

# The consumption and reggaeton's language under debate among adolescents

*El consumo y el lenguaje del reguetón a debate entre los adolescentes*

Isabel González Gómez  
Universidad de Huelva (Spain)

Manuel Delgado-García  
Universidad de Huelva (Spain)



VOL. 1 (2022)

ISSN 2952-2013 pp. 36-55

<https://doi.org/10.33776/linguodidactica.v1.7476>

## The consumption and reggaeton's language under debate among adolescents

### *El consumo y el lenguaje del reguetón a debate entre los adolescentes*

Isabel González Gómez  
Universidad de Huelva (Spain)

Manuel Delgado-García  
University of Huelva (Spain)

Contacto:  
manuel.delgado@dedu.uhu.es

### Abstract:

Music is not just a simple pastime, as it also contributes to the construction of identities, promotes cultural development or generates close affective ties between those who share the same musical preferences. In recent years, reggaeton has become very popular, a musical genre admired by youth and characterized by containing, in its lyrics, discriminatory messages towards women. In this sense, it is vitally important to question the impact exerted on adolescents, where it has penetrated with greater impetus, analyzing the possible consequences that it may have when building or reinforcing macho thoughts. A qualitative research is proposed that tries to examine the perceptions of adolescents. Through two focus groups, the opinions of young people enrolled in the educational stages of 2nd ESO and 3rd ESO from two secondary education institutes in the province of Huelva are debated and confronted. During the focus group sessions, the participants question the relationship between different variables that emerge from the properties of the language used in some reggaeton lyrics, such as machismo or gender violence. The analysis of the speeches derived from the work sessions has been developed through the Maxqda software.

The results reveal a type of music that is expanding as a trend among adolescents, whose messages are not clearly discriminated or prosecuted and which tend to normalize certain discriminatory behaviors towards women and reinforce macho thinking among the male gender. For all these reasons, the educational system must promote the creation of a musical culture that invites adolescents to be aware of and critically judge the music they listen to daily.

### Keywords:

Gender-based violence; Music education; Reggaeton.

### Resumen:

La música no es sólo un simple pasatiempo, pues también contribuye a la construcción de identidades, propicia el desarrollo cultural o genera estrechos lazos afectivos entre quienes comparten las mismas preferencias musicales. En los últimos años está adquiriendo una gran popularidad el reggaetón, un género musical admirado por la juventud y caracterizado por contener, en sus letras, mensajes discriminantes hacia la mujer. En este sentido, resulta de vital importancia cuestionar la repercusión ejercida en los/as adolescentes, donde ha calado con mayor ímpetu, analizando las posibles consecuencias que puede llegar a tener a la hora de construir o reforzar pensamientos machistas.

Se plantea una investigación de corte cualitativo que trata de examinar las percepciones de los adolescentes. A través de dos grupos de discusión se debate y confrontan opiniones de jóvenes escolarizados en las etapas educativas de 2º de ESO y 3º de ESO de dos institutos de educación secundaria de la provincia de Huelva. Durante las sesiones de los grupos de discusión, los/as participantes ponen en tela de juicio la relación entre diferentes variables que emergen de las propiedades del lenguaje empleado en algunas letras del reggaetón, como son el machismo o la violencia de género. El análisis de los discursos derivados de las sesiones de trabajo se ha desarrollado a través del software Maxqda.

Los resultados dejan entrever un tipo de música que se expande como una moda entre los adolescentes, cuyos mensajes no son claramente discriminados ni enjuiciados y que tienden a normalizar determinadas conductas discriminatorias hacia la mujer y a reforzar el pensamiento machista entre el género masculino. Por todo ello, desde el sistema educativo se ha de potenciar la creación de una cultura musical que invite a los adolescentes a ser conscientes y a enjuiciar críticamente la música que escuchan diariamente.

### Palabras claves:

Adolescencia; cultura musical; violencia de género; discriminación sexual reggaetón.

Fecha de recepción: 29 de octubre de 2022

Fecha de aceptación: 28 de noviembre de 2022

## 1. Introduction

The present prominence given to music in the lives of adolescents is remarkable. Currently in Spain, most of the boys/girls between the ages of 10 and 18 have technological resources at home, such as computers, the Internet and mobile phones, which they use, mostly, for musical purposes (Gairín & Mercader, 2018; Serrano, 2017). Therefore, studying the effect of music on education is imperative, considering that it is not just entertainment.

Since Zoltan Kodály demonstrated for the first time the positive impact of music in education (Chao et al., 2015), numerous investigations have examined its intervention in the constitution of the human being, observing improvements in the quality of life in the physical sphere, psychological and social (Llanga and Insuasti, 2019; Mosquera, 2013). Due to its importance, today Musical Education is considered as one more content to be addressed in the curriculum of all compulsory educational stages, however, its relevance in the Spanish educational system is not real (Blasco and Calatrava, 2020). Consequently, it is essential to value Music Education as an essential field of pedagogical intervention for innovation and improvement of education, especially in secondary school students (Chao et al., 2015).

It is not only a cultural factor, but a dynamic element that participates and shapes the whole society, being the young people where music receives great popularity. In fact, this is the main way to build their identities and personalities, fostering the creation of affective bonds between those who share the same musical preferences. As Álamos (2019) points out, many adolescents listen to music as a means of escape from their daily lives, resorting to it with the aim of improving their mood. To this end, some even state that “music is their” best friend “ (p. 96). In addition, each musical style is usually related to certain attitudes, values, ideologies and even ways of dressing.

On the other hand, following the studies of Martín and Hormigos (2004), it is necessary to return to the double dimensionality of the song contributed by Edgar Mori (1994), who distinguished two essential components: the musical and the verbal. In this sense, it is necessary to compare the importance given to each of the elements with respect to the passage of time, since, although it is true that in past times music stood out for its musical aspect -what happened with classical works- Currently, the relevance given to the verbal element is undeniable. As a consequence of this, the messages extracted in musical compositions have become an essential means of communication that represents and intervenes in a large number of social aspects, which occurs in reggaeton, a new musical style originating in the Latin American country, Puerto Rico (Ramirez, 2012).

The explicit lyrics typical of this musical genre are characterized according to the investigations of Caraballo (2006, cited by Cruz-Díaz and Guerrero, 2018; Díez-Gutiérrez, 2021), for transmitting messages based on three fundamental aspects: women, sex, violence and masculine identity. For this reason, everything seems to indicate that this musical genre contributes to the macho thinking of society (Sánchez-Rivera, 2020) and, considering the impact of reggaeton on the personal development of young people it is vital to analyze the possible adverse effects that its consumption may cause (Negrón-Muntaner and Rivera, 2009; Duany, 2010; Cruz-Díaz and Guerrero, 2018; De Toro, 2011). Campo et al. (2022) from the music education propose to make teenagers aware that not all the music they listen to is equally interesting.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

Although there is no agreement, everything points to the fact that reggaeton arose from the cultural and musical exchange that took place in the eighties between Panama and Puerto Rico, where they made Spanish adaptations of Jamaican reggae and produced the first recordings (Penagos, 2012; Ramírez, 2012).

In its beginnings, reggaeton was produced clandestinely (Penagos, 2012) since, as indicated by Arévalo et al. (2018), initially the lyrics of this musical genre were loaded with social complaints and had high levels of violence, so that it became an underground movement. Following this line, artists such as Tego Calderón stand out, who claimed in his compositions the racism and social discrimination suffered by the poorest social classes in Puerto Rico (Marshall et al., 2010).

Reggaeton has been growing rapidly, currently becoming one of the most predominant musical genres in the world, building a lifestyle for many adolescents (Duany, 2010; De Toro, 2011). However, there is still controversy about the language used in this musical genre, which is frequently linked to sexual themes and behaviors that violate certain ethical and moral norms (Arévalo et al., 2018; Martínez, 2014). Apparently, reggaeton seems to promote negative values such as homophobia, violence, sexism, etc. (Rivero, 2020). However, to understand the characteristics that surround this musical genre, it is essential to emphasize the context in which it is located and born -which has been mentioned previously-, since the content of its compositions is a mere reflection of the environment in which reggaeton players have grown up, that is, in suburbs with high rates of violence and crime, discrimination, as well as a heteropatriarchal society typical of Latin American culture (De Toro, 2011; Sánchez-Rivera, 2020) or even patriarchal society (Diez-Gutierrez, 2021). In this sense, reggaeton is nothing more than a manifestation of its society, representing through video clips and compositions, its experiences and, consequently, disseminating gender roles of the patriarchal system that its environment covers (Rivero, 2020).

In Cruz-Díaz y Guerrero (2018) the existence of a series of common aspects in the vast majority of reggaeton songs is raised, which are worth studying, especially due to their large doses of macho violence:

a) Masculine identity: the figure of man is the protagonist. His image is described as dominant and superior compared to the figure of the woman. It is characterized by being completely heterosexual, despite the fact that women's homosexuality is often used as an enjoyment for the male singer, which can be perceived in sentences such as: "if you have a girl, then convince her for the trio" (Bad Bunny, 2018, 1:45). Likewise, he is usually shown to be violent and possesses a large amount of material goods, objectifying women and sometimes considering her as a property object (Ángeles, 2019).

b) The violence appears related to the conflicts related to the ghetto in which events experienced by the singer himself are narrated; expressed through confrontations between reggaetoneros, what is known as *tiraeras* (songs in which the artists intend to offend their opponent) (Sánchez-Rivera, 2020) or through violent behavior directed at women or gender violence, understanding violence against women as any act that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm to the woman that can end in femicide (Arévalo et al., 2018; Pérez, 2020).

c) The sexualized woman, always valued and described under the characteristics of an androcentric society, generating a multitude of stereotypes around her figure (Screti, 2019). This can be seen in numerous recent songs, such as the song published on September 5, 2020 on the YouTube platform under the title La Jeepeta Remix performed by Nio Garcia, Brray, Juanka, Anuel AA and Myke Towers, in whose lyrics we find the following: "with me a blonde has big tits" (0:35) or in older songs as in the case of *En la cama* published in 2014 by Nicky Jam and Daddy Yankee, where we hear: "I want the combi complete what? Pussy, ass, boob" (0:27). Likewise, this hyper-sexualization of women can be noticed even in the dance associated with this music called perreo and characterized by a sensual way of dancing in which the participants rub against each other (Negrón-Muntaner and Rivera, 2009; Duany, 2010, among others). However, this kind of dance is sometimes defended by some sectors of feminism, who argue that reggaeton empowers and liberates women (Merlyn, 2020).

Along the same lines, Pontrandolfo (2020) quantitatively analyzes the semantics and linguistics used in the vocabulary of Maluma's songs, one of the most recognized reggaeton artists. Among the most frequent verbs are: "want", "be", "go", "be", "do", "say", "have", "pass", "forget", "fall in love", "call", "kiss", "shut up", "need", "cry", "dance", "wait", "kill", "miss" (p. 943). These expressions contribute to drawing clichés in which the seductive woman conquers the man, who suffers for her, generally because of threesomes and/or infidelities (Gallucci 2008), although the man is the true protagonist of this whole story. In fact, the personal pronouns "I" of the man take precedence over the "you" of the woman.

Díez-Gutiérrez (2021) classifies the themes of 60 reggaeton songs into these categories:

Table 1. Classification of themes within reggaeton songs by Díez-Gutiérrez

| Categories                        | Codes                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Woman as body                     |                                       |
| Holy women and whores             |                                       |
| Macho sexual fantasy              |                                       |
| Mansplaining                      |                                       |
| Macho culture                     | Control, possession                   |
|                                   | Contempt as dominance                 |
|                                   | Misogyny: bad, witches, liars         |
|                                   | The culture of sexual assault or rape |
| The perfect match (romantic love) |                                       |

Source: data extracted from Díez-Gutiérrez (2021)

However, there are defenders of this musical style who defend its feminist progress over time (Escobar-Fuentes & Montalbán-Peregrín, 2021), especially with the appearance of new female reggaetoneras such as Paloma Mami, Cazzu, Becky G, Karol G, Anitta, etc. (Araúna, et al. 2020). These artists are breaking with the traditional stereotypes of this musical style and building new discourses (Domínguez, 2020). Emerging male artists themselves are also spreading a feminist discourse that advocates for women's rights, as in the case of Bad Bunny (Platt, 2018).

## Young people and reggaeton

Following the research of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (cited by Navarro and Pastor, 2021), in 2019, the most prevalent musical styles in Spain were, ordered according to their consumption, pop, rock and reggaeton.

Reggaeton is mainly aimed at adolescents (Penagos, 2012; Negrón-Muntaner and Rivera, 2009; Duany, 2010, among others), since, as Llanes et al. (2019), adolescence is characterized by being a stage of rebellion against social reality, so that the consumption of this musical genre can constitute a form of disobedience to what is expected of it. Given this reality, studies such as that of Huahua-champi (2020) determine that reggaeton in leisure contexts, places where this music is usually played, is an incitement to sex, as well as drug and alcohol use in young people. However, there is a diversity of opinions regarding the negative effects of reggaeton since some authors argue that most of the listeners of this musical genre do not internalize or understand the content of the lyrics, they only listen to the songs because they are in fashion, they are catchy and they enjoy dancing to them (Llanes et al., 2019; Gallucci, 2008).

Due to the recent popularity of this new genre and since the possible negative consequences are still unknown, an innovative education must address this issue, delving into the music, examining the possible repercussions on their daily experiences and creating links between school and the outside world (North, Hargreaves and O'Neill, 2000). However, despite the social significance of music, it continues to be undervalued in formal education since, although it is contemplated in the curriculum, the reality in the classroom is different, losing importance over the years (Blasco and Calatrava, 2020).

Therefore, considering all the theory provided, music must be taught to develop a real coeducation since, as Soler and Oriola (2019) point out, teachers must promote educational practices with the aim of analyzing and questioning the stereotypes that implicitly and symbolically we find ourselves in the spaces of daily life. Specifically, it is necessary to promote the critical thinking of students with the content of the music they listen to prevent these stereotypes of a sexist and/or discriminatory nature from perpetuating in the thinking of young people, and reggaeton is a very useful tool for young people due to its symbolism loaded with machismo and the interest it produces in them.

For all of the above, this study arises with the aim of providing answers about the effects of reggaeton on young people, as well as their awareness of the machismo characteristic of the lyrics, going through questions such as: why do you like reggaeton so much? even skipping the conventions of society? do the youth understand the messages? do they analyze their lyrics? do they feel identified? do they reproduce these patterns in their daily lives? etc. (Cruz-Díaz and Guerrero, 2018; Rivero, 2020).

## 3. Methods

The nature of the object of study invites us to propose a qualitative research design where the discourse and the perception of the protagonists acquires the main interest, like other studies carried out (Escobar-Fuentes & Montalbán-Peregrín, 2021; Díez-Gutiérrez, 2021). Among the different qualitative research techniques that guarantee this premise, we have chosen to use focus groups (Matsunobu, 2022). We agree that it is an ideal research method to deep on perception of music. The collecting data tool, the focus group, serves to expose and confront opinions about the reality studied.

### 3.1. Objectives

- Assess to what degree adolescents are aware of the presence of macho lyrics in reggaeton.
- Analyze the consumption of reggaeton among adolescents and its incidence in terms of gender.

### 3.2. Sample

Regarding the sample, a non-probabilistic criterion has been followed, specifically, it is a snowball or reference chain sampling; from contact with several participants, the sample grows progressively until reaching the required number of participants (Mendieta, 2015). In addition, in this way, direct knowledge between the moderator and the interviewees is avoided, which is beneficial since, as Gil (1992) points out, "the pre-existence of relationships between the subjects can interfere with the functioning of the group" (p.204).

In this case, it starts with two trusted subjects (each one of them belongs to a different secondary education center and to a different course) and each one contributes the contact of other people. The sample is expanded to a total of 16 subjects, divided into 8 students per center (4 belonging to 2nd ESO and 4 belonging to 3rd ESO, in each center), with parity between the sexes and with ages ranging between 13 and 15 years.

To identify each one of the groups, the letter "p" is used for the 2nd ESO group and the letter "g" for the 3rd ESO group. In the same way, the symbol "m" is used to refer to the male subjects and "f" for the female sex.

Regarding the characteristics of the participants, there is a wide variety in terms of variables such as musical preferences, academic records and ages. These properties generate a heterogeneity in the groups conducive to the diversity of opinions (Porto and Ruiz, 2014) as can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Characteristics of the participants of the focus group of 2nd ESO.

| Subjects | Age      | Sex      | Ratings | High school | Interest in reggaeton |       |       |       |        |         |
|----------|----------|----------|---------|-------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|
| Code     | 13 years | 14 years | Fem.    | Masc.       | Average grade         | IES 1 | IES 2 | A lot | Little | Nothing |
| S1mp     |          | X        |         | X           | 6-7                   |       | X     |       | X      |         |
| S2fp     | X        |          | X       |             | 9-10                  | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S3fp     | X        |          | X       |             | 7                     | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S4mp     |          | X        |         | X           | 0 - 4                 |       | X     |       |        | X       |
| S5fp     |          | X        | X       |             | 4-5                   |       | X     |       | X      |         |
| S6fp     | X        |          | X       |             | 9                     | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S7mp     | X        |          |         | X           | 6                     | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S8mp     | X        |          |         | X           | 6                     |       | X     | X     |        |         |

Source: own elaboration

Table 3: Characteristics of the participants of the focus group of 3rd ESO.

| Subjects | Age      | Sex      | Ratings | High school | Interest in reggaeton |       |       |       |        |         |
|----------|----------|----------|---------|-------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|
| Code     | 14 years | 15 years | Fem.    | Masc.       | Average grade         | IES 1 | IES 2 | A lot | Little | Nothing |
| S1mg     |          | X        |         | X           | 6                     | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S2fg     | X        |          | X       |             | 9-10                  |       | X     |       | X      |         |
| S3fg     |          | X        | X       |             | 6-7                   | X     |       | X     |        |         |
| S4mg     |          | X        |         | X           | 9                     | X     |       |       |        | X       |
| S5mg     | X        |          |         | X           | 9                     | X     |       |       |        | X       |
| S6fg     | X        |          | X       |             | 9                     |       | X     | X     |        |         |
| S7fg     |          | X        | X       |             | 7                     |       | X     | X     |        |         |
| S8mg     | X        |          |         | X           | 7                     |       | X     |       | X      |         |

Source: own elaboration

### 3.3. Techniques and instruments

Focus groups are used, a type of data collection technique based on a previously planned and designed conversation whose objective is to obtain information on a specific topic. To do this, the members of the group contribute ideas on a question raised by the moderator, whose function is to suggest the discussion of the topic to be investigated, avoiding the intrusion of other external matters to be examined (León, 2007).

Based on the work of Pérez-Sánchez and Viquez-Calderón (2009), Porto and Ruiz (2014) and Gil (1992), the configuration of the focus groups was raised based on the following criteria:

- a) Groupings: they are two differentiated groups depending on the educational course they study. The first is made up of 8 young people from 2nd year of ESO and the second consists of 8 subjects corresponding to 3rd year of ESO.
- b) Duration: considering the ages and cognitive characteristics of the participants, the focus groups last approximately 45 minutes and are held twice.
- c) Timing: the sessions take place on the same day (at different times). After two weeks, the second session of both focus groups takes place, again following the same order.
- d) Role of the moderator: motivates the participants to discuss through a semi-directed intervention (proposes ideas to discuss through open questions), without interfering with the spontaneity of the responses.
- e) Procedure: in both discussion groups three general parts are distinguished according to the lines of debate raised as can be seen in Table 4.



Table 4: Discussion lines for focus groups.

| First session  | Second session  |
|--|---|
| <i>Knowledge about reggaeton</i>   | <i>Knowledge about gender violence</i>  |
| <i>Opinions on the relationship between machismo and reggaeton</i>   | <i>Opinions on gender violence in reggaeton</i>   |
| <i>Critical analysis from the active listening of 5 musical fragments, contributing ideas about machismo in what is perceived.</i> | <i>Critical analysis through the reading of 5 musical fragments, identifying the different types of gender violence in these songs.</i> |

Source: own elaboration

For the selected musical fragments, the types of violence provided by Arévalo et al. (2018), associating each song with a type of violence. Likewise, the selection of songs meets the following criteria:

- a) They belong to songs published in the last 4 years.
- b) Views on the YouTube digital platform exceed 100 million views, with the aim of being mostly recognized by the sample.

Finally, for listening in session 1, it is reproduced on the mobile with speakers so that everyone can hear the fragments properly and it is repeated a maximum of 3 times if necessary; then discussion is invited. On the other hand, for the reading in session 2, the written fragments are given to volunteers for their reading is then discussed. This way the moderator does not lose detail of the non-verbal language, as indicated by Pérez-Sánchez and Viquez-Calderón (2009).

Regarding the structure, in both sessions and groupings, the same methodology and the same number of questions are used, reformulating the wording of some questions to facilitate the understanding of the smaller group. In total, 14 questions are asked, 8 in the first session and 6 in the second, in addition to others that arise from the dialogue.

#### a) First session

1. If I say the word 'reggaeton' to you, what comes to mind? What do you think?
2. What do you think reggaeton has that other styles of music do not have so that young people listen to it so much?
3. You have to give your opinion about the following reggaeton artists in terms of the image they give you as people, if they have a studio, etc. Bad Bunny; J Balvin; Myke Towers; Anuel AA; Camillus; Karol G and Rosalia.
4. What do you think the concepts of *perrear*, *flow*, *frikitona*, *bellaca*, *pum-pum*, *acapella*, *chapeadora*, *prepago*, *percocet* and *hennesy* mean?
5. What do you think of the relationship between machismo and reggaeton? / How do you think that reggaeton affects the machismo of society?

6. What do you think of machismo in the songs of female reggaeton artists?
7. When you listen to a song, are you aware of what is macho? / Do you ever stop to analyze what a letter says, being aware of what it says?
8. What do you think of what you have heard?

b) Second session

1. What do you know about gender violence?
2. How do you think gender violence can occur? In what ways?
3. According to research there are 5 types of violence. I am going to tell you their name and you have to tell me what it suggests to you about each one of them.
4. What do you think about the representation of these types of violence in reggaeton lyrics?
5. What do you think about the representation of these types of violence in reggaeton lyrics?
6. What type of violence of the aforementioned do you think is reflected in each of them and why?

In order to guarantee the validity of the tool used, the questions that structured the debate in the focus groups were subjected to expert judgment. They qualitatively assessed the clarity and adequacy of the questions with respect to the object of study. Specifically, the review was requested by 3 experts in qualitative methodology from the Universities of Huelva (2) and Seville (1). The result threw several comments linked to the clarity of some issues. Those exposed in this work were attended and resulted.

### 3.4. Data analysis

For the analysis of the data obtained, the MAXQDA program was used. Through this program, a categorical system is generated where the lines of debates used and the code used in the presentation of results are grouped into dimensions and categories together with their description as can be seen in table 5.

Table 5. Categorical system

| Dimension                   | Categories           | Codes | Meaning  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------|--|
| Perceptions about reggaeton | Concept              | PRC   | Questions are exposed to discover the knowledge that the participants of the discussion groups have about the concept of reggaeton.                                    |
|                             | Causes of popularity | PRCP  | It is about knowing the arguments that the subjects contribute about the reasons why reggaeton is so popular and admired today by the youth.                           |
|                             | Singers              | PRCA  | The ideas and opinions of some of the most popular artists of this musical genre, referring to the image that it gives them as a person and their socioeconomic level. |

|                 |                      |      |   |
|-----------------|----------------------|------|---|
| Sexism          | Vocabulary           | MV   | It is intended to recognize the level of understanding of the content that adolescents have, based on the meaning they give to terms frequently used in reggaeton, related to the sexual sphere and the substance of drugs. |
|                 | Prosecution capacity | MR   | Adolescents make an evaluative judgment on the relationship between machismo and reggaeton, analyzing the possible effects that the consumption of reggaeton causes in society  |
|                 | Song lyrics content  | MCL  | The level of awareness that young people have about the content of the lyrics is studied, expressing their opinions on the content of the lyrics of 5 selected fragments of popular songs.                                  |
| Gender violence | Knowledge            | VGC  | The knowledge that young people have about gender violence is examined.   |
|                 | Typology             | VGT  | The different types of violence against women contemplated by adolescents are studied.  |
|                 | Song lyrics content  | VGCA | It consists of finding out the opinion of the participants on the types of violence provided by Arévalo et al. (2018) on the content of reggaeton lyrics from the reading of five musical fragments.                        |

Source: own elaboration

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Perceptions about reggaeton

Based on the answers given by the participants of the 2nd and 3rd year of ESO focus groups, the results grouped into the previously described dimensions of analysis are shown below.

Regarding the “concept”, the discussion groups show that young people in 2nd and 3rd ESO have well-acquired notions about this musical genre, stating: “S8mg: It is a musical style for parties and for dancing” (PRC\_Pos. 17), or “S7mp: Well, music by Bad Bunny, for example” (PRC\_Pos.3). Likewise, it should be noted that the responses obtained reveal that the vast majority of the participants belonging to the 3rd year of ESO associate the consumption of said music with fun and leisure.

Considering the “causes of its popularity”, adolescents provide comments such as: “S7fg: reggaeton has more rhythm, it kind of motivates you” (PRCP\_Pos.21); “S6fg: It is that reggaeton is associated with the fair and with moments of dancing and having a good time, which is what young people want” (PRCP\_Pos.31); “S7fg: Yes, and it makes you feel beautiful” (PRCP\_Pos.10) or “S2fp: Sometimes we identify a lot with that, depending on the song, of course” (PRCP\_Pos.11). Following the answers of the subjects of both discussion groups, it becomes evident that the young people identify the following causes: the motivation that it produces; be a trend today; increases self-esteem in the female sex and the identification with the letters, the first two reasons being the most reiterated.

Regarding the “singers” category, we can find common arguments that lead us to think that the students do not have in-depth knowledge of the artists, but they do clearly recognize the songs they sing: “S7fg: Ah, I know what the song, but I don’t know who he is. I think that people generally listen to the songs, but they are not very interested in what the artists are like” (PRCA\_Pos.60); “S6fp: I can’t tell you the image I have of each artist and even less of her because I listen to the songs and that’s it, I don’t know who sings them or what they are like” (PRCA\_Pos.53). It should be noted that the participants of the 3rd ESO group provide more information about the singers than the 2nd ESO group.

Differences are found between the musical preferences of the 2nd ESO group and the 3rd ESO group with respect to the reggaeton artists presented (Bad Bunny, J Balvin, Myke Towers, Anuel AA, Camilo, Karol G and Rosalía). On the one hand, the young people of 2° of ESO opt for Bad Bunny “S2fp: he is the king. Currently, he is the best singer because, in addition to the fact that his songs are cool, he is super feminist and always makes songs for women” (PRCA\_Pos.19), while the 3rd year ESO group opts for Myke Towers, whom they consider: “S1mp: The best of reggaeton right now” (PRCA\_Pos.54). For this reason, 2nd year of ESO adolescents prefer a more melodic and repetitive style of music similar to that of Bad Bunny compared to 3rd year of ESO subjects who feel more sympathy with artists like Myke Towers whose style is more aggressive and explicit.

#### 4.2. Sexism

In the “vocabulary” category, the following terms commonly used in reggaeton songs are exposed: “perrear”, “flow”, “frikitona”, “bellaca”, “pumpum”, “acapella”, “chapeadora”, “prepaid”, “percocet” and “hennessy”, in order to assess the level of knowledge that the participants of both groups have about their meanings. Differences are observed between the groups, on the one hand, the upper grade group deduces the meaning of most of the terms from the songs in which said word is mentioned, while the 2nd ESO group, despite who identify and place the concepts in some songs, do not really understand what it means. However, in general, the knowledge about the sexist terms that are often reproduced in the songs is imprecise (except in the concepts “flow”, “perrear” and “acapella”): perrear: “S3fp: A dance like twerking but from reggaeton” (MV\_Pos.58) and “S4mg: Bailar sensualmente” (MV\_Pos.101); about the term “flow”: “S6fp: That, it’s like a way of dressing” (MV\_Pos.62), “S1mp: It can also be a way of being” (MV\_Pos.63) and “S2fg: Yes, Flow is a style for everything, not just clothes” (MV\_Pos.127), regarding the meaning of “acapella”: “S3fp: having unprotected sex” (MV\_Pos.90) and “S2fg: Without a condom” (MV\_Pos.152).

Regarding the category “reflections”, there is a consensus by all the subjects who state that there is a close relationship between reggaeton and machismo: “S2fp: Let’s see, I think that the lyrics are clearly macho, now, let that influence us I don’t know about us” (MR\_Pos.182); “S2fp: That there are people who can listen to macho reggaeton and be the most feminist person in the world or, on the contrary, people who don’t listen to reggaeton and be macho” (MR\_Pos.117); “S5mg: I don’t think that reggaeton has an impact on machismo because otherwise the whole world would be macho” (MR\_Pos.188).

In addition, two subjects who frequently listen to other musical styles argue that machismo is not exclusive to reggaeton, since pop in English is also made up, in many cases, of macho lyrics, and they state this: “S2fg: Exactly, we thought of reggaeton and we say “macho”, but I listen to other songs

from other styles and sometimes they are even worse. Reggaeton at least says it clearly, but there are many songs in English that when you translate them you freak out" (MR\_Pos.367).

The subjects of the 3rd year of ESO group highlight the influence that reggaeton has on younger male boys over their cocky and arrogant attitude characteristic of many reggaeton artists: "S2fg: The attitude that singers have about women and I see all this in some children" (MR\_Pos.198), as well as in the vocabulary and way of expressing themselves of those young people who listen to it from a young age: "S2fg: Yes, because small children are saying the things they hear in the songs" (MR\_Pos.192).

The participants of the upper grade group show a much more neutral attitude towards sexist messages, while the 2nd ESO group is sometimes surprised by the magnitude of the sexism identified in the songs: "S7mp: God!, now that I listen carefully, I am blown away by the lyrics" (MCL\_Pos.243), "S2fp: I hadn't noticed it was so macho!" (MCL\_Pos.294). Some even doubt the sexist content in a piece of music (Parce song), despite the fact that the term 'daughter of a bitch' is clearly heard in it: "S1mp: That's it, we don't know the context" (MCL\_Pos.236).

Also, it is necessary to point out that the female participants interact more frequently providing more ideas compared to the male sex who remains on the sidelines and lacks arguments or reinforcing the intrinsic machismo: "S4mg: He is right, if you don't go to eat the food, don't heat it" (MCL\_Pos.225) and "S2fp: It's what we talked about, if you say yes at first and then change..." (MCL\_Pos.231).

### 4.3. Gender violence

The first category of this dimension called "knowledge" reveals that youth have acquired basic notions about this problem since their answers are synthesized in the following reasoning: "S6fp: it is when a man mistreats a woman just for being a woman" (VGC\_Pos.263). In addition, the majority perceive gender violence as a type of merely physical and sexual violence, since their responses are directed towards the actions of 'hitting', which is repeated three times in their speeches, 'raping', mentioned twice and even 'kill', which is cited only once.

Likewise, ideas arise that mention aspects that have to do with the root of gender violence, reflected in textual segments such as: "S3fp: even if it is daylight, I often go down the street and I have to put up with many things that old men say about my body; "S7fg: Yeah, for example, when we're partying and there's a super heavy guy, like, leave me alone. I believe that there is also a type of gender violence because it is common" (VGC\_Pos.323). In this way, it seems that adolescents -females- understand this term better because, being the victims of this problem, they tell their experiences and feel identified with many actions reported by their peers.

On some occasions they make both sexes participants and protagonists of this type of violence. Specifically, they maintain that psychological abuse is produced by both men and women, as shown below: "S7fg: But come on, I'll tell you one thing: there are a lot of guys like that, huh? And aunts too! That I have my friends who tell me things and I say, my goodness, how do you allow that? (VGC\_Pos.336). Finally, there are boys who feel defensive when actions that are commonly carried out by

men, such as street harassment, are proposed, alleging the following: "S1mp: I think the same, not all men go around harassing women. women" (VGC\_Pos.327).

In the category "typology" there are similarities with respect to the previous category since, apparently, when talking about gender violence they only have consolidated knowledge about physical and sexual violence: "S6fp: I think it is when the man talks to her badly, hits her or threatens her and stuff" (VGT\_Pos.271). However, it also echoes the importance of psychological violence in the mistreatment of women, since a large number of young people from both groups share the same argument, pointing out the following: "S7mp: is when a man tells the woman what clothes to wear, who to go out with and stuff" (VGT\_Pos.275).

However, when identifying the different types of violence in reggaeton songs, it is the symbolic violence that is more complex. An example of this is the following text segment: "S6fg: But why symbolic? S7fg: I don't even understand what is symbolic" (VGT\_Pos.403-404).

Finally, in the "songs" category, the confusion in the recognition of the types of gender violence existing in the songs exposed is observed throughout the debate: "S4mg: Yes, he is blackmailing you financially. If you do this to me, I'll pay you, and if you don't, then you'll run out of money. Come on, pure and hard blackmail, of a lifetime. S2fp: But it is also symbolic, because if it is difficult for me to see it, it is because it is a super normal type of violence and difficult to see. It's kind of normalized, I mean. S1mp: And it can also be psychological, right? Because he blackmails. S4mg: Yes, at this rate put all" (VGC\_Pos.396-399). Although most of them acknowledge the appearance of all types of violence in the lyrics of this musical genre and mention that the content of reggaeton is based mostly on sexual and physical violence: "S1mg: I think that sexual and physical violence are the what else is there because reggaeton almost always talks about hard sex" (VGCA\_Pos.362); "S2fp: I also think sexual and physical because everyone talks about sex and stuff" (VGCA\_Pos.304).

However, the subjects believe it appropriate to make a distinction within reggaeton since not all the songs carry physical and sexual violence, nor are all the artists participants in it, exposing the following arguments: "S3fp: (...) I think it depends on the type of reggaeton that you listen to because Camilo or Maluma is not the same as Bryant Myers" (VGCA\_Pos.301).

On the other hand, it is interesting to point out that, when reading the lyrics of the songs, they discover new words and give a greater meaning to the song with respect to listening through an mp3 player. In other words, reading the fragments allows a better understanding of the content and, therefore, a more exhaustive and detailed analysis, as occurs in the discussion group of 2nd ESO who, upon discovering a new word, come to the following conclusion: "S1mp: Nope! He says: because of Lucía that she looks a lot, referring to the fact that she teaches (...) and he says that it doesn't suit her and she's going to give you that. I don't know if I explain myself" (VGCA\_Pos.322-326).

For all these reasons, it seems that, in general, young people have very limited knowledge about gender violence. However, there are indications that 2nd ESO students understand the content of the letters in greater depth, as well as that they have more information and interest in gender violence.

## 5. Discussion and conclusions

As reflected in numerous articles, reggaeton is currently one of the most reproduced musical genres worldwide (Navarro and Pastor, 2021). This is reflected in the musical tastes of the participants, who quickly identify it and acknowledge having it as a favorite, except for two subjects in each group. This interest is fundamentally associated with the recognition of being a current fashion (Llanes et al., 2019), from which adolescents, whose nature is to feel accepted by others, opt for this musical style to create affective bonds with their peers (Ruiz, 2015). Along the same lines, the results coincide with what was stated by Álamos (2018), where a relationship is established between the increase in mood and self-esteem when listening to reggaeton-type music and also coincides with the work of Huahuachampi (2020) where reggaeton is reproduced in leisure contexts. In short, as the existing literature reveals, as well as the results obtained with this instrument, youth listen to reggaeton songs because it is a fashionable musical genre, because the lyrics are catchy and they enjoy dancing to them, although other reasons coexist. minors.

Following this line, the little assimilation made by young people in terms of the content of reggaeton lyrics stands out, since the vast majority of listeners focus their attention on the rhythm and not on the message (Cruz-Díaz and Guerrero, 2018). Regarding this, according to Pejović and Andrijević (2020), the reasons for the lack of internalization of reggaeton lyrics by adolescents are, mainly, the vocabulary used in the songs, as well as the way to modulate the voice that artists have, helped by the use of AutoTune, which modifies their audio and shows a not very clear sound of their voice (López, 2016; Viñuela, 2015). During the discussion groups, their difficulty in understanding the indicated message is continuously observed, mentioning all of the above.

Regarding the understanding of the lyrics, the results of Prieto and Carrillo (2019) make visible the awareness that the young people involved in their study have about the machismo exposed in the reggaeton lyrics chosen in their sample. In this sense, it can be seen that adolescents, when they pay close attention to the lyrics of the songs, reason adequately about their misogynistic content. In this investigation, the participants do not present complexity to detect the machismo of the exposed letters. In fact, as Álamos (2018) points out, each musical style is usually related to certain attitudes, values and ideologies and the participants of both discussion groups directly associate macho, sexist and misogynist attitudes as essential characteristics of common reggaeton, constants that have been collected and extended by the study of Díez-Gutierrez (2021). On the other hand, despite the recognition of violent content towards women in reggaeton lyrics, the members of both discussion groups underestimate its message, giving greater importance to its rhythm, melody and the good vibrations it transmits (Pejović and Andrijević, 2020). To this end, the youth reiterate the insignificance of the lyrics and defend that they do not stop to listen to what the songs expose.

Similarly, it is worth noting the appearance of all types of gender violence posed by the classification of Arévalo et al. (2018). In addition, his theory on the increase in symbolic and psychological violence in reggaeton is confirmed since, according to the results of the discussion groups, for many symbolic violence is part of reggaeton.

On the other hand, it is common to find different types of reggaeton according to their theme (Gallucci, 2008). As the results of this research indicate, the appearance of some styles that claim progress in feminism is defended, highlighting the role in this struggle of female artists (Araúna, et al.

2020; Domínguez, 2020; Platt, 2018; Rivero, 2020). On the contrary, De Toro (2011) points out that this sexuality is to be seen by and for men. In this regard, the results of this research show this fact since the subjects of the 3rd ESO group link the action of perrear with seducing and provoking someone, normally referred to the male figure aroused by the female sex. In the same sense, Pontrandolfo (2020) points out that it is very common within reggaeton lyrics to encourage a negative perception of women.

Finally, in all types of music we find the presence of gender prejudices, whose lyrics contain sexist messages accompanied by catchy rhythms that hook listeners (Cruz-Díaz and Guerrero, 2018). Specifically, Hormigos-Ruiz et al. (2018), indicate that the most denigrating musical genres for women are heavy metal, punk or rap, something that, in this study, the young participants have also indicated when exposing that reggaeton is not the only musical genre that reproduces sexist and macho language.

In conclusion, the present investigation arises with the intention of fulfilling a series of objectives, as well as answering initial research quality questions. This study has provided original results about the concrete perception, attitudes and reactions of adolescents about the musical genre of reggaeton, sexism and gender violence. Finally, if we look at the first objective of the study, it becomes clear that the reasons why ESO adolescents turn to this music are twofold: because it is in fashion and because of its cheerful and catchy rhythm.

In relation to the second objective, everything indicates that young people do not pay attention to the message of reggaeton lyrics, firstly, because they do not focus their attention on them and, secondly, because the characteristic vocabulary and the way in which the artists of this genre musical sing is difficult for you to understand their meaning. However, when they develop active listening, they are able to detect the presence of sexist content, although on a very small scale, since their responses only show an appropriate understanding of physical and sexual violence.

Considering the last objective, there is no special correlation between the consumption of reggaeton and gender, although it is clear that they normalize many behaviors that are discriminatory towards women (they are not surprised when presenting certain macho behaviors exposed in the songs). Perhaps it is worth noting the internalization of macho thinking by the male sex who, in their contributions, remain in favor of some fragments that carry with them a perception of an imminently macho nature. This does not occur in the case of the female sex, which, in general, criticizes any indication of macho behavior.

The limitation of this study is not having been able to carry out a parallel quantitative study. In future investigations, it will be investigated in larger samples to what extent these contents that the musical language entails, words harmonized with sounds permeate the cognitive horizon, thus reverting to a human disharmonic coexistence.



## 7. References

- Álamos, J. E. (2019). Música en la vida de los adolescentes. *Actos. Revista de investigación en Artes*, (1), 88-101. <http://revistas.academia.cl/index.php/actos/article/view/1232>
- Ángeles, F. E. (2019). *Estereotipos, roles de género y expresiones de violencia en relación a la música: el caso del reggaetón entre jóvenes limeños* [tesis de maestría]. Universidad Católica del Perú. <https://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/handle/20.500.12404/15687>
- Araúna, N., Tortajada, I., y Figueras-Maz, M. (2020) Feminist Reggaeton in Spain: Young Women Subverting Machismo Through 'Perreo'. *Young*, 28(1), 32-49. <https://10.1177/1103308819831473>
- Arévalo, K., Chellew, E., Figueroa-Cofré, I., Arancibia, A., y Schmied, S. (2018). Ni pobre diabla ni candy: Violencia de género en el reggaetón. *Revista de Sociología*, 33(1), 7-23. <https://boletincortehd.uchile.cl/index.php/RDS/article/view/51797>
- Bad Bunny. (2018, 17 de agosto). Cual Es Tu Plan - Bad Bunny X PJ Sin Suela X Ñejo (Video Oficial) [video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TgMjNYvs7o>
- Blasco, J. S., y Calatrava, C. (2020). Influencia de la música en las emociones percibidas en el alumnado de educación secundaria y bachillerato. *Espiral. Cuadernos del profesorado*, 14(27), 180-191. <https://doi.org/10.25115/ecp.v13i27.2909>
- Campo, S. S., Faure-Carvalho, A., & Carrasco, A. M. V. (2022). Reggaeton and representations of women: A study in secondary education. *Revista Internacional de Educación Musical*, 10(1), 25-32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23074841221131431>
- Chao, R., Mato, M. D., y López, A. M. (2015). ¿Se trabajan de forma interdisciplinar música y matemáticas en educación infantil? *Educação e Pesquisa*, 41(4), 1009-1022. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-9702201512139014>
- Cruz-Díaz, R., y Guerrero, M. C. (2018). El género musical reggaeton. Aproximación al discurso sexual y a la cosificación de las jóvenes. En López, E., Cobos, D., Martín, A. H., Molina, L. y Jaén, A. (Eds.), *Experiencias pedagógicas e innovación educativa: aportaciones desde la praxis docente e investigadora* (pp. 3683-3695). Octaedro.
- De Toro, X. (2011). Métele con candela pa'que todas las gatas se muevan. Identidades de género, cuerpo y sexualidad en el reggaetón. *Revista Punto Género*, (1), 81-102. <https://10.5354/0719-0417.2011.16824>
- Díez-Gutiérrez, E. J. (2021). Valores y socialización educativa a través de la música reggaetonera. *Resonancias*, 25, (48), 109-133. [https://web.archive.org/web/20220203072856id\\_/http://resonancias.uc.cl/images/N48/Separatas/Diez.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20220203072856id_/http://resonancias.uc.cl/images/N48/Separatas/Diez.pdf)
- Domínguez, F. J. (2020). La imagen de la mujer en el género musical del reguetón: discurso, cognición y representación. *Revista Tierra Nuestra*, 14(1), 68-75.
- Duany, J. (2010). Article review. Raquel Z. Rivera, Wayne Marshall y Deborah Pacini Hernández, (eds). (2009). *Reggaeton*. Duke University Press. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=392/39220687010>
- Escobar-Fuentes, S. & Montalbán-Peregrín, F. M. (2021). Relaciones de género en el discurso del reggaetón entre adolescentes. *Athenea Digital*, 21(3), 2960. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/athenea.2960>

- Gairín, J., y Mercader, C. (2018). Usos y abusos de las TIC en los adolescentes. *Revista de Investigación Educativa*, 36(1), 125-140. <http://hdl.handle.net/11162/182522>
- Galluci, M. J. (2008). Análisis de la imagen de la mujer en el discurso del reggaeton. *Opción*, 24(55), 84-100. <https://produccioncientificaluz.org/index.php/opcion/article/view/6426>
- Gil, J. (1992). La metodología de investigación mediante grupos de discusión. *Enseñanza and Teaching*, 199-212. <https://revistas.usal.es/tres/index.php/0212-5374/article/view/4179>
- Hormigos-Ruiz, J., Gómez-Escarda, M., y Perelló-Oliver, S. (2018). Música y violencia de género en España. Estudio comparado por estilos musicales. *Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 76, 75-98. <https://convergencia.uaemex.mx/article/view/4291>
- Huahuachampi, O. E. (2020). Influencia del reggaetón en la ética sexual de los asistentes a los centros de entretenimientos nocturnos de la ciudad de Puno. *Revista de Investigaciones de la Escuela de Posgrado*, 9(1), 1441-1451. <https://salutsexual.sidastudi.org/resources/inmagic-img/DD61014.pdf>
- León, G. (2007). El grupo de discusión como artefacto científico para el análisis social. *Razón y palabra*, (57). <http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/anteriores/n57/gleon.html>
- Llanes, H. M., Castillo, E. A., Yanes, H., y López, H. (2019). Motivaciones de los adolescentes y el género musical reggaetón. *Medimay*, 26(1), 41-53. <https://revcmhabana.sld.cu/index.php/rcmh/article/view/1352>
- Llanga, E. F., y Insuasti, J. P. (2019). La influencia de la música en el aprendizaje. *Revista Atlante: Cuadernos de Educación y Desarrollo*. [online]. <https://www.eumed.net/rev/atlante/2019/06/musica-aprendizaje.html>
- López, R. (2016). Sátira y melancolía del autotune. Entrevista al músico Soy Tan Sutil. L.I.S. Letra. Imagen. Sonido: *Ciudad Mediatizada*, 16, 164-76.
- Marshall, W., Rivera, R. Z., y Pacini, D. (2010). Los circuitos socio-sónicos del reggaetón. *Trans. Revista Transcultural de Música*, (14), 1-9. <https://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/23/los-circuitos-socio-sonicos-del-reggaeton>
- Martín Cabello, A. y Hormigos, J. (2004). La construcción de la identidad juvenil a través de la música. *Revista Española de Sociología*, (4), 259-270. <https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/res/article/view/64973>
- Martínez, D. A. (2014). Música, imagen y sexualidad: el reggaeton y las asimetrías de género. *El cotidiano*, 29(186), 63-67.
- Matsunobu, K. (2022). Discussing a methodology for researching the long-term impact of music education: Drawing on learners' memories and self-accounts. *Research Studies in Music Education*, 0 (0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1321103X21105827>.
- Mendieta, G. (2015). Informantes y muestreo en investigación cualitativa. *Investigaciones Andina*, 17(30), 1148-1150. <https://revia.areandina.edu.co/index.php/IA/article/view/65>
- Merlyn, M. F. (2020). Dime lo que escuchas y te diré quién eres. Representaciones de la mujer en las 100 canciones de reggaetón más populares en 2018. *Feminismo/s*, 35, 291-320. <https://feminismos.ua.es/article/view/2020-n35-dime-lo-que-escuchas-y-te-dire-quien-eres-representaciones-de-la-mujer-en-las-100-canciones-de-reggaeton-mas-populares-en-2018>

- Mosquera, I. (2013). Influencia de la música en las emociones. *Realitas, Revista de Ciencias Sociales, Humanas y Artes*, 1(2), 34-38. [https://www.unireformada.edu.co/wp-content/uploads/realitas/Numero2/Influencia\\_de\\_la\\_musica\\_en\\_las\\_emociones\\_una\\_breve\\_revision.pdf](https://www.unireformada.edu.co/wp-content/uploads/realitas/Numero2/Influencia_de_la_musica_en_las_emociones_una_breve_revision.pdf)
- Navarro, M. T., y Pastor, J. J. (2021). Sesgos de género en las músicas de consumo: percepción lectora y musical de mensajes sexistas en estudiantes de magisterio. *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 32(1), 113-125. <https://doi.org/10.5209/rced.68063>
- Negrón-Muntaner, F., y Rivera, R. Z. (2009). Nación Reggaetón. *Nueva Sociedad*, 223, 29-38. [https://static.nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3630\\_1.pdf](https://static.nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3630_1.pdf).
- North, A. C., Hargreaves, D. J., & O'Neill, S. A. (2000). The importance of music to adolescents. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 70, 255-272. <https://bpspsychub.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1348/000709900158083>.
- Pejovic, A., y Andrijevic, M. (2020). La percepción de las canciones de reguetón en los estudiantes serbios de E/LE: ¿violencia, convivencia o supervivencia? *Nasleđe*, 45, 161-174. <https://scidar.kg.ac.rs/handle/123456789/15179>
- Penagos Rojas, Y., y González González, M. A. (2012). Lenguajes del poder. La música reggaetón y su influencia en el estilo de vida de los estudiantes. *Plumilla Educativa*, 10(2), pp. 290-305. <https://doi.org/10.30554/plumillaedu.10.471.2012>
- Pérez Álvarez, T. E. (2020). Reconociendo una fracción no visible del iceberg de la violencia simbólica contra las mujeres en la publicidad televisiva difundida en México. *Asparkía: investigación feminista*, 36, 79-101.
- Pérez-Sánchez, R., y Víquez-Calderón, D. (2009). Los grupos de discusión como metodología adecuada para estudiar las cogniciones sociales. *Actualidades en Psicología*, 23 (110), 87-10. <http://10.15517/ap.v23i110.12>
- Platt, S. (2018). Nociones de género, música urbana y cultura popular: Cómo el fenómeno Bad Bunny está redefiniendo la masculinidad [Ponencia] *Primer Coloquio sobre hombres y masculinidades*. Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Pontrandolfo, G. (2020). De tu cuerpo me hago dueño/Tú eres el mío y yo soy tu sueño. La construcción discursiva de la mujer en las letras de Maluma: un análisis crítico del discurso asistido por corpus. *Discurso & Sociedad*, 4, 930-969. <http://www.dissoc.org/ediciones/v14n04/DS14%284%29Pontrandolfo.html>
- Porto, L., y Ruiz, J. A. (2014). Los grupos de discusión. En K. Sáenz, y G. Támez (Eds.). *Métodos y técnicas cualitativas y cuantitativas aplicables a la investigación en ciencias sociales* (pp. 253-273). Tirant Humanidades.
- Prieto, T., y Carrillo J. C. (2019). Violencia patriarcal y de género en letras de reggaeton. Opinión de Alumnos Universitarios. *Perspectivas docentes*, 30(29), 29-41. <https://revistas.ujat.mx/index.php/perspectivas/article/view/3527>.
- Ramírez, V. K. (2012). El concepto de mujer en el reggaeton: análisis lingüístico. *Lingüística y Literatura*, 33(62), 227-243.
- Rivero, T. (2020). *Filosofía y reggaetón: una perspectiva interseccional* [trabajo final de máster, Universidad de La Laguna]. Repositorio RIULL. <http://riull.ull.es/xmlui/handle/915/20985>

- Ruiz, Á. (2015). El papel de la música en la construcción de una identidad durante la adolescencia: ¿Dime qué escuchas y te diré quién eres? *Síneris: revista de musicología*, 22, 1-42. <https://sineris.es/el-papel-de-la-musica-en-la-construccion-de-una-identidad-durante-la-adolescencia.html>
- Sánchez-Rivera, R. (2020). Reggaeton, trap y masculinidades: dinámicas sociales al ritmo del perreo combativo en Puerto Rico. *Taller de letras*, SE, 42-55. <https://doi.org/10.7764/tl57-70>
- Screti, F. (2019). Carne, carbón, y cojones. La representación de la masculinidad en anuncios suizos contemporáneos: el caso de Bell. *Discurso & Sociedad*, 13(4). 765-807. <http://www.dissoc.org/ediciones/v13n04/DS13%284%29Screti.pdf>
- Serrano, R. M. (2017). Tecnología y educación musical obligatoria en España: referentes para la implementación de buenas prácticas. *Revista Electrónica Complutense de Investigación en Educación Musical*, 14, 153-169. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/RECIEM.54848>
- Soler, S., y Oriola, S. (2019). Música, identidad de género y adolescencia. Orientaciones didácticas para trabajar la coeducación. *Epistemus. Revista de estudios en Música, Cognición y Cultura*, 7(2), 27-56. <https://doi.org/10.24215/18530494e008>
- Viñuela, E. (2015). La música como elemento satírico en la edición de vídeos de contenido político en YouTube: el uso del AutoTune. *Revista de Comunicación de la SEECI*, (37), 268-298. <https://www.seeci.net/revista/index.php/seeci/article/view/327>