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**Taking the Lid Off the *Black* Rio Movement and *Música Soul*: The
Shifting Terms of Race and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro**

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**Taking the Lid Off the *Black* Rio Movement and *Música Soul*: The
Shifting Terms of Race and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro**

by

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Abstract

Taking the Lid Off the *Black* Rio Movement and *Música Soul*: The Shifting Terms of Race and Citizenship in Rio de Janeiro

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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In this project, I situate the *Black* Rio movement and Brazilian *música soul* within a history of representations of black Brazilian masculinities in music. I do so in order to trace changing conceptualizations of race and citizenship in 1970s Rio de Janeiro. I seek to move beyond the existing literature which judges the *Black* Rio movement on its political expediency while ignoring its historico-cultural context. That is, prior works tend to pit *black soul* musicians and dancers against the mostly-white, middle-class intellectuals who have historically made determinations about black Brazilians, and in doing so these works have judged the *Black* Rio movement a political failure. Instead, I focus on the agency asserted by black Brazilian musicians and dancers in representing themselves and in creating alternative places for the enactment of their identities in opposition to the normative expectations of Blackness and standards of masculinity.

Beginning in the 1920s and the 1930s, expectations for black masculine behavior were tied to restrictive, demeaning representations of the *malandro* in samba music and of *afrobrasilidade* in Carnaval celebrations. These representations were influenced by changing attitudes towards race in the context of national consolidation and the propagation of the myth of racial democracy, which recognized racial difference while not recognizing extant racial inequality. Entrenched modes of thinking and normative modes of being were adamantly challenged by *soul* musicians and dancers in the 1970s. Through the adoption of U.S. funk and soul music and strong masculine imagery associated with the Black Power movement, black Brazilians appropriated and resignified international symbols in order to forge a new *black* identity. In doing so, *soul* musicians and dancers carved alternative spaces for themselves, and renegotiated the terms of their inclusion in the Brazilian nation. This paper considers the shifting place of Blackness in Brazil through an analysis of visual, aural and lyrical representations of Blackness in music and in the critical reception of that music. I argue that funk and soul music played a key role in destabilizing the restrictive notion of *afrobrasilidade* held by mainstream Brazilian society, enabling new ways of being both black and Brazilian.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

There was no doubt in our minds that this music was worth studying. Why wouldn't someone study the music of Brazilian artists like Tim Maia and Ed Motta? At the time, I was a teaching assistant for the Music of Brazil course at the University of Texas at Austin. Some 20-odd undergraduate students and I were listening to the professor lecture on black Brazilian artists who had incorporated musical genres from the United States in the 1970s and '80s, particularly soul, funk, and disco. The instructor and I had already discussed the hard time we were having conveying the stakes of cultural appropriation to a group of young people who had grown up with digital technologies, music software, iTunes, and were accustomed to compiling playlists and legally and illegally downloading music available online. From their perspective, the world of music was at their fingertips and that could only be a good thing. Furthermore, we were in a course on Brazilian music. Why suspect that funk, soul, or disco music from Brazil was not Brazilian? After all, the artists are Brazilian artists.

It is fruitful to reframe this question in two ways. First of all, one can ask whether this music is Brazilian enough to be studied as such by ethnomusicologists. Secondly, one can ask whether this music is perceived as "Brazilian enough" within Brazilian cultural debates. The first question must be considered in relation to the history of the discipline of ethnomusicology and points to a gap in the existing literature. Namely,

music studies scholars have tended to ignore music stylistically derived from black U.S. sources in the Brazilian context. Almost all academic research on the topic has been published by historians or anthropologists, and I will return to the existing literature later. But it is the second question that interests me most: was funk and soul music in the 1970s Brazilian context Brazilian enough to merit local attention, support, and celebration?

I examine funk and soul music in Brazil by addressing two modes of musical production and consumption. First, I look at the phenomenon known as the *Black Rio* movement based around sound system parties that attracted thousands of residents and featured celebrity DJs spinning imported funk and soul records from the United States. Second, I consider *música soul*, the music produced and performed by Brazilian artists that incorporated elements of funk and soul, whether through the adoption of iconography from the Black Power movement, James-Brown-esque punchy horn lines and vocals as in the case of Gerson “King” Combo, lush instrumentation as in the case Hyldon, or the gospel-like vocals of Toni Tornado. The *Black Rio* movement sparked enormous controversy in the media during the late-1970s. This controversy revolved around tense debates regarding race, nationalism, geography, cultural imperialism and appropriation. Some of its main critics contended that the movement was racist and excluded Whites, or that it was “inauthentic” and “alienated” from Brazilian reality. Many of the criticisms of *música soul* were similar, emphasizing its non-Brazilianness or dismissing it offhand as the commercial product of multinational corporations.

A shift in discourse is evident from the 1970s to the 1990s-2000s regarding the Brazilian importation and appropriation of U.S. music. Beginning in the populist era

under the dictatorship (1930-1945) and subsequent presidency (1951-1954) of Getúlio Vargas, national consolidation became a priority. During this period and extending into the mid-1980s, many debates about Brazilian music revolved around nationalism. During these decades, the aesthetic parameters of “Brazilianness” or *brasilidade*, and consequently of “Brazilian” music, were clearly defined. One of the criteria, supported by the Far Right and the Far Left, was the rejection of imported musical forms, especially those from the United States.¹ Contemporary journalistic sources and *post facto* scholarly analysis of the moment confirm this. This position, as well as the general search for *brasilidade* (Magaldi 1999: 310), was slowly abandoned in the 1980s following the initiation of political and economic liberalization under the Castelo Branco government in 1974. In her article, “Adopting Imports: New Images and Alliances in Brazilian Popular Music in the 1990s,” Cristina Magaldi explores the appropriation and changing meanings of U.S. genres such as rock, rap, and funk in Brazil during the 1990s. She writes:

¹¹ There have always been Brazilian musical currents that readily embraced the adoption of foreign elements. In the 1920s, Brazilian Modernist poets, painters, musicians, and thinkers proposed the theory of cultural cannibalism, a pseudo-historical account of and prescriptive recipe for Brazilian culture. Oswald de Andrade’s 1928 *Manifesto Antropófago (Cannibalist Manifesto)* provided “a sort of blueprint for Brazilian cultural production in which European high culture, especially the avant-garde, would be critically ‘devoured’ without effacing local specificity” (Veloso and Dunn 1996: 118). Avant-gardists such as modernist composer Heitor Villa-Lobos in many instances would draw influence from indigenous or African-derived music and place it within a European-derived form in order to produce something uniquely Brazilian. Cultural cannibalism also drew on the powerful imagery of the indigenous Tupi “cannibalizing” the Europeans upon colonial contact. The *Tropicália* movement of the late 1960s, spearheaded by artists such as Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Gal Costa used the *Manifesto* as one of their main texts to promote an aggressive musical nationalism against the “defensive nationalism” of far-right and far-left critics (118). Their approach “combined rock instrumentation with Brazilian melodies and rhythms” (118). Furthermore, drawing from the protest song tradition, their lyrics subtly defied the military government while evading the censors. It is important to remember that the *Tropicalistas*, like the Modernists of the 1920s, comprised an avant-garde movement, and that their proponents tended to be middle-class, educated youth. See Dunn (2001) for a narrative of the continuities between these two movements and the formation of a post-*Tropicália* counterculture.

[W]hile the creative blend of local music with international pop continues to dominate the diverse Brazilian popular music to this day, the search for *brasilidade*, if contemplated at all, has played a secondary role in the 1990s. In recent years, Brazilian musicians and audiences have been more willing to accept foreign music styles in their own right. (310)

She adds that “reproductions of foreign genres,” by which she means “Brazilian musicians composing and performing imported music,” have become accepted and viable ways of making music by “play[ing] a significant role in addressing local social and ethnic issues” (310).

This paper looks at Brazilian *música soul* in the 1970s in order to explore the discursive shift from a prescriptive musical nationalism prevalent between the 1930s and 1970s to a kind of musical omnivorism that has characterized the past three decades of Brazilian music-making and consumption. This shift has important implications for the changing place of Blackness and black music in Brazil. For instance, during the populist era of national consolidation, samba (an Afro-Brazilian musical genre) became the musical symbol of the nation. This meant that while Blackness played a significant role in the constitution of the nation, its musical manifestations were canonized in a prescriptive manner. Throughout this paper, I am going to call this prescriptive mode of being black in Brazil *afrobrasilidade*. From the 1930s to 1970s, *afrobrasilidade* encompassed a gamut of cultural stereotypes and expectations regarding musical Blackness that Brazilian *soul* musicians and dancers largely rejected. By the 1990s, earlier prescriptive parameters had largely been abandoned and the appropriation of black music from the U.S. no longer caused nationalistic panic. No one today questions the Brazilianness of rock groups like Legião Urbana or of the hip hop MCs in the Racionais

collective. I propose to expand on Magaldi's work by looking to a prior moment in order to understand the gradual shift that Magaldi accounts for but does not explain. Looking at the place of *música soul* in Brazil will aid in our understanding of how, when, and why the terms of black Brazilianness shifted beginning in the 1970s. In exploring the cultural debates surrounding *música soul*, this paper considers the shifting place of Blackness within Brazil through an analysis of visual, aural and lyrical representations of Blackness in music and in the critical and journalistic reception of that music. While the popularity of soul and funk was short-lived, I argue that it played a key role in destabilizing the restrictive notion of *afrobrasilidade* held by mainstream Brazilian society, enabling new ways of being both black and Brazilian.

Terms and Definitions

As a prelude, I would like to introduce various terms of racial identification used throughout the report. Following historian Paulina Alberto, I use the word *black*² in italics to indicate a particular discursive use of the word. *Black-ness* in Brazil indicates how Brazilians imagine Blackness to be constructed in the United States “as a word referencing race, identity, politics, and culture in a U.S. context imagined as more racially polarized than Brazil” (Alberto 2009: 4). I would like to make the distinction between the terms *black* and *negro*. The word *negro* was the term that “many politically active people of color had adopted since the first decade of the [20th] century to designate a

² I capitalize *black* when used as a proper noun (e.g., *Blacks* and *Whites*, *Black-ness*, and the *Black* Rio movement). In its adjectival form, I use a lower-case b (e.g., *black* Brazilians). When I use the unitalicized “black” or “Blackness” I mean modes of being black and of performing Blackness other than *Black-ness* specifically. However, when quoting others, I retain the original punctuation.

proudly unified racial group” (4). This term is used in contrast to the word *preto*, literally meaning “black,” which was historically used to refer to people of color, and continues to be used in a pejorative manner. While *negro* continues to be used to declare a consciously black politics, the term *black* is contextually specific to the *Black Rio* movement. Lélia Gonzalez mentions in a footnote that “[t]he English ‘black’ . . . is used in Brazil to designate the members of the Black-Soul Movement in Rio and São Paulo with their distinctive dresses and hair styles” (1985: 132). Gonzalez points to a tension in the term. Namely, it represents a community of people that constituted a movement, and it was simultaneously associated with fashion, style, and consumption. Indeed, for many of the authors whose work I discuss, the debate about the place and significance of the *Black Rio* movement revolves around its politically charged celebration of racial identity, and whether its conspicuous form of celebration served as a foil for radical political change.

It is important to remember that *Black Rio* was the first of many local scenes, including *Black São Paulo*, *Black Salvador* and *Black Belo Horizonte*. Because I focus my studies on the scene in Rio de Janeiro, I speak almost exclusively of *Black Rio*. Furthermore, while I made a distinction between the *Black Rio* movement (a sound system party scene) and *música soul* (Brazilian music that draws from U.S. funk or soul music), some *soul* artists actively participated in and identified as members of the *Black Rio* movement and even performed at *Black Rio* events. Thus, the boundary between the two is a hard one to draw. Though the term *Black Rio* was coined in 1976 by Lena Frias, I use the term *Black Rio* as a shorthand to denominate both the *Black Rio* movement and

música soul as a general musical and cultural complex that began in late-1960s and persisted into the 1970s.

As a reminder, when I use *soul* in italics, I am using the word that Brazilians used to denote soul and funk music (and, on rare occasion, other genres such as gospel) from the United States. Vianna attributes the fact that Brazilians continued to call music by such artists as James Brown and Kool & The Gang “soul” (when, in the U.S. context, this music was called “funk”) due to the scarcity of information on North American black music in Brazil. Finally, I would like to distinguish between *afrobrasilidade*, as the set of expectations for black cultural manifestations that are folklorized and sanitized, from other modes of being black and Brazilian, including *Black*-ness. These modes I simply call black Brazilianness.

Music, Cultural Rights, and the Formulation of Brazilian Citizenship

I look at the transition from prescribed musical Blackness to omnivorous fusion from the perspective of cultural rights and cultural citizenship.³ Discourses of cultural citizenship and cultural rights are helpful for examining the constitution of citizenship beyond the letter of the law and into the realm of the everyday. I am interested in citizenship practices that take place outside of the courtroom, whether it be on the dance floor, on stage in front of a televised audience, through the news media, or in the

³ Looking at the intersection between music and rights allows us to expand on the conclusions of other scholars who have written about *Black Rio*. Their studies generally focus on the political expediency of the movement, without considering the political effects of this primarily-cultural movement. By exploring the confluence at music and rights, we can see how people represent themselves and others in order to shape different kinds of citizen-subjects.

collective imagination. These perspectives allow us to look at the intersection between music and rights. The production and consumption of music—and the representation of people through music—has significant implications for the constitution of different kinds of citizen-subjects. I begin by explicating my approach to law and citizenship, followed by a review of different theories of cultural citizenship and their relevance to my project.

Following Rosemary Coombe's call for a critical cultural legal studies (1998: 25-29), I view the law as "an authoritative means and medium of a cultural politics in which the social is itself articulated" (28). Coombe's view draws the constitutive theory of law while acknowledging and accounting for the element of power. "Constitutivism" sees law as constitutive of the social world, thus making absolute distinctions between the legal and social difficult. Coombe agrees with deconstructionist and poststructuralist theories that assert that difference does not exist before the law, and that the "law [provides] many, if not most, of the very signifying forms that constitute socially salient distinctions, adjudicating their meanings and shaping the very practices through which such meanings are disrupted" (28). Hence, according to Coombe, the law informs the discursive forms through which difference is recognized and negotiated. At the same time, the law cannot be reduced to discourse and Coombe emphasizes the importance of taking the material effects of the law into account. I am interested in citizenship as a mechanism through which difference is recognized, negotiated, and given value. From this perspective, we can view citizenship as a legalist process that constitutes the very terms of difference that it reinforces through various mechanisms.

Hence, instances in which difference is assumed, recognized, and negotiated reveal the form and the substance of citizenship (Holston 2008). The formal aspects determine “membership in the political community, based in modern times on national belonging” (Holston 2008: 22), i.e., who is considered a citizen and who is not. The substantive aspects of citizenship include “the distribution of rights, duties, and resources this formal status entails and [the rights and duties that] people actually exercise” (22). In the United States, all citizens are (theoretically) afforded the same protections under the law, though the barrier to full citizen status for some is extremely high. In Brazil, the opposite is the case. Holston writes, “[Brazil] generated a [mode of] national citizenship that was from the beginning universally inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution” (7).⁴ Thus, when discussing Brazilian citizenship, we must

⁴ The unequal distribution of rights has characterized Brazilian citizenship from the inception of the Brazilian Empire. The Brazilian Constitution of 1824 selectively copied parts of the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (1789), including the initial article that “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.” The same article includes the statement that “Social distinctions can be based only upon public utility” (Holston 2008: 25-26). These contradictory statements were used to justify curtailing the civil, political, and social rights of women, the illiterate, the landless, indigenous peoples, Blacks, etc. at various points in history. This has implications for the rights afforded black Brazilians. Much of the comparative literature on racism in the United States and Brazil emphasizes the explicit nature of discrimination in the United States and the seemingly subtle forms of the discrimination that prevail in Brazil. Alberto writes: “Brazilian and foreign intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century commonly posited that a gentler history of slavery and abolition in Brazil, along with extensive racial intermixture, had produced a society free of racial discrimination. In comparison with the United States, which had a sharply bifurcated racial system that excluded blacks from belonging in a white nation, Brazil, many claimed, had a gradated system of racial identification that included people of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds in a *mestiço* or mixed nation” (2009: 5). One of the more contemporary proponents of this thinking is Carl N. Degler whose “mulatto escape hatch” theory proposed that mixed-race individuals occupied an intermediate racial category between black and white and that they received preferential treatment over Blacks (1971). Many authors have subsequently argued that there are more similarities between race relations in Brazil and the United States than formerly recognized, or have argued for an understanding of Brazilian race relations on its own terms. See Andrews (1996), Fry (2000), Hanchard (1994), do Nascimento (1982), Seigel (2005), Skidmore (1993), Wade (2004) and Winant (1994). For a debate regarding imperialism and the symbolic violence of political comparison prompted by Bourdieu and Wacquant’s (1999) reading of Hanchard (1994), see Costa (2002), de Araújo Pinho and

examine not *who* is made a Brazilian citizen, but *how* Brazilian citizens are made. I now turn to theories of cultural citizenship to see how the intersection between culture and rights has been framed.

Lok Siu points to two different main threads of theorization in the anthropological literature: that represented by the work of the Latino Cultural Studies Working Group, and the thread represented by the work of Aihwa Ong. Though cultural citizenship theorized differently by individuals representing these two threads, both perspectives recognize that citizenship “is more than just a legal-judicial set of rights and entitlements” and that it “is a set of cultural and social processes that must be examined in the realm of everyday life” (2001: 9). So, rather than merely looking to legal statute, these scholars look at how citizenship is practiced, and “how being is enacted and constituted in quotidian practices of inclusion and exclusion” (9). In their main, the two threads differ in envisioning the relationship between the citizen-subject on the one hand and the state and civil society on the other.

For the Latino Cultural Studies Working Group, cultural citizenship, first introduced by Renato Rosaldo in 1987, “names a range of social practice, which taken together, claim and establish a distinct social space for Latinos in this country” (Flores and Benmayor 1997:1). They elaborate:

Our intent in this project is to better comprehend how cultural phenomena—from practices that organize the daily life of individuals, families, and the community, to linguistic and artistic expression—cross the political realm and contribute to

Figueiredo (2002), French (2000), French (2003), Hanchard (2003), Sansone (2002b), Teles dos Santos (2002).

the process of affirming and building an emerging Latino identity and political and social consciousness. (6)

Their conceptualization stems from the premise that cultural diversity does not threaten or weaken U.S. citizenship, but enriches it. Furthermore, their formulation emphasizes agency and the role of culture in claiming rights in order to expand the definition of citizenship. Another important aspect of their formulation is the taken-for-granted position and integrity of the subject-citizen who, acting collectively with other marginalized people, becomes conscious of and asserts their difference from dominant subjects. Such marginalized actors can then claim rights based on that difference.

This line of thinking was not only developed in the United States. Notably, Brazilian Professor of Political Philosophy and Modern Philosophy Marilena Chauí was active in theorizing and implementing cultural programs based on the idea of cultural citizenship. One example of this took tangible shape in São Paulo, Brazil from 1989 to 1992 when Chauí was acting as Municipal Secretary of Culture. While in office, she implemented the Cultural Citizenship Project (see Chauí 1995). This represents an early practical implementation of the idea of cultural citizenship. It is important to remember that these ideas not only exist in the realm of thought. In the case of Chauí's project, cultural citizenship became a matter of public policy. Other scholars have studied cultural citizenship in the Brazilian context. For example, George Yúdice (2001) and Ana Maria Ochoa and Silvia Ramos (2009) have written about Afroreggae, a community association from the *favela* Vigário Geral in Rio de Janeiro. These authors explore the organization's educational programs and performance of culture, as well as their

interactions with NGOs and the media in order to claim rights from the state. Chauí, Yúdice, and Ramos and Ochoa each use the idea of cultural citizenship perpetuated by the Latin Cultural Studies Working Group.

In contrast, Aihwa Ong, in her work among Asian immigrant communities in the United States, sees citizenship as “a cultural process of ‘subject-ification,’ in the Foucauldian sense of self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control and administration (Foucault 1989, 1991)” (1996: 737). While Flores and Benmayor stress the integrity of the liberal subject-citizen that exists before the law, Ong views the self as incomplete and shifting. According to Ong, the self is constantly negotiated by the individual and institutional power which includes both the state and civil society.

In contrast [to Rosaldo], I use “cultural citizenship” to refer to the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society. Becoming a citizen depends on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations . . . (738)

Ong’s formulation reflects the view of feminist scholars of the self as partial and positioned. Donna Haraway writes, “The knowing self is partial in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly, and therefore able to join with another, to see together without claiming to be another” (Haraway 1991: 346). For Haraway, this incompleteness is not a political liability, but an epistemological and political privilege. “Split” subjects can form

“heterogeneous multiplicities that are simultaneously necessary and incapable of being squashed into isomorphic slots or cumulative lists” (346). From this position, knowledge claims are made from “*somewhere*” and can “interrogate [other] positionings . . .” (345).

For the Latino Cultural Studies Working Group, the political expediency of their formulation derives from identity politics, in which the subject joins with other people to claim rights based on their difference in a multicultural framework. It is an attractive formulation because it suggests an avenue for social change, for the greater inclusion of minority populations. However, this position has been critiqued by numerous authors for reinscribing the difference it seeks to ameliorate. Ong’s formulation allows for a more nuanced exploration of the granting of citizenship and its accompanying rights and duties across various identificatory parameters, such as race, class, and gender. This will be helpful to us in our exploration of how citizen-subjects are constituted in the *Black Rio* movement and through *música soul*. Indeed, the various participants of the movement were constituted (and constituted themselves) as racialized, gendered, and classed subjects through multiple inclusionary and exclusionary practices.

While theories of cultural citizenship explore citizenship as a cultural phenomenon, another related body of literature looks at the issue of cultural rights as part of the bundle of rights included under the terms of citizenship. Many of these authors use T. H. Marshall’s classic formulation of citizenship as their starting point. T. H. Marshall explores the expansion of the bundle of rights in 19th- and 20th-century England. His argument is based on a teleological narrative that accounts for the gradual expansion of civil, political, and finally social citizenship rights. Numerous authors have expanded on

Marshall's formulation to examine the inclusion of cultural rights under this schema in the late twentieth century. Many of these studies are motivated by contemporary issues regarding minority populations within the nation-state, emphasizing the imperative to respect their rights, difference, and autonomy. In short, the studies respond to contemporary policy and the continued need for nation-states to respect minority populations' "right to culture." This "right to culture" is increasingly being recognized and protected by national and supranational governmental bodies. In many instances, these debates include discussions of property rights, including intellectual and tangible property. From this perspective, if cultural manifestations are framed as a form of property, they can be protected as such. Cultural rights are protected under the 1988 Brazilian Constitution and the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

From theorizations of cultural citizenship, I borrow the idea that citizenship is culturally constituted and is constitutive of culture. That is, notions of citizenship are culturally constructed while, in dialectical fashion, citizenship helps shapes culture. I take Ong's approach to explore how different kinds of citizens are culturally constituted. And from the writing on cultural rights, I borrow the idea of the "right to culture." However, rather than looking at how culture (as property) can be used to claim rights, I interrogate how the "right to culture" is constructed and who has the power to shape it. What are the conceptualizations of culture to which people are granted access and who determines what this "culture" is and for whom it is meant? In the context of this paper, "culture" refers to Brazilian national culture, embodied in the conception of *brasilidade*.

Rather than using culture in the anthropological sense, I indicate sanctioned performances of one's place in society. Thus, when I speak of *brasilidade* or *afrobrasilidade*, I mean stereotyped, or at least constrained, performances of one's race, class, gender, and sexuality within the Brazilian framework. For example, in the case of samba music and dance, we see a number of Afro-Brazilian archetypes including the *malandro*, the *baiana*, and the hyper-sexualized *mulata*. These archetypes have become emblematic of Brazilian culture and are celebrated as representative of the nation. Despite the narrow parameters established by stereotypes, their boundaries are constantly being challenged, reinforced and negotiated. While such racialized, gendered, and sexualized modes of national belonging are explored within samba by Marc Hertzman (2013) and others, I explore how these modes of belonging are negotiated through *música soul*.

The *Black Rio* movement and the controversy it sparked reveal much about the bundle of rights afforded black Brazilians in Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s, as well as existing terms of citizenship. As will be shown, *música soul* was not a cultural manifestation that many critics viewed as worthy of protection or support. In fact, it was seen as being downright un-Brazilian, not a part of "culture" within the Brazilian framework. And yet, musicians and dancers did lay claim to *soul* as legitimate, relevant, and pleasurable. It is useful to consider musical performance and consumption as an enactment of identity embedded in webs of power through which rights are not necessarily equally distributed. Hence, an exploration of *Blacks'* shifting demands for their "right to culture" can tell us much about shifting attitudes about race and nation in

Brazil. Furthermore, an investigation of changing representations of race through music can help us chart the shifting terms of black Brazilian citizenship.

Representing *Malandragem* and *Black-ness*

To explore the enactment of identity in *Black Rio*, I analyze varying representations of black masculinity. I argue for an understanding of representation that recognizes its real, material effect on bodies. A helpful way to think about representation is posited by Romani Studies scholar Thomas Acton. In a critique of postmodern anthropologists that treat Roma as a series of representations, he claims that such an argument denies the ontology, the very existence, of bodies. He characterizes the relationship between reality and representation as such: “reality constrains the representations even though it is true that the representations, being themselves also part of reality, may help to reshape reality over time” (Acton 2004: 98). Hence, we can think of representations as symbolically re-presenting reality, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, being a “part of reality,” i.e., existing ontologically. Thus, by definition, though bodies are in part constituted through representations, bodies have an ontological existence, just like representations. It is important to remember that representations, and language more generally, help us make sense of our surroundings. Thus, representations place limits on the cultural legibility of bodies.

Judith Butler’s notion of the materiality of sex can be helpful here. In her book, *Bodies That Matter*, Butler plays on two meanings of the word “matter”: 1) one that is associated with the verb “to matter,” i.e., to be of importance; and 2) one that is

associated with the verb, “to materialize.” Butler writes:

What I propose . . . is a return to the notion of matter, not as a site or surface, but as *a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter*. That matter is always materialized has, I think, to be thought in relation to the productive and, indeed, materializing effects of regulatory power in the Foucaultian sense. Thus, the question is no longer, How is gender constituted as and through a certain interpretation of sex? (a question that leaves the “matter” of sex untheorized), but rather, Through what regulatory norms is sex itself materialized? And how is it that treating the materiality of sex as a given presupposes and consolidates the normative conditions of its own emergence?” (1993: 9-10)

While Butler theorized the performativity of gender in earlier work,⁵ *Bodies That Matter* makes an even more radical turn to suggest that sex is also performative. This is not to downplay biological “differences,” but rather to suggest that the ways in which these differences are understood and made to signify are culturally learned. Furthermore, normative understandings of gendered and sexual difference preclude the cultural existence of bodies that do not conform to cultural systems of categorization.

We can use Butler’s understanding of the process of materialization and Acton’s understanding of how representations re-present and are part of reality, to unravel how black male bodies matter. I explore varying representations of black masculinity—from *malandragem* to *Black-ness*—in Chapters 2 and 3. I show how shifts in representation evince the contentious negotiation over the meaning of these representations and who has the power to dictate their terms.

⁵ Gender performativity suggests that gender is constituted through reiterative acts that both consolidate our cultural understandings of certain gendered categories and, because repetition is never exact, shifts them. Butler writes, “gender is an ‘act,’” that it is “an *effect*, that is, *produced* or *generated*” ([1990] 2008: 200-201; emphasis in original).

Why Black Masculinities?

I would like to take a moment to discuss why I've chosen to focus on representations of black masculinity in considering gender in Brazil. First of all, the *Black Rio* movement was a very masculine and masculinist movement. *Soul* musicians and dancers borrowed sounds and symbols from the United States that are normally associated with aggressiveness and masculinity, and party advertisements in the paper advertised free admission for women ("Damas gratis"), suggesting that the gender balance on the dance floor was not even. This is not to say that women did not participate. However, their participation was mainly limited to that of dancer/partygoer, and occasionally singer. It was primarily men who were the musicians, sound system owners, radio deejays, live deejays, record producers, party organizers and promoters. Exacerbating this gender discrepancy is the absence of women from accounts of *Black Rio* in newspapers and magazines. The media focuses on men's style, men's performance, and men's perspectives.⁶ Given the lack of information on women or other non-cisgendered-male subjects in news articles or secondary sources, it is difficult to interpret the gendered politics at the parties or in other *black* places without conducting ethnographic work.

⁶ An intersectional feminist critique of *Black Rio* has yet to be made. This is an enormous gap in the existing literature. The only scholar to explicitly mention gendered politics is Bryan McCann in his article "Black Pau" (2002), titled after the Brazilian Portuguese pronunciation of "Black Power." He writes that "Black power . . . was often pronounced and understood as black *pau*, which literally means stick, but in common slang means dick. The conflation of meanings fit in perfectly with the mood of the parties: Black soul was liberating because it was sexy. . . . Black pau was not going to be a feminist movement" (48). While McCann recognizes the privileging of male anatomy and pleasure, he does not interrogate explicit or implicit forms of sexism within the movement or on the dance floor. Instead, he is complicit in celebrating masculine desire over feminine desire and safety.

Given the lack of information on women and the aggressively masculine character of the movement, I have decided to focus on transformations in the perception and formation of black masculinity in this project. Like Miles White does in his book *From Jim Crow to Jay-Z: Race, Rap, and the Performance of Masculinity* (2011), I hope to show how “the uses and misuses of black male subjectivity” have “helped to shape perceptions and attitudes regarding black males” in the Brazilian “racial imagination,” as well as how “music and culture have helped to (re)construct and (re)define notions of masculinity and ideals of male performance” (2-3).⁷ These perceptions and attitudes about acceptable black performance and performances of Blackness will inform our reading of the *Black Rio* movement and of participation in *música soul*.

My second reason for focusing on black masculinity is motivated by a conviction to resist reinscribing the traditional gender binary. By not positing *a* female figure against *a* male one (recognizing difference within and between these two categories) I wish to draw attention to the notion that there are multiple gender configurations that are evaluated against an ideal gender. As Kate Bornstein emphasizes in *My Gender Workbook: How to Become a Real Man, a Real Woman, the Real You, or Something Else Entirely* (1998), gender is shaped by all other aspects of our identity including race, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation. This means that our gender is not stable. If our gender can change from moment to moment, it is impossible to reduce gender to two main types. This perspective reflects Judith Butler’s notion of gender performativity.

⁷ White’s book traces the continuities in representations of black masculinity in two musical genres that privilege “the performance of both masculinity and race”: minstrelsy and hardcore hip-hop (2011: 2).

However, neither Butler nor Bornstein reduce gender to discourse, divorcing it from politics and power. Butler writes that “[t]he deconstruction of identity is not the deconstruction of politics; rather, it establishes as political the very terms through which identity is articulated” ([1990] 2008: 203) and Bornstein lists characteristics that she interprets as exemplifying the perfectly gendered guy (1998: 80-81), placing him at the top of her gender/identity/power pyramid (79-83). These theorists argue that though gender is not binary it is configured within systems of power and oppression.

While scholars writing about gender in Brazil point to misogyny and homophobia as justification for writing about gender in dichotomous terms, we can look to Don Kulick’s ethnography (1998) on *travestis* in Brazil for a different model. Kulick writes that while it may be tempting to consider *travestis* a “third” gender,⁸ he suggest this model keeps the traditional gender binary intact by arguing that “individuals who do not fit the male-female binary fall outside it and transcend it, rather than disturb it, blur it, or reconfigure it” (1998: 230). In Brazil, Kulick writes, the gender system is not so much based on anatomical and physiological difference as it is on sexuality, particularly on the roles one assumes during sex. Kulick claims that, for *travestis*, sexuality is the criterion that defines gender: “Here the locus of gender difference is the act of penetration—if one *only* penetrates, one is a ‘man’; if one gets penetrated, one is something other than a

⁸ This idea was first advanced by Marjorie Garber in her book, *Vested Interests* (1997). *Travestis* have been described as transgendered in North American and European literature. Many of the *travestis* that Kulick interviewed and lived with in Salvador da Bahia worked as sex workers, were likely targets of violence, and were living on the economic and social margins of society. Many altered their bodies through by taking hormones and injecting themselves with industrial silicone. Many do not opt for bottom surgery. Previous studies attributed this to economic hardship, but Kulick writes that most *travestis* do not desire bottom surgery. In fact, most self-identify as gay men, or as “*viados*,” a reclaimed derogatory term.

man—one is either a viado, a faggot; or a *mulher*, a woman” (227). This reconfigures the gender system from a man/woman binary to a binary based on men and not-men. It posits hegemonic masculinity against all other gender configurations, including alternative masculinities. Thus, the study of alternative masculinities is important for understanding local systems of gender. Studying the place of black men will help us understand how race and gender are constituted in Brazil.

Methodology

I consider this to be a mainly historical project, not only because I am writing about past events, but also because I find that even the best anthropological or ethnomusicological work is sensitive to history. In his book, *Logics of History*, William H. Sewell advocates for a dialogue between historians and social scientists. He notes that history is seen as a field in which theory plays a less significant role than the social sciences, which tend to be more concerned with the explanatory power of theories in interpreting the everyday. Sewell argues that historians do in fact theorize, though their theorization may not often be explicitly stated: they have working theories about social temporality (2005: 6). I agree with Sewell when he writes that “[b]ecause the social world is in fact ever-changing, because it is structured by complex and contingent temporalities, it is as crucial for someone who studies the contemporary social world to understand the logics of history as it is for someone who studies the past” (13-14). Of course, Sewell’s conflation of all social sciences ignores the important effect of the “cultural turn” in anthropology and ethnomusicology. Many social science disciplines

have in fact become sensitive to issues of representation, the act of writing, and seem less and less concerned with theorizing universal social behavior. Though Sewell critiques the atemporality of much social scientific writing, he glosses over academic history's shared affinity for grand narratives. However, we should heed his call to be sensitive to the shifting realities and representations of our social world.

I have chosen to construct a history for ethical reasons as well as methodological ones. In this project, I trace some of the shifts in cultural and racial attitudes in Brazil between the populist period and the 1970s. I intend to illustrate shifting representations of Blackness, because, recalling Thomas Acton (2004), representations and ontology are in dialectical relation to one another. The fixing of representations works to fix actual subjects, to freeze them as such in space and time. In order to counteract this fixing of the represented subject, Acton argues that we must attempt to understand the process of *making* a representation. Acton writes: "I wish to suggest . . . that we can come to a better understanding of how representation works if we look at it sociologically, that is to say if we look . . . at the actual human activity of making a representation" (100). In showing how representations of Blackness have shifted in Brazil—from *afrobrasilidade* to *Black-ness*—I hope to illustrate shifts in the formulation of black Brazilian citizens.

In conducting research for this project, I reviewed the bulk of the existing scholarly literature on *música soul* in English and in Portuguese,⁹ as well as articles from

⁹ In Chapter 3, I critique the bulk of the academic literature on the *Black Rio* movement. For the time being, it is worth noting the academic and popular trends to which this literature conforms. Gonzalez (1985), Mitchell (1985), and Turner (1985) reference *Black Rio* in sociological discussions about race in Brazil. Rodrigues da Silva (1983) adopts an ethnographic approach in his study of *soul* parties in Campinas, São Paulo. Political scientist Hanchard (1994) compares black movements in the Brazil to those

the daily newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil* and the magazine *Veja* from 1970 to 1980. As I illustrate in Chapter 3, debates regarding the meaning and significance of *Black Rio* focus on the music's and the scene's supposed cultural "authenticity" or "alienation" in light of contemporary concerns about cultural imperialism as well as the role of the market in commercializing cultural products and affecting people's consumptive behaviors. *Black Rio* is usually spoken of as a fledgling political movement because there was (and continues to be) consensus among the leftist intelligentsia that the *Black Rio* movement could have been the site for the enactment of a radical black politics, but that it failed to fulfill this potential. Indeed, most of the literature on *Black Rio* debates the extent to which the movement represented a significant site for a race-based politics.

Striking philosophical and discursive continuities can be found between journalistic accounts of the movement from the 1970s and academic analyses from the 1990s and 2000s. The cultural debates of the 1970s were heavily informed by those of the 1960s, when Marxist ideals inspired the creation of a Brazilian revolutionary popular art. Existing scholarly literature from the 1980s and beyond continues to suggest that cultural products should be political. From the perspective of such literature, the *Black Rio* movement had the potential to spearhead a great race-based political movement, but the interest in commercialism and in foreign cultural products prevented it from taking

in the United States. Sociologist Sonia Maria Giacomini's (2006) thesis looks at the transformation of the *Renascença Clube*, a social club that turned into an important venue for the *Black Rio* movement. Alberto (2009) and McCann (2002) each take a historical approach. Anthropologist Vianna (1988) conducts interviews with prominent musicians and activists of the *Black Rio* movement in his ethnographic account of the 1980s *funk carioca* scene. Other authors situate *Black Rio* as a historical context for Rio's contemporary *funk* scene. These include Sansone (2002a) and Yúdice (2003). Journalists have also written about *Black Rio*. They include Essinger's (2005) book on the history of *funk*, Motta's (2006) popular book on Tim Maia, and Thayer's (2006) article on *Black Rio* in *Wax Poetics*.

shape. Indeed, academic literature seems preoccupied with settling the controversy over the political efficacy of the *Black Rio* movement. However, I argue that *música soul* played a large role in changing people's attitudes about race in Brazil, a fundamentally political sphere in its own right.

In 1977, an article by Ana Maria Bahiana entitled "Enlatando Black Rio" was published in the newspaper *O Globo*. In the article, Bahiana shows that the record industry had taken advantage of the popularity of *soul* music parties and was releasing compilation albums of U.S. hits as well as putting together bands to release new records. The underlying disdain for the corrupting influence of the industry's initiative is reflected in the title. "Enlatando" literally means canning. "Canned" music refers to mass-produced, mass-mediated, and mass-marketed material. The title then alludes to the process of "canning" a once-subcultural music. We can also use a different metaphor to interpret the same phrase. Canning, in English, in addition to evoking images of Andy Warhol's *Campbell's Soup Cans*, also refers to the act of preserving food. In this way, canning an issue or a music is analogous to "putting a lid on it." Whether in the 1970s or the 2000s, whether writing for an audience of media consumers or academicians, many critics have "put a lid" on the issue of *música soul*. Whether explaining the history of U.S. black music to Brazilian readers in *O Jornal do Brasil* or analyzing the *Black Rio* movement *post facto*, these authors have each had their final say, determining what the music and the movement was meant to be, but ultimately wasn't. It is time to take the lids off these jars to see what other meanings and significances arise when we consider

música soul in the context of shifting ideas about race and national belonging. From this perspective, the story of *música soul* is far from over.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter 2, I lay the groundwork for contextualizing representations of Blackness in the 1970s by looking at the period of national consolidation from the 1930s to the 1950s. During this time, the government and the intellectual class were invested in fostering a national consciousness by promoting certain kinds of cultural performance. As part of this project, samba music became the musical symbol of the nation and the *malandro* became its emblematic protagonist. While samba and Carnaval were being officialized and standardized, racial democracy reigned as the leading theory of race relations in Brazil and as the foundation for the origin myth of the racially- and culturally-mixed nation. This ideology had significant implications for the construction of the nation as well as the construction of differentially raced, classed, and gendered groups. Chapter 2 looks at the intersection of all these factors in order to understand socially sanctioned performances of Blackness.

In Chapter 3, I focus on representations of *soul* dancers in the *Black Rio* movement. This essay serves as a continuation of the discussion from Chapter 2, and allows the reader to see the continuities with, disruptions of, and challenges to the prescribed place of black masculinity within the nation in subsequent decades. The critiques of 1970s journalists and academics represent *black* musicians and dancers as irrational for adopting foreign imagery and for allowing themselves to be “duped” by the

music industry. The anxiety of early commentators reflects contemporaneous concerns with cultural imperialism, while the analysis of academics stems from a desire to determine whether *Black* Rio represented a viable political movement. These differing analyses are all fueled by Marxist thought that served to pit the perceived irrational *black* masses against mostly-white, middle-class intellectuals. However, by looking at the mutual constitution of *black* subjects and *black* places, we can begin to understand the true impact of *Black* Rio. Later in the chapter I use Toni Tornado and Trio Ternura's televised performance of "BR-3" during the V International Song Festival as a case study to explore the tense negotiation of masculinities: between U.S. Blackness and *brasilidade*, between Blackness and Whiteness, and between folkloric Blackness and *Black*-ness.

Chapter 2:

A History of Representations of Black Masculinities from *Vadiagem* to *Malandragem*

Introduction

In this chapter, I wish to examine dominant representations of Afro-Brazilian masculinity from the mid-20th century in order to understand the entrenched ways of being that was challenged by the performance of *Black-ness* by black artists in the 1970s. In order to do this, I analyze constructions of the Brazilian nation through the ideology of racial democracy (Freyre [1933] 1983) and the place of black men within the nation. Throughout the twentieth century in Brazil, there have been multiple struggles over the discourses that represent and constitute black masculinity. Here I focus on shifting representations of black *malandros* from criminal and deviant to one of the beloved stock characters in Brazilian Carnival. I begin with a brief discussion of nationalism, situating its development in Brazil in relation to Benedict Anderson's theorizations. The consolidation of the Brazilian nation relied on the creation and reiteration of national symbols of *brasilidade*, or Brazilianness. I am particularly interested in the creation of *afrobrasilidade*, my term to describe normative/mainstream depictions of black Brazilianness that rely on folklorized and demeaning stereotypes. I look at changing representations of the *malandro* in samba music to show how *malandragem* was initially shaped in response to damaging representations of black men as vagrants, and was then

coopted and claimed by white musicians. I then address the representation of folklorized *afrobrasilidade* in Carnival parades and the influence of these representations on the constitution of black male citizen-subjects. Ultimately, black men have had no place in the imaginary of the Brazilian nation except as emasculated, folklorized caricatures. This chapter helps us understand the radical break that *soul* musicians and dancers made from such depictions, contesting the fact that there was no accepted place, symbolically or materially, for black men.

Nationalism

To begin, we must explore the construction of the modern Brazilian nation and its representative constituents by looking at the myth of racial democracy in order to see how race, gender and sex (as a physical and performative act) play an integral role in construction of *brasilidade*. Benedict Anderson reminds us that the nation as the object of national sentiment is a relatively new construction, particularly in Western Europe and much of postcolonial Asia and Africa ([1983] 2006). While varying statal forms have always existed, the particular configuration of the nation as an “imagined political community” that is “imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” is a recent one ([1983] 2006: 5-6). In Anderson’s definition, “imagined” means that the members of the nation feel themselves to be connected to each other through their shared membership (6). Furthermore the nation is imagined as limited, with boundaries beyond which lie other nations. Also, due to historical circumstance, it is imagined as sovereign and

deserving of its own political state.¹⁰ Finally, and importantly, the nation is imagined as a community of “deep, horizontal comradeship” regardless of existing inequalities within its borders.

The history of Brazilian nationalism is a recent one. Though Brazil gained its independence from Portugal in 1822, one monarchy replaced another. While nationalistic wars of independence were being fought all over Latin America,¹¹ Brazil’s wars were fought to maintain the unity of the Brazilian Kingdom in the face of local and Portuguese threats to divide the provinces. In 1889, a military *coup* deposed the monarchic government and instated a period of dictatorial and democratic regimes known as the Old Republic (1889-1930). The leaders of the Old Republic struggled to establish viable systems of governance to replace the monarchy, but failed its project of national consolidation (Hudson 1997: 22). This period was characterized by tensions between centralization and state autonomy. The Constitution of 1891 granted a great deal of autonomy to the states and any power not specifically granted to the federal government devolved to them. Local oligarchies dominated the economic and political scene in a system known as *coronelismo*, and the presidency oscillated between the oligarchies of São Paulo and Minas Gerais (22). Furthermore, local strongmen rigged and intimidated voters to vote for their chosen candidate, the dominant local oligarch known as a *coronel*. In this way, the *cornéis* (plural for *coronel*) maintained a parallel system of unwritten

¹⁰ Judith Butler, in a discussion with Gayatri Spivak, defines the state as “the legal and institutional structures that delimit a certain territory (although not all of those institutional structures belong to the state). Hence, the state is supposed to service the matrix for the obligations and prerogatives of citizenship” (2011: 3). Therefore, while administrative states have long existed, the mode of identification that is bound to a particular territory, i.e., the nation, is a new construction.

¹¹ See Anderson ([1983] 2006: 47-66).

agreements, and the central federal government was left with little control. It was not until the *coup d'état* spearheaded by Getúlio Vargas in 1930 that a Brazilian nation-state as such began to emerge, a political community in which the boundaries of the nation were coterminous with those of the state.¹²

While Anderson asks how and, especially, *why*, nationalism developed in various places, I focus on how Brazil developed its own brand of nationalism in the early twentieth century. This nationalism was forged through the creation and consecration of local cultural symbols and through the propagation of a popular sexual-racial origin myth. These symbols include *feijoada* (the national food), samba (the national rhythm/genre), and Carnaval (a national celebration). The myth of the birth of the Brazilian nation includes such characters as the white patriarch (who served as the embodiment of the Brazilian state) and the *mulata* (the hypersexualized, mixed-race female offspring of the slave master and the black female slave). These figures constantly reappear in samba performance and texts (the *mulata* explicitly on display, and the white patriarch implicitly overseeing everything) in addition to other figures such as the *baiana* (the matronly black female from Bahia who serves as the keeper of Afro-Brazilian tradition) and the *malandro* (the streetwise, urban rogue who learns his trickster tactics through the racial memory of slave repression and resistance). The following

¹² Though artists and intellectuals began searching for national symbols earlier in the twentieth century, the consolidation of Brazil as a political unit was hampered until the Vargas regime. Ronald Chilcote writes: "Nationalism in Brazil developed rapidly under Vargas. The radical nature of this nationalism was apparent in the implementation of important nationalist measures. Immigration was restricted, non-Brazilians were excluded from public office, and employment of foreigners in Brazilian firms was limited. The nationalization of railroads, the promotion of a government air line [*sic*], and the establishment of the Volta Redonda steel mill were steps representative of the regime's 'radical' policies" (1969: 511).

section focuses on the origin myth of the nation, predicated on the myth of racial democracy. I also consider the ways these myths shape Brazilianness and types of Brazilian citizens. As James Holston (2008) argues, while citizenship is very inclusive in Brazil, the distribution of rights is very unequal, creating a sort of caste system. Thus, not all citizens are created equal.

The Myth of Racial Democracy and *Brasilidade*

The myth of racial democracy emphasizes Brazil's distinction among countries as a color-blind nation—a nation in which historical circumstances surrounding Brazil's plantation economy encouraged sexual relations between patriarch and slaves in the *casa-grande*, the master's house.¹³ We can see its genesis in the early twentieth century as part and parcel of a nationalistic movement. An integral part of the project was reimagining Brazil as a nation whose strength drew from its racial and cultural mixture.¹⁴ This celebration of miscegenation was a far cry from the prevailing theories of racial purity and pollution that were dominant in Brazil throughout the nineteenth century. Sociologist Gilberto Freyre is recognized as the first theorist of this reinterpretation of race and race relations in Brazil.¹⁵ His 1933 revisionist history of Brazilian race relations, *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (literally, The Master's House and the Slave Quarters;

¹³ See chapter 2, "Myths of Origin," of Parker (1991) for a concise historiographic analysis of this sexual history, and its contribution to a particularly Brazilian way of self-understanding.

¹⁴ See Vianna (1999) for an illustration of how the Brazilian nation was formed, consolidated, and how samba became a timeless symbol of nationalism. As Vianna illustrates, though racial mixture was celebrated his theory relied on a value-laden hierarchy of racial and cultural categories. That is, Whiteness continued to be valued over Blackness in the national mix.

¹⁵ Gilberto Freyre studied with Franz Boas at Columbia University and was instrumental in introducing Boasian thought to Brazil, including the distinction between biology and culture.

translated as *The Masters and the Slaves*), worked against Social Darwinist theories of racial degeneration to promote a positive Brazilian self-understanding—a self-conceptualization based on the advantages and uniqueness of racial mixture.¹⁶ The text provided the pseudo-historical argument that miscegenation within Portuguese society set a precedent for friendly (social and sexual) relations between the colonizer and the native and, subsequently, the colonizer and the slave.¹⁷ Freyre’s ideas perpetuated the idea of Brazil as a racial democracy: that is, he did not suggest that Brazil was a raceless society, but that it celebrated racial difference and that this celebration indicated that racism did not exist. This historical pattern of miscegenation is seen as evidence that Brazil is inherently less racist than other countries in the Americas, especially in comparison to the United States.

Afro-Brazilian men played an important role as productive laborers in the plantation economy. But their presence was rendered invisible by being relegated to the *senzala*, the slave’s quarters. It is Afro-Brazilian women who are visible in the slave

¹⁶ Brazil was by no means alone in reinterpreting the meaning of racial mixture within the nation. Many Latin American countries grappled with this issue. As Richard Graham writes in the introduction of the volume *The Idea of Race in Latin America* (1990), “Latin Americans faced a difficult intellectual dilemma regarding race. On the one hand, racial heterogeneity characterized most of their societies. On the other, many Latin Americans aspired to an ever closer connection to Europe and sought to follow its leadership in their societies” (2). See Graham’s volume for three case studies on Brazil, Argentina and Cuba, and Mexico.

¹⁷ Mythologized accounts invariably involve European men and their relations with indigenous women during initial colonization, then with black women on plantations. Thus, racial democracy is a result of the procreative activity of the white patriarch and women of color. While Freyre used this narrative to evince Europeans’ tolerance for racial difference, Donna Goldstein (1999) argues that this history of interracial sex is not evidence of a color-blind racial democracy. Rather it supports what she calls a “color-blind erotic democracy,” in which an erotic economy is built on the eroticization of African-derived features while upholding standards of beauty that are contrary to those very features. Further, the myth of racial democracy does not acknowledge its own violent imagery of penetration and dissemination, or the history of rape and violation that underlie it from the Middle Passage to the present day. See Larkin Nascimento (1980) for a rereading of Brazilian history from an Afro-centric perspective, including an exposure of the extreme violence of relations between masters and slaves.

economy of Freyre's *Casa-grande e senzala*. The black male performs a productive role in the construction of the nation but is denied a reproductive one. His labor is visible while he is not. This construction of black masculinity has its origins in Freyre's formulation and is reproduced in representations of black masculinity in popular music and dance in the figure of the *malandro*.¹⁸ As we see, the myth of racial democracy formulates a hypersexual black femininity and an emasculated black masculinity. This has implications for the shaping of Blackness in Brazil and of black citizens.

Another aspect of *afrobrasilidade* that has implications for constructions of black masculinity is its association with the Northeast, particularly the port city of Salvador da Bahia, one of the largest ports through which enslaved Africans were brought to Brazil. The Northeast is seen as a cultural repository of Africanisms from colonial times, and black bodies are viewed in a similar manner. Indeed, Afro-Brazilians are read as preservers of African tradition, music, and culture. For many years, Afro-Brazilians, even those living in Rio de Janeiro, have been confined to a folklorized past in national discourse, prescribed to the role of keepers of tradition.¹⁹ These expectations dictated acceptable performances of *afrobrasilidade*; all other performances of Blackness were considered deviant, and potentially threatening to the nation. And while *afrobrasilidade*

¹⁸ It is important to remember that these constructions of black masculinity and femininity are twentieth-century creations. The reinterpretation of Brazil's sexual-racial history as a catalyst for racial harmony and cause for celebration only gained popularity in the early twentieth century. Hence, character representations of Afro-Brazilianness (including the *malandro*, *mulata*, and *baiana*) should be understood in this historical context and not assumed to have remained unchanged from a prior moment.

¹⁹ This is a generalization, of course. For instance, Fischer (2008) notes the distinction made by *carioca* residents between black *cariocas* and Afro-descendant migrants from the Northeast, known as *baianos*. Reality is always more complicated than its representation. I am interested in how representation helps shape material realities, in addition to exploring how reality shapes representation.

was celebrated as an integral component of Brazil, black citizens were afforded fewer rights than white, wealthy or middle-class *cariocas*. Folklorized Afro-Brazilian culture was valorized while the movements and actions of Afro-Brazilian were heavily monitored, curtailed, and at times, repressed.

With the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the transition to an industrializing economy, urban centers in the Southeast received an influx of migrants from the Northeast. All of a sudden, Rio de Janeiro filled with black bodies, and the demography and geography of the city shifted dramatically. In this context, black masculinity passed from performing an invisible, productive function in the slave economy to becoming highly visible. Blackness in Rio came to be associated with vagrancy, crime, deviant sexuality, and the practice of *malandragem*.

Black Masculinity in Samba Songs

Academic writing on the *malandro* generally consider him an archetype of both folk narratives and Brazilian literature that exemplifies very local ways of being. In many instances, the *malandro* is conflated with the (white, black, or *mulato*) bohemian, thus dissociating *malandragem* from Blackness. For example, Roberto DaMatta writes of Pedro Malasartes, a popular folk hero of Iberian origin, as a "hero without character"—i.e., an antihero—who "administers the dose of vengeance and destruction that points up the absence of a more just social relationship between the rich and poor" (1991: 219). In a famous essay entitled "The Dialectic of *Malandragem*" on Manuel Antônio de Almeida's 1852 *Memórias de Um Sargento de Milícias*, Antônio Cândido

places the *malandro* at the forefront of Brazilian literature. Cândido writes of the main character, Leonardo:

The *malandro*, like the pícaro, is a type from a broader genre of cunning adventurers, common to all folkloric narratives. We already saw that Leonardo practices craftiness for the sake of craftiness (even when his goal is to get himself out of a jam), evincing a love for the game-in-itself which sets him apart from the pragmatic pícaro, whose craftiness is almost always aimed for his own benefit or towards a concrete problem, often injuring a third party along the way. This gratuitousness approaches the immemorial trickster's "Memorandum," even in his zoomorphic incarnations – monkey, fox, tortoise – making of him less of an antihero than a creation that may contain traces of popular heroes, like Pedro Malasarte. It may be that erudite models have influenced his elaboration; but what seems to predominate in the book is the dynamism of tales of craftiness in popular history. (1970: 71)²⁰

In the essay, Cândido notes that Leonardo personifies the Brazilian social world:

Leonardo illustrates "the dialectic of order and disorder," the world of very Brazilian social relations within the larger cultural sphere of general archetypes. Leonardo represents a "universe that seems free of weight, of error, and of sin," a "universe without culpability and also with repression" (94), in which the *malandro*, as a character of ambivalent morality, can expose the personal and systemic injustices of a classed society.

Both DaMatta and Oliven also characterize the *malandro* in terms of his relationship to labor and class. Oliven (1982) writes:

Malandragem, in the era of its apogee of Brazilian popular music (the 1930s),

²⁰ "O malandro, como o pícaro, é espécie de um gênero mais amplo de aventureiro astucioso, comum a todos os folclores. Já notamos, com efeito, que Leonardo pratica a astúcia pela astúcia (mesmo quando ela tem por finalidade safá-o de uma enrascada), manifestando um amor pelo jôgo-em-si que o afasta do pragmatismo dos pícaros, cuja malandragem visa quase sempre ao proveito ou a um problema concreto, lesando freqüentemente terceiros na sua solução. Essa gratuidade aproxima 'o nosso memorando' do *trickster* imemorial, até de suas encarnações zoomórficas, -- macaco, raposa, jabuti, -- dêle fazendo, menos um 'anti-herói' do que uma criação que talvez possua traços de heróis populares, como Pedro Malasarte. É admissível que modelos eruditos tenham influído em sua elaboração; mas o que parece predominar no livro é o dinamismo próprio dos astuciosos de história popular."

simultaneously constituted a survival strategy and a conception of the world in which some segments of the subaltern classes refused to accept the discipline and monotony associated with the universe of salaried work. (70)²¹

While Cândido focuses on the *malandro*'s ability to transgress moral norms, Oliven, in Marxist fashion, positions him vis-à-vis the world of Brazilian labor. Roberto DaMatta defines him as "the rogue who is almost always out of place." His poststructural analysis emphasizes the *malandro*'s marginal position. He writes: "the *malandro* does not fit either inside or outside of order. He lives at the interstices between order and disorder, using both and finding sustenance from those who are inside the normal, structured world and those who are not" (1991: 131). Further, DaMatta combines Oliven's analysis that the *malandro* represents the world of class struggle and Cândido's analysis that the *malandro* also offers the possibility to enact a new way of seeing and being in addition to critiquing.

It seems he offers the everyday world of order . . . the possibility of seeing the world upside down, if only for a brief moment. The Brazilian rogue seems to introduce the possibility of relativization into the closed world of everyday routinized morality. In our bourgeois, individualistic world we are always ordered along the exclusive axes of economic position and political capacity. The rogue tells us that there are other dimensions and other social ways by which people and social action can be classified: 'I'm poor but I've got my girl, my guitar, and the moonlight,' as a famous Brazilian song reminds us. Since his world is a world of interstices and ambiguity, it is one where reality can always be interpreted and ordered by many different codes and axes. (1991: 131)

In addition to being an interstitial figure, another important aspect of the *malandro* figure is his place in Carnival, samba, and his relation to *brasilidade*. The

²¹ "A malandragem, na época de seu apogeu na música popular brasileira (a década de trinta), constitui simultaneamente em estratégia de sobrevivência e concepção de mundo através das quais alguns segmentos das classes subalternas se recusam a aceitar a disciplina e a monotonia associadas ao universo do trabalho assalariado."

malandro is placed at the forefront of Carnival and is the subject of many samba songs. DaMatta writes that the *malandro* is “the symbol of Carnival” (1991: 131). Buttermann calls the *malandro* the “figura por excelência do Carnaval brasileiro [figure *par excellence* of Brazilian Carnival]” (2001: 87). Other authors trace the rise of the *malandro* as a quintessential character in samba lyrics of the 1920s and 1930s.²² Indeed, the figure of the *malandro* is very present in the Brazilian consciousness.

However, all these authors ignore the racialization of the *malandro*. As Hertzman (2010) writes, though “*malandragem* can mean and imply many [positive and negative] things: street wits, trickery, an ethos opposed to work, glamorous masculinity,” during the Golden Age of samba in the 1920s and 1930s, “*malandragem* was associated primarily with Afro-Brazilians” (2010: 593). Indeed, before the *malandro* was celebrated as a representative “*par excellence*” of *brasilidade*, he was associated with vagrancy, and other petty crimes, such as gambling and prostitution. The question then becomes when and how did the *malandro* become a figure that represented *brasilidade*, and not a particular type of black masculinity? Though Brazilians from a variety of backgrounds engaged in these activities, what Hertzman terms the “*ideologia da vadiagem*” or the “ideology of vagrancy” mainly targeted black and mixed-race Brazilians. The ideology was based on a “firm and unshakable belief in the innate laziness and irresponsibility of the black and racially mixed Brazilian masses” (Andrews 1991: 48; quoted in Hertzman 2010: 591). Hertzman traces a history of Afro-Brazilians’ engagement with

²² See Matos (1982), McCann (2001), and Shaw (1999) for analyses of samba lyrics in connection with *malandragem* and Brazilian identity.

malandragem, arguing that in Rio de Janeiro, “malandragem became one of the many strategies and discourses employed by Afro-Brazilian men in response to the ideologia da vadiagem” (594). While Hertzman frames *malandragem* within a narrow historical range as a response to the ideology of vagrancy, I am interested in how representations of *malandragem* then become coopted by white musicians and resignified in order to provide a model for exemplary *afrobrasilidade*, as well as a model for white samba musicianians.

I appreciate Hertzman’s focus on *malandragem* as an active performance of black masculinity that was intended to stand in opposition to disparaging representations of *vadiagem*, and, especially, his critique of other authors’ definition of *malandragem* as a rejection of capitalism. In his 2010 article and 2013 book, Hertzman shows that, in contrast to Oliven’s anti-capitalist characterization, black musicians engaged with the music market and negotiated their self-representations within it. The main difference between Hertzman’s analysis and Oliven’s is that Oliven’s analysis interprets *malandragem* after it had been resignified by white musicians, and Hertzman’s analysis shows the ways in which *malandragem* was negotiated by black musicians. Oliven’s Marxist analysis emphasizes how the *malandro* chooses to opt out of the formal labor force. This argument is a moral one in addition to being a historical materialist one. Hertzman is interested in exploring how black musicians engaged with capitalism in the face of racial discrimination.²³ This emphasis recognizes differential power in a racist

²³ It is important to note that, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, music was not considered “real” work in Brazil. This is connected dialectically to the entire web of illicit activities associated with

society and is unprejudiced towards black musicians who chose to engage with capitalism despite their systemic discrimination from the formal labor market. I keep Hertzman's focus on materiality and power in mind while tracing a history of representations of *malandragem* from the late-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

As mentioned above, Hertzman argues that *malandragem* was constructed in response to the representation of black men as *vadios* in the late-nineteenth century. *Vadios*, or vagrants, were characterized as “weak, sickly, and incapable of providing for a family or fulfilling the expectations associated with masculine honor” (2013: 592).²⁴ James Green's (2007) study of medical and legal writings on male homosexuality in Brazil from 1920 to 1945 offers a chilling illustration of how these characterizations persisted into the twentieth century. His study shows how the increasing visibility of male homosexuality in public space, and how the medico-legal profession's production of “scientific” writings on homosexuality linked ideas about deviant sexuality, Blackness, illness, and criminality. He writes, “The events that took place during this period and the disputed ideological and social constructions of nation, race, cultural identity, gender, and the body shaped and were shaped by a nascent urban homosexual subculture and a

the *ideologia da vadiagem*. Hertzman writes extensively about anti-vagrancy Article 399 of the 1890 Penal Code's influence: “Article 399 inspired a larger anti-vagrancy campaign that was based around two explicit goals: to ensure societal order and to transform libertos [manumitted slaves] and vagrants into workers (*trabalhadores*). To these stated objectives may be added three implied intentions. First, the campaign's architects sought to preserve long-standing hierarchies while simultaneously attempting to leave slavery behind. Second, by outlawing livelihood through any ‘occupation prohibited by law or manifestly offensive to morals and good customs,’ lawmakers sought to draw a line between licit and illicit means of making money. . . . Third, through police techniques like fingerprinting, physical examinations, and compulsory identification, authorities sought to identify and monitor dangerous sectors of the population” (2013: 37-38).

²⁴ See Caulfield (2000) for the construction and significance of masculine honor in Brazil in the early twentieth-century. Also see Beattie (2003) for an analysis of masculine honor in the late nineteenth century.

medicolegal discourse about it” (2007: 191). He shows how these writings were integral to the “construction of race and homosexuality as two interrelated ‘perversions’ of the ‘degenerated’ Brazilian body” (191). The “effeminate” characteristics read onto black men’s bodies were contrasted with the image of a “new” masculinity promoted by Getúlio Vargas’s regime that “idealized strength, youth and power” (2007: 204).

While Green’s study looks at the period between 1920 and 1945, we can see that black men suffered similarly in the 1890s through the 1910s. For instance, Hertzman (2013) reports that Article 399 of the 1890 Penal Code specifically targeted black men, though poor men and women of all racial backgrounds were also arrested and subjected to humiliating physical examinations for such vague accusations as “‘wandering,’ ‘perambulating without a destination,’ being a ‘known vagabond’ or ‘contumacious vagrant,’ or for simply being found in a ‘state of frank idleness’” (2013: 39). The police record contrasts the *vadio* with the *trabalhador*, or worker. Hertzman confirms that black men and the urban poor in the 1890s-1910s were subjected to many of the violences of that Green reports from the 1920s-1940s:

Once arrested, many were subjected to invasive physical examinations, ostensibly conducted to determine whether they were fit to work. Homosexual men who broke no laws but nonetheless violated public mores were frequently subject to vagrancy accusations. As a means to challenge suspects’ honor, scrutinize their economic means, probe their bodies, and mark them as deviants, Article 399 provided the police with a device for maintaining “order” in intimate and intrusive ways. (Hertzman: 2013: 38-39)

Therefore, officials in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries contrasted the weak, sickly, effeminate, black *vadio* with the strong, virile, white *trabalhador*.

This discussion of *vadiagem* is pertinent to a discussion of music and musicians because music was not viewed as a legitimate profession. The fact that musicians were arrested on vagrancy charges has led many authors and many older sambistas to claim that samba was violently repressed, if not outright banned, before it became a national symbol.²⁵ Hertzman (2013) believes that these narratives are inaccurate. In addition to “lend[ing] false historical unity and depth to a musical form [i.e., samba] that did not consolidate into a single genre until the late 1920s,” he argues that music was not systematically outlawed (2013: 34).²⁶ In fact, the 1890 Penal Code makes no mention of

²⁵ For an exhaustive list of references that make these claims, see Hertzman (2013: 261n11).

²⁶ Though it is disputed when samba became consolidated as a genre with an identifiable rhythm, there are a few important watersheds. Samba draws influence from a number of music and dance styles, including the *lundu* and *maxixe* (both blends of Afro-Brazilians and European styles) and *batuque* (the label for a variety of drum-based musics and dances of West African influence). In the early-twentieth century, the terms *samba*, *maxixe*, *tango brasileiro*, and polka were used to label a variety of popular musics and dance styles that were not easily distinguishable. Bryan McCann (2004) references Carlos Sandroni’s important book on the development of samba: “As Sandroni has shown, by the early 1920s the designation *samba* had effectively subsumed or succeeded maxixe, tango brasileiro, and batuque. From its inception, samba incorporated two different musical practices: it could be a ballroom dance for embracing couples, accompanied by stringed instruments, woodwinds, and percussion, or it could be a ring dance accompanied predominantly by percussion” (2004: 46). While McCann notes the reductive nature of Sandroni’s analysis, it shows that categorical distinctions were difficult to make in the early-twentieth century. The nascent recording industry played an enormous role in the consolidation of the genre. The 1917 recording of “Pelo telefone” is widely recognized as the first “true” samba, and is labeled as such on the record label, though it is stylistically more similar to a *maxixe* than what we contemporarily identify as samba. By the early 1920s, samba had begun to be consolidated. McCann writes: “As recordings gradually replaced sheet music as the primary form of musical dissemination, those labels became more consistent: consumers came to expect a samba recording to feature a 2/4 rhythm and eight-bar melodic phrases, performed either by solo piano or guitar, *cavaquinho* (a kind of ukulele), mandolin, and percussion” (46). Radio played a key role in broadcasting samba to a national audience, and turning it from a Rio-based popular music and dance into a national one. In the late 1920s, composers from the neighborhood Estácio—including Ismael Silva, Nilton Bastos, and Bide—developed a new approach to samba that emphasized off-beats instead of downbeats and became known as the “Estácio sound.” This new style was particularly well suited for performance by the *blocos*, or neighborhood-based Carnaval parade groups (47). These musicians formed the first samba school, Deixa Falar. Thus, while samba is recognizable as a genre today, there are a variety of subgenres and performance styles.

music at all.²⁷ Hertzman terms “the widely accepted idea that samba music was violently suppressed and systematically marginalized before it became a symbol of national identity” the “punishment paradigm” (2013: 13). Instead, Hertzman situates the association of samba with illicit activities such as gambling, prostitution, and vagrancy within the framework of work (34). He writes:

In the decades following abolition, authorities sought to stamp out vice and divide licit from illicit forms of work. The violent, arbitrary force often used to do so has been well documented, as have the brutal campaigns meant to “civilize” low-income, mixed-race, and black populations. Because the groups targeted by “civilizing” projects were often the same as those associated with samba, stories about the music’s repression fold neatly into the well-documented histories of racist police violence. (2013: 34-35)

Therefore, the connection between music and illicit behavior and forms of work was not a direct one, but one of association. Hertzman’s revised history thus draws a link between music and *vadiagem*, and offers an enriched narrative about the place of music-making within Brazilian society in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.²⁸

²⁷ Though samba was apparently never systematically repressed, Hertzman notes that *batuque* and other cultural forms, as well as certain musical instruments, were prohibited at certain moments in certain contexts (2013: 34). He cites three studies that point to the legal proscription of *batuque* in Rio in 1889 and in Salvador in the 1910s, and to legislation that prohibited *pandeiros* (a Brazilian framedrum with jingles common in a number of musical traditions), samba, and *batuque* at specific public celebrations: Butler (1998: 185), Pereira (1994: 226n36), and Soihet (2002).

²⁸ Hertzman illustrates the utility of the punishment paradigm. For example, for older sambistas, the punishment paradigm serves to position the sambista as heroic, having both suffered and resisted police oppression (2013: 34). In other instances, it is deployed in order “to call attention to and denounce racism. One of the narrative’s more appealing and powerful aspects is the assumed continuity between Africa, slavery, and the twentieth century” (36). While this function has been extremely important to many actors, one of Hertzman’s most potent critiques of the punishment paradigm is that it has also served to erase female contributions to the music-making into the early twentieth century and to mask histories of gendered violence. At times, sambistas have used the punishment paradigm to explain their incarceration, while the police records show very real crimes of gendered and sexual violence (61-62). At times, these histories of violence are hidden, and at other times, anti-woman violence is celebrated as an integral part of *malandragem*.

The *malandro* in the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century presents a dangerous and irresistible alternative masculinity to both the *vadio* and the *trabalhador*. He displayed his wealth audaciously, was a snappy dresser, supported himself through semi-legal or illegal means, was inherently musical, and was irresistible to white women. We can look at how Eduardo Sebastião das Neves (1874-1919), “one of Rio’s most visible and successful turn-of-the-century black performers,” and “Brazil’s first prominent self-identified *malandro*” (Hertzman 2010: 597), was represented by others and how he shaped his own image. While Neves adopted the label proudly, others ridiculed him for his extravagant displays. One black journalist, João do Rio (João Paulo Alberto Coelho Barreto) admired Neves’s role as a performer, but mocked his entrepreneurial brazenness and audacious displays of wealth. He wrote,

When he became a music-hall number, he lost his bearing and walked around in a blue suit jacket and a silk hat. His fantasy went even further: he published a book titled *Trovador da malandragem*, with a preface full of fury against those who doubt the authorship of his works. (quoted in Hertzman 2010: 599)

João do Rio’s critique shows that, for him and others, Neves’s relationship to capital was a problem, both in how he flaunted his wealth and in claiming intellectual property rights. Not only did Neves embrace certain aspects of *malandragem* that are generally recognized, such as his supposed irresistibility to white women and his economically marginal position, but also his relationship to capital.

To individuals who expected Afro-Brazilians to be poor, Neves’s transformation into a confident celebrity was unsettling. João do Rio attacked him not because he rejected citizenship or was an “antithesis” to the ideal worker, but because he brazenly pursued and displayed his wealth, which he acquired through a combination of business acumen and the successful branding and selling of his creative production. Neves was dangerous not because he rejected capitalism, but

because he crashed society's gates and embraced wealth and the promises of citizenship. (Hertzman 2010: 601)

Indeed, Neves reclaimed the terms *malandro* and *crioulo* as forms of positive identification. During the colonial era in Brail, *crioulo* was used to refer to Brazilian-born slaves. In post-abolition Brazil, it was used pejoratively to describe people with dark skin. As Hertzman writes, "To Neves, being a crioulo and a malandro meant being sexually irresistible, and he boldly directed love songs towards white women" (598).²⁹ This undoubtedly served to frame Neves and other *malandros* as yet more threatening in the eyes of white, elite Brazilians. Therefore, in the same period, *malandragem* came to be associated with a marginal, dangerous black masculinity.

By the 1910s and 1920s, though vagrancy was still criminalized, attitudes towards race continued to change, and the figure of the *malandro* was held up as a historic paradigm of ideal black masculinity against which to compare contemporary sambistas. The samba musicians of what Hertzman terms the Pelo Telefone Generation helped recalibrate representations of black masculinity through music. These musicians dressed professionally, wearing sharp but understated suits, and self-consciously distanced themselves from representations of *malandragem*. When Donga claimed partial ownership of and registered "Pelo telefone" on November 6, 1916,³⁰ prominent Afro-Brazilian journalist Vagalume contrasted Donga with "authentic" *malandros* such as Neves. In a book dedicated to Neves, Vagalume

²⁹ See Abreu (2005) for an analysis of gender and race in Brazilian popular songs of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, focusing especially on the *lundu* and *modinha*.

³⁰ See Hertzman (2009 and 2013) for analyses of how black samba musicians engaged with legal and economic institutions and sought to claim property rights for their music.

call[ed] Donga a sellout out and call[ed] “Pelo telefone” an “assimilation” The same book referred to Neves as “that dear, departed black artist, who honored in so many ways the race to which I proudly belong.” To Vagalume, Neves represented a more pure era, when money and individual interests did not pollute music. In less than three decades, Rio's crioulo malandro had been transformed from a symbol of avarice into an “authentic” artist to be held up as a foil against Donga . . . (Hertzman 2010: 609)

Thus, we can see a shift in how Neves was characterized during his heyday and then in subsequent decades. The figure of the *malandro* began to be celebrated as a model of black masculinity.

The rise of the samba malandro (a subgenre of samba) during the Golden Era of samba saw a concurrent rise of malandro-musicians. The *malandro* as characterized in academic literature reflects the Golden Era *malandro*. McCann writes that *malandro*

is an idealized social type rapidly becoming an iconic figure in Rio in the early 1930s. The malandro was a flashy petty criminal disdainful of labor and domestic life, preferring to live by his wits in the brothels, gambling dens and streets of the city. He was usually represented as a black or *mulato* man in a white linen suit and panama hat, with a colorful scarf about his neck and a razor in his pocket. (2001: 6)

Ruben George Oliven (1984), in his lyrical analysis, writes that some of the main themes of samba malandros include a lack of money, bravery, cleverness, good luck, a propensity for gambling, a rejection of work, indolence, an interest in women as objects of desire, and in a life of pleasure. Style-wise, we can consider the malandro-musician's dress as a kind of compromise between Neve's audacious style and the Pelo Telefone Generation's more conservative style. Hertzman writes: "Compared to Pixinguinha's and Donga's conservative look, malandro-musicians' linen suits and panama hats were sexy and daring. But they were a far cry from Moreno's monocle or Neves's blue suit jacket

and silk hat" (2010: 611). In addition to their distinctive dress, many sambistas in Golden Era sang about women as objects of desire in provocative ways, but unlike Neves, they sang about black or mixed-race women. Thus, the *malandro* retained its image as sexually charged but in a way that was less threatening to white sensibilities.

We can see the negotiation of *malandragem* at this moment by looking at the musical exchange between Afro-Brazilian composer Wilson Batista (1913-1968) and Euro-Brazilian composer Noel Rosa (1910-1937). Batista's 1933 song, "Lenço no pescoço" ("Scarf around my neck"), recorded by Sílvia Caldas, became something of a *malandro*'s anthem. The chorus asserts, "My hat cocked to the side / Dragging my clogs / Scarf around my neck / Razor in my pocket // I strut around / Provoking and teasing / I am proud / To be such a vagrant." Here, Wilson evokes the image of an old-school *malandro* from the 1910s. Hertzman's analysis suggests that Batista "put a different twist on *malandragem* and *vadiagem*, one which echoed Eduardo das Neves's proud crioulo *malandro* character . . . that stood as a virile rejoinder to weak, emasculated vagrants" (2010: 617). In addition to the clothing and manner, Batista's *malandro* has a stolid disdain for work. In the verse, the lyrics say, "I see those who work / Go about in misery // I am a vagrant / Because I have the inclination / I remember, as a child / I wrote samba-canções."³¹ In this section, he states his opposition to work, noting that those who work are not happy or rich. Another important aspect of *malandragem* that he claims is an innate musicality, suggesting that he spends his days composing sambas. This

³¹ "Canções" is the plural form of "canção," or song. Samba-canção, literally "samba-song" is a slow, romantic subgenre of samba.

propensity reinforces the connection between samba and *malandragem*. In response, Noel Rosa, a white musician from the middle/working-class neighborhood of Vila Isabel, composed a song called “Rapaz folgado,” or “Idle Boy.” In it, he criticized Batista’s *malandro*, telling him to throw away his clogs, scarf, and razor (that hamper him) in exchange for shoes and a tie. In the final verse, he sings demeaningly, “Malandro is a defeatist word / That only serves to take away / All the value of the sambista / I propose to the civilized world / To not call you “malandro” / But to call you an idle boy.”

A few authors have noted the incongruity between Rosa’s disdainful response to Batista and his celebration of the *malandro* in many of his other songs. McCann’s analysis suggests that Rosa’s response fits within his “nationalist logic” (2009). “Rosa was overwhelmingly concerned with defining and describing a national essence, which he located among the samba musicians and the down-and-out on the urban margins, and in the neighborhood camaraderie of lower middle-class Rio” (2009: 2). According to McCann, not only did Rosa seek to locate Brazil’s national essence in samba and in samba musicians, he also sought to “achieve it, to become worthy of it, and to protect it” (3). From this perspective, Rosa is not dismissing the figure of the *malandro*, but is dismissing Batista’s characterization of him. McCann writes that Rosa’s *malandros* in other songs

are all, in some way, threatened—they are plagued by women or the police, or endangered by progress and society. These threats are entirely necessary: they give value to the *malandro*’s cultivation and protection of samba. Batista’s *malandro*, in contrast, is self-satisfied and untroubled. He rejects work, but glibly. There is no tension in his boastful proclamation of independence. By Rosa’s logic, therefore, he is an unfulfilled *malandro*: he has no larger function, no project. (10)

According to McCann, Rosa does not view Batista's *malandro* as worthy of protecting samba against the incursions of women, the authorities, and "order and progress" in Brazilian society. Rosa's *malandro*, in contrast to Batista's and Neves's audacious displays, behaves with "subtlety and guile" (1).

Batista responded to Rosa that a white, middle-class "*mocinho*" (good little boy) from Vila Isabel who co-hosted a popular radio show, had no business telling a "real" *malandro* about *malandragem*. "You who are a good little boy from Vila [Isabel] / Talk a lot about guitars, barracks and other things / If you wish to not lose your name / Take care of your microphone and leave / Those who are malandros in peace / Your commentary is unjust / Talking about malandro when you are a square / You are not a malandro." Batista disqualifies Rosa from commenting on *malandragem* due to his racial and socioeconomic background, because he is a "*mocinho*" from Vila Isabel. Furthermore, Rosa's success on the radio disqualifies him from being a true *malandro*, an individual on the margins of society. As we can see, Rosa and Batista had very different ideas about the *malandro*.

The polemic between these two individuals illustrates a larger societal negotiation about the constitution and role of the *malandro* in Brazil. The polemic reveals a struggle to determine who has the power to define *malandragem*. Batista argues that truly marginal sambistas should do so. Rosa, by contrast, seems to think that the *malandro* is akin to, or identical to, the anti-establishment bohemian. Some authors have conflated the two notions. Indeed, Ruben George Oliven does so in his Marxist analysis of

malandragem as manifest through samba lyrics, stating that in Brazil, where capitalism developed differently than in Europe of the United States, the opposite of the bourgeoisie is not the proletariat, but the bohemian (1984: 68, 88). He furthermore labels Rosa a “bohemian *par excellence*.” Though Oliven ostensibly treats the bohemian and the *malandro* as separate sociological categories, he does not explain the difference between the two, treating them as equivalents.

The problem with this treatment is that it ignores the racialized history of *malandragem* and leaves its appropriation by white musicians uninterrogated. The bohemian can come from any class background so long as s/he rejects dominant society while the *malandro* rarely lives on the margins of society by choice—he is often pushed there. McCann celebrates the *malandro* as the preserver of samba in the face of domesticity (represented by women), foreign incursion, and repression; he further celebrates Noel Rosa for his supposed use of *malandragem* in his compositions and as the foremost preserver of samba. McCann commits the same error as Oliven in ignoring racial discrimination and micro-power dynamics: he ascribes to the *malandro* the lofty task of resisting power without considering that he may or may not have the luxury that the bohemian has in choosing his interstitial social position. We thus see that the form and meanings of *malandragem* continue to be hotly contested. This struggle for control over cultural representation is tightly bound with the struggle for cultural rights, that is, the “right to culture” as one wishes to practice it.

Carnaval and the Struggle for Cultural Rights

I now turn to discuss the consolidation of representations of *afrobrasilidade* in samba parades during Carnaval, and to consider it in conjunction with cultural rights. As mentioned in the introduction, I am interested in how citizens' right to culture is negotiated among various actors, how it is constructed, and the interchange of power among the actors. During the Vargas era, changing attitudes about race across different sectors of society created the conditions for people to afford physical and cultural space to black Brazilians within the nation. However, black culture was not fully accepted by white elite society. We have seen one avenue in which the constitution of black masculinity is negotiated, namely in definitions of *malandragem*. Another avenue in which these contentious struggles were taking place was in the context of the samba school competitions during Carnaval.

The first Samba Schools were organized in 1928, representing varying *favela* neighborhoods in Carnaval. While parade competitions between Carnaval groups were by no means a new occurrence,³² in the 1930s federal and local government agencies saw an opportunity to attract more tourists to the city during the celebration. As part of their promotional efforts, federal and local government agencies provided funds to the Samba Schools that had only been available previously to the *grandes sociedades* (Hertzman

³² See Levine (1984: 12-14), Raphael (1990: 74-77) and Pinho (2014: 4-7) for histories of Carnaval and different Carnaval associations, including *grandes sociedades*, *blocos*, and Samba Schools. Levine and Raphael focus on the role of the police and the elite in regulating Carnaval celebrations. Pinho frames the history of Bahian Carnaval in terms of black resistance.

2013: 195).³³ Requisite for receiving financial aid, the Samba Schools needed to abide by a set regulations imposed by the government. These rules included the prohibition of wind instruments, the inclusion of an *ala das baianas* (a wing of women dressed in clothing associated with Afro-Brazilian women from Bahia) in the parade, and the requirement that each group adopt a national theme around which to organize each performance.

While it is difficult to piece together a coherent narrative from the secondary literature, it is evident that these regulations were reinforced by governmental and non-governmental institutions, including financing organizations and even eventually by the União das Escolas de Samba (Union of Samba Schools, UES). Hertzman writes that the “officialization” of Carnaval “began in earnest in 1932, during soccer’s off-season, when the sports publication *Mundo Sportivo* sponsored the first formal Carnival parade competition. In 1934, the Rio City Council did the same, awarding cash prizes for the top three finishers” (2013: 195-196). Describing official support for the Samba Schools, Hermano Vianna writes that the Carnaval procession of the first Samba School, Deixa Falar, in 1929 was

led by buglers on horses furnished by the military police. Four years later, the parading samba schools got a subsidy from the mayor’s office. By 1935, the parade of samba schools was featured on the official carnival program distributed by the city government. The newspaper *O Globo* sponsored the parade and formulated regulations for it, . . . (1999: 90)

³³ The *grandes sociedades* (high society clubs) came into being in the nineteenth century, attracting and organized by *carioca* elites. These clubs received government funding for their Carnaval displays (Hertzman 2013: 56).

The Samba Schools themselves promoted these rules in order to protect their members and to advance their interests.³⁴ Hertzman writes about the UES:

The groups' statutes include the regulations about wind instruments, *baianas*, and "national themes," but it is difficult to know how or where the regulations first originated. It is possible that the União merely vetted guidelines proposed by the administration of Getúlio Vargas. But UES actions suggest that the organization did not simply embrace or accept rules imposed from above. . . . In its statutes, the UES defended itself as "an organ to defend and fight for the interests and aspirations of samba and its schools." The groups' stated purpose included control of the Carnival festivities and of all "propaganda" related to samba. . . . Though hardly intent on confronting or subverting state authority, the UES was adept at molding itself in a way that allowed it to survive where other organizations could not. (2013: 196-197)

In this passage, Hertzman discusses the institutionalized political and cultural role of the UES, framing it vis-à-vis the role of official governmental bodies, analyzing the relationship between the two as tense, compromising, and mutually supportive. We can also extend this analysis to the role played by non-governmental bodies, such as news media outlets.

The rules regulating Carnival parades served to connect Rio de Janeiro to certain representations of the African-derived musical heritage of the city, and to representations of Africa by way of the Northeast of Brazil. The inclusion of an *ala das baianas*, "the *baianas* wing," explicitly connects Rio-based samba to musical traditions from the Northeast. *Baiana* indicates a woman from the Northeast, specifically from Salvador da Bahia, migrated to Rio de Janeiro in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century. One

³⁴ Under the Vargas regime, official outlets for popular political expression were curtailed, particularly beginning in 1937 when Vargas abolished the 1934 Constitution and declared the establishment of the Estado Novo (New State), and the Samba Schools became important organizations for political, community and cultural action and expression (Hertzman 2013: 195).

of the most notable *baianas* was Tia Ciata, who hosted *choro*³⁵ and *batuque* parties at her house on Praça Onze, where it is said that *samba carioca*, especially *samba pagode*, was consolidated. It is also regarded as the place where the first samba, “Pelo telefone,” was collectively composed (Vianna 1999: 79). Representations of the *baiana* show her dressed in the traditional garb used by *mães de santo*, or spiritual mothers, in *candomblé* houses. As such, she is considered a spiritual leader and keeper of Afro-Brazilian tradition.³⁶ The prohibition of wind instruments during the parade served to prohibit most instruments of European origin, and lent prominence to percussion and string instruments, especially drums and the *cavaquinho*. As in many places in the Americas, in Brazil drums are associated with African heritage. Additionally, many of the instruments permitted in samba parades were instruments used at Tia Ciata’s parties. Hence, the instrumentation lent an air of “authenticity” to the parades.

While most Brazilians recognized Africa as an important cultural influence on the nation, this did not mean that black Brazilians had complete control over their own representations. Blackness became an integral part of Brazilianness at this time, yet only folklorized forms of Blackness were deemed acceptable. This served to discredit, and repress other ways of being black and to strip agency from black citizens. Indeed, black Brazilians certainly had a “right” to their culture, but only insofar as it was legitimated by

³⁵ One of the forerunners of samba. *Choro* is characterized by its instrumentation (*cavaquinho*, guitar, and flute or other woodwind), by its upbeat tempo, syncopation, and polyphonic texture.

³⁶ See Moura (1983) for information on Tia Ciata and the neighborhood “Little Africa” in colonial and First Republic Rio de Janeiro.

the mainstream and acceptable to white elite sensibilities. While *afrobrasilidade* was celebrated, it was simultaneously “Othered,” spatially and culturally segregated.

We must read this regulation and creation of *afrobrasilidade* within the context of the Vargas regime’s nationalist project. As Lorraine Leu writes:

The process of legitimization of Afro-Brazilian cultural expression peaked during the government of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945). The first Vargas regime . . . fashioned a populist nationalism aimed at eliminating the regional factionalism that had been the source of the country’s political instability. As part of the project of creating a homogenous national identity, the regime selected and appropriated key elements of Afro-Brazilian culture to symbolize *brasilidade*. Sanitized and carefully regulated street carnival celebrations were elevated to the status of national festival in 1932. Samba was promoted via the state-controlled radio station; composers and performers were also courted through the payment of royalties that offered the possibility of professionalization, and later, were censored to keep them on message. (2010: 77)

Leu’s comment shows how a sense of nationalism was fostered through populist methods and through the use of symbols that associated Brazil with Africa. This kind of nation building is what Thomas Turino terms “cultural nationalism,” namely “[t]he use of art and other cultural practices to develop or maintain national sentiment for political purposes” (2000: 14). Indeed, the popularity of samba and older black musical genres (including the *lundu* and *maxixe*) among white middle-class musicians and radio listeners, the influence of capitalism in the development of the record industry, and the propagation of new theories for interpreting Brazil’s tri-partite racial history created the possibility for samba to become the national rhythm. However, these factors did not mitigate the severe racial discrimination faced by black Brazilians.

The consecration of samba as a national rhythm, and as an “invented tradition,”³⁷ illustrates the process of folklorization to which much Afro-descendant culture was subjected. Drawing on Johannes Fabian’s notion of folklore as a mode of cultural production, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes,

folklore is made not found—which does not mean that it is fabricated, though fabrication does of course occur. . . . Folklore’s facticity is rather to be found in the ways that particular objects or behaviors come to be identified and understood as folklore. (1995: 369)

Thus, we see in the consolidation of samba as a genre and in its invention as a long-standing tradition that its elements, including the stock characters presented in song and personified in parades, are folklorized. Some of the consequences of folklorization are the relegation of that tradition to the past and a strong emphasis on static preservation. In the case of samba, black Brazilians needed to present themselves as sanitized, folklorized caricatures in order to fit the model of acceptable *afrobrasilidade* and to gain access to the commercial sector.

In addition to relegating black Brazilians to a mythological past, dominant representations also served to circumscribe their economic and material circumstances. Namely, being black and Brazilian was acceptable so long as one stayed in the *favela* and sang and danced samba. Thus, while *afrobrasilidade* was celebrated during Carnaval and through the production and consumption of samba, its representations reduce black

³⁷ Hermano Vianna asserts that the “‘discovery’ of samba by the young Brazilian intellectual of the 1920s provides [an example] of the ‘invention of tradition’ . . . in the [formulation] advanced by Eric Hobsbawm . . .” (1999: 15). Hobsbawm writes, “‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1983: 1).

Brazilians to a particular time and place, while white Brazilians are able to live complex lives and hold positions of power. As William Rowe and Vivian Schelling write in

Memoria y modernidad:

Even when samba has been affected by processes of massification that accompanied the formation of the New State and by a national market of symbolic goods, which directly depends on the expansion of communications media, it cannot be confirmed that this quantitative expansion has driven a significant qualitative betterment in the Brazilian black population's social condition or cultural level. . . . the subordinated level of black culture will only get better insofar as the ideology of "whitening" loses legitimacy. This, in turn, depends on the degree that the collective psyche of Brazilian society stops dividing itself between (devalued) African symbols and (idealized) Western institution and cultural forms. (1993: 174)³⁸

The authors make the important point that the celebration of samba has not effected much positive change in the black Brazilian community. In fact, the celebration of samba, in its Otherizing, essentializing glorification of Blackness, evinces traces of the sinister ideology of "whitening." White cultural expressions are still valued over those of black Brazilians, and white Brazilians continue to have a heavy hand in the public representation of black Brazilians.

In terms of their cultural rights, we see that that black Brazilians are afforded a right to culture, so long as their culture displays a sanitized and folklorized *afrobrasilidade* that is in keeping with white popular attitudes about race and music.

³⁸ "Así, aun cuando la [sic] samba ha resultado afectada por el proceso de masificación que acompañó a la formación del Estado y de un mercado nacional de bienes simbólicos, del cual depende directamente la expansión de los medios de comunicación, no puede afirmarse que esta expansión cuantitativa haya conducido a una significativa mejoría cualitativa en la condición social o el nivel cultural de la población de Brasil. . . . el nivel subordinado de la cultura negra sólo podrá mejorarse en la medida en que pierda legitimidad la ideología del 'blanqueamiento'. Ello, a su vez, depende del grado hasta donde la psique colectiva de la sociedad brasileña en su conjunto deje de dividirse entre símbolos africanos (devaluados) e instituciones y formas culturales occidentales (idealizadas)."

Indeed, though cultural rights were expanded in the Vargas Era, especially during Carnival, there is truth in what Roberto DaMatta writes about the Brazilian expression “Você sabe com quem está falando?!” or “Do you know who you’re talking to?!”. He notes,

It seems obvious that on the everyday level, this verbal rite of authority reveals the aversion to discord and crisis that seems to be so basic to our social system, a system intensely preoccupied with authority, hierarchy, and “everyone in his proper place.” (1991: 140).

DaMatta’s analysis suggests that while Brazilians believe strongly in their democratic institutions (including the myth of racial democracy), this everyday expression evinces attitudes that rely on personalist microaggressions.

DaMatta’s statement resonates with James Holston’s claim that while the category of “citizen” is inclusive in Brazil, there is significant stratification within that category (2008). Though all may legally be Brazilian, the distribution of rights is restricted across various parameters including property ownership, education, race, gender, and religion (2008: 20). Holston argues against DaMatta’s formulation that Brazilian society consists of two kinds of people: the person and the individual. DaMatta’s individual is “the seat of universal law, equality, anonymity, impersonal relations, and citizenship” while the person represents “the domain of special treatment, social differences, known identities, hierarchical personal, and clientelism” (Holston 2008: 19). This dichotomy suggests that individuals are subject to the law and that persons are able to rise above the law through personalist relationships. However, in Holston’s estimation, “Brazilian law is already personalized No special pleading is required. The individual is the seat of rights

that are distributed to him or her because s/he is a certain kind of social person” (20).

This implies that Brazilian law legalizes inequality. So DaMatta’s claim that the phrase “Do you know who you’re talking to?!” evinces “a system intensely preoccupied with authority, hierarchy, and ‘everyone in his proper place’” is accurate, but is used by individuals to distinguish themselves from other individuals that are already differentiated under the law. Thus, we see how the particular formulation of Brazilian citizenship places black men within a particular set of circumstances, and how representations of *afrobrasilidade* affect their cultural rights.

I have explored the constitution of the *malandro* in samba music, and of *afrobrasilidade* during Carnaval, within the context of the Brazilian nation. The constitution of a folklorized *afrobrasilidade* shaped and curtailed black Brazilians’ cultural rights in restrictive ways. In the following chapter, I address representations of black masculinity in *Black Rio*. Following a period of democratic rule, in 1964 the military overthrew the government in a *coup d’état*. The military cracked down on “subversives” with the instatement of the draconian Institutional Act No. 5 in 1968 through which they closed Congress, disbanded political parties, and suspended the right to *habeas corpus*. These changes dramatically shifted the face of popular music in Brazil. During the 1950s and 1960s, certain genres came to be considered emblematic of *brasilidade* while foreign genres, such as rock ‘n’ roll, were disparaged by members of the Right and the Left in their struggle to determine the shape of national culture. Throughout the late-1960s and early-1970s, music was heavily censored. This is the context in which *soul* music entered the Brazilian market. By the mid-1970s, the

government eased up on its more repressive policies and new forms of political organization began to emerge. This is the moment the *Black* Rio movement came into the public eye. We will see that self-representations and representations of *Blacks* by others show a significant departure from normative black masculinity as represented by the *malandro*.

Chapter 3:

*Desenlatando*³⁹ *Black Rio: Música Soul*, the Negotiation of Masculinity, and the Formation of Place

Introduction

On July 17, 1976, in the cultural supplement of the *Jornal do Brasil*, journalist and cultural critic Lena Frias published an article entitled “Black Rio: O orgulho (importado) de ser negro no Brasil [*Black Rio*: the (imported) pride of being black in Brazil].” In it, Frias drew the Brazilian reader’s attention to a pervasive musical and racial phenomenon: that of *soul* sound system parties, known as *bailes cariocas* (Rio-based dances), or *bailes da pesada* (heavy dances). These *bailes* had taken over the nightlife of Rio de Janeiro’s Zona Norte suburbs. In her article, Frias warned that Rio was turning “*black*” and railed against the blatant (imported) commercialism of the parties. Much of the anxiety in Frias’s article stemmed from the recognition that a parallel, racially self-conscious Rio was emerging. However, Frias’s article was not news to many *cariocas*, as the *Black Rio* movement was already in full swing, and a new *black* male identity in Brazil was being articulated through it.

In this chapter, I explore representations of *black soul* musicians and dancers, particularly in the press and in leftist criticism. I survey news articles in the *Jornal do Brasil*, a daily newspaper printed in Rio de Janeiro, and *Veja*, a weekly newsmagazine

³⁹ By *desenlatar* I mean the opposite action of *enlatar*: to can, to put into a can. I use *desenlatar* to mean “taking the lid off of.” Please see Chapter 1 for my discussion of this play on words.

printed in São Paulo, from 1970 to 1980 and well as the secondary literature on the *Black* Rio movement. I show that *black soul* musicians and dancers are portrayed on the one hand as “alienated” from “authentic” Brazilian culture, and on the other hand as susceptible to the whims of the international music industry.

These criticisms stem from Marxist ideas that were popular among the Brazilian leftist intelligentsia. One proponent of such views was cultural critic and regular contributor to the *Jornal do Brasil*, José Ramos Tinhorão. The thrust of his critique of *Black* Rio is similar to his critiques of other musical genres. The following quote illustrates his attitude toward Brazilian and foreign music. In the introduction to a collection of polemical essays (originally published between 1961 and 1965), Tinhorão explains his position vis-à-vis samba and bossa nova:

Consistent with the sociological approach adopted in the interpretation of the pieces studied here, I support my intellectual position with the fact that, at this moment in Brazilian development, the culture of the lowest sectors of society represents permanent and historical values . . . while the culture of the middle class reflects transitory and alienated values (industrial development is still subject to the influences of foreign capital. ([1966] 1997: 14)⁴⁰

We can see that his main criticism of bossa nova is that it is attached to foreign values that are propagated by international interests. This position reflects the orthodox Left’s anxiety about economic and cultural imperialism, and its concern for preserving “authentic” Brazilian culture. Tinhorão’s statement also evinces a subordination of

⁴⁰ “Coerente com o método de abordagem sociológica adotado na interpretação dos temas aqui em estudo, o autor explica sua posição intelectual com o fato de, no presente instante do desenvolvimento brasileiro, a cultura das camadas mais baixas representar valores permanentes e históricos (o latifúndio ainda não foi abolido), enquanto a cultura da classe média reflete valores transitórios e alienados (o desenvolvimento industrial ainda se submete a implicações do Capital estrangeiro).”

people's actions to economic factors and a positioning of poor—read black—Brazilians as the keepers of national tradition. Such ideas fueled his attitude towards *Black Rio*.

While Tinhorão's rhetoric may be more provocative than that of most commentators in the 1970s, many members of the leftist intelligentsia maintained similar attitudes. Tinhorão's logic comes from long-standing racist assumptions that viewed people of color, and in particular the black "masses," as irrational. I argue that there is a gendered component to this juxtaposition that posits a mostly white, middle class, rational, masculine figure against a mostly black, poor, irrational, emasculated one. This chapter will look further at representations of *Blacks*.

Black soul musicians and dancers resisted these representations by choosing strong, masculine imagery that deviated from folklorized representations of the *malandro* or emasculated members of the black masses to represent themselves, building community through the creation of alternative spaces, and talking back. Indeed, just as Wilson Batista and Noel Rosa negotiated the terms of *malandragem* in the 1930s, leftist critics and *Blacks* negotiated the form and representation of *Black-ness* in the 1970s. This struggle evinces a shift in traditional, normative understandings of race and racial democracy in Brazil. Indeed, it was through the appropriation and resignification of foreign music and symbols—for which they were intensely criticized in the press—that *Blacks* were integral in opening up a society-wide debate on racial politics and cultural rights in Brazil. In this way, we can understand the participants of *Black Rio* to be *black* subjects engaged in the creation of an extranational space. This shift in the "terms of

inclusion”⁴¹ has significant implications for the constitution of black Brazilian citizens and for the shaping of their rights.

We must move from the thinking of citizenship in terms of the nation to understanding citizenship and rights within the more local space of the city. Rather than claiming rights as Brazilian citizens, it became more effective to demand rights as residents of particular neighborhoods.⁴² I will show how this localization of identity was integral to *Black Rio*. I then give a brief portrait of the *Black Rio* music and dance scene, followed by a review of how the *Black Rio* movement and *música soul* in general were represented in the press and academic literature, and how they represented themselves. To illustrate these charged negotiations over masculinity, I analyze Toni Tornado and Trio Ternura’s performance of “BR-3” during the 1970 International Song Festival. This early performance evokes an extranational space in which a new black Brazilian identity could be articulated. And finally, I conclude with a discussion of how these debates affected the terms of black citizenship and the nature of racial politics in Brazil.

From the Nation to the City—Shifting Spaces and Shifting Citizenships

In Lena Frias’s tone we notice a preoccupation with the geography of Rio de Janeiro. For Frias, *Black Rio* threatened to divide the city into two. At the time she published her article, most of the *bailes da pesada* were taking place in Rio de Janeiro’s

⁴¹ I draw this phrase from the title of Paulina Alberto’s 2011 book, *Terms of Inclusion*, on black movements in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador da Bahia in the twentieth century.

⁴² See Holston (2008) and McCann (2013) for studies of particular Brazilian constituencies rights claims in relation to urban geography.

Zona Norte. The Zona Norte is a primarily industrial and residential area, generally comprised of working-class neighborhoods. It is distinguished from the Zona Sul, which is considered the residence of Rio's middle and upper classes. The Zona Sul contains famous neighborhoods such as Copacabana and Botafogo with beautiful beaches, tourist attractions, and modern high-rise apartments.

The geography of the city had important implications for citizenship.⁴³ James Holston, in his 2008 book, *Insurgent Citizenship*, looks at the interaction between entrenched citizenship and insurgent citizenship in one's experience of city space. By entrenched, he means normative citizenship as practiced in Brazil, namely the idea that Brazilian citizenship is inclusive but inequalitarian. On the other hand, insurgence describes

a process that is an acting counter, a counterpolitics, that destabilizes the present and renders it fragile, defamiliarizing the coherence with which it usually presents itself. Insurgence is not a top-down imposition of an already scripted future. It

⁴³ The classed and racial segregation of Rio has a long history that begins in the late nineteenth century. With slavery having been abolished only in 1888 and Brazil having won its independence from Portugal in 1889, the political and cultural elite of the new nation was deeply invested in "civilizing" the city through urban reforms according to the Enlightenment-influenced national slogan, "Order and Progress." These transformations included: 1) city planning to improve public health (or "hygiene" as politicians and the press phrased it); 2) the demolition of working-class housing in the downtown area and of *favelas* on the hillsides; and 3) a rapid increase in transportation infrastructure which encouraged the development of residential suburbs outside the city center. Projects such as the installation of electric lights, the construction of a modern port, the draining of swampy areas, and the demolition of working-class residences for the construction of major thoroughfares, public works, and grand buildings in the neoclassical style, constituted Rio de Janeiro's version of "civilization" and "progress." These reforms became known as the *bota-abaixo*, or tear-down. This name embodies the break from the colonial past that politicians sought, as well as the destruction that the reforms entailed. One option for displaced residents was to expand existing *favelas* and construct new ones on the hillside overlooking downtown. Another option was to move to the suburbs. The Zona Sul neighborhoods, with their beautiful beaches, "were the cooler, less fever-ridden place where the wealthy foreigners and monied Brazilians increasingly preferred to live" (Needell 1984: 389). As the city continued to expand in the 1970s due to massive migration and urbanization, this pattern became further entrenched.

bubbles up from the past in places where present circumstances seem propitious for an irruption. (2008: 34)

For Holston, the interaction between entrenched and insurgent citizenships makes up the form of the contemporary citizenships. One of the factors that makes insurgent citizenships possible is the experience of the city. The city provides a vital space for the claiming of rights and for the performance of cultural rights. Holston writes that

cities remain strategic arenas for the development of citizenship. Far from dematerializing their importance, today's globalizations of capital, industry, migration, communication, and democracy render cities more strategic: by inscribing these global forces into the spaces and relations of daily life, contemporary cities make them manifest for unprecedented numbers of people. City streets combine new identities of territory, contract, and education with ascribed ones of race, religion, culture, and gender. Their crowds catalyze these new combinations into the active ingredients of political movements that develop new sources of rights and agendas of citizenship concerning the very conditions of city life. This chemistry in turn transforms the meanings and practices of national belonging. (22-23)

Thus, the confluence of people, capital, and ideas in urban environments is incredibly important for the development of insurgent citizenships. In the case of *Black Rio*, we see how the adoption and resignification of foreign goods and symbols, facilitated by globalization, made it possible for a soul and funk music scene to spring up in Rio de Janeiro.

Furthermore, the city provides a frame through which to explore the mutual constitution of places and subjects. In this project, I am interested in the co-constitution of *black* places and *black* identity. Philosopher Edward Casey defines space as a “neutral, pre-given medium, a tabula rasa onto which the particularities of culture and

history come to be inscribed, with place as the presumed result” (1996: 14). On the other hand, places come into being by sensing and experiencing them. Casey writes:

The experience of perceiving . . . requires a corporeal subject who lives *in* a place *through* perception. It also requires a place that is amenable to this body-subject and that extends its own influence back onto this subject. . . . Thus place integrates with body as much as body with place. (22)

Casey suggests that subjects and places are dialectically constituted through experience. To this, I add the notion that people experience not only through the outer-world, but also through their inner-worlds. Integral to the experience of place are histories, memories, and feelings. Thus, *black* musicians and dancers constructed their identities through the particular politics of place. The places constructed could be physical (such as a dance floor) or imagined (such as the United States or somewhere in between Brazil and the U.S.).

The creation of alternative *black* places in 1970s Rio was made possible by the circulation of people, music, and ideas through the city. Though this music scene did not comprise a political movement in the traditional sense, the fact that the media and leftist critics reacted so strongly to it is indicative that its very existence challenged preconceived notions of the place of black Brazilians. There were indeed actors who made demands in a traditional manner and those who were actively engaged in black rights organizations. However, I advocate for an expanded understanding of “the political” that encompasses cultural movements such as this one. All members of *Black* Rio participated in the creation of alternative places in the city, and stretched the boundary of what it meant to be black and Brazilian through the enactment of *Black*-ness.

Brief Portrait of *Música Soul* and *Black Rio*

It is apparent from album reviews in the *Jornal do Brasil* that Brazilians had been following soul and funk music at least since the late 1960s. *Música soul* experienced an initial period of prominence in 1970. That year, Tim Maia (born Sebastião Rodrigues Maia) was one of the first Brazilian *soul* artists to be mentioned in the *Jornal*.⁴⁴ Given the paper's leftist orientation, it is not surprising that Maia was initially mentioned in a review of MPB artist Elis Regina's 1970 show in Canecão⁴⁵ on April 6. In the article, Maia is introduced as a new composer "who lived in America for many years and who, after returning to Brazil, has everything to do with international music as it is done there, but with our own characteristics."⁴⁶ At the show, Regina and Maia sang Maia's "These Are the Songs" as a duet and many Brazilians were introduced to his powerful falsetto. Other early mentions of *soul* and U.S. soul music include a historical essay on U.S. soul music by Paulo Furtado de Mendonça on May 18 that describes "authentic" soul music

⁴⁴ It is important to note that the *Jornal do Brasil* became an important outlet for journalists and cultural critics of the traditional Left, particularly after the closure of leftist newspapers such as *Última Hora* and *Correio da Manhã* following the 1964 *coup d'état*. Even before the *coup*, it was characterized by its center-left, middle-class perspective and readership.

⁴⁵ Canecão is an important indoor arena in the neighborhood of Botafogo in the Zona Sul. It opened in 1967 and is the venue where DJ Big Boy and DJ Ademir Lemos began hosting U.S. pop, rock, and soul music together.

⁴⁶ In this case, the journalist meant that Maia's singing resembled that of a U.S. soul artist while incorporating Brazilian rhythms and genres. This was an acceptable recipe for Brazilian Popular Music (MPB), a genre consolidated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, according to some critics. MPB songs are generally characterized by their use of traditional Brazilian musics, use of politically motivated poetry (that was ambiguous enough to evade the censors), and incorporation of international popular music trends. In the case of Maia, some critics approved of his particular fusion of elements while others did not.

and its subsequent appropriation by U.S. white artists, and a July 2 advertisement for a DJ who can spin *iê-iê-iê*⁴⁷ and *soul* music.

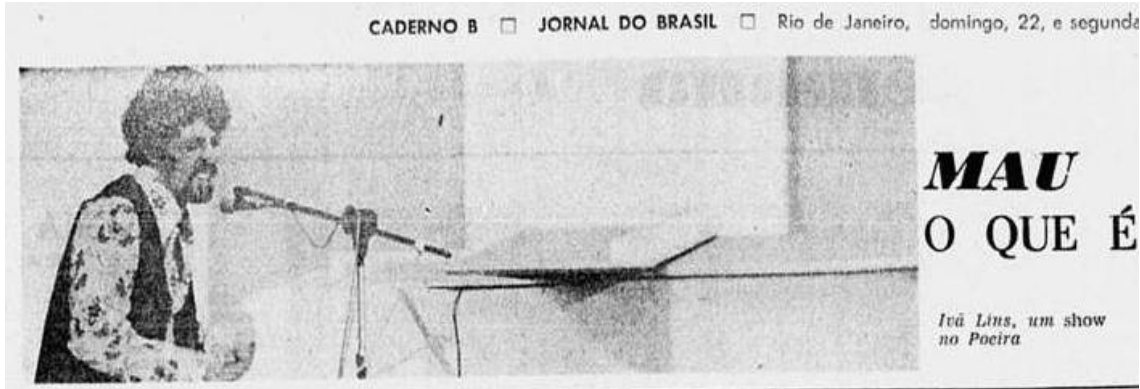


Fig. 1. Ivan Lins sporting *soul* style at the piano – *Jornal do Brasil*, 11/23/1970

It is apparent that *música soul* in early 1970s received attention from the press if *soul* artists were cooperating with MPB artists (especially those who were affiliated with the protest song movement or *Tropicália* in the late 1960s). For example, many *soul* artists, including Tim Maia, Trio Mocotó, and Os Diagonais, participated in a 14-act “show-parade-fashion-music-concert-film-slideshow-ballet” called “Build Up Electronic Fashion Show” that featured popular MPB artists such as Jorge Ben and Rita Lee of Os Mutantes. Tim Maia, Toni Tornado, and Ivan Lins also participated in a show organized the Movimento Artístico Universitário (University Artistic Movement), which was considered “the third great [movement] of Brazilian popular music [after] bossa nova and

⁴⁷ *Iê-iê-iê* (a homonym of “yeah yeah yeah”) is one of the terms used to denote 1960s Brazilian rock ‘n’ roll. One of the figureheads of this style was Roberto Carlos, whose cover of Bobby Darin’s “Splish Splash” made a splash on the Brazilian popular music scene. Roberto Carlos and other early rock ‘n’ roll musicians were known as the Jovem Guarda (Young Guard) and hosted a television program by the same name. *Iê-iê-iê* was the term used pejoratively by others who preferred other musics, especially *Tropicália* and MPB.

tropicalismo” according to a November 23 preview.⁴⁸ As you can see from the photograph above (Fig. 1), clothing and hairstyles from the U.S. were popular at this time. On the same day, one of the first features on Tim Maia appears, including a brief biography, interview, and preview for his show called “The Sound and the Dream of Tim Maia” (see Fig. 2). And, of course, the 1970 International Song Festival hosted in Rio de Janeiro featured many Brazilian *soul* artists, including Toni Tornado and Trio Ternura whose performance of “BR-3” took first place in the national stage.

⁴⁸ It is important to place the Movimento Artístico Universitário within the historical narrative alluded to in the article. Bossa nova is a style of music that emerged and became popular in the 1950s. It is characterized by a “stuttering” guitar part, West-coast jazz harmonies, and a crooning vocal timbre that suggests a small, intimate space (Treece 1997). Some commentators, such as José Ramos Tinhorão (1966), criticized the bossa nova movement for being the purview of the white middle classes living in the Zona Sul isolated from people of color, for its watered-down samba rhythms and foreign—read, alienated—harmonies, and for its naïve ethos of “love, smiles, and flowers” (Treece 1997:1). In response to the bossa nova movement, a few artists with Marxist leanings decided to write protest music that directly challenged João Goulart’s reformist government and the military regime. Protest songs tended to conform to Carlos Estevam Martins’s call for a “revolutionary popular art” (see a reproduction of his 1962 “Draft of the Manifesto of the Popular Culture Center” in Buarque de Hollanda 2004: 135-168). Martins advocated that songwriters use “popular” Brazilian forms (such as samba, or “folkloric” rhythms from the Northeast such as *embolada* or *baião*) in order to convey a revolutionary message. In the late 1960s, artists such as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil found the protest song patronizing to “*o povo*” (“the people”), those who the middle-class, educated songwriters purported to speak to and for, and established the *Tropicália* or *tropicalismo* movement (see Dunn 2001). The Tropicalistas incorporated international pop trends (through the use of electric guitars and the influence of rock and, later, *soul*) with Brazilian signifiers, and tended to write more equivocal lyrics to get around the censors. Thus, the author of the news article places the Movimento Artístico Universitário in a long line of musical movements spearheaded by middle-class, educated youth.

O SONHO DE TIM MAIA NA HORA DO SOM

MACKSEN LUIZ



Nos Estados Unidos, há alguns anos, foi Jimmy, the Brazilian. Hoje no Brasil é apenas Tim Maia. E basta. A ele e ao público, que de repente foi surpreendido pela estranha voz – mistura de soul e ritmo brasileiro – do cantor-compositor. A partir do dia 27, no Teatro da Praia, Tim ou Jimmy, mostrará um pouco de sua imagem, mais trabalhada, menos apressada. O Som e o Sonho de Tim Maia é o título.



Fig. 2. Photographs from article featuring Tim Maia – *Jornal do Brasil*, 11/23/1970

The history of the *bailes* begins with the DJs. In 1966, DJ Big Boy took to the air and Brazilians tuned in to hear his eclectic mix of pop, rock, psychedelic rock, and soul. The success of his radio show got him a gig DJing a "happening" party in the Zona Sul. Big Boy's shows became the prototype for the *bailes da pesada*. Across town in the Zona Norte, another weekly party, hosted by DJ Ademir Lemos, was attracting its own following. Borrowing from Big Boy's format, Ademir's sets consisted mainly of funk and soul hits. Ademir established the *soul* style that would characterize the *Black Rio* movement at its height. Allen Thayer describes Ademir's appearance: "Style-wise, Ademir borrowed heavily from the flower-power aesthetic of San Francisco, and he was one of the first cats in Brazil to sport an Afro . . ." (2006: 90). It wasn't long before Big Boy and Ademir were putting on shows together in the Zona Sul, at the Canecão, with Ademir DJing, and Big Boy acting as MC (Vianna 1988:24). There, according to Thayer, like the parties in the United States in the late '50s and early '60s, Blacks and Whites shared the dance floor (Ward 1998: 123-169; Thayer 2006: 90).

In the early '70s, the *bailes da pesada* were moved to the Zona Norte when Big Boy and Ademir lost their time slot at the venue to well-known rocker Roberto Carlos. Moving the party to the Zona Norte turned out to be advantageous for the DJs and for the scene as a whole. The dances became accessible to more young people living in the Zona Norte who were listening to these tunes on the radio. Furthermore, the *bailes* were held at venues that ranged in size from small social clubs to large *futebol* clubs.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Bryan McCann points to the distinction between the *futebol* and the *tenis* clubs in Rio de Janeiro's Zona Norte: "the suburbs had been home to two types of social clubs—'tennis' clubs, largely patronized by the

Hermano Vianna, in his ethnography on sound system parties in the 1980s, writes that although it is not agreed upon who comprised the first *equipe de som* (sound system team), *soul* dancers who attended the parties began putting together their own sound systems and hosting *soul* parties (1988: 25). These were generally homemade sound systems that were owned by local businessmen, and “operated by an underpaid and anonymous team of DJs” (Thayer 2006: 91). The *equipes* collected “soul” music records, which were extremely hard to come by in Rio de Janeiro at the time. Although the Brazilian recording industry was dominated by multinational corporations, national affiliates sought to cater to a local market and supported Brazilian artists. Hence, Vianna writes: “Whoever got their hands on a good record [“goodness” being determined by how danceable the music was within seconds of listening to it] scratched off the label to turn it into the exclusive property of that *equipe*” (1988: 26) and that information on the names of artists of “good” records was only traded for information on other recordings, or even for the recordings themselves.

The number of *equipes* and parties skyrocketed,⁵⁰ and as historian Bryan McCann notes: “by 1974 several of these dances had taken on explicitly black themes” (2002: 48). As the *soul* dance circuit expanded, the sound system teams took on a more active role in

white, striving middle class, and ‘football’ (that is, soccer) clubs largely patronized by the black and mixed-race working class. Both types of clubs largely offered a range of leisure options, including weekend dances: the distinction between them was not so much of sports, but of class” (2004: 82). Furthermore, the *futebol* clubs, also used for samba school rehearsals and other large-scale events, could hold thousands of people.

⁵⁰ By 1976, there were hundreds of *equipes* working in Rio and São Paulo (McCann 2002: 48). Thayer (2006) lists some of the *equipes* in the circuit in the late 1970s: Soul Grand Prix, Black Power, Mr. Funk Santos, A Cova, Petru’s, Dynamic Soul, Um Mente Numa Boa, Tropa Bagunça, Cashbox, Soul Layzer, Furação 2000, Mind Power.

the planning, organizing, and execution of these parties. “In addition to choosing the music and setting the mood they were responsible for animating the parties, running contests, and exhorting the audience to dance” (2002: 48). Vianna sees 1975 as a turning point in the *bailes da pesada*, after Dom Filó (Asofilófilo de Oliveira Filho) established the *equipe* called Soul Grand Prix. Dom Filó, an engineer, began organizing cultural programs for youth at the Renascença Clube in the early 1970s. He began hosting *soul* dances on Sundays in order to involve more black youth. Vianna writes:

The Soul Grand Prix dances went on to have a didactic aspiration, “forming a kind of introduction to Black culture through a source that everyone was familiar with, through music and sports” ([Dom Filó notes in an interview for the] *Jornal de Música*, no 30:4). Once people were dancing, slides with scenes from films like *Wattstax*⁵¹ . . . *Shaft* . . . in addition to pictures of national and international Black musicians and athletes were projected onto the wall. The dancers that followed Soul Grand Prix, as well as the *equipe* Black Power, created a unique style of dressing that mixed the various symbols that they received, including those from record labels. It was the time of Afros, platform shoes . . . bellbottoms, of James Brown-inspired dances—all to the tune of the expression “Black is beautiful.” As a matter of fact, James Brown’s music was the most prominently featured at the dances. (1988: 27)

I quote Vianna at length here to give the reader an idea of the self-consciously *black* place that was being created.

In a feature on *Black Rio* in *Veja* magazine on November 24, 1976, the author describes the sensory experience of the dances:

The atmosphere of soul parties is always vertiginous and obfuscating: strobe lights break down movements and seem to eliminate the law of gravity; red projectors sweep over a sea of Afros and flutter rhythmically; a disco ball, suspended from the ceiling of the warehouse, scatters sparks on a predominantly

⁵¹ According to police records, *Wattstax* was screened for the first time in Brazil in June 1976 at a major *soul* party, the Third Soul Caravan. At the time, the military government censored films, especially those coming from the United States that dealt with racially explicit themes. However, the police did not see this as particularly problematic because it was soundless and truncated (Alberto 2009:15).

male audience. “These dances,” says a girl, “are occasions for meeting people and for a parade of vanities.”⁵²

Indeed, the dances were a place to show off new styles and clothes, to dance, and to meet people.⁵³ Each *equipe* had its own group of professional dancers and a DJ team who played the latest U.S. hits from *Billboard* or local radio. The recorded sound is described in the same *Veja* article as “fierce and technically flawless.” McCann notes that while Brazilian artists frequently played live shows at the dances, recorded *música soul* was not part of their regular rotation (2002: 34). In fact, it was the DJs who were the celebrities at the *bailes*.

While the *bailes* were developing as a popular phenomenon in the Zona Norte, the *Jornal do Brasil* and *Veja* made little mention of *Black Rio* or *música soul* after 1970. Occasionally, one of Tim Maia’s shows was previewed or an announcement was made that a U.S. soul artist would be performing in Brazil. Tim Maia’s album appeared on the charts of most LPs sold throughout 1971. In 1975 and 1976, *Veja* took a special interest in Tim Maia’s joining of a spiritual movement called Imunização Racional, or Rational Immunization. Maia’s adoption and rejection of the movement are charted in two brief notices (9/3/1975, 5/19/1976) that reference his weight (130 kg) and mental state,⁵⁴ with no mention of his music. *Veja*’s concern for degrading Maia can be placed within their

⁵² “Atmosfera das festas soul é sempre vertiginosa e feérica: lanternas estroboscópicas decompõem gestos e parecem eliminar a ação da gravidade; projetores vermelhos varrem um mar de cabeleiras afro que se agitam compassadamente; uma grande esfera de espelhos facetados, suspensa no teto do galpão, espalha um faiscamento constante sobre um público predominantemente masculino. ‘Esses bailes’, diz uma moça, ‘são ocasiões para encontros e para um desfile de vaidades.’”

⁵³ The *Veja* article is the only one I came across that mentioned the gender discrepancy at the dances.

⁵⁴ The 1976 notice references his “new nickname in Rio: ‘Irracional Inferior,’” and the statements that Maia made to supposedly justify such a demeaning moniker.

general concern for the increasing popularity of “witchcraft” in Brazil at that moment, and does not evince a particular interest in *soul* music or *soul* artists.⁵⁵ Indeed, for the readership of the *Jornal* and *Veja*, the initial enthusiasm for *música soul* artists such as Maia had diminished.

I now consider how Lena Frias, other journalists, and academics have treated *música soul* and especially the *Black* Rio movement. There are striking continuities between contemporary journalistic critiques and *post facto* academic analyses of the scene. In short, Frias and academics from the 1980s to the present make similar assumptions about the *Black* Rio phenomenon: 1) that *soul* musicians and dancers were “alienated” from “authentic” Brazilian culture; and 2) that they were somehow duped into blind consumption by the music industry. These criticisms stem from demeaning assumptions about race and from similar assumptions about personhood based on Marxist thought. They represent *Black* Rio participants as irrational, i.e., as an un-thinking mass.

Lena Frias and the Voices of the Press

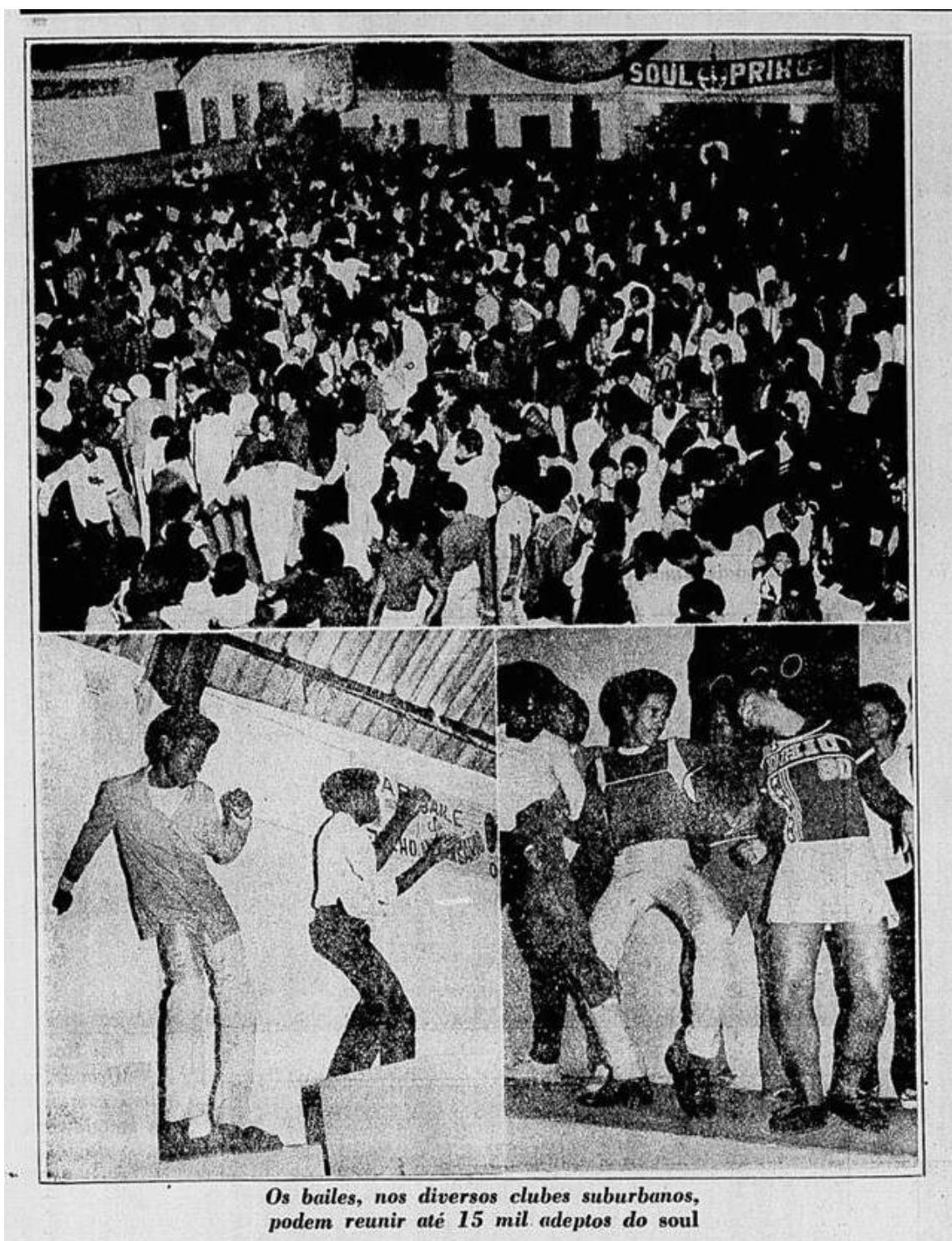
Though Brazilians had been playing soul- and funk-influenced music since the late 1960s and especially in the 1970s, it didn’t receive much attention in the media until 1976 when Frias published her sensationalist article. Many authors credit her with the coining of the term “*Black* Rio.” In this context, the word *Black* was used to describe a particular subject position in relation to a particular musical scene. A web of associations

⁵⁵ See “A Regressão à Bruxaria,” *Veja*, 9/3/1975. The article reports on an International Congress of Witches in Bogotá, and addresses a “giant wave of irrationality rolling around a world progressively starved for useful ideas.”

developed around the word having to do with music and style, patterns of consumption, and conjectures regarding the politics enmeshed in the movement. Frias writes:

A city with its own culture is developing inside Rio. A city that's growing and assuming very particular characteristics. A city that Rio, in a general sense, is unaware of or chooses to ignore. Or perhaps Rio only knows how to recognize the familiar and cliché, the slang and trends of the Zona Sul; or perhaps Rio prefers to ignore or minimize that singular and outstanding city, relegating it to the uncompromising archive of fashion; or perhaps Rio finds it more prudent to ignore this city and its discomfoting reality. (quoted in Bahiana 1980:216)

Frias alerts her readers to the “discomfoting reality” of a parallel city growing within the space of Rio de Janeiro, one that does not follow the trends set by the Zona Sul and that seems intent on asserting its difference from the culturally dominant Zona Sul. Frias’s ambivalence is reflected in the photos that accompany the article (see Fig. 4 and Fig. 5). They illustrate the press’s anxiety about the size of the parties, and Frias’s concern with the supposed vanity of the scene by focusing on the dancers’ clothing. The captions illustrate further anxieties. Frias concludes at the top of the page that *Black* Rio is a “vehicle for communication between Blacks, not a black movement” (see Fig. 3).



*Os bailes, nos diversos clubes suburbanos,
podem reunir até 15 mil adeptos do soul*

Fig. 3. "The dances, in various suburban clubs, can reunite up to 15 thousand *soul* supporters." *Jornal do Brasil*, 7/17/1976.



*Na Sapataria Pinheiro, em Madureira,
os pisantes coloridos atingem uma
venda de até 500 pares por semana*



*Etapas do complicado
ritual de cumprimento black*

Fig. 4. Above: "At Pinheiro Shoes, in Madureira, up to 500 pairs of colorful platform shoes are sold every week." Below: "Stages of the complicated *black* greeting ritual." *Jornal do Brasil*, 7/17/1976.

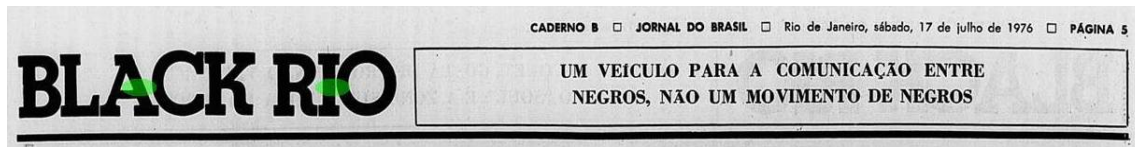


Fig. 5. “A vehicle for communication between Blacks, not a black movement.”

Frias is unsure of how to interpret the phenomenon. How should “Rio” (that is, the trend-setting Zona Sul) engage with this phenomenon? How should Rio interpret this “city” within “Rio? On the one hand, Frias thought that the dances could be the site for the organization of a race-based political movement that employed the symbols of Black Power. These symbols were especially provocative given their association with militancy. They were interpreted as a message that race relations in Brazil paralleled those of United States to a greater extent than previously recognized. Of particular note to Frias and other leftist writers was not the fact that *Black Rio* used symbols from black America, but that it represented a movement that could pose a challenge to the military regime. In this light, the *Black Rio* movement was compared to other leftist parties and movements that had been suppressed. On the other hand, its political potential was viewed as having been compromised.

Frias’s article thus sparked debate among journalists and writers. In general, they agreed with Frias that the movement showed political potential, but that it had been attenuated by commercialism, and therefore critiqued the movement for being “alienated.” This language of “alienation” was also attached to *Black Rio*’s articulation of a very un-Brazilian, even anti-Brazilian, Blackness. Were intellectuals to interpret the *soul* dancers as *black*, as politically motivated subjects, or as *pessoas de cor*, as mere

black partygoers? Some, including Lena Frias, saw *soul* dancers mainly as *peessoas de cor*, as agentless subjects, the duped victims of privileged (usually white) impresarios and *equipes* who profited from their presence at the *bailes*. Alongside pictures demonstrating the “ostentatious” Afros, specs, leather dusters, and platform shoes, Frias writes:

“‘Operating in the midst of this mass of *blacks*,’ . . . were ‘businessmen, owners of dance venues, record sellers, shoes sellers, . . . and above all, the cornerstone of the soul phenomenon, the music groups’ (paraphrased in Alberto 2009:25).

Others reflected on the supposed power of the music industry and other corporate interests over *soul* dancers. Alberto describes an especially damning criticism leveled at the *Black* Rio movement:

The most scathing accusations of soul’s inauthenticity came in the irreverent semi-underground leftist magazine *O Pasquim*. In one article, music critic Roberto M. Moura wrote that “what we are dealing with is an insidious, neocolonialist publicity campaign that aims simply to create subjects who will consume the excess of what is produced abroad. . . . It is clear that this social group is not thinking: it is being thought from the outside in. If there suddenly came an order calling for a different kind of clothing, they would get rid of their jackets and take off their platform shoes.” (Alberto 2009: 27)

What is striking about this statement is not the critique of U.S. foreign policy or the consumptive patterns of the *soul* dancers, but the accusation that the *soul* dancers are “not thinking.” This is an attack, not on the naiveté but on the irrationality of the dancers. In Moura’s, Frias’s, and others’ view, *soul* dancers were culturally “alienated” *peessoas de cor* who merely desired fun and were easily duped by those who sought to profit from the marketability of *Black*-ness. For instance, Frias quoted José Jorge da Costa in her article:

I think there is an impulse toward racial radicalization in Brazil. I believe that this is a dangerous game leveled by groups who are trying to encourage racism as a

kind of marketing program for the release of a product line geared towards Black people (. . .) I don't know who is behind all this. But one thing I can tell you: they're white. (quoted in Bahiana 1980: 216)

For da Costa, not only are corporate interests taking advantage of new trends to sell new products, but they are actively encouraging attitudes, including racism, that would presumably help them sell more products.

While da Costa's claim that Whites were trying to sell racism to *Blacks* is dubious, it is true that multinational record companies were eager to cash in on the trend, as shown by Ana Maria Bahiana in her article, "Enlatando Black Rio," ["Pigeonholing Black Rio"] originally published in February of 1977 in the *Jornal do Brasil*. Like others before, Bahiana argues that the *Black* Rio movement presents a problem of consumption. In her article, Roberto Menescal, product manager at Phonogram, is quoted:

"Riffing on [André] Midani's approach who says that the way out is rock music, I say that the way out is soul, because the *black soul* people are going to be doing 'black samba' tomorrow. It's going to be cool because it will be a novel way to think of samba." (quoted in Bahiana 1980: 219)⁵⁶

He goes on to say "I don't care to see if the 'in' music is '*black soul*' or whatever else.

But, right now, 'black' is in [Não me preocupo em ver se a música é *black soul* ou qualquer outra. Mas o black, agora, é uma realidade]" (quoted in Bahiana 1980: 219).

Menescal does not see the *soul* movement as anything but ephemeral. He predicts that it will turn into a new way of looking at samba, and that samba will be the lasting form.

However, he is concerned with soul's present marketability. So, for Bahiana, *black soul*

⁵⁶ "'Parodiando o Midani, que disse que a saída é o *rock*, eu diria que a saída é o *soul*, porque o pessoal do *black soul* amanhã vai acabar fazendo black samba. Vai ser legal porque vai trazer uma nova maneira de ver o samba."

is nothing but a marketing category.

Other writers echoed this cynical view of the music industry and its effects on the black Brazilian public. This is illustrated in statements such as this one made by editorialist Ibraim De Leve in *O Globo* in October of 1977:

It is typical of youth . . . to choose their own means of expression; and it is common for those means to be extravagant and eccentric. Thus it is not because of its picturesque aspects—sometimes bordering on grotesque—that we should condemn this movement dubbed “soul” or, in its carioca version, “*Black Rio*.” The problem is not in the clothes, the shoes, or the modes of address. It is, rather, in what hides behind all of that: an alienated vision of reality, artificially stimulated by clearly commercial interests, with an undisguised racism at its base. (quoted in Alberto 2009: 23)

While De Leve’s statement is rather exaggerated, it is significant to consider why he perceived the movement as a threat. For De Leve, it is not the “ostentatious” manifestations of black style that are dangerous. It is the view that the commercialism of the movement was a cover for an “alienated vision of reality.” This “alienation” was not dangerous because it is black, but because it is *black*. In other words, it was a new mode of racial identification that challenged established modes of being black in Brazil. De Leve perceived this new mode of Blackness, this *Black*-ness, to be “racist.” This interpretation is also hinted at in Frias’s anxiety about the racial and spatial segregation of the city.

Another author who suggests that suggests *Black Rio* represents an “alienated vision of reality” and that *blacks* were being duped by commercial interests is José Ramos Tinhorão in his 1977 article, “‘Black’ Protest is the Source of ‘White’ Revenue’ [Protesto ‘Black’ É Renda ‘White’].” Published in the *Jornal do Brasil* on June 14, the

article reports the launching of two *soul* records by the record label, WEA (Warner Elektra Atlantic) Discos. Tinhorão writes:

In fact, the two WEA LPs that launch a new singer and a new orchestra – Banda Black Rio’s *Maria Fumaça* and singer-songwriter Dafé’s *Pra Que Vou Recordar* – constitute two clear examples of how foreign economic domination, disguised as *development* through the massive importation of capital and technology, has a cultural counterpart, that is (let’s be *honest...*), the imitation of the most modern imports!⁵⁷

Here, Tinhorão accuses *soul* artists of imitating the newest trends abroad, and of being manipulated by the international record industry. The article is accompanied by a disturbing cartoon depicting identical black people with Afros and ape-like mouths chained together by the neck, walking in single file while smiling and holding transistor radios to their ears (see Fig. 6). Its most problematic aspects are its dehumanizing representation of black Brazilians and its intentionally inflammatory evocation of the slave past. The suggestion of the cartoon is that while black Brazilians are made to be slaves of the music industry, they willingly allow themselves to be enslaved, as evidenced by their adoption of Afros and their blissful smiles.

⁵⁷ “De fato, os dois LPs da WEA que lançam um novo cantor e uma nova orquestra – *Maria Fumaça*, da Banda Black Rio, e *Pra Que Vou Recordar*, com o cantor-compositor Dafé – constituem dois claríssimos exemplos de como a dominação econômica estrangeira, disfarçada por um *desenvolvimento* à base de importação maciça de capitais e tecnologia pode acarretar a contrapartida cultural de que, ser *actual...* é imitar o que se importa de mais moderno!”

PROTESTO “BLACK” É FONTE DE RENDA “WHITE”

J. R. Tinhorão

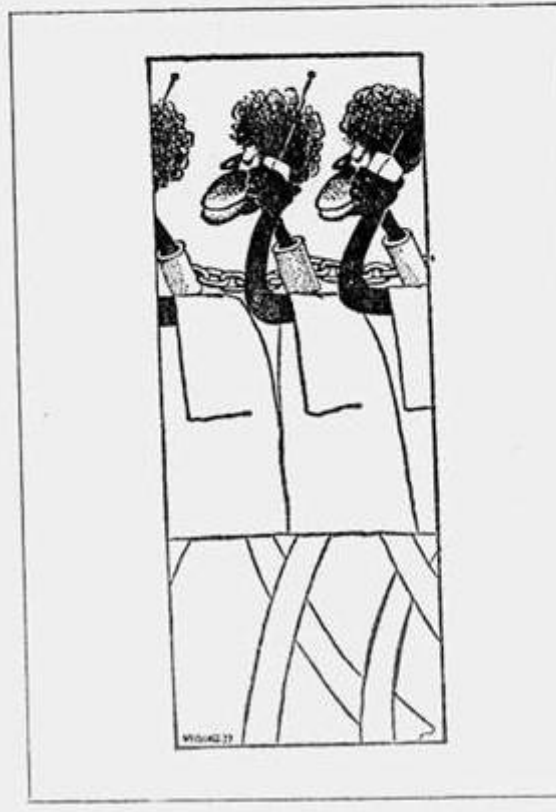


Fig. 6. “‘Black’ Protest is the Source of ‘White’ Revenue.” *Jornal do Brasil*, 6/14/1977

Academicians Have a Field Day

Shortly after its heyday, *música soul* was discussed in academic circles, particularly in sociological debates that sought to find alternative ways of conceptualizing race in Brazil. In these accounts, *Black Rio* played a role, albeit a minor and transitional one. It is important to note that at this moment the country was experiencing a political transition from military dictatorship to democracy. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the prevailing discourse of racial democracy underwent renewed scrutiny. Sparked by the rapid proliferation of identity-based (in this case, race-based) movements, many no longer accepted that Brazilian society was necessarily less racist than the United States. As discussed in Chapter 2, within the discourse of racial democracy racial difference is recognized, yet racial inequality is believed to be only a result of class divisions. This only began to change in mainstream academic circles in the 1980s.⁵⁸ For instance, in the introduction to *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil* (1985), Pierre-Michel Fontaine writes: “Despite the proliferation of skin color terminology in Brazil, [scholars] find it more realistic and analytically useful to employ a white-nonwhite classification rather than white, Black, and mulatto” (1985: 4).⁵⁹ At this moment, it was recognized for the first time (among mainstream academics) that Whiteness was privileged over Blackness. This shift resulted in changes to how the *Black Rio* movement was interpreted subsequently.

⁵⁸ See Alberto (2011) for a comparative history of black intellectual movements in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Bahia for earlier instances of challenges to the ideology of racial democracy.

⁵⁹ This contradicts Carl Degler’s “mulatto escape hatch” theory, which posits that mixed-race subjects in Brazil are read as not-black. This is contrasted with the “one-drop rule” in the United States. However, scholars have found that people of mixed race in Brazil have been subject to racial discrimination.

In the volume *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil* (1985), several scholars speak of the *Black Rio* movement as a moment of burgeoning racial consciousness (though not a consolidated political consciousness) and as a predecessor to a more sophisticated political movement, namely the formation of the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), or the Unified Black Movement. The MNU was established in 1978 in São Paulo in response to two events that are seen as watershed moments in the history of race relations in Brazil: the torture and assassination of Robson Silveira da Luz, a black worker on April 28, 1978, and the dismissal of four black children from a volleyball team of the Tietê Yacht Club. Influential writer, scholar and MNU member Lélia Gonzalez writes:

The MNU defines itself as a political movement of revindication, without any distinctions of race, sex, education, or political or religious belief, and without seeking profit. Its objective consists in the mobilization and organization of the Brazilian Black population in its fight for political, social, economic, and cultural emancipation, which have been blocked by racial prejudice and its practices. At the same time, the MNU also proposes to denounce the different forms of oppressions and exploitation of the Brazilian people as a whole. (1985: 126)

The MNU exists to this day, and many scholars point to the *Black Rio* movement as an important influence in the realization of the black consciousness it manifests. For instance, J. Michael Turner writes: “Afro-Brazilian self-expression and definition had changed with Black Rio, and despite its nebulous ideology and political stance, this lower-class-urban youth phenomenon marked a departure from the past” (1985: 79).

Other scholars did not consider the *Black Rio* to be as significant as Turner did. Though published in 1985, Michael Mitchell wrote his contribution to *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil* before the end of the military dictatorship and in the waning years of the

Black Rio movement. As in the case of earlier authors, he critiqued the movement for its commercialism and “ostentatiousness”:

The Black-Soul movement is not, properly speaking, a political expression of racial consciousness, although it does have political overtones. It embodies the changes in fashion, popular music, and dance which closely resemble changes in Black American styles during the late 1960s and early ‘70s. . . . As a frequenter of one of these clubs put it, “The dances are like a parade of vanities.” (1985: 108)

While Mitchell’s tone differs from Turner’s, they agree that *Black Rio* enveloped a “nebulous” ideology and was politically inexpedient.

Black Rio was included in these sociological debates, yet it was Carlos Benedito Rodrigues da Silva’s 1983 essay that first incorporated an ethnographic approach to its study. Although Rodrigues da Silva conducted his work in Campinas, São Paulo and not technically on *Black Rio*, it is important in its desire to understand local concepts, perceptions, and understandings of the phenomenon. Rodrigues da Silva asks if *black soul* in Campinas is merely a party scene that attracts mostly black Brazilians, or whether it represents the formation and consolidation of a distinct ethnic identity. He writes in response to a body of work on Afro-Brazilianness that focuses on cultural expression more explicitly oriented toward Africa and against the “‘Afro’-determinism” evinced in them, seeing other ways of performing Blackness in Brazil as culturally viable (245). Rodrigues da Silva conducts field research and interviews at the dances with the mainly middle-class leadership of youth organizations to try to understand a perceived discrepancy between their political discourse and the commercially compromised displays on the dance floor. In the end, he concludes that black youth in Campinas simultaneously assert “their identity as [Brazilian] citizens, [while being] committed to a

specifically Black ideology” (261). His is the first writing that recognizes the agency of *soul* musicians and dancers, and represents a substantial departure from other academic work on *Black* identity.

Anthropologist Hermano Vianna’s 1988 book, *O mundo funk carioca*, was the first book-length treatment of *soul* and *funk* music in Brazil. Although it focuses on the contemporary *funk carioca* scene, Vianna uses ethnographic methods to study the early history of *funk*. He conducts interviews with actors who were present at the *bailes* in order to understand their perspective. He notes that the debates surrounding *Black* Rio were usually framed in terms of “alienation and/or cultural colonialism” (1988: 28). Vianna’s interviews contribute much to an understanding of an “insider’s” perspective of *Black* Rio, and he points out the violence that club owners, party organizers, and partygoers faced. He interviews various people involved in the movement, including Dom Filó and Nirto, who were both figureheads of the movement and were both arrested by the police. Vianna suggests that the *Black* Rio movement was important for something other than the kinds of expressions (music, dance, clothing) displayed at the dances: “Soul, in Brazil, is considered important as having served as a starting point in a process where it stops being about soul, where it stops being about style,” and “is viewed as a rite of ‘passage’ to something more ‘real’” (29). This more “real” something refers to the process of coming into racial consciousness. So, though Vianna introduces more voices in his history of the music, he still concludes that while *black soul* facilitated the development of a more political black movement, it was nonetheless politically compromised.

Another author who severely critiques the *Black Rio* movement for its “culturalist” bent is Michael Hanchard in his book *Orpheus and Power* (1994). Hanchard aligns himself with Rodrigues da Silva (1983) in his conviction that while *Black Rio* represents the appropriation of cultural symbols from an imperialist power, “the Black Soul movement had as much to do with the ‘process of identity creation among blacks in Brazil as with the alleged ‘importation’ of cultural symbols” (1994: 111). While Hanchard emphasizes the importance of Black Soul in terms of identity formation, he emphasizes what the movement was *not* over what it *was*. He writes:

Perhaps the most important barometer of Black Soul as a critical attempt at strong resemblance in Brazil is the reaction it evoked in white elites. They recognized a dangerous undercurrent to the images projected, in Brazil, of black social protest elsewhere, and its impact upon black Brazilians. Here is where the significance and the incompleteness of the Black Soul movement lies, in its valorization of forms of self-expression and identification that were previously repressed or denied by both whites and nonwhites in Brazil. That these new ways of self-expression and identification did not materialize into something broader reflects the boundaries imposed by white elites upon Black Soul, as well as its own limitations. (1994: 118)

I quote Hanchard at length here because I strongly agree with some of his points, but fundamentally disagree with his framing of *Black Rio*. Certainly he is correct in describing the reaction of white elites. However, Hanchard is most concerned about the “incompleteness” of the movement. What did the *Black Rio* movement fail to complete from Hanchard’s perspective? In the introduction, he writes, “. . . I would like to demonstrate the cultural and political forms of inequality that have impeded the development of racially specific, Afro-Brazilian modes of consciousness and mobilization” (1994: 5). His argument is based on his development of the concept of

“racial hegemony,” in which “mechanisms of dominance and subordination are encased in the ‘everyday’” (6). He implicitly contrasts this elusive “racial hegemony” with the explicitly segregationist racism of the United States. Hanchard argues that the absence of overt racism in Brazil has made it difficult for black organizations to mobilize individuals. In effect, his research question can be stated as: why did Brazil not develop black organizations and a black civil rights movement similar to that of the United States?

Numerous authors, most notably Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, have critiqued Hanchard for using the United States Civil Rights Movement as the standard by which to compare all other systems of race-based resistance.⁶⁰ Hanchard sees the *Black* Rio movement as having failed to mobilize *soul* dancers to take their political concerns from the dance floor into other arenas; in general, he sees “culturalism” as an “impediment” to black activists in Brazil (1994: 137). He writes that the “practical dimensions” of black expression in the *Black* Rio movement were “largely ignored,” noting the lack of “Afro-Brazilian versions of boycotting, sit-ins, civil disobedience, and armed struggle” (139). Hanchard’s analysis very much resembles 1970s cultural criticism in its narrow definition of politics. Their inability to find traces of more overt political action in the *Black* Rio movement led them all to conclude that the movement was apolitical.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu and Wacquant write: “. . . by applying North American racial categories to the Brazilian situation, this book makes the particular history of the US Civil Rights Movement into the universal standard for the struggle of all groups oppressed on the grounds of colour (or caste)” (1999: 44).

In the 2000s, historians Bryan McCann and Paulina Alberto published articles on *música soul* based on archival research. Bryan McCann's "Black Pau: Uncovering the History of Brazilian Soul" is one of the first to talk about the *Black* Rio movement and Brazilian *soul* musicians side-by-side. Through extensive survey of journals, newspapers, and magazines, he shows how *música soul* came to be accepted as Brazilian by challenging the myth of racial democracy. At the same time, he notes that many people called *Black* Rio a "movement" without necessarily giving it political weight. He argues that "soul was—for the majority of its participants—a celebration of new popular cultural options afforded by growing market power" (2002: 50). He notes that in interviews conducted in the mid- to late-1970s many young people used the slang *transar* to negotiate their racial and political position. *Transar* normally means to have sex, but in the 1970s it could also mean "to check out, to dig, to groove on, without losing some of its sexual overtones" (51). In this way, McCann writes, a young teenager "'transando soul' could be a way to try on a sexy weekend identity of black militancy in a circumscribed environment before returning to the workaday world and its charade of racial democracy" (51). It is refreshing to read an account of the *Black* Rio movement that does not describe the movement as an imperative to enact politics in a narrowly Marxist fashion. However, McCann instead writes about the music, dance, and clothes as mere costumes, easy to put on and take off on a whim. I suggest that more than play-acting was going on at the *bailes*, namely the creation of an alternative space for the enactment of *Black* identity.

Paulina Alberto's "When Rio was *Black*: Soul Music, National Culture, and the Politics of Racial Comparison in 1970s Brazil," looks at police records as well as journals, newspapers, and magazines to add nuance to the existing literature and to suggest a richer interpretation of the movement. She shows how black Brazilians negotiated the "complex interplay between international racial referents and national ideologies of race" in politically expedient ways (2009: 8), especially through the contextual deployment of racially specific terms like *black* and *negro*. Alberto shows how the state, represented by the body of the General Department for Special Investigations (DGIE), the "secret" police, reacted to the *Black* Rio movement. They began infiltrating *soul* parties in order to monitor subversive activity before Lena Frias's article appeared in the *Jornal do Brasil*, and resumed infiltration after its publication. Alberto also analyzes the Right and the Left's reaction to the movement within the context of standards of national "authenticity" or corrupting international influences, and dedicates space to the voices of *black soul* musicians and dancers themselves. In her opinion, the adoption of *soul* music and style and the appropriation of the word *black* were politically expedient moves. Alberto concludes:

The *Black* Rio episode provides an opportunity to rethink a long history of U.S.-Brazil comparisons through the varied perspectives of Brazilian actors themselves. It allows us to consider the ways that these actors used comparison (or contrast) as a political tool for a range of purposes, and cautions us against equating expressions of similarity with similarity itself. . . . In their creative use of *black* to reshape national discussions of race, Brazilians of color show themselves to have been 'duped' neither by U.S. standards of racial consciousness nor by hegemonic Brazilian ideas about racelessness and harmony. By the same token, despite *black*'s powerful international connotations, it was the local context of 1970s Brazil that shaped the possibilities and limitations of its political meanings. (39)

Therefore, while other authors suggest that *black soul* musicians and dancers themselves were the limiting factor in the political content and meaning of the movement, Alberto suggests that the restrictive context and the narrow expectations of Blackness in the 1970s provided the conditions in which *Black-ness* as such emerged.

With the exceptions of Rodrigues da Silva, McCann and Alberto, most of the authors that have written on *Black Rio* evince a subordination of the cultural to the political. It is inappropriate to establish a teleological connection between the *Black Rio* movement and the MNU or any other (non-culturalist) political project.⁶¹ Such a teleological connection would imply an underlying logic in the *Black Rio* movement, a logic predicated on the idea that the music, the dance, the DJs, the sound systems, the styles, the fashions, the videos, and the images were not ends in themselves. More perniciously, it implies these things *should not have been* ends in themselves. From this perspective, the end result should have been consciousness-raising and the consolidation of a strong political position against racial subordination. Judged in this way, the *Black Rio* movement did not do what it was supposed to do.

There are evident continuities between the critiques of the *Black Rio* movement in the 1970s and related academic discussions in subsequent decades. Journalists and academics alike have painted a picture of irrational, easily manipulated black Brazilians who unquestioningly appropriate foreign symbols. Journalists such as Tinhorão did this

⁶¹ Paulina Alberto's 2011 book, *Terms of Inclusion*, offers a nuanced reading of black organizations and black intellectual thought in Brazil throughout the twentieth century. She compares black organizations across time in Salvador da Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. In this way, she offers important contextualization for different approaches to black mobilization that does not dismiss culturalist movements out of hand.

by directly demeaning *black soul* musicians and dancers in the press. Academics such as Hanchard have perpetrated the same violence by comparing the *Black Rio* movement to U.S. black militant movements in order to measure its “success.” In the end, the conclusion that *Blacks* failed to fulfill their political “potential” positions them as unthinking. This also serves to pit them against the rational, appropriately masculine, leftist intellectuals who each claim to have the final say on what *Black Rio* was and what it *should* have been.

Just as Hertzman argues that *malandragem* was a response to the *ideologia da vadiagem*, I argue that *black* identity served as a response to damaging representations of folklorized *afrobrasilidade*. *Black-ness* draws much of its power from the co-creation of *black* subjects and *black* places. In the following section, I show how *Blacks* simultaneously co-created a *black* identity and *black* places.

Pushing Back—Creating *Black* Places and *Black* Identities

Of course, *Blacks* created their identities and places to enact those identities in the face of prejudice, suspicion, and racism. Indeed, we should not read journalists’ and academics’ responses to *Black Rio* at face value. Instead, we should read their critiques political responses as indicative of a highly political charged situation. Alberto writes:

Faced with a vigorous and independent commercial and cultural scene run by young people of color who claimed modern, internationally inflected identities, as well as with a much smaller political movement based on racial identities, both the right and the left voiced totalizing and at times overlapping visions of national culture that sought to keep black cultural expressions within the boundaries of established folkloric representation. In this sense, rejections of soul’s political content by both the left and right should not be interpreted as a diagnosis of its

nature, but as a symptom of the struggle to define legitimate spaces of political contestation toward the end of the dictatorship. Participants in the dances and in the emerging black movement emphasized this point, making the defense of soul an explicitly political gesture. (32009: 9)

Alberto explains that the Right and the Left were invested in containing black expression within certain folkloric parameters, and stereotyped black Brazilians accordingly. *Black Rio* was striking to commentators like Lena Frias, in part because it represented such a drastic departure from these folkloric representations. In contrast to samba gatherings, *Black Rio* involved a large gathering of black Brazilians who were consciously asserting a *black* identity that foregrounded race in a national context in which all reference to race was practically taboo. *Soul* dancers, in drawing on symbols from the Black Power movement, constructed a hypermasculine, fist-raising, race-affirming, James Brown-inspired subjectivity. I now look at examples of how *Blacks* represented themselves and talked about themselves.

Carlos Alberto Medeiros, a member of the board of the Instituto de Pesquisas das Culturas Negras [Research Institute of Black Cultures], saw older local traditions as constraining. First of all, forms such as samba promoted a static, folklorized vision of Afro-Brazilianness. Secondly, white Brazilians had long appropriated samba as a national symbol. Medeiros sympathized with *soul* dancers' search for alternative modes of black, or *black*, expression. In an August 1977 article in the *Jornal de Brasil*, Medeiros states,

It's true that dancing soul, wearing certain clothes and hairstyles, and using specific greeting doesn't resolve anything. But it can provide the necessary model—for the recreation of Black identity lost with the African Diaspora and the subsequent massacre of slavery and racism—for them to come together to

overcome their difficulties. (quoted in Vianna 1988: 28)

For Medeiros, the *soul* dances were important spaces for the development of a collective black consciousness based on a shared history of violence and racism.

Members of *Black Rio* also responded to criticisms that *Blacks* discriminated against Whites. Dom Filó, an important organizer of youth events at the Clube Renascença and founder of the *equipe* Soul Grand Prix, was interviewed by journalist Cláudio Bojunga for *Veja*. The interviewer asked, “Why do you accept with complete naturalness that the youth of the Zona Sul dress in jeans, dance to rock, frequent discos and worship Mick Jagger, while Blacks of the Zona Norte cannot but dress in colors, dance to *soul* and worship James Brown?”⁶² To this suggestion of reverse racial discrimination, Dom Filó answered with a series of questions: “Why does the Black need to be the last stronghold of nationalism or of Brazilian musical purity? Might it not be a reaction to the fact that he has been abandoned on the *morro*?⁶³ [To the fact that he might be] competition in the labor market?”⁶⁴ Here Dom Filó turns the tables and draws the interviewer’s attention to the systemic racism that affects black Brazilians, that relegates them to the *favelas* and bars them from entering the labor force. Furthermore, he connects discrimination to folklorized representations of Blackness. He continues:

Why must the Black from the Zona Norte accept what the White from the Zona Sul (or the Zona Norte) tells him is authentic and proper to black Brazilians? In

⁶² “Por que se aceita com toda a naturalidade que a juventude da zona sul se vista de jeans, dance o rock, frequente discoteca e cultue Mick Jagger, enquanto o negro da zona norte não pode se vestir colorido, dançar o soul e cultuar James Brown?”

⁶³ *Morro*, or hill, refers to the hillside *favelas* overlooking Rio de Janeiro’s downtown.

⁶⁴ “Por que o negro tem que ser o último reduto da nacionalidade ou da pureza musical brasileira? Não será uma reação contra o fato de ele haver abandonado o morro? Contra uma eventual competição no mercado de trabalho?”

the end, we who are black Brazilians are never interested in fixing what is authentic and proper to white Brazilians.⁶⁵ (*Veja*, 11/24/1976)

Here, Dom Filó points to a double standard that suggests that Whites feel they have the power to dictate what black culture is and what it isn't.

The *Veja* article acts as an important counterpoint to Frias's. Rather than dismissing *Black Rio* as a political failure or its participants as compromised consumers, the *Veja* article suggests that it offers an important cultural alternative to samba for black Brazilians.

From Andaraí to Jacarepaguá, from Olaria to the Colégio neighborhood, from Bangu to Caxias, the big winner in the *carioca* suburbs is *soul music*, black music of North American origin that is "immediately recognizable by the indefinable black soul and spiritual state," as one of its fervent Brazilian supporters describes. Perhaps due to its secret affinities with Brazilian popular music . . . *soul music* is currently considered by its proponents to be "capable of satisfying needs that commercialized samba can no longer fill."⁶⁶ (*Veja*, 11/24/1976)

Even the photos included in the article, while recognizing the importance of clothes and style, are more humanizing than those accompanying Frias's article, due to their focus on people (see Fig. 7).

⁶⁵ "Por que o negro da zona norte deve aceitar que o branco da zona sul (ou da zona norte) venha lhe dizer o que é autêntico e próprio ao negro brasileiro? Afinal, nós que somos negros brasileiros nunca nos interessamos em fixar o que é autêntico e próprio ao branco brasileiro."

⁶⁶ "Do Andaraí e Jacarepaguá, de Olaria ao bairro do Colégio, de Bangu a Caxias, a grande vitoriosa nos subúrbios cariocas é a *soul music*, música negra de origem norte-americana 'imediatamente reconhecível pela alma negra e símbolo de um estado de espírito indefinível', como a descreve um de seus fervorosos adeptos brasileiros. Talvez pelas secretas afinidades com a música popular brasileira . . . a *soul music* é, atualmente, considerada por seus defensores como 'capaz de satisfazer a necessidades que o samba comercializado não mais consegue preencher.'"



Ao som feroz de James Brown, cabelos afro, roupas berrantes e colares de marfim se agitam em molejos e contorções pelas quadras de basquete da zona norte carioca

Fig. 7. "To the fierce sound of James Brown, Afros, loud clothes and ivory necklaces stir in sways and contortions through the basketball courts of the Zona Norte." *Veja*, 11/24/1976.

Even Frias interviewed *Black Rio* participants, though a disproportionate amount of space is dedicated to interviews with white Brazilians (including DJs, sound system team members, and dancers). When asked how he interpreted the agglutination [coming together] of black *cariocas* around *soul* music, Santos dos Santos, one of the “pioneers of *soul power*,” responded:

. . . In this meeting place, everyone feels things together, because everyone’s in an environment that’s their own. We didn’t create a separate [place] on purpose. Without conscious intent, it created itself on its own. . . . Today *crioulos* look to the best of what the American *crioulos*, our brothers on the other side, are doing, get it? . . . I read a lot about this stuff, I read about racial differences, I’m a guy who eats that stuff up, because if there’s something that I’d like to be in another incarnation, it’s black again. Because from the moment I was turned on to that sound, and saw these people dressed all cool . . . the masses enjoying *soul*, leaving the business of rock and those little national musics aside, shoot, I feel actualized. . . . I don’t think that *soul power* is a racist movement. . . . Because *soul* is a path of communication between Blacks. It’s not a black movement. It’s a movement of Blacks.⁶⁷ (*Jornal do Brasil*, 7/17/1976)

In this quote, Santos dos Santos explicitly connects place and *black* identity. As we can see, in the face of criticism, *black* musicians and dancers found ways to resist alarmist and demeaning representations of Blackness, and to consolidate their own *black* place and *black* identity.

We have seen how the Left and academicians have critiqued *Black Rio* and some of the ways in which *black soul* musicians and dancers have responded to these critiques.

⁶⁷ “ . . . Nessa reunião aqui, todo mundo se sente junto, porque eles estão todos no ambiente deles. O pessoal não criou propositadamente uma diferente. Sem querer, a coisa foi se criando sozinha. . . . Hoje em dia os crioulos já procuram fazer o máximo que os crioulos americanos, os nossos irmãos lá do outro lado, está entendendo. . . . Eu leio muito sobre tudo isso, leio sobre divergências raciais, eu sou um *cara* que *manjo paca* desse negócio, porque se tem uma coisa que eu gostaria de ser na outra encarnação é negro outra vez. Porque a partir do momento em que eu me liguei nesse som, vi aquele pessoal todo legal . . . o grosso da massa se ligando no *soul*, deixando o negócio de *rock* pra lá e aqueles musiquinhas caretas nacionais, poxa, eu me sinto realizado. . . . Eu não acho que o *soul power* seja um movimento racista. . . . Porque o *soul* é o caminho da comunicação entre os negros. Não é um movimento negro. É um movimento de negros.”

I now present a case study that explicitly illustrates how black masculinity was negotiated: Toni Tornado and Trio Ternura's 1970 televised performance of Antônio Adolfo and Tibério Gaspar's "BR-3" at the V International Song Festival. I analyze this early example of *música soul* in order to show the co-constitution of a *black* place and *black* identity, and the simultaneous resistance to the consolidation of this place and racial identity.

The Negotiation of Masculinity on the Televised Festival Stage

On October 18, 1970, the national phase of the fifth International Song Festival (Festival Internacional da Canção, FIC) took place at Maracanãzinho stadium in Rio de Janeiro. The competition was broadcast on national television as well as to the United States and parts of Europe in color with the competitors vying for a spot to perform alongside contestants from other nations in the international phase of the competition. Even the president, General Emílio Garrastazu Médici, evinced an interest ⁶⁸ in presenting the best of Brazilian song and images of the happy Brazilian "*povo*" to the international community during the festivities.⁶⁹ Two trends characterized the competition that year: *soul* music and censorship,⁷⁰ which indicate a tension between

⁶⁸ On the Thursday of the international phase of the competition, the president had invited 42 journalists and artists associated with FIC to the Palácio das Laranjeiras and wished the singers of "BR-3" that they win the championship (Homem de Mello 2003: 382).

⁶⁹ Homem de Mello writes: "Gradually the festival was transformed into a gaping window to demonstrate the happiness of the Brazilian *povo*" (2003: 368).

⁷⁰ Stroud (2000) notes that the lyrics of twenty-five of the thirty-six entries were censored at the V FIC in 1970.

outside musical influences (in this case, to U.S. black music) and the necessity to present the best of *brasilidade* to a world audience.

The V FIC kicked off with Mariá and Luís Antônio's interpretation of Dom Salvador's and Arnaldo Medeiros's spiritual- and shout-inspired "Abolição (1860-1980)" backed by Dom Salvador's six-piece band whose members were "all black, wearing colorful African robes" (Homem de Mello 2003: 373). According to Homem de Mello, when interrogated about the song's political character "regarding racism," Mariá said: "It has significant ties to race, black roots... but without racist intentions, only musical ones." This song set the tenor for the festival. In addition to Toni Tornado and the Trio Ternura's "BR-3" and "Abolição (1860-1980)," other entries that were *soul*-based or *soul*-inspired included Ivan Lins's "O Amor É Meu País" (Ivan Lins and Ronaldo Monteiro de Souza), Wanderlea's "A Charanga" (Wanderlea and Dom), and Érlon Chaves's version of Jorge Ben's "Eu Também Quero Mocotó," an example of the newly-formed genre samba-rock⁷¹ (Homem de Mello 2003: 373-375). Neither Ivan Lins nor Wanderlea are black performers. Tornado's biggest competitor was Érlon Chaves, a black singer, pianist, arranger, conductor, and former festival judge. The rest of the entries featured a variety of genres and styles, performed and composed by black and white artists.

In order to situate Toni Tornado's performance, we must consider the expectations for festival songs within the context of the military dictatorship. The

⁷¹ Samba-rock mixes Brazilian samba and U.S. jazz and/or soul. Many of the *música soul* artists are labeled samba-rock musicians.

audiences for these televised shows were mainly comprised of middle-class youth with left-leaning politics. Sean Stroud argues that since other venues for political action were closed during the dictatorship, the televised song festivals functioned as a battleground for middle-class youth that were mainly engaged in the protest song movement; they attempted to engage in politics through their participation in the debates surrounding popular music (2000: 98).⁷² In terms of genre, the festival songs were quite varied, though the audience's taste for certain genres over others was quite apparent. Further, they adamantly demonstrated their tastes by loudly cheering or booing the performers. Their preference was for songs that used traditional Brazilian rhythms (samba, or rhythms from the Northeast), exhibited a musical "finesse" that suited their sensibilities (though, of course, "jazz" harmonies were out of the question), and with lyrics that protested the regime while uplifting the "*povo*." In many instances, they also preferred performances featuring a solo male artist who accompanied himself on acoustic guitar, an occasional female vocalist that sang alongside him, and sophisticated arrangements realized by the studio orchestra. The artists usually appeared in formalwear (tuxedos for men and dresses for women) and were rather conservative in their stage presence. It is important to remember that their choice of genre was a politically charged matter. The kinds of performances that the audience responded most positively to mostly appropriated and transformed traditionally black musics, thereby folklorizing Blackness.

⁷² See Caesar and Bueno (1998) for an analysis of the development of a "revolutionary popular art" by leftists in the early 1960s in Brazil. See Buarque de Hollanda (1980) for a transcription of manifesto of the Centros Populares de Cultura, or the Popular Centers for Culture. In this document, the goal is to create art with revolutionary content, but whose form (genre, style, etc.) was popular with "o povo."

When the Tropicalistas appeared on stage, they were not received well by the festival audience, and they purposefully upset the expectations associated with the song festivals through elaborate theatrical performances. Gilberto Gil was the first to appear on stage at a song festival with an electric guitar in 1967, and Caetano Veloso performed with an Argentinean rock band. The crowd responded with unrest, booing, and increasingly rowdy behavior,⁷³ yet the presence of the Tropicalistas changed the face of the festivals over time. By 1968, it became commonplace to dress in elaborate, brightly-colored costumes, play electric instruments, and to push at the boundaries of acceptable songwriting and arranging. Detractors complained that the focus of the festivals had shifted to the detriment of good songwriting. In 1968, the government imposed the Institutional Act No. 5⁷⁴ that sent many tropicalist artists into exile, and in response the television networks placed greater restrictions on performers and heavily censored the entries. A year later, TV Record banned the use of electric guitars and required that only nationalistic themes and genres be presented. Due to these changes the International Song Festivals began losing popularity, with audiences preferring to tune in to

⁷³ The 1967 Festival de MPB was dubbed “the festival of booing” by the press. While some artists, including Caetano Veloso and Roberto Carlos (the “King” [of Brazilian rock and romantic song]), played through the racket, Sérgio Ricardo pleaded with his audience to settle down before attempting to play, but then became frustrated and, calling the members of the audience “animals,” broke his guitar and threw it into the crowd.

⁷⁴ The Institutional Act No. 5 was one of seventeen major decrees issued by the military government. Under the decree, the President was given the power to force the National Congress into recess, to dismiss any public servant, and to suspend the political rights of any “subversive.” Furthermore, the right to *habeas corpus* was suspended, political meetings not authorized by the police were deemed illegal, and the press and media were censored.

telenovelas instead. These years ushered in the repressed context in which Toni Tornado performed “BR-3.”⁷⁵

The BR-3 was a fragment of the highway BR-135 that ran from Rio de Janeiro to Belo Horizonte, which stopped being denoted as such after 1964, the year the dictatorship came into power. According to Homem de Mello, Antônio Adolfo showed Tibério Gaspar his musical idea for the songs on a bus trip to Belo Horizonte. “Tibério decided to make lyrics that photographed the moment in which they lived, comparing it to the road that they were on, the dangerous BR-3 . . . notorious for the numerous accidents [that took place] near the fear-inspiring Viaduct das Almas” (Homem de Mello 2003:380). It is significant that the song is set on a highway, or rather, as one moves on a highway. Many other festival songs are set in urban space or in the folklorized rural space of the Northeast of the country. There are songs that refer to specific cities,⁷⁶ and others that talk about parades, protests or violence that takes place on city streets.⁷⁷ The BR-3 does not actually occur in urban space, but between centers.

The lyrics are as follows:

⁷⁵ The performance of “BR-3” can be viewed on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9Amf-yTCCc>. Though the sound quality of the video is affected by the media used to record and upload it, the poor acoustics of the stadium were commented on by the studio musicians among others (Homem de Mello 2003: 371-372). The studio recording of “BR-3” was released by Odeon on Tornado’s 1971 self-titled album. It can be heard at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wO3spqTgmcl>.

⁷⁶ For example, Tom Zé’s “São, São Paulo, Meu Amor.”

⁷⁷ For example, Geraldo Vandré’s “Porta-Estandarte,” Chico Buarque’s “A Banda,” Edu Lobo and Capinam’s “Ponteio,” Caetano Veloso’s “Divino, Maravilhoso,” and, on a lighter note, Gilberto Gil’s “Domingo No Parque.”

A gente corre na BR-3 A gente morre na BR-3	People run on the BR-3 People die on the BR-3
Há um foguete Rasgando o céu, cruzando o espaço E um Jesus Cristo feito em aço Crucificado outra vez	There's a rocket Scraping the sky, traversing space And a Jesus Christ made of steel Who's crucified once more
E a gente corre na BR-3 E a gente morre na BR-3	People run on the BR-3 People die on the BR-3
Há um sonho Viagem multicolorida Às vezes ponto de partida E às vezes porto de um talvez	There's a dream A Multicolored journey Sometimes it's a starting point And sometimes, it may be a port (point of departure)
E a gente corre na BR-3 E a gente morre na BR-3	People run on the BR-3 People die on the BR-3
Há um crime No longo asfalto dessa estrada E uma notícia fabricada Pro novo herói de cada mês	There's a crime Along the asphalt road And a made-up news story About each new monthly hero

In “BR-3,” the ambiguity of direction and space in the lyrics connotes that the BR-3 is not a place, but a site of transition. The lyrics take us from the highway to the sky in a rocket circling the statue of Jesus Christ that looms over Rio de Janeiro, on a “multicolored journey” that evokes the psychedelic trip, to the asphalt road. According to Zuza Homem de Mello, the verse about the asphalt road is a reference to the disappearance of Brazilians deemed politically “subversive” (2003: 380). The imagery is violent and uncertain. Not only are we (“*a gente*”) moving through space and time, but through planes of existence.

The music does not necessarily place us in Brazil, the land of samba. On top of the piano accompaniment and the dense orchestral texture, the voices soar in a gospel-like call and response. As the song goes on, Toni takes more freedom with his calls, elaborates them, changing his vocal timbre and playing with the rhythm. The lilting complex triple meter induces both musicians and audience members to sway, arms held high above their heads. The meter creates loop after circular loop, loops within loops. The melodic contour reflects the looping rhythm, falling slowly in small downward spirals before the full-bar anacrusis moves the melody step-wise back to where we began.

Following the third verse, there is a horn call and an abrupt shift in time. The tempo picks up, the meter changes to a quick 4/4, and we enter the shout section. Toni bursts into dance at this moment. His movements involve quick, snappy footwork and unexpected spins. Homem de Mello writes that this “James-Brown”-like style of dancing had never been seen before in Brazil. The horns play short repeated riffs while the Trio Ternura intones “Na BR-3” over and over. Toni shouts quick impromptu phrases on top with increasing energy.

These sonic and visual markers take Toni and the Trio Ternura out of Brazil and place them, at least according to Homem de Mello, in the black United States. While there are elements of funk in the second section, the first section does not sound much like any genre that I associate with the black U.S. More importantly, however, the song doesn’t sound Brazilian. Further, U.S. Blackness was read onto Toni’s body due to certain markers including his Afro, his personal history, his dress, his dancing, and his performance of “BR-3.” What we see is the conflation of U.S. Blackness, Black Power,

Afro hairstyles, *soul* music, James Brown style dancing, and, to a certain extent, shouted vocalizations.

Toni Tornado was born Antônio Viana Gomes in 1931 in a city to the west of São Paulo and moved to Rio at age 11. He started performing when he was young, and began impersonating black U.S. performers. While he worked at mimicking Chubby Checker he was known as Toni Checker. He went to live in Europe for a while and then the United States “where he lived clandestinely for a number of months as a carwasher” (Homem de Mello 2003:379). When he returned to Brazil, writes Homem de Mello, he was sporting a “‘black power’ hairstyle and speaking English with a Harlem accent” (379). Songwriter Tibério Gaspar specifically sought Tornado out to perform his song.

We see how Blackness (in the Brazilian and the U.S. context) is essentialized by songwriter Tibério Gaspar (and by Homem de Mello):

Tibério believed that “BR-3” needed an interpreter that was engaged in the Black Power “scheme” in order to capture the soul thread, which was in vogue in the festival that year, and, as he imagined it, to dance in the second part. In Toni, he saw the potential to reproduce the gestural movements of black America and to dance as if floating on air . . . Tibério advised him to take the stance of a black leader [preacher?] in the first part and he gave him freedom to improvise in the dancing section. Instead of having conventional lyrics, he came up with a “Guide for Improvisation,” a script of words and phrases like, “Baby, baby, I only die on the BR-3” or “Oh! I can’t love you [in English] na BR-3” that fit like a glove on Toni. (380)

I quote Homem de Mello at length not only to critique the myriad stereotypes that were read onto Toni’s body (i.e., black men can dance, black men who style their hair in Afros are involved in Black Power politics, black men can improvise, etc.), but to illustrate how

racial and national politics, as evinced through sound, movement, and style, create an incredibly complex picture.

In this song, one can hear the interaction between *Black*-ness and normative *brasilidade*, and the tension between black performer and white songwriter. While the song contains elements of gospel and funk music, mostly signified through vocal melismas and timbre, horn riffs during the shout section, and Toni's dancing, in many other respects, it fits the parameters of more typical festival song. Its lush instrumentation and ambiguous, poetic lyrics are characteristic of the subtle form of protest employed in many MPB songs. One could view this collaboration as alarmingly one-sided, the white composer and songwriter making the aesthetic decisions and choosing black performers because that seemed to be in vogue that year. After all, Toni Tornado was only approached to perform after Tibério Gaspar had reached out to Wilson Simonal⁷⁸ and Tim Maia (Homem de Mello 2003: 380). However, I chose instead to look at the performance as an early instance of *black* performance. Clearly, this performance of *Black*-ness was mitigated by white collaborators, a repressive environment, and the particulars of the racial politics at the song festival. Indeed, such tensions played out on stage during the performance of "BR-3."

Thus, the festival performance of "BR-3" can be interpreted as an early performance of *Black*-ness through the evocation of a *Black* place (albeit an ambiguous place) for an international audience. This performance was particularly potent in challenging established notions of *afrobrasilidade* and of the happy Brazilian "*povo*."

⁷⁸ Wilson Simonal was a popular black singer who figured prominently in the televised song festivals.

Though normative Brazilian space and time was disrupted through the sonic invocation of the U.S. and in-between physical and metaphysical spaces, a *black* place was *not* consolidated on stage. The disruption of normative standards made Toni's performance unacceptable as a representation of Brazil to the rest the world, and the group lost in the international phase of the competition. The events that followed the performance remind us that the boundary between representation and reality is a slippery one. An interpretation of the group's enactment of *Black*-ness cannot reduce the performance to mere discourse. The military police and the press made it clear that Tornado's particular performance of black masculinity was unacceptable within the Brazilian frame.

Things went awry during the international phase of the competition. After years of participating in the festivals as a conductor, musical arranger, and juror, Érlon Chaves was approached by composer Jorge Ben to sing his piece, "Eu também quero mocotó"⁷⁹ (I want mocotó, too), accompanied by Banda Veneno. With over forty musicians on stage, it was quite a spectacle! Before the musicians came on stage, Chaves and two blond women wearing nude-colored outfits performed a skit. The women danced around Chaves, kissing him and singing "Queremos mocotó!" ("We want mocotó!") and Chaves responded with an enthusiastic "Eu também quero mocotó!" ("I also want mocotó!"). As soon as Chaves left the stage, he was arrested. Then and there, it was proven once again, and reinforced by the military police, that white feminine attraction to black masculinity was not appropriate for Brazil's white television-viewing families. Following the event,

⁷⁹ Mocotó is a Brazilian dish made from cow's feet, beans and vegetables. The narrator's voracious appetite clearly indicates the double-entendre of lyric.

there was a massive smear campaign against Toni Tornado and his partner Arlete Sales (a white festival host). It would be a few years before a different version of *Black*-ness emerged in the public consciousness—a version that would stick around and greatly change perceptions of race and the place of black Brazilians to the present day.

Chapter 4:

Conclusion

In this project, I have situated the *Black Rio* movement and *música soul* within a history of representations of black Brazilian masculinities in order to trace changing conceptualizations of race and citizenship in the 1970s. I have shown how, beginning in the 1920s and especially in the 1930s, expectations for black masculine behavior were tied to restrictive, demeaning representations of the *malandro* in samba music and of *afrobrasilidade* in Carnival celebrations. These representations, in turn, were influenced by changing attitudes towards race in the midst of national consolidation and the propagation of the myth of racial democracy, a myth that recognized racial difference while not recognizing racial inequality. This context proved to be a problematic one for the development of black Brazilian citizenship. However, entrenched modes of thinking and normative modes of being were adamantly challenged by participants of *Black Rio*. Through the adoption of strong masculine imagery associated with the U.S. Black Power movement, black Brazilians appropriated and resignified international symbols in order to negotiate a new way of being black and Brazilian. *Black* musicians and dancers also carved alternative spaces for the enactment of a newly-forged *black* identity, both on the festival stage for an international audience and on the dance floors of the Zona Norte.

I have attempted to move beyond the current literature that merely judges the political expediency of the *Black Rio* movement while ignoring its historico-cultural

context. Existing literature tends to pit *black soul* musicians and dancers against mostly-white, middle-class intellectuals who have historically made determinations about black Brazilians and have judged that the *Black Rio* movement a political failure. In addition to exploring representations of black masculinity, this project can also be interpreted as an interrogation of Whiteness and how alternative black masculinities are negotiated in conjunction with and against it. By taking the lid off the issue that journalists and academics have “canned,” we are able to break the pattern of paternalistic commentary that forecloses debate and that does not recognize the agency of black Brazilians. Similarly, by situating *Black Rio* within a history of Brazilian popular music, we are able to explore the ways in which black Brazilians have enacted a *black* identity, created *black* places, and claimed rights as *black* Brazilians. As a white woman who grew up in a bi-cultural, bilingual family in the United States, it is not my intention to have the final say on the meaning or impact of *Black Rio*. Rather, I hope that this project will encourage others to conduct further study on the topic, and to debate and interrogate the place of music-making in the shaping of black Brazilians’ lives and rights.

There are many avenues for further research. For example, from a media studies perspective, more could be done on particular modes of consumption and distribution associated with the movement. Little research alludes to the particular media (songs, movies, images) that *Black Rio* participants consumed. While one can glean from newspapers and magazines the names of Brazilian and U.S. artists who performed

particular shows,⁸⁰ more research needs to be done on which *soul* songs were broadcast on the radio and how they were distributed. It is known that a few DJs had the means to travel to the United States to collect albums (Vianna 1988), and that due to import restrictions *Bilboard* was one of the few record stores in Rio de Janeiro to carry North American records (*Jornal do Brasil*, 11/12/1976). However, little is documented about the movement of music across media and networks. What particular songs was Big Boy playing on his radio program that so grabbed people's attention? Which songs and artists were most popular at the dances? Were the compilation albums put together by the *equipes* representative of the tracks played at the dances? How does this phenomenon fit into general consumption patterns and the particulars of the music industry in Brazil? What do such patterns tell us about the ways that music was consumed and resignified?

As an additional area of inquiry, scholars interested in the resignification of *soul* music could conduct fieldwork and oral histories on how *soul* dancers moved on the dance floor. What does it mean to be dancing in the style of James Brown in Brazil, for instance, and what did it look like? What can this tell us about how *Black* Rio participants adopted and transformed various symbols? How do citizen-subjects enact politics through dance when other avenues for political expression are foreclosed? In their formulation of the concept of "choreo-graphy," Celeste Fraser Delgado and José Esteban Muñoz (1997: 9-32) emphasize the act of writing through dance and the body. As a method of inscription, dance becomes a form of politics when the voice has been

⁸⁰ While Tim Maia's major shows in the City Center and the Zona Sul were advertised in mainstream media beginning in 1970 (once again, due to his popularity among MPB fans and his collaborations with MPB musicians), only beginning in 1977 did the *Jornal do Brasil* begin advertising the *bailes da pesada* in the entertainment calendar of the paper.

silenced. The authors further posit dancing as a way of enacting counterhistories and of resisting the dominant, “subjugating history written on the enslaved or laboring body” (17-18). They write, “Dance sets politics in motion, bringing people together in rhythmic affinity where identification takes the form of histories written on the body through gesture” (9). I argue that *música soul* dancers not only dance their collective history retrieved from the past; they invoke, write, and call new histories into being through diasporic imaginings. Therefore, history is not only a resource to be drawn on for identity-formation; it is actively created in the moment of dance. What else can dance and movement tell us about the creation of *black* identities and places?

Still another avenue that merits further research is a more careful consideration of *Black Rio*’s relation to the African diaspora. A number of perspectives must be considered here: 1) *Black Rio*’s relation to soul and/or funk as a multi-local diasporic phenomenon,⁸¹ and 2) *Black Rio* in relation to other diasporic cultural movements in Brazil. This second issue has been cursorily addressed by academics. In general, they include a brief discussion of *Black Rio* alongside a lengthier discussion of other diasporic movements. The bulk of the literature focuses on Carnival groups in Salvador da Bahia such as the *blocos afros*. These ensembles emerged in the mid-1970s and “reflected a conscious attempt by a large segment of the city’s youth to carve out a uniquely black cultural space within the city’s annual Carnival celebration” (Crook 2009: 209). The *blocos* developed a rhythm that combined Carnival-style samba and reggae in a fusion

⁸¹ See Scott’s (1998) and Joseph’s (1998) essays in *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* (1998), edited by Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green for writings on soul in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, and Tanzania, respectively.

known as *samba-reggae*.⁸² Reggae music, and figure of Bob Marley in particular, was also eminently important to a number of MPB Brazilian artists, including Gilberto Gil, who covered a number of Marley's songs. Authors have continually celebrated Brazilian reggae and *samba-reggae* as Afro-centric expressions of black consciousness. It remains to be shown why scholars have characterized the influences of Bob Marley and James Brown in such different ways.

Exploring these questions will further help clarify the various meanings of *música soul* for black Brazilians. The questions may be best studied by conducting fieldwork and collecting oral histories from the DJs, party organizers, *equipe* members, musicians, and, most importantly, the *soul* dancers who attended *bailes* and to whom they hold particular significance. In addition to historical work, ethnographic work focused on contemporary *bailes charme* is also necessary. While *funk carioca* and other variants of *funk* have attracted significant attention of late, no major scholarly work has been conducted on the *bailes charme*. Following the onset of disco fever in Brazil in the late 1970s, the *bailes da pesadas*' popularity waned as new musical currents took over the soundwaves. The *bailes* morphed in two directions: on the one hand, hip hop (especially based on the Miami bass sound) influenced the music of the *bailes funk*; and on the other hand, the *bailes charme* of the 1980s and 1990s centered on U.S. R&B and new jack

⁸² See Crook (2009: 207-227) for a description and history of the *blocos afros*, Galm (2010: 66-71) for a discussion of *Black Rio* and *samba-reggae* as Afrocentric movements. See Risério (1981) and Scott (1998) for unique accounts of the important impact of *música soul*, and especially James Brown, on the *blocos afros*. Scott writes: "Antonio Risério's *Carnaval Ijexá* has an extremely vivid account of the impact of soul music in the very dwellings built during that era in Liberdade. Apparently, the need to dance à la James required a larger floor space to precisely duplicate that slide, comically described as 'agility in the suds', so people constructed their houses with small bedrooms in order to make room for larger *Blek Sol* [*black soul*] living rooms (Risério 28)" (17).

swing.⁸³ Today, *bailes charme* have a nostalgic tone. The *bailes charme* recall one of the functions of Rio's social clubs in the first half of the twentieth century. At that time, social clubs in the Zona Norte were modeled after elite clubs in the Zona Sul from which Zona Norte residents were excluded.⁸⁴ This influence can be seen at the *bailes charme* in the formal attire worn by participants and through the evocation of traditional codes of courtship. I believe that more continuities exist between the *bailes da pesada* and *bailes charme* than the *bailes da pesada* and the *bailes funk*. The existence of the *bailes charme* evinces not the disappearance and irrelevance the *música soul* but its continued relevance and significance.

Thus, the continuing relevance of *Black Rio* in the shaping of black Brazilians' lives suggests the necessity of further study. While *Black Rio* did not represent a traditional political movement from the perspective of 1970s middle-class intellectuals, it drastically reshaped the terms of inclusion for black Brazilians and the place afforded them within the nation. Now, U.S. black musical genres such as hip hop, R&B, soul, and funk, exist alongside Brazilian genres such as samba, forró and maracatú, and no one debates the Brazilianness of the artists that incorporate them. And yet black Brazilians continue to face economic, social and cultural discrimination. This fact reinforces the need to understand these sites of identity formation and place-making.

⁸³ New jack swing is a U.S. genre that combines the production techniques of hip hop and dance-pop with contemporary R&B vocals and style.

⁸⁴ For an example, see Giacomini (2006) on the Renascença Clube.

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