies.

## Conclusion

We let the Brazilians sunbathe.

—Portuguese woman describing the local preference for European models instead of Brazilians (in Pussetti 2021, 98)<sup>25</sup>

In global and national contexts that continue to contrast "white beauty and elegance" with the "raw excess of brown sexuality," *fita* tanners revel in their brown bodies and their newfound professions. With this new way to "shine" (Musser 2023), they profit both personally and financially from increased visibility and the new value their bodies can

<sup>22</sup> Anitta's style of dress, song, and dance rival other female international superstars including Shakira, Rihanna, and Beyoncé.

<sup>23</sup> This recalls what Bishop-Sanchez (2016) describes as Carmen Miranda's "performative wink," which helped the transnational star manage national and international audiences simultaneously.

<sup>24</sup> See "MC Fioti - Bum Bum Tam Tam (KondZilla) | Official Music Video," Canal KondZilla, March 8, 2017, YouTube video, 2:50, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7S2lKif-A>, and "MC Kevinho - Olha a Explosão (KondZilla) | Official Music Video," Canal KondZilla, December 26, 2016, YouTube video, 3:07, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3yd\\_eoMOvqk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3yd_eoMOvqk). Total number of views has been slightly artificially augmented during the researching and writing of this article.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, these visions of "ideal" European beauty were articulated by Pussetti's (2021) research participants, who were all immigrant and Afro-European women living in Portugal.

accrue. Musser (2018, 3) notes that “to dwell in the territory of the flesh is also to grapple with a complex matrix of gender, race, and sexuality”—and then there is the question of Brazil’s global reputation. There is a reason the 2016 Olympics commentators are given a script to remind viewers of the fame of “The Girl from Ipanema” and its Brazilian origins: They can’t be sure viewers will know or have paid enough attention. Aware that whiteness is an important and ongoing racial project for Brazil (Sovik 2004, 315; see also Dávila 2003; Davis 1999; Roth-Gordon 2017; Skidmore 1974), *fita* tanners defiantly sculpt Gilberto Freyre’s (1986) “magnificent miscegenation” onto their own bodies (Edmonds 2010).

As the most successful Brazilian singer currently, who has racked up several “firsts” for her country in international music awards, Anitta also worries about her responsibility to represent Brazil to outsiders.<sup>26</sup> Commenting on her nerves before her first appearance at Coachella in 2022, she noted how people had compared her performance to the World Cup for Brazil. She reached out over Instagram in English to overtly acknowledge (in English) the representational stakes of her artistic participation: “Hi, world, welcome to Brazil. This is my country.”<sup>27</sup> But Anitta writes a new script. Ignoring the ongoing battle over who can wear the colors of the Brazilian flag, co-opted as they have been by former president Bolsonaro, whom she does not politically support, Anitta frequently covers her body in green, yellow, and blue.<sup>28</sup> In “Vai Malandra,” she wears thigh-high Brazilian flag boots in the opening scene; for her Coachella performances, she dons a Brazilian-flag-inspired pleather crop top with high-waisted short shorts that drip rhinestones; she later changes into a skin-tight, full-body green, yellow, and blue catsuit with hot-pink accents. She diligently works to represent Brazil, but she takes full artistic and political license in doing so: She frequently uses bright-colored favela glam as part of her brand to garner and divert visibility capital away from whiteness (Arantes 2021). One of her songs carefully rhymes *passerela* (the model’s runway) with *favela*. The people, spaces, and practices she has thrust into the spotlight have long been marginalized in Brazil.

Not everyone appreciates her choice to garner visibility for Brazil through proud hypersexuality. For some, the line between “exuberant sexuality” and “vulgarity” is crossed by the perpetuation of the stereotype of all Brazilian women as “bunda pra fora” (meaning “butt on display,” see Turner 2014, 83; Pinho 2022). In online comments responding to one of Anitta’s earlier videos, one compatriot complained: “How sad! Brazil sinks even further! Is this really what we have come to! Without criticizing the girl because this is the function of the media and what a consumerist society has asked of her. May God forgive us and give us another chance at civilization.”<sup>29</sup> Anitta may never win over these critics, despite—and because of—her willingness to follow in the footsteps of men who continue to define Brazil through women’s bodies. Brazil’s deep race and class divisions

<sup>26</sup> Among other accomplishments, she was the first to win an award and present at the MTV Video Music Awards, she was the first female solo Brazilian artist to present at Coachella, and she has broken multiple records on Spotify. Rihanna also bears this burden for her home country of Barbados (see Bascomb 2020).

<sup>27</sup> See Amanda Ulrich, “Coachella 2022: Anitta Fans from Brazil to California Show Up in Force for Weekend 2,” *Palm Springs Desert Sun*, April 22, 2022, <https://www.desertsun.com/story/life/entertainment/music/coachella/2022/04/22/coachella-2022-anitta-fans-turn-out-force-weekend-2/7391325001/>.

<sup>28</sup> On April 15, 2022, during the presidential election season, Anitta posted on Twitter: “A bandeira do Brasil e as cores da bandeira do Brasil pertencem aos BRASILEIROS. Representam o BRASIL em GERAL. NINGUÉM pode se apropriar do significado das cores da bandeira do nosso país. Fim” (The Brazilian flag and the colors of the Brazilian flag belong to BRAZILIANS. They represent BRAZIL as a WHOLE. NO ONE can own the meanings of the colors of our country’s flag. Full stop” (translation our own).

<sup>29</sup> Response on YouTube to Anitta’s video “Vai Malandra,” posted December 22, 2017, by Millennium Millennium Montalcino, at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDhptBT\\_-VI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDhptBT_-VI): “Que tristeza! o brasil cada vez afunda mais! sera que nos resumimos a isto! sem criticas a moça pois este e a funcao que a midia/sociedade de consumo lhe incumbiu. que deus nos perdoe e nos de outra chance como civilização.” See also Depexe et al. (2020) for a discussion of the hashtag campaign #AnittaRepresentaAMulherBR (#AnittaRepresentsTheBrazilianWoman) and their analysis of the negative responses this campaign received.

and staggering levels of inequality mean that challenging beauty standards and commanding attention won't, by itself, "revive the humanness that has been fragmented and suppressed" under global white supremacy (Pinho 2007, 289). Tan lines are a new site of race and class struggle on and over women's bodies. But the effort expended to be seen, and to make one's body legible to oneself and others, should be understood as a sophisticated and broader claim to existence, desirability, and belonging in a context where looks matter and the stakes and rules of the global visibility game have changed.

**Acknowledgments.** We would like to thank our research participants, especially Erika Bronze, as well as our Rio-based research assistants Maria Fernanda Maciel Aguiar, Maria Luiza de Freitas de Souza, and Rogério Rodrigues Pinto. We are also grateful to Kianna Dieudonné and George Romero for assistance with the bibliography. This manuscript benefited from generous feedback from Juan Carlos Callirgos, Patricia Pinho, Deina Rabie, and Kristina Wirtz, as well as the anonymous LARR reviewers. Viviane Kraieski de Assunção and Flavia Soares helped us across the finish line. We are very grateful to Marcelo Costa Braga for his excellent photos and for accompanying us over the years.

**Funding.** This work was supported by funding from the National Science Foundation Award #2127357, the Behner Stiefel Center for Brazilian Studies at San Diego State University, and the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Arizona.

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**Jennifer Roth-Gordon** is associate professor of anthropology at the University of Arizona. She is a linguistic and cultural anthropologist with a focus on critical race theory, critical whiteness studies, and language and power. Her first book is *Race and the Brazilian Body: Blackness, Whiteness, and Everyday Language in Rio de Janeiro* (University of California Press, 2017). She is currently writing her second book on middle-class intensive parenting in the context of antiblackness and racial violence based on fieldwork conducted in Rio. This article comes out of a larger study of race, climate, and extreme heat in Rio de Janeiro.

**Erika Robb Larkins** is professor of anthropology, Behner Stiefel Chair of Brazilian Studies, and director of the Center for Brazilian Studies at San Diego State University. She is the author of two books: *The Spectacular Favela: Violence in Modern Brazil* (University of California Press, 2015) and *The Sensation of Security: Private Guards and Social Order in Brazil* (Cornell University Press, 2023). She has published widely on race, gender, and politics in Brazil. Her current work focuses on environmental racism in low-income communities in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. She is the president of the Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA).

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**Cite this article:** Roth-Gordon, Jennifer, and Erika Robb Larkins. Tanning with Anitta, the New Girl from Ipanema: Creating Visibility Capital in a Global Look Economy. *Latin American Research Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lar.2025.10060>