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Entrepreneurs of the nightlife: An analysis of the work of Party Promoters and DJs in the city of São Paulo¹

Introduction

Recent developments of the process known as flexibilisation of labour and production relations following the weakening of social welfare and wage protection policies within the industrialised countries in the second half of the twentieth century have established a new set of occupational expectations based on the model of a dynamic, adaptable, versatile and ingenious worker. Business administrative reconfigurations led to the intensification of workers' functions. The elimination of manpower excess by means of lean production strategies, which include subcontracting, outsourcing and horizontalising command hierarchies have added to the duties of workers other quality control activities, which were previously exclusive managers liabilities (Boltanski and Chiapello 2009, 103).

These new qualities valued as employability distinguishing elements refer to the ingenuity of workers. The decreasing number of permanent work contracts has favoured the increase in temporary work. Mobility between different projects can emerge as a more enriching strategy resulting in the replacement of specialisations by multifunctionality. Permanent bonds and establishments have become dysfunctional in some work contexts as they limit such openness to new opportunities. This intermittent type of employment became a feature of relatively large periods of flexible careers.

Within such context the occupations linked to the cultural production markets become more relevant, since they are historically separated from traditional work. Such occupations are associated with the ideals of craftsmanship and reflect attempts to overcome workers' individual limits against their exclusive, acquiscent dedication to business interests. These are spaces that articulate creative

¹ Grant 2014/08098-2, São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP).

labour possibilities, not necessarily guided by self-discipline of time management and the procrastination of satisfactions in favour of productivity (Sennett 2010, 139). What was once regarded as poor formal recognition, or lack thereof, now gains a new interpretation, being reallocated to the discursive arena of cultural entrepreneurship. Independent projects turn to be more responsive as far as professional fulfilment is concerned.

This article aims at discussing the work carried out by DJs and Party Promoters in the city of São Paulo, as the key players in the nightly entertainment market, a non-regulated and informal market offering entertainment events. These events are a result of Promoters' creative efforts and they are also a stage for DJs' performances. The article intends to analyse the internal formats for the regulation of these occupations, as well as the criteria present in the reflexive and fragmented process of building their identities as workers. Another aspect is to observe the importance of the social capital in order to find the best engagement opportunities. The third section presents a brief theoretical discussion on the artistic and musical work and the fourth section presents some of the results of empirical research with Party Promoters and DJs.

Promoters are responsible for events carried out in entertainment venues in the city of São Paulo, such as nightclubs and concert halls, as well as for their planning, management and organisation. This is an activity that initially brings together the representative qualities of creative labour independence, but it keeps its own regulatory frameworks dispersed in informal norms that are a part of interpersonal networks. The promoters can handle itinerant events, often patented and managed as own brands, or nightclub exclusive events, managing them as freelancers, where they previously establish their share of responsibilities and profits. They also manage the subcontracting of other necessary staff for the event as well as the advertising and definition of the target audience.

Disc Jockeys, commonly abbreviated as DJs, are the individuals responsible for an innovative music creation or manipulation of existing songs, mainly by means of electronic intervention processes, such as acceleration, mixing, deceleration, collage and echo (Contador and Ferreira 1997, 30). The results of their efforts are presented in weekly scheduled nightclub events. Engagement possibilities depend on whether they are established or independent DJs, where the latter seek for opportunities to perform whenever they can. The variability of their performance also depends on the musical styles they identify with, changing according to their audience, the venue, the equipment and mixing techniques. The initial costs of buying the music and mixing equipment are incurred by them.

Methodology

The data provided in this article come from a research conducted in São Paulo between 2012 and 2015 using a qualitative methodology which included field

observations on five DJs musical performances and five entertainment events managed by Party Promoters. We have observed some of the objective and subjective determinants present in building their careers through common ways of remuneration, contracting, task sharing, artistic brand dissemination strategies, knowledge regarding institutionalisation, technique updating, instrumentalisation of interpersonal networks and emotional efforts to adapt their feelings to the expectations of club-goers. Thirteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight Party Promoters and five DJs of different musical styles.

Their contacts were obtained through the snowball sampling method, along with independent internet searches in specialised forums of event organisation, mixing and music production which contributed to questionnaire improvement. After field observations, the notes taken were transcribed. Recorded interviews took place in spaces chosen by the respondents according to their availability, in their homes, workplaces or restaurants and cafes they usually go to. The thirteen respondents had higher education in different fields of knowledge, such as Marketing, Gastronomy, Laws, Business Administration and Physiotherapy, and they were between 18 and 39 years old. Fictitious names have been used to identify the participants.

The information gathered through semi-structured interviews concerned the perceptions of Party Promoters and DJs on some traditional categories such as autonomy, subordination, formality and informality, as well as their educational trajectories before entering cultural entrepreneurship, articulating the data with field notes held during their events and musical performances, where we were able to verify how effectively the contact with the public occurred, negotiations with contractors, and advertising strategies. The discussion was based on contemporary theories on artistic and musical work, networking, symbolic consumption and emotional labour.

Theoretical discussion on the artistic and musical work

The artistic and musical work, albeit different from the wage-labour model, allows us to have a glimpse at the same representative values as in the case of other professional success narratives. An articulation between innate talent and continuous technical development is implied by creative labour. Among their distinguishing characteristics there are recognition possibilities among their peers, subjective identification with the results of their work, and the absence of routine (Bendassolli and Wood Jr 2010, 263).

This transcends the scope of solely economic discussions portraying a panoramic landscape of changes within the labour relations culture which is increasingly guided by the appreciation of intellectual capital. The concept of creative industries allows for a discussion about the characteristics of the production of cultural assets and their commercial distribution. Eventually, such commercial

impositions limit autonomous actions and set divisions between creative innovation and consumer demands (Bendassolli and Wood Jr 2010, 264). Temporary labour imposes pressures on creative workers, requiring continuous technical improvement and skills training. Such impossibility to foresee the results of what they do makes their commitment to performance even greater.

There are some other negative and restricting aspects integrating the occupational pathways in the artistic and music market, such as high intermittency rate and the need to have more than one job to ensure a satisfactory income. From the outset we can speak of high individualisation as an intrinsic characteristic of these activities. It is because career development in creative industries apparently depends exclusively on individual performance, in contrast with traditional professions (Menger 2009, 35).

The increasing need for the exploitation of individual attributes is manifested as a social trend in the organisation of post-Fordist labour relations, in which the centrality of material capital is transferred to immaterial capital, i.e. to all experiences and cultural background gained by workers in their lives, such as trust, cooperation, adaptability and resilience, all of which are now used in the refinement of production processes (Gorz 2005, 25). The theories that highlight such subjective capabilities as functional to the market have made the existing boundaries between the world of work and private life even more blurred.

Another distinguishing feature of artistic and musical work is the weekly organisation of the activities which is tied to short-term projects instead of a lasting career model, highlighting a transitional character. The most important approach is versatility and openness to change, since the conditioning factors for an artistic success change according to engagement possibilities. Those who are more prominent are multitask individuals and those with easy access to different social groups, indicating their ability to continuously create new interpersonal bonds (Boltanski and Chiapello 2009, 134).

There is the outsourcing of entertainment events running in the night life of São Paulo which makes Promoters and DJs perform varied and interconnected activities that exceed the scope of their direct responsibilities. Promoters have to know about songs, musical styles, mixing techniques and sound and lighting details. DJs have to know about different target audiences, available venues, nightclub owners, publicity techniques and advertising. There is an exchange between both activities to be followed in order to ensure greater chances of success. In the context of cultural entrepreneurship, demands for innovation only consolidate this intermittent temporality of professional biographies, gaining the contours of transitoriness (Canclini 2012, 14).

Presentation of results: Party Promoters and DJs of São Paulo

The activity of a Promoter is comprehensive even considering that different types of events show certain similarities because, after all, they are part of the same

nonregulated nightly entertainment market and they require specific tasks. They work with parties, concerts and festivals, each one with a particular management format. Organising shows, for example, which are considered to be complex events requiring more resources, staff and having more paying goers, is different from organising nightclub parties. Different suppliers are needed and the interaction with musicians, managers, bands, insurance companies and other service suppliers is also part of it. We have studied Promoters of private parties who create occasional events, organised and carried out in different entertainment venues.

Depending on the fame achieved, these events can turn up to be attractive investments, often being sponsored by corporations with an interest in advertising their brands to the club-goers. During field visits we could see some companies logos displayed on objects used during the events, such as glasses, tableware, venue decoration and furniture. Getting into this industry is determined by early access to endogenous knowledge on management methods and practices. In most cases Party Promoters were previously linked with the industry, as club-goers, employees, waiters, bartenders or receptionists. There is a code of conduct that must be followed in nightclub interactions, comprising vocabulary, clothing and emotional patterns.

The connection between a nightclub owner and a Party Promoter is a kind of a short-term partnership in which the claim for results is mutual. The former must report the total revenue of the night, the number of people, and any adjustments made; the latter must be accountable for the expenditure required in organising the event. This process occurs in accordance with the arrangements made during the planning phase. The rights of both individuals are not explicitly stated, as there is no institutionalised regulation. The informal draft of this regulation is drawn on a daily basis as a profit-sharing agreement. Only long-term relationships with club owners can give rise to a situation of greater predictability within such outsourcing context.

I have always enjoyed nightlife and working in these events. I have a friend who used to work as a DJ in a famous club two years ago. As I have always had many friends and when I went clubbing I had many guys with me, especially friends with money to spend, he told me about this Promoter job where he used to work. The club owner talked to me and invited me to work for them. (Pedro, Party Promoter, 2013)

First, you have to love parties; you should enjoy management and have many friends. I've always been like that since my school days; I ended up making of my leisure time a serious work. I worked in the marketing department of a large company for two years and then I invested what I had earned in the stock market. After having some profit I started looking for other ways of investment and I got to find my party. (Bianca, Party Promoter, 2012)

Commission is the most common form of remuneration, in which payments correspond to the percentage of event gross profit after deducting the basic costs of organisation. In some cases a fixed salary is negotiated with nightclub owners. These different ways of remuneration are always agreed in accordance

with contextual factors, depending on the relationship and trust between Party Promoters and nightclub owners. The lack of an institutionalised labour commitment enables Party Promoters to take on other jobs while maintaining a diverse portfolio of events. An exclusivity agreement would have a limiting effect upon the possibilities of interaction with other musical styles and club-goers. Temporary partnership appears discursively in accordance with the skills expected in the artistic and musical work.

Throughout the interviews we were able to see the strategies used by Party Promoters to order this set of diverse interests. Task categories are negotiated as to guarantee greater profit shares, such as bringing in club-goers celebrating their birthday or those willing to buy a ticket to VIP boxes. Their activity begins by receiving the customers at the entrance queue, usually restricting access to those whose names are on the guest list. Afterwards a selection of those who fit the profile or who can add some kind of symbolic or differentiated aesthetic value to the event is made. Such selection must be neutral in order to avoid embarrassing situations.

The first thing connecting DJs and Party Promoters occupation is sharing strategic information on new projects, as stated by Pedro. In many cases Party Promoters are responsible for hiring the DJs, enabling an advantageous opportunity for musical performances. The presence of well renowned DJs can also contribute qualitatively to promote events, attracting new customers. Such partnership demonstrates that in order to keep working in the nightly entertainment market they must rely on each other based on the need of personal contacts to achieve positive publicity of their work.

Contemporary DJs can be seen as direct heirs of the former “traditional disk jockeys”, who were responsible for the selection of soundtracks to be played during large urban centre events during the 1950s (Assef 2003, 23). The former differ from the latter in the possibility of creating new songs and of intervening in the songs of other musicians, from whom copyrights are purchased so that their songs can be modified and played. Their performances are grounded in the musical style they are associated with since club-goers’ requirements are different. The venues where these performances take place have also gone through changes, shifting from streets and cultural performances in open spaces, majority in the 1970s, to nightclubs and private venues (Contador and Ferreira 1997, 36).

DJs have changed from soundtrack selectors to mixers and producers with the support of technical equipment that allows them to apply such innovations. They deal not only with recorded song playback but now they also deal with their deconstruction, changing the songs and reusing them in varied manners (Pires 2001, 91). When they decide to work as exclusive DJs in a nightclub, they give up moving around, yet are not being granted formal employment or remuneration stability, because negotiations with nightclub owners are mostly done in an informal way. Recognition by governmental institutions is recent. The job of DJs

was incorporated into the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (*Classificação Brasileira de Ocupações — CBO*) in 2013².

Working as a DJ has certain class features, encompassing presentation opportunities during the events in middle class neighbourhood nightclubs and events in poor neighbourhoods. They need to have an adaptive image, one that does not label them in a definitive way. The element that must be endured throughout their trajectory is mobility itself, as it seems to be an idea that stagnation represents a kind of previous failure. Within this flexible context, the search for greater occupational stability can effectively mean being out of the game, according to Sennett (2010), the destination therefore matters less than the act of departure.

During field observations we noticed repeated concessions concerning their remuneration in exchange for making their names known to other club owners, especially in the case of DJs in their early careers. Payments lower than average are accepted, supplemented with other benefits, such as VIP box tickets for resale, free drinks at a club bar during their break time or a limited amount of invitations to give away to friends. Experienced DJs usually do not accept such bonuses, calling them unprofessional, and in most cases they opt for prior pay agreements, which may vary depending on event duration and the potential number of goers. The more famous the DJ is, the easier his labour agreement arrangements with contractors will be.

We heard a critical discourse from the DJs interviewed about the possibility of lay individuals to be classified as DJs and find venues available to receive them to perform. This regards recent cases of TV and fashion celebrities that have unexpectedly joined this activity. They are viewed with suspicion by DJs that have been working in this market longer, since they supposedly do not share the same artistic dedication. This understanding illustrates an emerging dispute over the establishment of a professional field, which is anchored in the need of a technical training in order to legitimately work as such. The concept of profession requires a distinguishing effort to search for knowledge about that activity through systematic and extended training based on codes of ethics (Diniz 2001, 20).

The DJ who does not produce his own songs and remixes will not succeed. As in any profession, you have to make the difference. Most DJs do not know why they are playing. They play for a matter of ego, to get free pass into clubs and hit on girls. Most of them are playboys who want to become a DJ, Promoters who want to become DJs, Big Brother celebrities who want to become DJs. I am more into the artistic part of the profession, you know? (DJ Caio, 2014)

This thing has changed a lot after the booming of the DJ figure, who received more credibility. The DJ has finally been given the title of artist and our fees have risen substantially. The market has been more receptive, even in the most undergrounds styles I work. The only downside is that competition has increased a lot and you cannot be sure about tomorrow. (DJ Natham, 2014)

² CBO updated on January 31, 2013 with the inclusion of reference number 3741-45 DJ (Disc Jockey).

During the interview with DJs Caio and Bruno we learned that they have developed a mechanism to minimise such unpredictability by creating a business company that rents DJing equipment, lighting and decoration for weddings and corporate events. They are established in a large warehouse in a western borough of São Paulo. They have offices upstairs, where they normally work on their songs, and the ground floor is used to store their equipment. The interview revealed a different perception of these services, which they claim to provide just to ensure a more fixed income if they do not get enough invitations to perform at nightclubs, the most adequate grounds for their musical improvement.

Although the work at weddings and corporate events is less demanding, DJs are not allowed to perform in an inventive way as the contracting party is the one that stipulates which songs are to be played. According to the respondents, such commercial limitation should be balanced with moments dedicated to independent production, which will effectively contribute to building their artistic identities. Their business helped advertising their work as DJs, making their names known to club goers and nightclub owners. Having such income guaranteed, they had more resources to invest in new equipment and to purchase the copyrights of songs they wanted to remix.

Building an occupational identity within cultural entrepreneurship

Becoming a Party Promoter or a DJ mobilises a set of categories still in dispute, which are related to their expertise, especially for building up their public images. There is an identity confusion involving the entrepreneur, the innovative artist and self-employed worker figures, all affected by cultural entrepreneurship values, which requires a willingness to explore new projects through innovation. Although intermittency does not allow long-term life planning, that does not mean Party Promoters and DJs do not find personal satisfaction or a feeling of professional fulfilment. At this point the opening for decision-making seems to overcome to some degree the negative consequences of transience and unpredictability of their occupational pathways (Leadbeater and Oakley 1999, 22).

In one of the events we attended, organised by Promoter Bianca, we were able to see such identification volatility. The event was aimed at underground electronic music fans. The party took place in a rented mansion where dance floors, DJing sets, lighting and decoration were installed. It was a well-known event, held for over ten years and six hundred editions, some sponsored by global companies. During her interview Promoter Bianca said she considered herself a true entrepreneur, investing her own resources in providing quality entertainment to club-goers and contributing to spreading the musical style she identified herself with, and giving opportunity to new DJs to perform. She would register her party before the National Industrial Property Institute (*Instituto Nacional de Propriedade Industrial* — INPI).

Upon interviewing DJ Natham, we could observe this decentred identification, when we talked about the ways of the institutionalisation of the activity. He is member of the Order of the Musicians of Brazil (*Ordem dos Músicos do Brasil*³ — OMB), a professional music association made of a Federal and State Councils. Beside his work as a DJ he also owns a company that produces music for advertising agencies. According to him, the OMB membership was only used as a means of granting differential value to his company, affecting neither his musical preferences, nor his artistic independence. His understanding of Booth DJs Union (*Sindicato dos DJs Profissionais de Cabine de Som* — SINDECS) also had a critical connotation as to the likely interference of that institution.

All data collected during interviews and observations point to a trend of diffuse construction of Party Promoter and DJ identities. They accompany the contextual needs of these occupations and are articulated in a strategic way. In some situations it seems to be more advantageous to them to disclose their image as artists; in others it seems more advantageous to be seen as entrepreneurs. DJs seem to make a greater effort to be seen as artists and Party Promoters as entrepreneurs. The resemblance between them lies in the fact that both of them are further away from the more traditional figure of the subordinate employee, even if they do not have captive club-goers and struggle to get temporary contracts.

Instead of thinking of a unified identity, it seems rather more beneficial to use the sociological concept of identification, which takes into account the off-centre articulation of possible multiple identities established according to experiences and individual symbolic universes, constantly gaining new meanings and being renegotiated (Hall 2011, 38). Personal narratives do not exclusively follow linear routes; instead, they adapt to project needs with which they are involved at certain places and times. The contemporary process of accelerated globalisation has also contributed to an actual destabilisation of the former rigid identities, which were built almost exclusively upon an idealised category of a universal and indivisible individual.

These issues show different understandings of the meaning of concepts such as autonomy, subordination, formality and informality, which eventually result in different standpoints towards collective associations, such as Unions. Looking at DJ Felipe's interview, we find a positive tone in his speech regarding SINDECS, which, according to him, is an interesting initiative for solving the common problems faced by professional DJs, as well as for consolidating a more stable communication channel. The possible interference arising from the creation of general guidelines for the exercise of the occupation would not necessarily bring up limiting consequences to his musical performances, which he considers a truly defining moment in stating artistic independence. Control will emerge via the internal dilemma between resignation to commercial expectations versus exclusive dedication to individual artistic preferences.

³ Created by the Act No. 3857 of 22nd of December 1960.

It's absurd to limit art as a profession and to compel someone to bear a Union card to be a professional. Art is a subjective thing; you have the right to express yourself as you like. From my own experience I know that OMB does little for musicians; so I find it difficult that the SINDECS can do something different. It is worth having a Union to protect our interests, but they will take a while until they gain credibility. (DJ Natham, 2014)

It is an interesting initiative. Nowadays it looks like anyone can call himself a DJ. I believe the Union can solve this problem. It is a way to make our profession more united. There are some beginners that won't respect DJs with years of production. I know of some who have lost job opportunities because many DJs on their early-stage had offered to play for free. (DJ Felipe, 2015)

The example given by Promoter Cássio presented a different understanding of autonomy and informality. He decided not to sign any contract with nightclub owners where he would carry out an event, remaining available for other events in the week. His payment was made after profit was calculated. As a preventive measure against unfair actions from nightclub owners he used to make a parallel count of customers to compare with the official count. He chose to stay in a smaller circuit of entertainment venues where he would be able to consolidate more personalised ties. In his opinion, informality is a functional characteristic favouring the renegotiation of responsibilities and remuneration. Risks are then naturalised and balanced with the perceptions of autonomy.

When carrying out their tasks they use not only objective, but also subjective attributes to create a behavioural pattern consistent with club-goers' expectations. They must apply a specific emotional labour to convey an image that is always cheerful during musical performances and events. The adaptation of personal feelings to labour needs results in extra effort which is often set aside by an employee and a contracting party (Hochschild 1983, 128). This psychological adjustment aims at reducing the gap between what they really feel and what they were taught to feel in their workplace. The absence of a friendly attitude may jeopardise their image in the eyes of those who seek for symbols of leisure in these venues.

The service rendering industry is unique as it establishes closer ties between workers and consumers, allowing the latter to influence the work carried out by the former through symbolic and economic sanctions, ranging from verbal pressure to service not being contracted. Eventually, service providers establish procedures to eliminate such interference (Becker 2009, 91). Overall chances of success increase when they identify themselves with the trends, offering the most sought after music and events. This submission can result in impaired independence perception. One way to overcome this situation is by adopting a strictly technical criterion, exclusively focusing on demonstrating technical excellence in musical production and event organisation.

Starting a career and staying there depends on workers' interpersonal network mobilisation. There is the predominance of individual prerogatives in the jobs of Party Promoters and DJs, however the centrality of networking points to a collective regulation characteristic. Mechanisms to demand results are created and they

are associated with trust and reciprocity expectations in the relationships between Party Promoters, DJs, costumers and contractors, which, when not responded to properly, may jeopardise the social capital invested. It is difficult to be called to work if not recommended by someone able to provide nightclub owners with some guarantees. It is the proximity level within the network that makes informal rules to be effectively observed (Coleman 1990, 300). Dialogues must also keep an implied possibility of rapprochement.

The nightly entertainment market in the city of São Paulo is a peculiar sociability environment where some behavioural norms are minimised or briefly outlined while pursuing collective symbols of leisure. In advanced industrial societies leisure and spaces reserved for its manifestation represent enclaves where moderately excited and emotional actions are allowed (Elias and Dunning 1992, 103). Club-goers seek for venues that are able to put these specific values together. At Party Promoter Bruno's events, for example, when someone spends a large amount of money on alcoholic drinks, he is honoured with flickering candles attached to the bottles, a conspicuous feature of consumption, that is to say, a type of consumption that is most useful as an evidence of social prestige (Veblen 1974, 291).

Conclusion

The case study of Party Promoters and DJs from São Paulo opens a promising possibility for renewed discussions on the traditional concepts of sociology of work, such as autonomy, subordination, formality and informality, rethinking them within the cultural entrepreneurship paradigm where negative aspects of intermittence and instability gain new meanings. It becomes functional to increase the number of temporary projects DJs and Party Promoters can gain access to when building their occupational pathways. Opting for the organisation of itinerant events or musical performances articulates a set of symbolic justifications which are permeated by the interest in the disclosure of their personal images as trendsetters. Risks arising from informal hiring appeared as relatively naturalised in the interviews collected.

We noticed a diffuse identity construction, which combines the figures of a creative artist, an entrepreneur and an independent service provider, strategically deployed in the different contexts where they perform. Such sporadic engagements also provide an explanation to the divergent opinions about the Unions. The lack of predictability makes them seek for alternative arrangements in order to guarantee a complementary compensation by creating companies to supply DJing equipment or by registering their events as trademarks aiming at getting sponsored by other companies. Such arrangements appear discursively separate from the moments reserved for artistic innovation.

Some of the non-explicit control practices are revealed in expectations arising from the instrumentalisation of interpersonal networks to enter into and to stay in the market. Relational proximity results in certain codes of conduct to be followed, since it is not just their reputation that is at stake, but also that of their colleagues who provided them with privileged information and put them in contact with nightclub owners. The needs for emotional adjustment to club goers' expectations are enlarged making them worry about a permanent demonstration of receptibility. Duties go beyond the venues and end up colonising their time off work. The mobility characteristics, although appropriate to the requirements of flexibility, can cover up labour intensification processes.

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Entrepreneurs of the nightlife: An analysis of the work of Party Promoters and DJs in the city of São Paulo

Abstract

This paper analyses the case study of the work of DJs and Party Promoters in the nightly entertainment market in the city of São Paulo. Both are occupations based on short-term projects and

located under the discursive arena of cultural entrepreneurship, where the negative aspects of intermittence and informality appear naturalised and counterbalanced with the statements of artistic and decision-making independence. The interviews with DJs and Party Promoters provided data for comparing different perceptions of traditional concepts, such as autonomy, subordination, formality and informality.

Przedsiębiorcy życia nocnego: analiza pracy promotorów imprez i DJ-ów w São Paulo

Abstrakt

W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono analizę studium przypadku pracy DJ-ów i promotorów imprez na rynku rozrywki nocnej w mieście São Paulo. Oba zawody oparte są na krótkotrwałych projektach i mieszczą się w dyskursywnym polu kulturowej przedsiębiorczości, w którym negatywne aspekty nieregularności i nieformalności wydają się znaturalizowane i zrównoważone sformułowaniami na temat niezależności artystycznej i decyzyjnej. Wywiady z DJ-ami i promotorami imprez pozwoliły uzyskać dane do porównania różnego sposobu postrzegania tradycyjnych pojęć, takich jak autonomia, podporządkowanie, formalność i nieformalność.