The Resonance of Place

Music and Race in Salvador da Bahia

by

John C. Finn

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved December 2010 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Kevin McHugh, Chair
Bob Bolin
Christopher Lukinbeal
Patricia Price

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2011

ABSTRACT

Geography, and the social sciences more broadly, have long operated within what is arguably a paradigm of the visual. Expanding the reach of geographical consideration into the realm of the aural, though in no way leaving behind the visual, opens the discipline to new areas of human and cultural geography invisible in ocular-centric approaches. At its broadest level, my argument in this dissertation is that music can no longer be simply an *object* of geographical research. Re-conceptualized and re-theorized in a geographical context to take into account its very real, active, and more-than-representational presence in social life, music provides actual *routes to* geographic knowledge of the world.

I start by constructing a theoretical framework and methodological approach for studying music beyond representation. Based on these theoretical and methodological arguments, I present four narratives that unfold at the intersections of race and music in the northeast Brazilian city of Salvador. From the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro to the troubled neighborhood of the *Pelourinho*, from the manic tempos of samba to the laid back grooves of samba-reggae, and in the year-round competition between the oppressive forces of ordinary time and the fleeting possibility of carnival, music emerges as a creative societal force with affects and effects far beyond the realm of representation. Together, these narratives exemplify the importance of expanding geographical considerations beyond a strictly visual framework. These narratives contribute to the musicalization of the discipline of geography.

For Yindra

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

MUSICALIZAÇÃO NO MORRO

In the last few weeks of my fieldwork in Salvador da Bahia, working with

Humberto and Cassius, professional musicians, and Marisa, a neighbor and local

community organizer, I participated in inaugurating *Musicalização no Morro*, or

"Musicalization on the Hill." I had met Humberto and Cassius much earlier in my

fieldwork. We became good friends, and eventually I started working with them

as the percussionist in their quartet. Humberto is a university-trained guitarist and

street-trained percussionist. Cassius, also formally trained in music, is a bassist,

composer, and songwriter. During our frequent rehearsals in the apartment I

rented, kids from the neighborhood would hear us playing and stop in, watch, play

along, and just hang out. Five boys, three brothers—Anderson, Antônio, and

Alison—and two others, were almost daily visitors whether or not I had a

rehearsal. My wife and I figured they were as interested in the novelty of our

Portuguese accents as my collection of drums and percussion instruments.

As economically insecure as it is precariously positioned atop a steep

hill overlooking the Atlantic Ocean, *Alto da Sereia* would be classified by many

as a *favela*, an urban slum. Unemployment is high, and many residents work

unsteady, informal, and labor-intensive jobs whenever they can find them. Our

landlord estimated that about 200 families lived on the hill wedged the main

avenue below on one side, and a cliff dropping dramatically into the Atlantic

Ocean on the other. There is no car access in Alto da Sereia—the neighborhood is

accessible only to those who climb one of two long staircases that lead up from

the avenue. On top of the hill there are two tiny convenient stores, an internet

café, a public telephone booth, a chapel, and a tiny *capoeira* academy.

Figure 1. Brazil's five major regions and 26 states (cartography by Lindsey Sutton and the author).
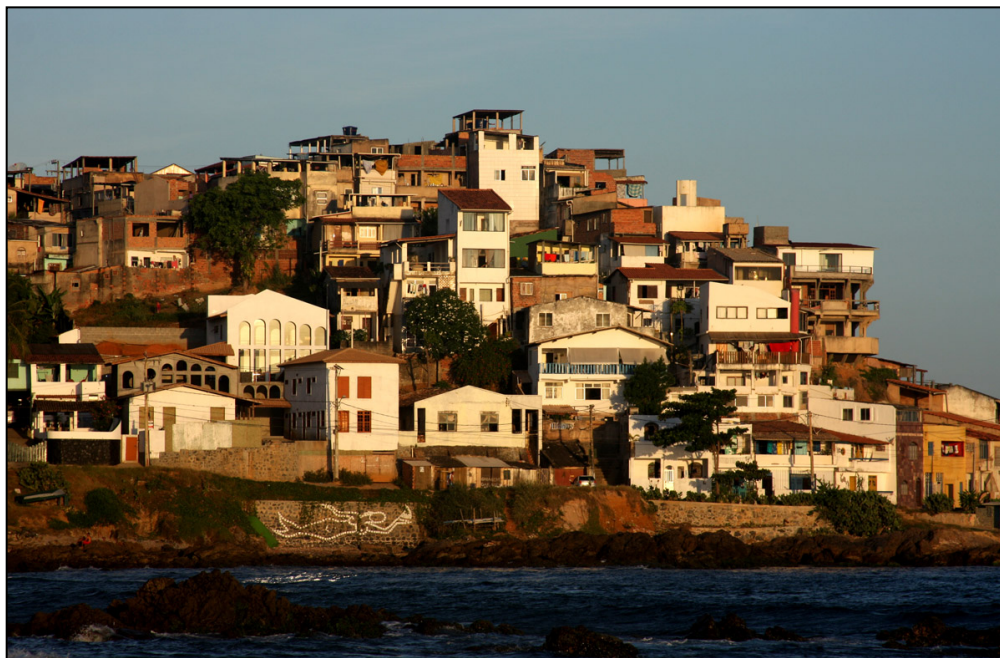
Figure 2. Alto da Sereia (photo by author).

Figure 3. One of the two stairways leading to Alto da Sereia (photo by author).

Figure 4. Boys playing soccer in Alto da Sereia (photo by author).

Alto da Sereia is located in the midst of Salvador, the capital of the Brazilian state of Bahia and the country's third largest city. A direct results of it's position as Brazil's colonial capital and the center of the slave trade in Brazil for nearly 400 years, Salvador's population is, according to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estadistica*, over 80 percent black or mixed race. The region is racially much darker and economically far behind Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil's mega-cities located far away in the Southeast region of the country.

Musicalização no Morro was Humberto's idea. In our rehearsals that often turned into impromptu music lessons, Humberto sensed that the kids had a lot more interest in music than opportunity to explore this curiosity in depth. At the same time, our neighbor Marisa, a trained but unemployed schoolteacher, was in the process of setting up a community center for the neighborhood's youth. After many long conversations, we decided to create a Saturday morning music class that would be free and open to kids of all ages. Initially the classes would be bimonthly, but we aimed at expanding to every Saturday. The two-hour classes would begin at ten in the morning, and afterward we'd provide lunch for all in attendance. Our first Saturday morning Musicalização started slowly, but turned out to be a hit. Following that session I wrote in my field book:

> 9:00 a.m. Marisa arrives. No one is in the street, and she starts to get worried. I arrive at ten. Marisa is still there, but still no one else is even on the street. It's totally dead. Humberto arrives and still no one. Cassius arrives. I figured there would be kids around to help bring the instruments up the hill. Not so. Humberto, Cassius, and I get everything set up and we start to jam. Pretty soon two or three kids poke their heads in the door. They sit down and start playing along with us. A few more show up, and within 20 minutes the room is full. Parents are also coming by, bringing their kids. Humberto later commented that he thought it was telling that most of the adults showed up only in shorts and flip-flops, without shirts,

while the kids came fairly well dressed, as if it were a school day. For him, this was a question of development, and reinforced the need for programs like this one that we are trying to start... to bring up the overall level of education. It ended up working out really nicely. Probably 25-30 kids participated, from ages four or five to 13 or 14, accompanied by six or eight adults. We played for nearly two hours. Basically, the way the workshop worked, the music kept going on for the entire time. A few stops to name and describe each of the instruments—*agogo*, *surdo*, *pandeiro*, *tamborim*, *bongó*, and so on—but even then Humberto continued playing the agogo pattern underneath his own explanations. It really was a 100-minute jam session with the kids. And from what we could tell, they all loved it.

The success of this first session provided the impetus for Humberto, Cassius, and Marisa to create the *Casa Azul Instrumento Social*, or the "Blue House Social Instrument," an official non-governmental organization named for the bright blue color of the house that had been donated for the program.

Figure 5. *Musicalização no Morro* (photo by author).

Writing on the black Atlantic region during slavery, Paul Gilroy (1993, 74) relates that slave music challenged the primacy of language and writing

as [the] preeminent expressions of human consciousness. The power and significance of music within the black Atlantic have grown in inverse

5

proportion to the limited expressive power of language. It is important to remember that the slaves' access to literacy was often denied on pain of death and only a few cultural opportunities were offered as a surrogate for the other forms of individual autonomy denied by life on the plantations and in the barracoons. Music becomes vital at the point at which linguistic and semantic indeterminacy/polyphony arise amidst the protracted battle between masters, mistresses, and slaves.

In the face of limited educational opportunity and nearly complete economic and political marginalization, music has become a central route for Brazil's *negro-mestiço*[1] population to assert identity and claim a space in the country's supposed racial democracy. In this context, Musicalização no Morro was a small social outreach program aimed at using music to claim space, open lines of communication, and perhaps establish the roots of social development in a working class favela in a country whose recent economic boom has left as many behind as it has elevated.

Musicalizing Thought

My broadest goal in this dissertation is to contribute to the musicalization of the discipline of geography. Geography, and the social sciences more broadly, have long operated within what is arguably a paradigm of the visual. At least since Plato, "to see" has been "to know" (Olsson 2007). Expanding the reach of geographical consideration into the realm of the aural, though in no way leaving

---

[1] Negro-mestiço is a term in Brazilian Portuguese used to describe people of African descendent. The term especially relevant in Bahia where nearly 80 percent of the population is, according to the Brazilian census, either Black or mixed race. Negro-mestiço is generally deployed as an inclusive term to emphasize the fact that the vast majority of Bahia's population—and also that of its capital city Salvador—is, at some level, of African descent.

behind the visual, opens the discipline to completely new realms of human and cultural geography invisible in ocular-centric approaches.

Though there is long history of sound and music as objects of geographical study, the focus has largely remained within this paradigm of the visual. By the 1920s geographers were connecting sound to the landscape (Connell and Gibson 2003). Research centered on how sound, in addition to the visible, shaped regional distinctions. Cornish (1928; 1934) and Abercrombie (1933) connected sound and sight (and site) in terms of what they judged to be its appropriateness in its landscape—a car horn in the country was as out of place as the sound of a cricket in lower Manhattan. This evolved into a geography of music that focused on the spatial distribution of musical forms, musical hearths and diffusion, delimitation, and thematic analysis (Kong 1995). Popular music "could be represented spatially, explained and described in terms of the location and origins of musical scenes, styles and pieces" (Connell and Gibson 2003, 12). Jackson (1952, 267) charted a map "showing approximate areas where and times when American religious folksongs...were and/or are still sung in gatherings." Crowley (1987) similarly visualized the distribution of members, arrangements of regional districts, and location of state contest and state convention of the Montana State Old-Time Fiddlers Association (see Figures 6 and 7). Visual attributes of music were the focus of attention. Built into these and similar studies was the assumption of a structural and representational link between the musical form and the superorganic culture that lies below.
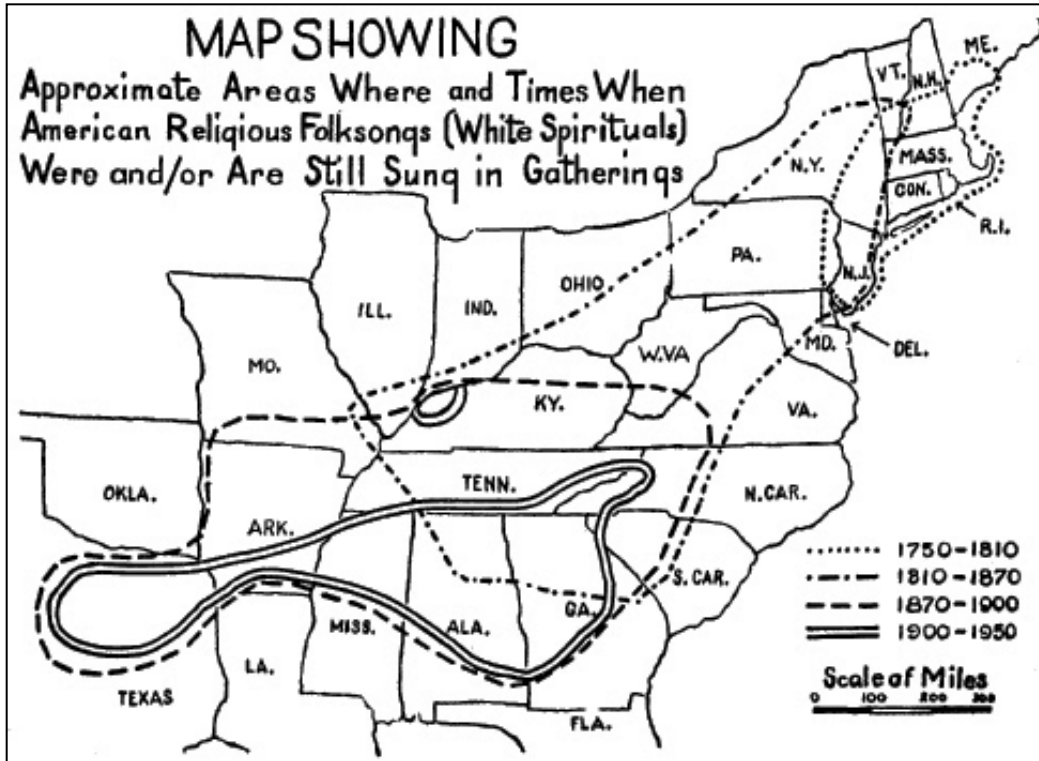
Figure 6. "Map Showing Approximate Areas Where and Times When American Religious Folksongs (White Spirituals) Were and/or Are Still Sung in Gatherings" (Jackson 1952, 367).
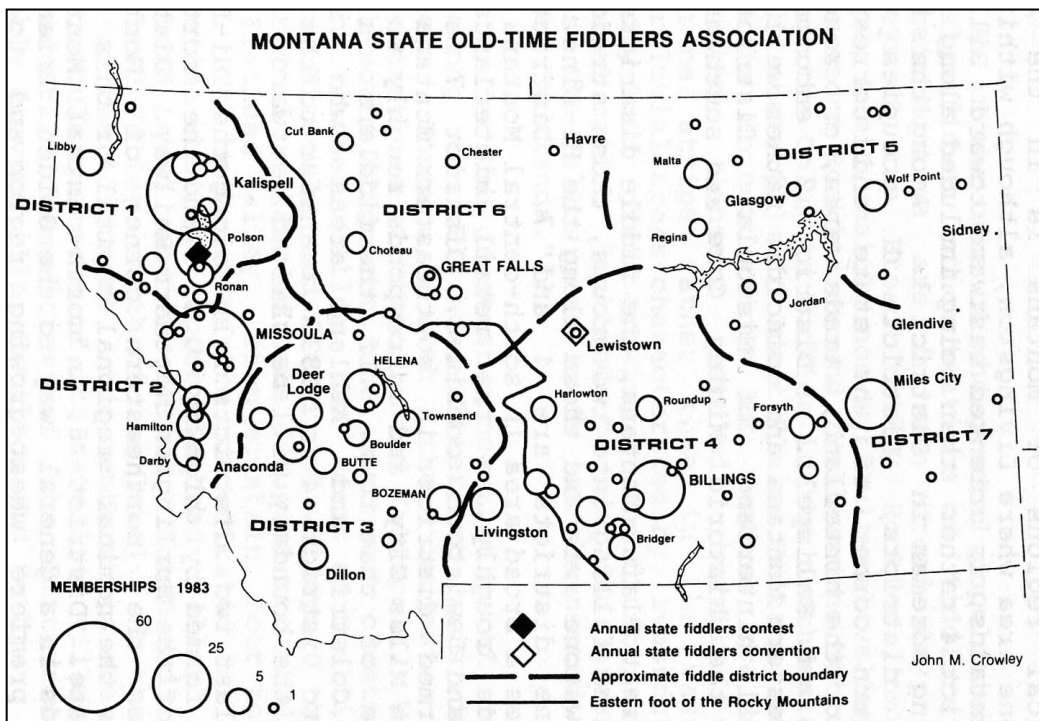
Figure 7. "Montana State Old-Time Fiddlers Association" (Crowley 1987, 79).

The study that I present here, then, attempts to refocus attention from music's visual attributes to its aural and affective reality in place. As described in the opening paragraphs of this dissertation, for Brazil's, and especially Bahia's negro-mestiço population, music becomes a powerful means to assert a cohesive identity, challenge dominant racial ideologies from the margins, and, quite literally, assert their rights to the physicality of spaces and places throughout the city of Salvador, capital of the State of Bahia. The musicscape is at all times filled with possibility as much as contradiction. Embracing music's aural reality and shifting analytical focus beyond representation opens fresh avenues for researching how music really works in society.

Contributing to the musicalization of the discipline is as important to me as a geographer as it is a professional musician. In this dual role I am mesmerized by the ways spaces and places are fundamentally affected and shaped by the enveloping characteristics of sound and music. As a route to geographical knowledge, however, the subfield of music geography has often seemed sterile, a scientific approximation for dealing with something that is inherently beyond science. Its reliance on vision, on representation, simply cannot account for the affective force of sound and music in society. On the other hand, the mantra of the percussionist is all too often *don't think, just play*, as if thinking about, analyzing, the notes and rhythms somehow reduces their power in music as much as society. The world of the musician all too easily allows for music's force to be abandoned to the rhythm of the song. This dissertation is, in a way, my personal attempt to

bridge this gap, to find the groove between geography and music, to musicalize geography.

Music, Race, Brazil

While ostensibly about music, a common, even dominant theme that runs throughout this study is the ever-present reality of racial constructions. I did not initially expect that race would become a central theme in this project. I naively conjectured that it would figure in places only where I set out to make explicit connections between race and music. As Toni Morrison has so rightly articulated, however, we live in a "wholly racialized world" (Morrison 1992, 4). In my research in Brazil—a country that professes to have transcended racism and achieved "racial democracy"—I am continuously pointed to race and racialized difference. It is impossible to escape the ever-pervasive reality of race and racism in Brazil. Indeed, as Armstrong (2010, 450-451) notes,

> In the diaspora societies of the Atlantic and the Americas, race is a critical category in the exchange between everyday authority and subaltern cultures... Racial profile is simply the most acute and reductive way for an individual's social interlocutors to categorize him or her. In short, race is an embodied mask whose code is determined by the viewer more than the embodier, and tainted by inequitable power relations.

Thus if music in this dissertation is a route to geographical knowledge, the path is at all times fully mediated by Brazil's racial constructions. In the four narratives expressed in this dissertation I hope to illustrate how race and music function in tandem in producing human geographies in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil.

The first narrative—"Samba"—addresses directly the intersection of race and music. In tracing the development of samba in Rio de Janeiro, linkages

10

between music and race show that sound and rhythm, melody and harmony, resonance and dissonance, are central as people negotiate and contest their physical and symbolic place(s) in Brazilian society. In contextualizing my research within Brazil's contemporary understandings of race, from racial whitening to racial democracy, I show that musical changes occurring in Rio de Janeiro between 1888 and 1945 are not reflections of larger racial and economic pressures of the era. Rather, music played an active role in the creation and constitution of the two racial regimes that dominated Brazilian society in the 20th century. Samba is entwined in Brazil's dominant national identity, perpetuating to the present day the myth of racial democracy in Brazil.

Moving to the site of my research in Salvador, my second narrative deconstructs both the landscapes and musicscapes of the Pelourinho, Salvador's historic center and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. I emphasize the importance of the aural in addition to the visual as people's actions in place constitute the perpetual re-creation of the cultural landscape, as the landscape does work, naturalizes uneven race relations, and obscures the social processes that give rise to it. However, to the multitudes of tourists who pass through this neighborhood annually, the Pelourinho is simply a historical artifact, a museum of Brazilian colonial history frozen in time and place. The collectively imagined past of the Pelourinho, now prominently displayed for tourist consumption, is a simulacrum that can only pretend to represent. Building on post-structural notions of landscape and a postmodern critique of heritage, I explore the ways that musicscapes—which envelop this place—exemplify inherent tensions between

11

music as cultural representation and the everyday practice and performance of music. History is appropriated, remade, and sold as a representation of cultural heritage framed by the myth of racial democracy. The irony is, of course, that the creation and commodification of a cultural heritage in the Pelourinho that outwardly celebrates its African roots simultaneously is founded upon and furthers white supremacy in this context of so-called racial democracy.

My third narrative traces the emergence of Olodum in the marginalized neighborhood of the Pelourinho in the 1970s. The music of Olodum, one of Salvador's oldest carnival blocks, has played a central role in contesting hegemonic Brazilian culture and national identity. In the 30 years since its creation, Olodum has grown into a 300-plus-member carnival block, an internationally renowned touring stage band, a theatre and dance company, a large cultural school, and an official store. At the same time, the international commercialization of not only Olodum's music, but also its discourse of resistance, challenges the group's popular narrative. In this chapter I push forward theoretical understandings at the nexus of race and cultural commodification, focusing specifically on how resistance is transformed as it is commodified.

In my final narrative I arrive at Salvador's carnival, a massive celebration occupying public spaces throughout the city for one week every summer. Carnival has traditionally been theorized either as a utopian space of possibility or as an escape valve, a fleeting time of reversal that only serves to reinforce those hierarchies. I propose a re-conceptualization of carnival as not a temporary turning-upside-down of the world, but rather a constant, year round competition

between the reversed logic of carnival time and the oppressive reality of ordinary time. Using race and music in Bahia's carnival, I explore this carnivalesque competition not only temporally—a year round competition—but ideologically and spatially as well.

Before turning to these four narratives of music, race, and place, it is necessary to return to the idea of music beyond representation in terms of both theory and method. In the next chapter I explore in much more detail how, exactly, it might be possible to shift music studies beyond the paradigm of the visual. I then shift my focus to the methodological implications of researching music theorized beyond representation.

Chapter 2

MUSIC BEYOND REPRESENTATION

> A child in the dark, gripped with fear, comforts himself by singing
> under his breath. He walks and halts to his song. Lost, he takes
> shelter, or orients himself with his little song as best he can. The
> song is like a rough sketch of a calming and stabilizing, calm and
> stable, center in the heart of chaos. Perhaps the child skips as he
> sings, hastens or slows his pace. But the song itself is already a
> skip: it jumps from chaos to the beginning of order in chaos and is
> in danger of breaking apart at any moment. There is always
> sonority in Ariadne's thread. Or the song of Orpheus (Deleuze and
> Guattari 1987, 311)

Psychologist Steven Pinker once asked: "What benefit could there be to

diverting time and energy to the making of plinking noises?" Is it true, as he

asserted, that "music… could vanish from our species and the rest of our lifestyle

would be virtually unchanged" (Pinker 1997, 528)? This hardly seems reasonable.

Music accompanies us at home, in the car, at sporting events, and when we go

out. The ascendancy of the iPod and their tiny white earbuds provide individual

soundtracks as we jog, work out, and generally move through time and space.

Even before there was sound in film, musical groups accompanied silent movies

(Pramaggiore and Wallis 2008). Today music remains a fundamental element of

cinema. The subconscious commercial power of music is increasingly being

realized as music is being used to sell (Leppert 2005). Muzak is piped into spaces

of commerce, designed to not only "fill uncomfortable conversational gaps but

also to amplify purchasing behavior through subtle uses of tempo and the tastes of

desired lifestyle groups" (Atkinson 2007, 1910). Then there is the music industry.

U.S. manufacturers alone sold nearly eight billion dollars worth of recorded music

(both mechanical and digital) in 2009 (Recording Industry Association of

America 2010). While Steven Pinker asked his question about plinking noises and the use (or lack thereof) of music from the perspective of cognitive science, he did not dismiss music's cultural and societal significance. Music is so prevalent in life that it is hard to imagine a landscape not fully infused with it.

Accordingly, music has long been the object of intense scrutiny in the social sciences, from sociology to geography to musicology, a discipline dedicated to the social scientific study of music. At its broadest level, my argument in this dissertation is that music can no longer be simply an *object* of geographical research. Re-conceptualized and re-theorized in a geographical context to take into account its very real, active, and more-than-representational presence in social life, music provides actual *routes to* geographic knowledge of the world. It is perhaps necessary to take a few steps back in order to arrive at this conclusion.

At its core, my argument hinges on fundamentally rethinking the "place" of sound in the world. According to Jay (1988: 3), "beginning with the Renaissance and the scientific revolution, modernity has normally been considered resolutely ocularcentric." It is through the visual that knowledge is most often constructed and produced (cf. Rose 2001). Bio-acoustician Bernie Krause goes farther, asserting that the dominance of the visual to human life goes back even further, 40,000 years ago, when "we discovered that we could capture the *image* of a gazelle, mammoth, goat or bull on cave walls and stony outcrops" (Krause 2002, 12, my emphasis). While humans have been recording visual representations of the world since the Paleolithic period, it is only since the late

19th century that the technology has existed to record, store, and playback sound.

In the words of Krause (2002, 12):

> The graphic image was the dominant force in how we understood our real and imagined realms, becoming central to the ways we experienced our legends, histories, spiritual stories and personal identities. Where collections of images were created, they came to be revered, either as religious icons or as pieces of art displayed solemnly in silent museums. While the sciences historically emphasized visual observation and abstraction as the truest method for perceiving the world, many of our most valued forms of artistic expression also emphasized what could be perceived and represented *visually*.

A strictly visual approach, however, offers only limited bandwidth in what is a much broader spectrum of knowledge. Sound can—and does—provide new routes to knowledges that a visual approach cannot fully access. It's not *just* a visual world. In conversation with Lucient Price, Alfred North Whitehead eloquently expressed the emotional power of sound as compared to sight:

> I think we take in quite as much through our sense of hearing as by our sense of sight, perhaps more. Mind you, I don't mean to compare our dependency on the two senses, for we are more dependent on sight, since we have mobility. But I think we respond more to a solemn sound, to music, or to a great bell. It establishes the emotion almost instantaneously, and we think about it only later. Organ music much more easily conveys a devotional attitude than visual objects. Your national anthem, which I hear frequently over the radio, does not, fortunately, lend itself to being shouted by mobs in unison, but it admirably serves its purpose and, hearing it, I am more moved than I am by the sight of your flag. I say nothing about the relative merits of your national flag *as* a flag. The point I am making is that, with the sense of sight, the idea communicates the emotion, whereas, with sound, the emotion communicates the idea, which is more direct and therefore more powerful (Whitehead and Price 1974 [1954], 231).

Similarly, Handel (1989: xi) asserts that "listening is centripetal; it pulls you into the world[, l]ooking is centrifugal; it separates you from the world." Literally, looking, seeing, requires a position of externality, separation. The listening body, on the other hand, is engulfed by sound. As opposed to the distancing nature of

sight, "sound, by its enveloping character, brings us closer to everything alive. Hearing…makes us especially aware of proximity and thus connectedness" (Leppert 1993: 29). In another configuration Sui (2000: 325) contends that "listening, unlike seeing, involves turning toward the Other. An epistemology of listening compels us toward engagement rather than detachment, dialogue rather than monogazing." As the modernist conflation of seeing and knowing disintegrates (cf. Jenks 1995; Rose 2001), aural approaches take on a new importance in geography.

Sound in the World

Schafer (1977) and Krause (1998; 2002) have spent their careers focused almost exclusively on the biophony, or the "combined aural sensation that groups of living organisms produce in any given biome" (Krause 2008: 73; see also Krause 1998). The power of these investigations is far more than descriptive. Krause's theory of the biophony illustrates the fundamental importance of the aural in the natural world. Using a spectrometer to visualize and map all noises of a biophony by pitch, Krause theorizes that the animals present in any given biophony "divide up the acoustic spectrum so they don't interfere with one another's voices" (Thompson 2008, 1). The resulting spectrogram, according to Thompson (2008, 1), "looks like the musical score for an orchestra, with each instrument in its place. No two species are using the same frequency." That is precisely how it works. "When [animals] issue mating calls or all-important warning cries, they aren't masked by the noises of other animals" (Thompson

2008, 1). In a culture that has been dominated by the visual, "awareness of the sounds of earth and its creatures is one of the last frontiers of discovery... We are somewhat late in coming to an understanding of the natural world through sound and have to re-learn what our ancestors knew millions of years ago" (Krause 2002, 2).

Krause's career as a bioacoustician and natural soundscape recordist has led to an extensive collection of sound recordings from around the world that indeed have produced knowledge outside the reach of visual world. Perhaps his life's project has been to record the world's natural soundscapes, which are, according to Krause, rapidly disappearing as a result of the encroachment of humans. In his calculations, as of 2002 it took 2,000 hours to record one hour's worth of natural sounds (i.e. free of "human noise and disturbed habitats") in a North American environment. Thirty-five years earlier he was able to record that same hour of undisturbed habitats with only fifteen hours of recording (Krause 2002, 3). Overall, Krause estimates that during his career as a bioacoustician, over a quarter of his library of natural soundscape recordings are of soundscape habitats that have become extinct.

The importance of this research reaches well beyond the intrinsic value that natural soundscapes may have. In one instance, Krause recorded the natural ambient sound of a meadow adjacent to an old growth forest in the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California. He described the habitat as "pristine... with a wide variety of spring birds, insects and amphibians," all apparent as a result of their unique sound signatures. Following heavy logging in the nearby forest the

18

following year, "the sound had become hollow and eerie with just a few sapsuckers, distant chipping sparrows, and a mountain quail" (Krause 2002, 33). A dozen years later, even while the forest seemed to have recovered visually, the sonic spectrogram still visualized a destroyed soundscape that was "quiet and colorless, much like a sick patient in a coma" (Krause, 2002, 34). In this case aural cues—not visual ones—painted the clearest picture of the lasting effects of the long-term environmental destruction that resulted from logging more than a decade earlier.

A long-term study of the soundscapes of spade foot toads in Yosemite National Park engages Krause's theory of the biophony even more deeply. Krause recorded the toad's sound before, during, and at regular intervals following the commanding sound of low-flying military jets as they pass less than 100 meters overhead in increasingly common training missions in the area. The effect is devastating for this toad population. The toads can bury themselves for years during drought only to come out to breed after a deep rainfall. When they do, they sing in tight choruses, making it difficult for natural predators—especially coyotes and owls—to hone in on any single individual. Krause demonstrated through the use of spectrometers that the dominating roar of a low flying jet, lasting for only seconds, disorients the toads such that they "lose the life-saving protection of their vocal choruses" for lengthy periods of time following the fly-over (Krause 2002, 29). "Recordings that were made 20 minutes after...demonstrate[d] a continued inability on the part of the frogs to resume synchronicity" (Krause 2002, 29), thus leaving the vulnerable to predators. It took

a full 45 minutes for the toads' vocalizations to reach the level that they were just before the fly-over. Devastating changes in the soundscape can, at least in part, account for the rapid decline of the spade foot toad in this area (see Figures 8 – 11; see also [Thompson 2008](); [Stover 2009]())
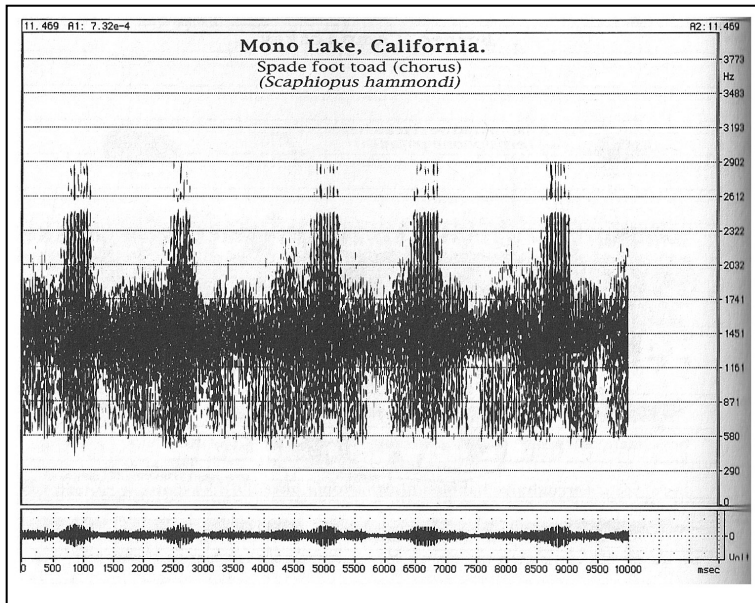
Figure 8. "Spade foot toad chorus with synchronicity in tact" (Krause 2002, 28) (used with permission).
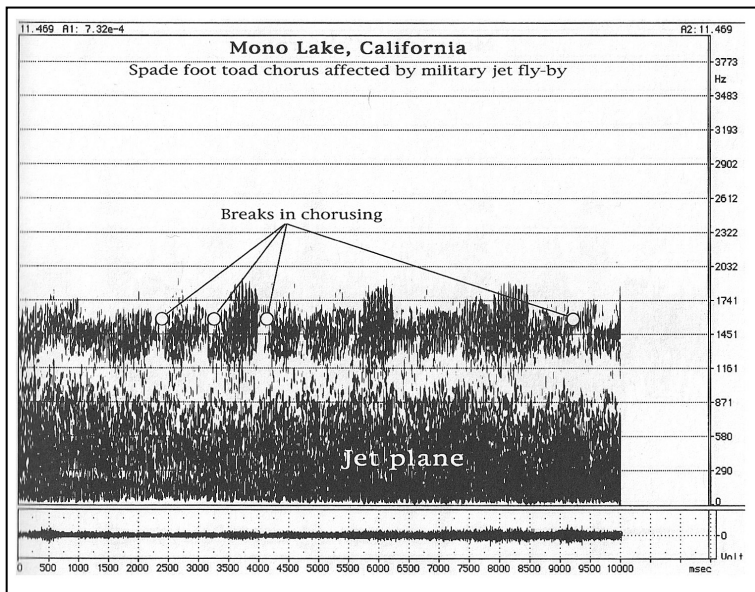
Figure 9. "Spade foot toad chorus interrupted by military jet fly-by" (Krause 2002, 29) (used with permission).
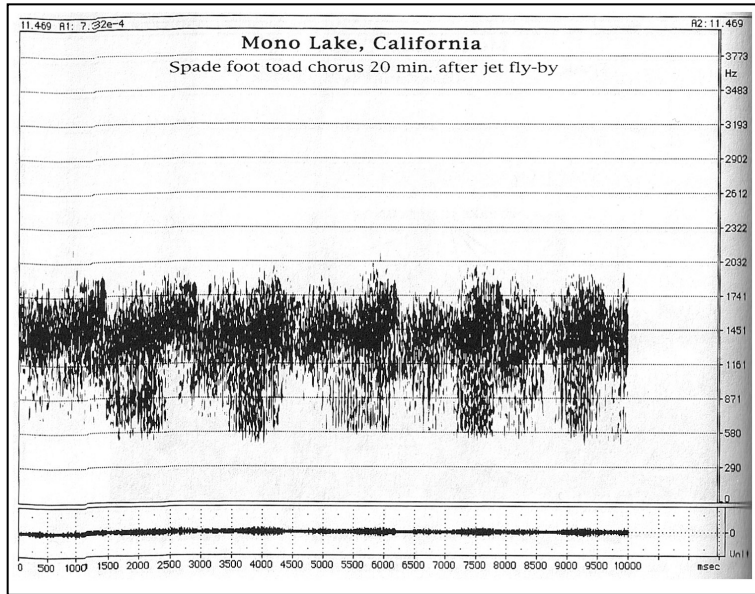
Figure 10. "Spade foot toad chorus 20 minutes after jet fly-by illustrating remaining discontinuity" (Krause 2002, 30) (used with permission).
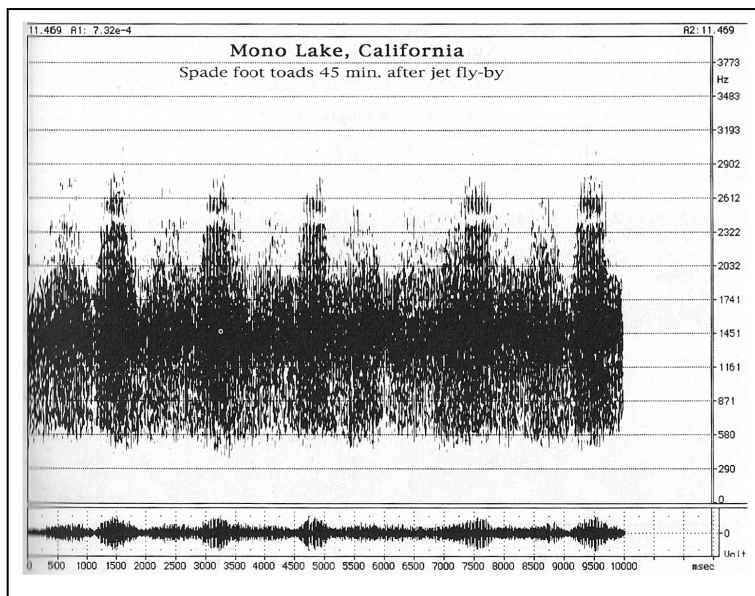
Figure 11. "Spade foot toad chorus 45 minutes after fly-by with chorus intact" (Krause 2002, 31) (used with permission).

These and many other studies of the biophony (e.g. Pijanowski et al. 2011) clearly demonstrate the aural as a route that uncovers knowledge invisible to more traditional visual approaches. From the effects of urbanization on bird populations (e.g. Slabbekoorn and Ripmeester 2008; Hu and Cardoso 2009; 2010), highway

21

construction and traffic noise on animal life in the vicinity (e.g. Parris and

Schneider 2009; Verzijden et al. 2010), even sound pollution in waterways on

marine life (e.g. Slabbekoorn et al. 2010), studies located solidly in the biophony

provide critical understanding of humans and their effects on the natural world.

There is also a long history of scholarly interest in "the sonic order of

urban space" (Atkinson 2007, 1905; Atkinson forthcoming). In his 1913

manifesto *The Art of Noise*, futurist composer Luigi Russolo (1967, 7) embraced

the urban symphony:

> Let's walk together through a great modern capital, with the ear more
> attentive than the eye, and we will vary the pleasures of our sensibilities
> by distinguishing among the gurglings of water, air and gas inside metallic
> pipes, the rumblings and rattlings of engines breathing with obvious
> animal spirits, the rising and falling of pistons, the stridency of mechanical
> saws, the loud jumping of trolleys on their rails, the snapping of whips, the
> whipping of flags. We will have fun imagining our orchestration of
> department stores' sliding doors, the hubbub of the crowds, the different
> roars of railroad stations, iron foundries, textile mills, printing houses,
> power plants and subways.

Less celebratory, Atkinson (forthcoming) uses an "ecology of sound" to analyze

the spatialities of sound in an urban context as the noise of the city, uneven in

distribution and volume, plays an active role in ordering the social and economic

lives of cities and the people that inhabit them. Indentifying power relations

within urban soundscapes, Keizer (2010) further notes that those with economic

and political power create unwanted noise at a disproportionate level while

simultaneously buying their way out of its disturbing effects. However, as urban

noise levels rise, even the rich are increasingly exposed to the consequences of

their own sonic excesses.

The city breathes in polyrhythm, social life is a symphony, if at times dissonant: in all of this lies the centrality of sound.

Sound and Music

Smith (2000, 616) asserts that music "lies somewhere between the myth of silence and the threat of noise; and that position is not fixed, but highly contested." Indeed, avant-garde composer John Cage's (1952) four minutes and thirty-three seconds of silence in his important *4'33''* did not, as many asserted, "deny the very *raison d'être* of music itself" (Shaw-Miller 1996, 4). Rather, he showed with tremendous artistic force the socially constructed status of music and noise. Cage demonstrated the importance of the audience in producing noise, and their potential for "hearing such sounds as music." In doing so, "sight (and site) and sound and performance and audience are thus shown as inextricably linked and interdependent" (Shaw-Miller 1996, 5). Further, Duffy (2005) asserts that meaning in music is socially constructed and depends on its societal context. This socially constructed nature of music drives Ingham, Purvis, and Clarke (1999, 285) to assert that "one person's noise is another person's music, and music is not coterminous with intention." Or, in the words of Small (1998, 121):

> Noise is a difficult concept to define, since what is noise to me may well be music to you, and vice versa, but we could make a rough definition of noise as unwanted sounds – sounds, that is, whose meaning we either cannot discern or do not like when we do discern it. Noise in a rock band is thus a different thing from noise in a string quartet, and each of those ensembles produces what would be called noise in the other's world of meaningful sounds.

Indeed, "while some hear in a particular set of sonic relationships order, meaning and beauty, others may hear in it only chaos and meaninglessness" (Small 1998, 112-113). Smith (1997, 518), for instance, shows that rap "displaces conventional notions of musicality," this time though "deliberately presenting itself as noise" in an act of transgression by overemphasizing rhythm, in contrast to Western music's dependence on melody and harmony. Scotland's "Really Terrible Orchestra," an "inclusive orchestra for those who really want to play, but who cannot do so very well. Or cannot do so at all" (McCall Smith 2008, 1) further demonstrates music's socially constructed status. McCall Smith (2008, 1) explains the reaction to this orchestra's first concert:

> Our first concert was packed, and not just with friends and relations. People were intrigued by the sheer honesty of the orchestra's name and came to see who we were. They were delighted. Emboldened by the rapturous applause, we held more concerts, and our loyal audience grew. Nowadays, when we give our annual concert at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, the hall is full to capacity with hundreds of music-lovers. Standing ovations are two-a-penny.

Music, quite simply, can come from anyone, anywhere, and anything, and its meaning is not fully tethered to the aural product but is constructed within its cultural and social context.

Music Studies

Clearly recognizing the importance of sound and music in society, music has for a long time been the subject of research and inquiry in the fields of sociology, geography, and especially musicology and ethnomusicology, disciplines that together are referred to as music studies. Common to approaches

24

across these disciplines—perhaps their greatest weakness—is the broad conceptualization of music as a thing, a product, something produced by "cultures." Music studies have long been dominated by what Berger (1995, 63) refers to as "culturology." Music has been "something else *to be seen* diffusing in space, trickling down hierarchies, attached to the landscape" (Smith 1997, 503-504, original emphasis). Ironically, in music studies it has been music's visual attributes, as opposed to its aural existence, that have commanded the most scholarly attention.

Originating in the field of musicology, but quickly finding traction in the sociology of music and music geography alike, a culturologistic approach deploys semiotic analysis to decode and read specific musical works, which in turn illuminate how they "work" in society (DeNora 2000). Theodor Adorno was, perhaps surprisingly, central to theorizing the social power and signification of music in the first half of the 20th century (Shepherd 2001; DeNora 2003). According to DeNora (2000, 2) Adorno's musical theorizations were "dedicated to exploring the hypothesis that musical organization is a simulacrum for social organization." Music was "formative of social consciousness," at one and the same time a product that provided a reflection of society and "a building material of consciousness and social structure" (DeNora 2000, 2). Adorno's perspective provides an apt starting point for attempting to develop a theoretical approach in the geography of music that goes beyond a structural/representational relationship to the world in which it exists.

First, Adorno's conceptualization hinged on the analogous relationship of music and language. Opening his essay "Music, Language, and Composition," Adorno (1993 [1956], 401) writes:

> Music is similar to language. Expressions like musical idiom or musical accent are not metaphors. But music is not language. Its similarity to language points to its innermost nature, but also toward something vague. The person who takes music literally as language will be led astray by it.

In his classically dialectical manner, Adorno strives to theorize music's complex relationship to language as generally analogous; both are communicative, representational forms where there is a direct connection between original intent and the physical aural (and symbolic) shape that said form takes. "Music is similar to language in that it is a temporal succession of articulated sounds that are more than just sound. They say something, often something humane" (Adorno 1993, 401). There is a vital difference, though, between music and language in that music "does not form a system of signs" (Adorno 1993, 401). With music it is impossible to abstract, directly from the sound itself, the meaning contained within.

While Adorno sees dialectical tension in precisely this aspect of music's supposedly analogous relationship to language, he never completely shakes himself free from the trap of representational intent. Adorno is on the fence between representation and non: "intentions are essential...but they appear intermittently" (Adorno 1993, 402). It is as if to say *yes, but no*. There is something there, we just don't know what it is. There is meaning lurking just below the tonal surface, it's just a matter of uncovering it:

> Within music itself, music and language exist in a state of mutual tension. Music is reducible neither to the mere being-in-itself of its sound, nor to its mere being for the subject. Music is a means of cognition that is veiled both for itself and for the knowing subject. But it has this much, at least, in common with the discursive form of knowledge: it cannot be fully resolved in the direction of either the subject or the object, and each of them is mediated by the other. Just as those musics in which the existence of the whole most consistently absorbs and moves beyond its particular intentions seem to be the most eloquent, so music's objectivity, as the essence of its logic, is inseparable from the element within it that is similar to language, from which it derives everything of a logical nature. These categories are so thoroughly complementary that it is not, for instance, possible to maintain their balance by conceiving music as occupying a position equidistant between them. Rather, its success depends on the abandon with which it relinquishes itself to its extreme poles... (405-406).

The problematic idea of original intent permeates Adorno's theorizations of music. For instance, Adorno praises the intention in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, arguing that it is "through the sheer power of its coherence [that it] becomes distinctly eloquent" (Adorno 1993, 403). As for lesser composers and compositions, intention only resonates as parody: "For example in the C-sharp minor prelude by Rachmaninoff that keeps hammering 'That is the way it is' from the first to the last measure" (Adorno 1993, 403). Harmonious or dissonant, well-executed or not, music, in Adorno's configuration, is an intent-filled medium.

Adorno's treatment of musicians and composers who have, in his judgment, tried to move away from linguistic signification through music has been harsh. To Adorno, it is a false separation; there is an intrinsic tie that binds the two. Citing Hegel, he characterizes any attempt to break this bond as "abstract negation, a technique of consciously induced primitivism, of mere omission" (408). He accuses Igor Stravinsky of precisely this sin:

> By means of archaic reversion to musical models that seemed architectonic and far removed from language, and a further process of

alienation that eliminated from them everything that today sounds similar to language, pure music, purified of all intentions, was supposed to result. But its intention-less character can only be maintained by doing violence to the origins that are sought after in this way... In this way, the pure essence of music is itself turned into a subjective performance" (408).

(To this last point I might say, *exactly!*)

On the other hand, Adorno is equally dismissive of composers, such as 20th century Austrian Ernst Krenek, who he characterizes as reaching for some kind of post-human objectivity:

They want to liquidate the element of musical language in music, to end subjectivity mediated musical coherence itself and create tonal relationships dominated by exclusively objective, that is, mathematical relationships. Consideration of any reproducible musical sense, indeed of the possibility of musical imagination itself, is irrelevant. The remainder is supposed to be the cosmically superhuman essence of music. Finally, the process of composition itself is rendered physical: diagrams replace the notes; formulas for the generation of electronic sound replace the act of composition, which, itself, is ultimately seen as an arbitrarily subjective act (409).

The result, according to Adorno, is "truly senseless: objectively absolutely irrelevant" (Adorno 1993, 410).

Unlike both Hegel and Marx, however, Adorno was not after positive contributions of knowledge. He sought not synthesis but contradiction (DeNora 2003). Thus he seems perfectly content to let the dissonance of dialectical (non)resolution reign as he asserts that music aims to be an intention-less language shot through with intention: "Music without any signification, the mere phenomenological coherence of the tones, would resemble an acoustical kaleidoscope. As absolute signification, on the other hand, it would cease to be music and pass, falsely, into language" (Adorno 1993, 402). And while the performativity inherent within music does appear repeatedly throughout Adorno's

writing, it never supersedes the dialectical, but fundamentally representational role of music. He expands on this distinction of representation and performativity:

> To play music properly means, above all, to speak its language properly. This language demands that it be imitated, not decoded. It is only in mimetic practice—which may, of course, be sublimated into unspoken imagination in the manner of reading to oneself—that music discloses itself, never to a consideration that interprets it independent of the act of interpretation. If one wished to compare an act in the signifying languages with the musical act, it would more likely be the transcription of a text than its comprehension as signification (403).

Again Adorno returns to the analogous relationship between music and language. The byproduct of this approach, of course, has been a preoccupation with how musical intent is similar or different from linguistic intent, without being able to move beyond a representational understanding of music. Paralyzed by representationalism, musicology is only beginning to get over the effects of this.

There is a direct path from this representational understanding of music to a broader structural conceptualization of music within the society that produces it. In Adorno's configuration, the composer is essentially a passive conduit between the society that is reflected in the music and the music that reflects the society (DeNora 2003). "Music's link to society is conceived as isomorphic: each 'develops' according to its respective internal logics and both these logics are generated by an underlying structural dynamic (congealed history)." Good composers are "those who are best able to develop the implications of musical material's potential" (DeNora 2003, 13-14). Not surprisingly, Adorno's "musical determinism" is riddled with dialectical contradictions. For instance, speaking about structuralism, representation, and Beethoven, DeNora (2003, 15-16) writes of Adorno:

At the same time as he identified Beethoven as an agent, Adorno also identified Beethoven's agency as 'coinciding' with the spirit of an age... Beethoven's works mirrored social forces in this conception but did not mediate these forces or provide resources through which they were elaborated... When the moment of social equilibrium passed, and when the object claimed priority over the subject in the guise of administration (Napoleon crowning himself emperor), Beethoven's composition became increasingly fragmented, characterized increasingly by dissonance and disintegration. It exemplified the rupture between subject and object and the apparent impossibility of a future union between the two.

Based on this (albeit dialectical) structural/representational conceptualization of music and its role in society, analysis in music studies has generally centered on the search for meaning in cultural forms. As British music critic and sociologist Simon Frith has put it, the study of music in sociology "has usually rested on more or less crude reflection theories: the music is taken to reflect, to be 'homologous' to, the society or social group that makes it" (Frith 1981, 269; quoted in Martin 1995, 79). Music is a representation of something extra-musical (DeNora 2000; Anderson, Morton, and Revill 2005). In this theorization, if we could only devise the right tools, find the right pick and shovel, we would be able to unearth the true meaning of the music "itself." On the other hand, music is said to have some sort of structured yet active power in social life. The problem is that this approach cannot explain "how the genie of Zeitgeist originally got into the bottle of music or, conversely, how music's organizing properties come to be decanted into society" (DeNora 2000, 3). Building upon this notion, Martin (1995, 79-80) continues:

There are problematic aspects of the claim that there are close connections between sound structures and social structures... Indeed, serious doubts have been expressed about the usefulness of regarding *any* culture as a system, a relatively integrated totality; there is, too, the associated danger

of reifying such concepts as 'culture' and 'society', treating them as if they were real entities.

The inherent risk in approaching music in this way is that semiotics descends into objectivism, presupposing that "music's meanings are immanent, inherent in musical forms as opposed to being brought to life in and through the interplay of forms and interpretations" (DeNora 2000, 22). Further, musical analyses with the goal of unearthing meaning contained within the "music itself" do not even start to access the fundamental place of music within society. It is precisely this representational trap that snared early inquiries into the geographies of music. The *music itself* was the object of research. Music was treated as a static cultural artifact bound by its locality and divorced from its political and social context. Just as Sauerian cultural landscapes were "orderly, mappable and controllable" (Mitchell 1995a: 107), music was quantified and mapped (Connell and Gibson 2003). Geographical inquiry focused largely on the spatial distribution of musical forms, musical hearths and diffusion, delimitation, and thematic analysis (Kong 1995; 1996). Research questions tended toward descriptive—even visual—attributes of a reified idea of music: What musical styles and genres exist where (e.g. Burman-Hall 1975; Crowley 1987)? What are the geographical origins of particular styles or artists (e.g. Kuhlken and Sexton 1994)? How do musical genres or instruments diffuse through time and space, morphing, adapting, and changing (e.g. Jackson 1952; Ford 1994; Glasgow 1994)? How do lyrics represent and connect to places (e.g. Curtis 1994; Ford and Henderson 1994)? Heavily steeped in the traditions of Berkeley cultural geography, and certainly methodologically intense, early forms of music

geography lacked theoretical connections, and often ignored local political, economic, and historical contexts. This structural/representational approach, however popular it may have been, proves itself ill equipped to provide routes to understanding the affective power of music in social life. To do so, DeNora (2000, 23) calls for new, interdisciplinary ways of conceptualizing music and "that conjoin the hitherto separate tasks of musical scholars and social scientists." The question becomes, then, where to start.

One place might be the destabilization of a reified notion of music. Echoing Don Mitchell's (1995a, 102) declaration that "there is no such thing as culture," musicologist Christopher Small (1998, 2) has proclaimed that "there is no such thing as music." Music is not a thing but an activity; it is not something that *is*, but rather is something that *is done*. "The apparent thing 'music' is a figment, an abstraction of the action, whose reality vanishes as soon as we examine it at all closely" (Small 1998, 2). Abstract thinking, however, has allowed humans—at least since Plato in Small's (1998) calculations—to see the abstraction as more real than the creative action that is the basis for the abstraction in the first place:

> It is very easy to come to think...of those abstractions which we call love, hate, good and evil as having an existence apart from the acts of loving, hating, or performing good and evil deeds and even to think of them as being in some way more real than the acts themselves, a kind of universal or ideal lying behind and suffusing the actions (Small 1998, 2).

The most basic question of musicology—what is the meaning of music—"has no possible answer" (Small 1998, 3). He continues, "rather than directing their attention to the activity we call music, whose meanings have to be grasped in time

as it flies and cannot be fixed on paper, [scholars of Western music] have quietly

carried out a process of elision by means of which the word *music* becomes

equated with 'works of music in the Western tradition'" (Small 1998, 3). The

question "What is the meaning of music?" is deflected as analytical focus is given

to the much more manageable "What is the meaning of this work (or these works)

of music?" (Small 1998, 3).

There are serious analytical implications of allowing the action of making,

creating, listening to, moving one's body to, and generally being affected by

music to be replaced by music *the thing*. The problem is that the musical *product*

of the performance is prioritized. In doing so the aural is neglected in favor of the

material as the "embodied and lived registers of experience and feeling which

unfold in the process of making or listening to music" fall from view (Anderson,

Morton, and Revill 2005, 641). Anderson, Morton, and Revill continue: "the

textual methodologies historically used to study the geographies of music and

sound do not allow for the many entanglements of practice and performance to

emerge" (Anderson, Morton, and Revill 2005, 641). Lorimer (2005, 83) identifies

this as the "deadening effect – the tendency for cultural analyses to cleave

towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning."

Indeed, textual, semiotic methodologies do "deaden."

"'Representationalism'...frame[s], fixe[s] and render[s] inert all that ought to be

most lively" (Lorimer 2005, 84-85; citing Rose 2002; Wylie 2002a; 2002b).

A decided turn toward performance can help overcome the narrowing

analytical tendencies of representational approaches "by allowing in much more

of the excessive and transient aspects of living" (Lorimer 2005, 83). Ingold's

(2007, 11, original emphasis) observations on the differences between written

script and written music are informative:

> With the script, we recognize the marks as letters and words – that is, as projections of the Saussurian sound-image – imprinted on the surface of the paper just as they are supposed to be imprinted upon the surface of the mind. And they direct us immediately to what they are supposed to stand for, namely ideas or concepts. Recognizing the marks on the musical score, however, as notes and phrases rather than letters and words, they are taken to stand not for ideas or concepts *but for the sounds themselves*. In short, in comparing language and music we find that the direction of signification is reversed. Reading a script is an instance of cognition, of *taking in* the meaning inscribed in the text; reading music is an instance of performance, of *acting out* the instruction inscribed in the score.

Text is read "inwardly" and interpreted cognitively, through representation. A

score, on the other hand, "only becomes music through an outward reading,

through performance" (Ingold 2007, 16). Even Adorno seemed to recognize

music's inherently performative character, stating that "to interpret language

means to understand language; to interpret music means to make music" (Adorno

1993, 403). Adorno, however, always returned to the centrality of music's

structural/representational intent. But music has "no reference to anything outside

its own sound world...it can only be perceived as abstract and nonrepresentational,

at least of anything but itself" (Small 1998, 138). In a non-representational world

our conceptualization of music must prioritize performance, not continuously slip

back to representational modes of thought.

Reflecting on the idea of the sociology *of* music, DeNora (2003, 152)

articulates an argument easily transposed to the geography of music:

> To speak of the sociology [or a geography] *of* music is to perpetuate a notion of music and society as separate entities. It is also to imply that the

task of socio-musical studies consists of various attempts to see the social in music – as influence on musical shape and style, and as ideology to be revealed in music's content. In all of this effort there is too much stasis, too much thinking 'about' music and what it says, what it does, what makes it take the forms that it assumes. There, one might suggest, too much of an *academic* attitude to music here and too little interrogative focus on music as a medium of living and being.

[...]

To speak, in this way, of music as causative is to excise the 'and' from the phrase 'music and society'. It is instead to view music as a manifestation of the social, and the social, likewise, a manifestation of music. The difference between the two then becomes merely analytical – dependent upon temporal or spatial priority (such as whether one is interested in an extra-musical outcome of a Musical Event or in a musical outcome of a Social Event), and dependent upon where one begins in an analytical exercise. Music is thus not about, or caused by, the social; it is part of whatever we take to be the social writ large. Music is a constitutive ingredient of social life.

Within music geography there has been a recent and vital shift from emphasis on musical representation to an increasing interest in the presentation, practice, and performance of music (e.g. Anderson 2004; Revill 2004; Wood and Smith 2004; contributors to *Social and Cultural Geography* 2005; Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007). These scholars, and many others, are breaking free of a conceptualization of music as a representational product of a reified notion of culture. Music is performed, lived, ongoing, experiential. "Music isn't a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them" (Frith 1996, 111). It is both the product of and a force in what Nigel Thrift (2000a, 216) terms "*the push* that keeps the world rolling over," or, in the words of Anderson, Morton, and Revill (2005, 640), "the practical ways we have of going on in the world, from moment to moment, event to event, utilizing a whole range of interconnected social, cultural, emotional, expressive, material and embodied resources." Music is not separate from social life, existing

solely in the realm of cultural representation, awaiting analysis by social scientists. Music is an active ingredient in the on-going processes of social life.

The structural/representational linkages between music and the extra-musical world are being severed. The homology of previous generations of music studies—fixed, parallel connections between music and culture—is disintegrating. No longer is music simply the object of research. A non-representational approach to music enables us to pry open new geographic understandings of social life that reach beyond the representational realm, as music and the social are co-constitutive.

Though I've just laid out what I hope is a convincing theoretical argument for a non-representational treatment of music, there is no denying that representation is read into music, and that representational interpretation has very real consequences for music makers and listeners, producers and consumers. By stating this I by no means wish to return to Adorno's dialectical positioning of music (uncomfortably and at times inexplicably) between the opposing poles of absolute linguist representationalism on the one hand and post-human objectivity on the other. The realm of the more-than-representational, rather, offers an avenue forward. As Anderson and Harrison (2010, 19) articulate, "non-representational styles of thinking can by no means be characterised as anti-representational *per se*." It is just that only deploying a representational system, with "its structural and regulation of meaning is not complete" (Dewsbury 2003, 1911). Music is beyond representation and simultaneously representational in that it is bought and sold as a cultural product, oftentimes divorced from the complex and more-than-

representational context in which it is produced and where it continues to be an active force in the on-going production of daily life. Dewsbury (2003, 1911) goes go:

> The nonrepresentational argument comes into its own in asking us to revisit the performative space of representation in a manner that is more attuned to its fragile constitution. The point being that representation left critically unattended only allows for conceptual difference and not for a concept of difference *as such*. The former maintains existing ideological markers whilst the latter challenges us to invent new ones. For me, the project of nonrepresentational theory then, is to excavate the empty space between the lines of representational meaning in order to see what is also possible. The representational system is not wrong: rather, it is the belief that it offers complete understanding—and that *only it* offers any sensible understanding at all—that is critically flawed.

The four analytical narratives in this dissertation explore in concrete terms this reality for music as simultaneously beyond representation and smack dab in the middle of a cultural economy whose very existence and conveyance depend on representation.

Writing Music

In reference to dance, Thrift (2000a, 237) comments that "video and other means of recording lose much of what dance performance is about, rendering it sterile, filtering out exactly the things dance knows that are worth knowing which skid beyond the figure." He is getting at what is becoming the crux in presenting the more-than-representational: how to incessantly present that which is beyond representation. How do write it without freezing the ephemeral? Does not committing it to writing contradict its becoming-ness in the first place? Is there not a certain irony to the fact that I am largely bound to the written word to craft

an argument that music goes much farther than its historical, structural, and representational existence? These questions prompt me to make a few remarks about writing music.

First, as Krause (2002, 51) points out,

> our spoken language contains few references to sound in the natural world. While our language is full of visual descriptions...it is short of vocabulary to describe what we hear. Even our musical lexicon is replete with terms for sound that are based on the language of sight: 'color,' 'form,' 'dark,' or 'light' are a few examples.

He goes on to say that with the exception of words such as "loud," "soft," "explosive," and the like—words bordering on the banal—we quickly reach the limits of our vocabulary in talking and writing about sound (Krause 2002). It is of utmost importance to begin developing a vocabulary for sound and music that reaches beyond visual tropes.

For better or worse, I am making a concerted effort to go beyond standard visual metaphors in reaching into the language of sound and music to write. While this attempt is certainly incomplete, at the very least it has given me the opportunity no only to push my abilities of self-expression in written form, but also to challenge my own tendencies to continuously revert to the paradigm of the visual even as I profess to be a musician and scholar of music.

More broadly, many scholars have seen a more rhythmic, performative writing style as a way to deal with the cognitive dissonance of writing about (i.e. representing through language) that which is beyond representation. For instance, geographers have tried various approaches, some with a higher degree of success than others, to convey through writing the performativity of what they write

about. Wood, Duffy, and Smith (2007, 868; following Jones 1998) attempt to "interrogate musical performance, in part performatively" by addressing the reader directly—the opening of the piece reads as a series of emails among the authors and between the authors and the reader. Offering just a few other "questionable" instances of textual "performativity," this article, while insightful in so many other ways, seems to do little to advance nonrepresentational writing. In "A paper with an interest in rhythm," Derek McCormack (2002) makes a more concerted effort to develop a writing style true to the nonrepresentational subject matter he writes about. Referring to the article externally by its title, or sometimes simply as "the paper" or "a paper," McCormack (2002, 471, original emphasis) works to allow:

> … a paper itself to become a kind of emergent happening, a movement of lines that are take off [*sic*] in different directions and with different speeds. Lines that are moved, at least here, not so much by the question—*why* does a paper with an interest in rhythm do, but by the question *how* does a paper with an interest in rhythm do? … In this way a paper with an interest in rhythm works hopefully to enliven the repertoire of ways in which the animating movements of the world are creatively enacted and apprehended.

And finally, while I argue above that Adorno's theories in the sociology of music are bounded in structuralist and representational thought, his actual texts read quite performatively: "Adorno's refusal to package his philosophy into formulaic statements, his delight in convolution and verbal 'dissonance', his use of exaggeration – all of these strategies resisted music's too-easy digestion, all perpetuated an almost limbic state of suspended recognition" (DeNora 2003, 153). Further, commenting on translating Adorno, Gillespie (2002, xiv; cited in DeNora 2003, 11) emphasizes the need to give special attention to

the text's rhythm and stresses, its oblique references to other texts and contexts, its use of rare or poetic words and frequent neologisms, and also certain more pervasive differences in mood, for example between the short, scherzo-like sketches and the longer, more symphonic essays.

While these examples certainly exemplify creativity, and at times most definitely flow more like a performance in rhythm than an academic paper, Susan Smith's (1997, 504) observation still rings true: "Writing about music is like dancing about architecture, listening to a ballet or feeling the texture of a painting—it might be helpful, but it is not the best, most direct or most appropriate way of illustrating the power of the art."

Quite contrary to suggesting that it is not worth the attempt, or that some good, some understanding, cannot be culled in writing about music, I second Thrift's (2003, 2022) assertion that music, and the arts more generally, have far too great a position in the human endeavor to be left out of academic view. But, the key to writing music may very well be seeing, hearing, feeling—knowing— that there is always something that escapes us. *Excess*: "*The world does not add- up. The world does not resolve or come to rest*" (Dewsbury et al. 2002, 437, original emphasis). Cage (1973, 10, emphasis added) uses the concept of "approximation" to get at the excessiveness of the world: "[The composer] may complicate his musical technique towards an approximation of…new possibilities and awareness. (*I use the word 'approximation' because a measuring mind can never finally measure nature*.)" A proper response to excess is not the "curious vampirism" of modern science that drains it away "for the sake of theoretical certainty" (Dewsbury et al 2002, 437). Rather, accepting, even embracing the excessive nature of the world will lead to a far greater appreciation of multiple

worlds in the making. In reflecting on Gustav Mahler's Fifth Symphony, Austrian conductor Herbert Von Karajan is said to have commented, "you forget that time has passed. A great performance of the Fifth is a transforming experience. The fantastic finale almost forces you to hold your breath" (Templeton 2007, 1). In the end, the written word provides an incomplete, approximating medium in expressing a world beyond representation.

Chapter 3

RHYTHMS

As laid out in the previous chapter, one of the broad purposes of this

dissertation is to make an effort to get past the dominance of the visual in

geography by shedding light on the role of music in constituting, creating, and

contesting social space. I aim, in short, to contribute to the musicalization of the

discipline of geography. One focus is collapsing music's metaphorical

relationship to social life, a relationship accentuated by a number of theorists (e.g.

Lefebvre 1996, 2004; Ingold 1993, 2007). In this chapter I outline the

methodological structure of a project whose existence rests, if uncomfortably, in

the gray area between the metaphorical relationship of music and social life, and

the very real role of the former in the latter. As a point of departure, but in no way

my sole guiding character, I introduce Lefebvre's (2004, 87) rhythmanalyst:

> More sensitive to times than to spaces, to moods than to images, to the
> atmosphere than to particular events, [the rhythmanalyst] is strictly
> speaking neither psychologist, nor sociologist, nor anthropologist, nor
> economist; however he [*sic*] borders on each of these fields in turn and is
> able to draw on the instruments that the specialists use. He therefore
> adopts a transdisciplinary approach in relation to these different sciences.
> He is always 'listening out', but he does not only hear words, discourses,
> noises and sounds; he is capable of listening to a house, a street, a town as
> one listens to a symphony, an opera. Of course, he seeks to know how this
> music is composed, who plays it and for whom.

Inside and out, above and within, the rhythmanalyst observes the cacophony of

urban noise as multiple societal rhythms, flowing together, grinding against each

other. These sounds are not random: "the noises distinguish themselves, the flows

separate out, rhythms respond to one another" (Lefebvre 2004, 28). The

rhythmanalyst listens to place (Lefebvre 1996, 230).

Tim Ingold (1993, 160) pushes music's analogous relationship to social life even further:

> For the orchestral musician, playing an instrument, watching the conductor and listening to one's fellow players are all inseparable aspects of the same process of action: for this reason, the gestures of the performers may be said to *resonate* with each other. In orchestral music, the achievement of resonance is an absolute precondition for successful performance. But the same is true, more generally, of social life… [I]n music as in social life, there is not just one rhythmic cycle, but a complex interweaving of very many concurrent cycles.

In music, concurrent cycles are a source of constant tension. The argument that music is simply "organized sound" is widespread. Levitin (2006, 173) asserts, though, that this organization must "involve some element of the unexpected or it is emotionally flat and robotic." It requires tension, both rhythmic and harmonic. And it is not just the presence of tension, but the way that it works in music as successive creations and resolutions, where every resolution is preparation for the future build-up (Ingold 1993, 160; Langer 1953). Tension and resolution are fundamental in making sound interesting, in moving music forward.

In music, as in life, tension builds, is resolved, and builds again. "Only our last exhalation of breath is not a preparation for the next inhalation – with that, we die; similarly with the last beat the music comes to an end" (Ingold 1993, 160). The end of a piece of music, even the end of a life, signifies only a *cæsura* in social life; a brief pause leading to further creations of concurrent tensions and resolutions, societal resonances and dissonances. In social life, the individual passes, "but the collective life to which the individual belongs has its own kind of cyclical immortality" (Young 1988, 7). Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 313) comment artfully on rhythm in society: "There is rhythm whenever there is a

43

transcoded passage from one milieu to another, a communication of milieus, coordination between heterogeneous space-times. Drying up, death, intrusion have rhythm." Through tension and resolution social life is more than a visual construct waiting to be described; it is an unfolding process of becoming.

Deleuze and Guattari, as Ingold (1993), recognize the vital distinction between rhythm and meter. Much like music, social life is fundamentally rhythmic, not metronomic (Young 1988; Ingold 1993). A metronome divides musical time in the same way that a clock divides social time. The metronome, like the clock, however, "inscribes an artificial division into equal segments upon an otherwise undifferentiated movement; rhythm, by contrast, is intrinsic to the movement itself" (Ingold 1993, 160). Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 313) expand on this notion:

> It is well known that rhythm is not meter or cadence, even irregular meter or cadence: there is nothing less rhythmic than a military march. The tom-tom is not 1-2, the waltz is not 1, 2, 3, music is not binary or ternary... Meter, whether regular or not, assumes a coded form whose unit of measure may vary, but in a noncommunicating milieu, whereas rhythm is the Unequal or the Incommensurable that is always undergoing transcoding. Meter is dogmatic, but rhythm is critical; it ties together critical moments, or ties itself together in passing from one milieu to another. It does not operate in homogenous space-time, but by heterogeneous blocks. It changes direction.

Social time and musical time alike, while measured using the chronological tools of the clock and metronome respectively, do not reflect the nature of social life's becomingness nor music's performance.

Ingold (1993, 160) goes on to assert that the analogy of music and social life can only go so far, that the rhythmic cycles of music represent a significant simplification of the complexity of social life. While the tensile rhythms of

44

society transect all sensory registers—the visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory—music's existence is largely in the realm of hearing, "and its rhythms are fewer and more tightly controlled" (Ingold 1993, 160). It is precisely life's complex polyrhythmia that separates it (life) from music: life is more complex, music more prescribed; life appeals to all the senses, music is primarily aural. In musicalized space, though, the analogy breaks down: music and social life collide, implode, become one: become the musicscape. The polyrhythmia of society takes musical form in the musicscape. Wood, Duffy, and Smith (2007, 869, emphasis added; citing Bergson 1983; Deleuze 1988) write that "music constitutes an elaboration of the new (a moment of creative endeavour that is temporarily original and unrepeatable) which emerges *out of and in response to* a whole range of material, social, cultural, and economic relations." The musicscape is not a representation of the underlying culture of a society, but is the aural embodiment of myriad social and cultural forces, the sonic expression of social rhythms resonating through space-times.

Ethnomusicologists have long understood this. In his study of song in Brazilian Indian communities, Seeger (1987) focuses on music not as product, but as *process*. He draws a distinction between an anthropology of music and musical anthropology, the former being an "the way musical performances create many aspects of culture and social life" (Seeger 1987, xiii). This subtle, but vital difference leads him to conclude:

> Through their singing, the *Suyá*…incorporated the power of the outside world into their social reproduction and simultaneously established the changing, growing self-ness of themselves as members of a community and re-established the form and existence of the community itself.

Shouting new songs, leaping, dancing, stamping, and singing the Mouse Song they participated in a creative act that far transcended the sounds alone, but was a part of many aspects of their lives and the social processes and institutions of their society (Seeger 1987, 140).

This phenomenon is not just present in studies of "primitive" peoples and "traditional" musics. In Spike Lee's 1989 film *Do the Right Thing*, Radio Raheem moves through the streets with a boom box, defining his space aurally; his soundtrack: Public Enemy's *Fight the Power*. When his space, his race, the core of his identity, is challenged by a group of Puerto Ricans, the battle takes place in the musicscape. Two distinct societal rhythms cross paths, create tension, a societal dissonance manifest aurally through the musicscape. The boom box battle is not *symbolic* of racial tensions; it is not a *representation* of race relations on that hot summer afternoon. The battle is the musical embodiment of racial tensions boiling over in this steaming Brooklyn neighborhood. It is here in the musicscape that societal pressures mount and are alleviated, that battles are waged and resolved.

Figures 12 and 13. Scenes from Spike Lee's (1989) *Do the Right Thing*.

I return to Ingold (1993, 155, original emphasis), who describes a surveyor who

experiences the landscape much as does everyone else whose business of life lies there… The distance between two places, A and B, is experienced as a journey made, a bodily movement from one place to the other, and the gradually changing vistas along the route. The surveyor's job, however, is to take instrumental measurements from a considerable number of places, and to combine these data to produce a single picture which is *independent* of any point of observing.

Similarly, in their search for musical meaning, scholars often distance themselves from the "sensual and emotional experience of participating in, or practicing and creating, musical events (whether as performers, listeners, or audience members)" (Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007, 868). However, scholars of music are increasingly asserting (e.g. McClary 1985; Frith 1996; Smith 2000; Duffy 2005; Morton 2005; Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007) what fans of music have always known: there is a palpable difference between an objectified version of music— that is, music the noun—and what is *experienced* through music in the making, music in performance—music the verb.

The space between the surveyor's embodied experience and his output that is quite disconnected from this experience is useful to highlight the methodological danger of misreading music inwardly, as script, rather than outwardly through performance. In reading music inwardly, it becomes a representational object. According to de Certeau (1988, 97):

It is true that the operations of walking on can be traced on city maps in such a way as to transcribe their paths (here well-trodden, there very faint) and their trajectories (going this way and not that). But these thick or thin curves only refer, like words, to the absence of what has passed by. Surveys of routes miss what was: the act itself of passing by. The operation of walking, wandering, or 'window shopping,' that is, the activity of passers-by, is transformed into points that draw a totalizing and reversible line on the map. They allow us to grasp only a relic set in the nowhen of a surface of projection. Itself visible, it has the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible. These fixations constitute

procedures for forgetting. The trace left behind is substituted for the practice. It exhibits the (voracious) property that the geographical system has of being able to transform action into legibility, but in doing so it causes a way of being in the world to be forgotten.

Similarly, Ingold (2007, 24) remarks that the world of the map "is one without inhabitants: no one is there; nothing moves or makes any sound… It bears no witness to the activity of those whose labours brought it into being, appearing rather as a pre-composed artefact, a work." By reading music as a representational object—music the *thing*—we are stuck, in the words of Cooley (1997, 3) "chasing shadows in the field," searching for traces of what was, in pursuit of "musical figments whose reality vanishes as soon as we examine them" (Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007, 869). We miss completely the act of passing by. We miss the experience, the performance. And if music exists only at the moment of performance, becoming "through disappearance" (Phelan 1993, 146), no less can scholars of music freeze that moment of musical performance for later study and understanding than scholars of biological persuasion can kill to fully understand the mysteries of life (Ho 1991). McClary (1985, 151) paints a vivid picture of how musicologists too often murder to explain:

> Now to be sure, the major triad [as indeed any other harmonic combination] can be generated from very simple mathematical principles, and its pitches occur in the overtone series. It appears thus to be inscribed in nature (not invented arbitrarily by culture), and its music seems to be therefore the music dictated by the very laws of physics. Yet the triad is inert. Breaking a piece of music down into a series of its smallest atomic units destroys whatever illusion of motion it might have had. It yields a chain of freeze-frame stills, all of which turn out to be instances of triads. Mathematical certainty and the acoustical seal of approval are bought at the price of silence and death, for text, continuity, color, inflection, expression, and social function are no longer relevant issues. The piece is paralyzed, laid out like a cadaver, dismembered, and cast aside.

Thrift (2003, 2021) notes that new emphases on creativity in the social sciences stems from a "banal realisation that the world is not a reflection but a continuous composition." The musicscape is more than representation, the continuously (self)composing aural embodiment of crisscrossing and concurrent societal rhythms. The only way to grasp its "inner workings" is to be a part of it, to move through it, to resonate with it. "In a world that has never been more mapped we surely still need to set out without maps every now and then" (Thrift 2003, 2023). As a result, the goal of research in music should be more than uncovering what music, or a musicscape, represents. We need to "explore and experiment with what music is and how it works *as* music in the world" (Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007, 868, original emphasis).

Ethnography readily acknowledges the positionality and partiality of the researcher, of the participating observer, of the observing participant (cf. Clifford and Marcus 1986). Once again, the rhythmanalyst understands this. Lefebvre (2004) celebrates the balcony as the ideal vantage to observe the seeming arrhythmia of the street below: "In order to analyse a rhythm, one must get outside it. Externality is necessary." But, at the same time, "in order to grasp a rhythm one must have been grasped by it, have given or abandoned oneself 'inwardly' to the time that it rhythmed" (Lefebvre 2004, 88). That's precisely the paradox: "In order to *grasp* this fleeting object, which is not exactly an *object*, it is…necessary to situate oneself simultaneously inside and outside…" (Lefebvre 2004, 27). No longer can emotion be bracketed, pushed away, relevant only to life outside "serious" musical inquiry. To do so is to forever chase shadows (Cooley

49

1997), to sift through traces and aural "after-images" in desperate search for meanings which are inherently unstable and ever-shifting. Because the musicscape is the sonic embodiment of society's rhythms, lines of movement, tensions, dissonances, and harmonies resonating through space, it's necessary to (indeed impossible to not?) recognize that she who studies the musicscape also constitutes a line, a motion, a rhythm. I will return to this in more detail below, but for now suffice to say that as a method, movement through the musicscape is a way forward, at one and the same time being a critical rhythmanalyst *and* being grabbed by the rhythm.

The figure of the rhythmanalyst, however, is problematic and demands critical engagement. Much of the relatively small amount of scholarship dedicated to Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis draws on the seemingly natural comparison between the rhythmanalyst and the *flâneur* (e.g. Amin and Thrift 2001). Just as the flâneur appeared in Europe in the early 19th century as a product of Parisian modernity (Wilson 1992), Lefebvre's rhythmanalyst sets out to understand the "polyrhythmic ensemble" created at the intersection of the cyclical rhythms of nature on the one hand, and the "rhythms of rationalized modernization" on the other (Highmore 2004, 322). As thus, the flâneur and the rhythmanalyst are more than idle watchers or listeners. To Featherstone (1998), there is tension within the persona of the flâneur. He is not simply a fly on the wall to the development of modernity. He is also an analytical observer. *Flânerie* is a method for reading the city as text, and a method for writing, producing, constructing texts:

> On the one hand, the *flâneur* is the idler or waster; on the other hand, he is the observer or detective, the suspicious person who is always looking,

50

noting and classifying: the person who as Benjamin put it 'goes botanizing on the asphalt'. The *flâneur* seeks an immersion in the sensations of the city, he seeks to 'bathe in the crowd', to become lost in feelings, to succumb to the pull of random desires and the pleasures of scopophilia… At the same time, the *flâneur* is recording mentally the impressions, either on his walk, or in a quiet place when he returns from the street. Perhaps he writes down his impressions in a notebook, in a similar way to a detective who does not yet know the case he is meant to solve, but who in principle can see that everything is, or could be, significant. The *flâneur,* therefore, develops his aesthetic sensibility in the swings between involvement and detachment, between emotional immersion and decontrol and moments of careful recording and analysis of the 'random harvest' of impressions from the streets (Featherstone 1998, 913; citing Jay 1993).

Similarly, Lefebvre (2004, 21) writes of the rhythmanalyst:

The rhythmanalyst calls on all his senses. He draws on his breathing, the circulation of his blood, the beating of his heart and the delivery of his speech as landmarks… He garbs himself in the tissue of the lived, of the everyday. But the difficulties never cease for him. Being behind the interactions, the intertwinings of rhythms, the effort to discern and note this one or that one imposes itself perpetually. Normally we only grasp the relations between rhythms, which interfere with them. However, they all have a distinct *existence*. Normally, none of them *classifies* itself; on the contrary, in suffering, in confusion, a particular rhythm surges up and imposes itself: palpitation, breathlessness, pains in the place of satiety. The rhythmanalyst has to reach such a rhythm without putting himself in a pathological situation, and without putting that which he observes there either. How? In the street, a cry, a screeching of breaks, an accident makes confused rhythms sensible and breaks them up. Yet the rhythmanalyst does not have the right to provoke an accident. He must simultaneously catch a rhythm and perceive it within the whole, in the same way as non analysts, people, *perceive* it. He must arrive at the **concrete** through experience.

The flâneur is an observer, a detective. He gets lost in the greatness of the modern city, but he is simultaneously recording, writing, analyzing, and solving. Similarly, the rhythmanalyst, by definition, is active, analytical. He is at once taken by the rhythms and perceives them within the greater system.

At the time of the flâneur, the public streets occupied by this "stroller" were decidedly masculine spaces (Wolff 1985). The flâneur depended on

anonymity—it was precisely this anonymity that afforded the flâneur his freedom

to wander. The anonymity of the flâneur, however, was largely beyond the realm

of female possibility in Baudelaire's Paris. This is potently illustrated by Madame

George Sand, a female contemporary of Baudelaire, Flaubert, and Balzac, among

others. Writing about her early literary life in Paris, Sand explained the necessity

of dressing as a male to walk anonymously in the Paris of the 1830s:

> So I had made for myself a *redingote-guérite* [the long, shapeless man's
> outer coat of the 1830s] in heavy gray cloth, pants and vest to match. With
> a gray hat and large woolen cravat, I was a perfect first-year student. I
> can't express the pleasure my boots gave me…With those little iron-shod
> heels, I was solid on the pavement. I flew from one end of Paris to the
> other. It seemed to me that I could go round the world. And then, my
> cloths feared nothing. I ran out in every kind of weather, I came home at
> every sort of hour, I sat in the pit at the theatre. No one paid attention to
> me, and no one guessed at my disguise… No one knew me, no one looked
> at me, no one found fault with me; I was an atom lost in that immense
> crowd (in Moers 1977, 12; and Wolff 1985, 41).

To Wolff (1985, 41), this disguise "made the life of the flâneur available to her; as

she knew very well, she could not adopt the non-existent role of the *flâneuse*.

Women could not stroll alone in the city." With the exception of certain classes of

women (e.g. the prostitute, widow, old lady, lesbian (Wolff 1985, 41-42)), women

were out of place in the masculine urban public spaces of the 19th and early 20th

centuries. Anonymity was a privilege afforded only to men, and "the *flâneur*'s

freedom to wander at will through the city is essentially a masculine freedom"

(Wilson 1992, 98).

  While tempting, the analogy (and the analogous critique) of the flâneur

and my adoption of the rhythmanalyst does not hold together completely. It is true

that in a way, Lefebvre's rhythmanalyst negotiates with freedom the urban

soundscapes of (post)modernity: an aural flâneur. However, my very presence in Bahia was defined not by anonymity and invisibility, but by conspicuous difference—the privileged difference of a white heterosexual male from the North with a pocket (relatively) full of cash—but difference none-the-less. The privilege of the flâneur comes from his ability to walk freely, unnoticed and unmolested due to his masculinity. My privilege in Bahia, based on a confluence of my gender, race, class, education, nationality, among other factors, separated me from the local population rather than allowing me to fade naturally into it.

That privileged position, under many circumstances, made me—quite literally—a target. I had many discussions with my wife on this topic. She is Cuban, and though she has relatively light skin, she has curly dark hair, the genetic result of a Haitian great-grandmother. Ironically, this afforded her the ability to fit much more naturally into Bahia's racial landscape. In conversations on the topic she related that in most cases (excluding late at night, where the city is treacherous for all inhabitants), she felt much safer and freer moving through the city alone. Anonymity became an asset afforded to her that allowed her to move through the streets unmolested. Whenever I was present, the context shifted as my "outsider" position was immediately noticeable. So much for the anonymous flâneur, the inaudible rhythmanalyst.

In the end, there is no way to avoid privilege. There are only ways to confront and deal with it. Honest self-consciousness and an open attempt to not exploit my privileged position for academic benefit is a start. However, as many have pointed out, ethnographic research itself is, by default, exploitative (e.g. see

Veissiere's (2010, 29) angst-ridden contemplation on "the horror of being an academic pimp who sustains a livelihood from exploiting [the] human suffering and violence" of his research participants).

An approach to this issue that became increasingly important throughout my fieldwork was to use my musicianship to gain "insider" status without having to trade on my privileged position in terms of race, class, gender, etc. In fact, my position as outsider became an obstacle to overcome before being taken seriously *as a musician* in Salvador's music scene. (I should emphasize that I am *not* discounting privilege, especially my access to financial resources, that afforded me the opportunity to stay in Bahia long enough to make this happen.) Once overcome, however, this position as a North American *musician* doing research on music (of which there were relatively few in Bahia) was far more compelling than the position of North American *researcher* with an interest in music (of which there were, and probably still are, many in Bahia). The reconfigured position allowed me "insider" status not based simply on time spent in the field, or any other metric commonly used in ethnography. Rather, this status was based on a set of common musical, professional, and in some cases academic interests. In the following two sections, my discussion of my specific research methods will highlight many examples of this "insider" position based on musicianship, even in the face of sometimes painfully awkward *visibility* due to everything else about my existence in Bahia.

Interviewing

The dialectical relationship ("paradoxical" in Lefebvre's (2004, 88) words) between the exteriority necessary to analyze societal flows and being grasped by—wholly wrapped up within—those same flows has direct implications in ethnographic field techniques. Various forms of interviewing generally provided that distanced view, enabling "the analytic intellect to function" (Lefebvre 2004, 27), while participant observation/observant participation placed me, the researcher, within the musicscape. As I demonstrate below there is a fine line between interviewing, participant observation, and life itself. I address the distanced view *via* multiple interviews before discussing techniques of participant observation.

I conducted interviews with 28 informants, among them local and national musicians, club owners, producers, record store owners, disc jockeys, graffiti artists, and government employees in the cultural industry (see Table 1). Scholars such as Cochrane (1998), Valentine (1999), Elwood and Martin (2000), and Crang (2002) explore the multitude of issues relating to interviewing, including benefits of individual versus group interviews, appropriate dress for interviews, the ways (if any) to best document the interview, and the microgeographies of interview sites. Overall, they stress the importance of individualistic approaches in interviews as circumstances vary among participants and situations.

Table 1. Participants in Individual and Group Interviews.

Name	Profession	Number
Marcos	Graffiti artist	3
Carlos Santana	Music store owner	1
Maria	Singer	1
Humberto	Musician	3
Maira	Singer	1
Cassius	Musician	1
Marisa	Community organizer	2
Alex	Percussionist	5
Letieres	Musician, Director	2
Beth	Pelourinho resident	1
Zé	Olodum percussionist	3
Carlos	Musician	2
Milton	Musician	3
Sara	Singer, journalist	2
Beto	Dancer, choreographer	2
Bira	Olodum administrator	2
Augusto	Working professional, music fan	4
Ronadlo	Film and music producer	2
Gil	DJ, director of Eletrocooperativa	2
Ale	Music producer	1
Jaime	Musician, music producer	2
Coete	Percussionist	4
Gilberto	Percussionist	4
Monte	Music Director, BA Cultural Foundation	1
Nkruma	Olodum percussionist	2
Paulo	Record store owner	2
José	Candomblé priest	1
Scott	Musician	2
"Fatso" and João	Percussionist	5 (group)
Menos Um No Quarteto	Musical Group	1 (group)
Eletrocooperativa	Music and Technology Cooperative	2 (group)

Taking such considerations into account, in the end I arranged the logistics of each interview in an *ad hoc* manner. I left interview location up to the interviewees, as a result conducting interviews in cafés, restaurants, and bars; offices, schools, and other places or work; in participants' homes and in my own apartment; in studios during rehearsals and recording sessions; while traversing the city by foot, private car, or city bus. Interviews were open-ended and ran like conversations. I avoided long lists of pre-determined, one-size-fits-all questions. I crafted questions for subsequent interviews based on preliminary analysis of previous encounters as I conducted multiple interviews with each participant over a period of weeks or months.

A few examples are illustrative of my interviewing approach. For my second interview with Marcos, a popular graffiti artist intimately involved in the DJ/graffiti scene in Salvador, we decided to meet near his apartment in the neighborhood of Cabula, a central node of Afro-Bahian culture in the city. The plan was to travel the city by bus checking out his artwork. Sometimes rolling my handheld digital recorder, other times trying to jot down notes, but mostly just taking in the conversation, I spent hours asking him questions, listening to his explanations of his own work, and his interpretations of the work of others. We travelled the streets and alleys of the city, a concrete jungle that is for him a living urban canvas full of artistic possibility. He talked about the fundamental connection between his visual art and the sonic art crafted by the DJ collective *MiniStereo Publico*. In both cases, art raises awareness of the black experience in Bahia. Marcos told me:

I try to do art for the people. Graffiti has an important value in that it goes straight to the public. The public does not go to it. Graffiti finds its public while *they're* on *their* way. I paint our people, I paint our ancestral black values, those of the *orixás* [African gods]. I paint messages for workers, for students, messages like "have respect for your place", messages criticizing society, but also affirming. Messages like "*Tio, me da um respeito*" [My uncle, give me a little respect]. The kid is not asking for money, only respect… I think that where there is inequality, graffiti has to denounce it. Where there is exploitation, graffiti has to denounce it…. Even while graffiti could simply be aesthetically pleasing, it also has to have a social message. I try to bring meaning out of that wall, to create a dialogue between pedestrians and my art, so that they not only see it with their eyes, but also read the messages that are there shouting out at them.

He smoked a joint as we walked on the beach below the breaker wall covered by tags, in his calculations the mischief of would-be graffiti artists who haven't yet discovered the power of this medium, simply scrawling their names in spray paint. This interview was, for me, quite literally, a wayfaring experience through the geographic and symbolic spaces of the city and its street art.

Figure 14. "*Tio, Me dá um respeito?*" (photo by author).

58

While I conducted many interviews as one-on-one affairs, in a handful of cases I arranged group interviews (see Table 1, above). Instead of structuring formal focus groups, I conducted these interviews as *bate-papos*—informal chats or get-togethers that allowed the conversation to flow organically among all of those involved. My multiple group interviews at the *Eletrocoorporativa*, a cooperative of musicians, artists, sound and video engineers, and students, are emblematic. I arrived one afternoon at the cooperative's studio space in a historic building in the Pelourinho with nothing but a nickname, Gil, one of the cooperative's members. A friend of mine had recommended him as a potential lead. We met, chatted for a while, I explained what I was doing in Brazil, and he showed me around the cooperative. Finally we set up a bate-papo with four or five members of the cooperative for the following week. In the end I conducted two successful group interviews with a combined total of seven different individuals, including Gil.

More importantly, though these interviews provided the foundation for a longer term—and much more personal—engagement with members of the cooperative. After our first interview, Gil asked me if I could stop back the next day to help proofread the English subtitles for film they were editing. The project was with the organization "Massive Change," preparing for a global conference on community organizing and grassroots change in Denver set for 2011. After a couple short sessions over the next few weeks we had a pretty good handle on the subtitles for the 15-minute documentary short. During that time I also met a few of the younger students working in the cooperative and learned about the various

projects, including massive change, that they were working on. I was on my way

out the door from one session when Gil came running after me. The engineer in

the recording studio on the third floor was wondering if he could use me for a few

minutes. We headed up the stairs, through a door thick with soundproofing

baffling, and into the building's attic. The scene was striking: the rickety attic of

this ancient building, wood floors in bad need of refinishing, windows that no

longer sat quite square in their frames looking down onto the cobblestone streets

below, all of this ironically juxtaposed with the equipment of a 21st century digital

recording studio. They were working on the soundtrack to the documentary and

thought, since the project was with a Canadian organization and for a conference

in the United States, it would be fitting to have part of the song in English. I

thought initially that they wanted me to check the English they were using in the

song. I quickly figured out that they had a very different idea of how I could

participate. Not only did they want me to layer my voice onto the chorus, singing

"what do you want / with your world?" They also thought that it would be cool

for me to write, and then record in my own voice, a series of spoken word phrases

touching on a number of themes, including change (the organization is called

Massive Change, and Barack Obama had just been elected president),

togetherness, struggle, equality, and so on. (The documentary/music video can be

viewed here.) My initial series of interviews became much more for all of us

involved, as my activities as a researcher constituted their own rhythms in the

musical life that I was studying.

Participant Observation

In conjunction with in-depth interviews, participant observation was fundamental for two reasons. First, this traditional anthropological approach opens a window into the lived experience of participants outside of more formal interview environs. More importantly, it enables me to not only observe and analyze the lines, rhythms, and flows, but also to take an active role in producing them in context. Lefebvre (2004, 22, original emphasis) asserts that the rhythmanalyst "must arrive at the concrete through experience." Working with, playing music with, and participating in the professional and personal lives of key informants enabled me to see (hear, experience) them as active participants in producing music and the social meanings and struggles that create musicscapes.

Participant observation is a complex and problematic research method. As Benjamin Paul (1953, 441) noted more than half a century ago, "participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment. It is a strain to try to sympathize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity." Rabinow (1977, 4) illustrates the conundrum of anthropologists presumably possessing the ability to exist simultaneously in the world of the scientist (the distanced view) and the world of the studied:

> As graduate students we are told that 'anthropology equals experience'; you are not an anthropologist until you have the experience of doing it. But when one returns from the field the opposite immediately applies: anthropology is not the experiences which made you an initiate, but only the objective data that you have brought back… One can let off steam by writing memoirs or anecdotal accounts of sufferings, but under no circumstances is there any direct relation between field activity and the theories which lie at the core of the discipline.

For Tedlock (1991), this conundrum stems from a traditionally held belief in the "unbridgeable opposition" between objectivity and subjectivity, scientist and studied, Self and Other. "The implication is that a subject's way of knowing is incompatible with the scientist's way of knowing and that the domain of objectivity is the sole property of the outsider" (Tedlock 1991, 71).

Thus anthropologists and ethnographers have gone to great lengths to maintain a (false) separation between the analytical objective outsider (observer) and the emotional insider (participant). For some this has led to publishing fieldwork novels in addition to "scientific" ethnographies, often in which the researcher is assigned a pseudonym so as to "keep this activity totally separate, even secret, from their profession" (Tedlock 1991, 72). Indeed, while critical of this dichotomy, Rabinow does exactly this in his *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco* (1977). In his own words, this volume is "an account, reconstructed five years later and again two years after that, of my fieldwork experience in Morocco in 1968 and 1969" (Rabinow 1977, 7). He proceeds to direct readers to "a more traditionally anthropological treatment of the data" in an earlier book, *Symbolic Domination: Cultural Form and Historical Change in Morocco* (Rabinow 1977, 7). For others a solution has been found in removing the emotive and affective human completely from the realm of "scientific" fieldwork. Devereux (1967, 97) complains that this has the potential to render results that "smell of the morgue and are almost irrelevant in terms of living reality."

Tim Ingold's phenomenology may provide a way to bypass the false dichotomy of observation and participation, objectivity and subjectivity. In

comparing two very different modalities of movement—navigating and wayfaring—Ingold (2007) argues that the latter is the fundamental system that all of Earth's inhabitants, including humans, use in moving through space and time. Rather than human existence in, and movement through the World being constituted as discrete navigations between pre-determined points on a map, "the inhabitant is…one who participates from within in the very process of the world's continual coming into being and who, in laying a trail of life, contributes to its weave and texture. These lines are typically winding and irregular, yet comprehensively entangled into a close-knit tissue" (Ingold 2007, 81). For Ingold, life is lived in the moment, along a line; it is not navigated from the nowhere and nowhen of some independent vantage above, gazing down upon Earth, a completed map, a perfected cartographical representation of the world below (Ingold 2007, 24; de Certeau 1988, 120-121). Thusly reformulated, the idea of the privileged outsider, the independent, distanced, and detached observer is a deceptive myth, a lie that seeks to hide the fact that all field researchers are observant participants. There is no place to hide. "You must be in it" (Thrift 2000b, 556).

This approach is particularly apt for research in the sound world. Once again, Tim Ingold (2007, 87-88):

> Proceeding on our way things fall into and out of sight, as new vistas open up and others are closed off. By way of these modulations in the array of reflected light reaching the eyes, the structure of our environment is progressively disclosed. It is no different, in principle, with the senses of touch and hearing, for together with vision these are but aspects of a total system of bodily orientation.

In the first weeks I was in Bahia I stopped by Music Hall, a tiny local musical instrument store owned by the aptly named Carlos Santana, a personal friend and great source for insights about Salvador's local music scene. I was experimenting with a locally produced *cajón*—a hollow wooden box that a percussionist sits upon while playing between his legs. Without consciously realizing it I started playing in rhythm with a guitarist who was also in the store, checking out a new (and coincidentally also locally produced) guitar. A Portuguese friend of mine who was with me at the store joined in the impromptu jam session with the pandeiro, a Brazilian tambourine, and we played for fifteen minutes, shifting through rhythms and modulating keys—samba, funk, bossa nova, back to samba. It was only afterward that we stopped that we introduced ourselves: me a percussionist and researcher from the United States, Maria a singer and percussionist from Portugal, *via* Canada and the United States, now living in Bahia, and Humberto, local professional guitarist, singer, and percussionist.

The next week Humberto invited me to sit in with his group, *Circo dá Samba* (literally Samba Circus), during its regular Tuesday-night concert under a circus tent on the coast about ten miles north of the city's center. I was expecting a small event considering it was a little out of the way, at R$10 a bit expensive, and pretty late on a Tuesday night. As it turns out, this weekly event was one of the hottest samba parties in the city, attracting a minimum of 500 people every Tuesday throughout the summer. Halfway through the first set he invited me on stage and handed me the pandeiro. I was pretty intimidated joining a stage of eight to ten musicians that, for the previous 45 minutes, had a crowd of hundreds

64

gyrating on the dance floor. It turns out I had every reason to be nervous; we had

not even reached the song's first chorus before Humberto jumped over to where I

was and grabbed the pandeiro from my hands. Seemingly a simple tambourine,

the pandeiro is essential to most Brazilian music, and its distinct groove

deceivingly difficult to master. I had clearly failed this audition.

Though this second musical encounter was an utter embarrassment,

Humberto and I stayed in close touch, and a month or two later he invited me to

do a few gigs with his smaller group, *Menos Um No Quarteto* (Quartet Minus

One). In the end I became the regular percussionist in this quartet, doing weekly

gigs at a small club in the Bohemian neighborhood of *Rio Vermelho* (Red River)

and occasional private parties. I also frequently performed as an invited guest

with the Circo dá Samba (including on the pandeiro once my chops improved a

bit) (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. The author (center) performing with Circo dá Samba, May 2009 (used with permission of Circo dá Samba)

Unlike my work with the Electrocooperativa where my group interviews became the pretense for a more personal relationship that came out of those group interviews, with Menos Um our personal relationship far preceded any formal research intention. It was only after many months working with Humberto, Cassius, and Maira (the group's singer) that I finally sat them down for an "on-the-record" interview directly pertaining to my research. My direct experiences working with them were far more valuable.

My research in Bahia was replete with these relationships. Rather than garnering a predetermined, discrete set of interviews, my aim was to "be in it." As I previously discussed, approaching the situation as a working musician rather than a researcher with an interest in music greatly facilitated my path "inward." At a Sunday afternoon *sarau*, or open gathering of musicians and artists, I met percussionist and singer João. We played together on a number of occasions before he invited to me join him and one other percussionist, simply known as *Gordo*—or "fatso"—playing traditional Afro-Bahian rhythms for dance classes in the local dance academy. For a period of two or three months every Tuesday and Thursday morning (that is, Tuesday and Thursday mornings when the school's faculty was not on strike) I'd perform with João and Gordo for an hour or two during two different dance classes. We'd often follow the classes with very informal percussion classes that were as much conversations about the folklore of the traditional Afro-Bahian instruments and songs as jam sessions playing the rhythms.

At the same time I started taking private percussion lessons with Alex, a professional percussionist working with a handful of groups in the city. After a number of lessons he invited me to check out a rehearsal with *Orkestra Rumpilezz*, a well-known local group that mixed Afro-Brazilian rhythms with compositions heavily influenced by classical music and jazz. During the rehearsal, in standard Bahian fashion (though not to essentialize either *Baianos* or percussionists) Alex was the only one of a five-member percussion section that had actually showed up on time for the rehearsal. After lecturing the group on professionalism and on time arrivals, and badly in need of a couple key rhythmic parts for the rehearsal, Letieres, the group's director, pointed at me and asked if I could hold down one of the syncopated percussion parts.

For the next few months I rehearsed regularly with Rumpilezz, created a close friendship with Letieres, and participated in a number of open jazz jam sessions with different members of the group. Letieres invited me to attend a number of music classes that he taught, some open to the public, others aimed specifically at children, and yet others designed for Bahian women. Letieres keeps a rather insane schedule; in addition to directing Rumpilezz and teaching three different sets of classes at a school that he founded and directs, he is the saxophonist and musical director for Brazilian pop star Ivete Sangalo. When I was finally able to pin him down for a formal, on-the-record interview, it took place in the cab of his pick-up truck darting all over the city, and was interrupted by at least a half dozen phone calls, and a 45-minute stop at a local restaurant where he gave an interview to a journalist from Salvador's largest newspaper, *A Tarde*. Just

67

a week before I left Bahia for the United States, Letieres called me up to invite me to a special concert that Rumpilezz was hosting featuring special guest Toninho Horta, a renowned and much-loved Brazilian guitarist. Letieres set me up with tickets and backstage passes. After the show I spent some time chatting with a few friends that I saw in the crowd, and finally went to a late-night dinner with Letieres, Toninho, and about a dozen others. Excited at the chance to chat informally with Toninho, Letieres, and some of the other musicians, I was pretty surprised when the dominant theme of the conversation for nearly two hours was women. At nearly 3 a.m. I headed home for the night.

In this way I deploy interviewing and participant observation, attempting to simultaneously achieve interiority and exteriority, never failing to realize that I am embedded within the world I seek to understand and write about. While I strove to deal with the conundrum of being simultaneously interior and exterior, most of the people with whom I interacted and worked were sympathetic to my attempts to become an insider based on my musicianship, but curiously aware of my exteriority. Indeed, there is no escaping the fact that my existence in Bahia was mediated by exteriority—my physical characteristics, accent, hair, skin color. My landlord commented to a mutual friend that though I had an accent, he was impressed that I was making such an effort with Portuguese; there is a common stereotype of Americans (true or not) that they tend to not learn the languages of the countries they visit. In another case, one professor with whom I worked at the Federal University would always introduce me as "an American researcher from Arizona, where they filmed all those cowboy movies." And often the musicians

that I worked with were as interested in my musical contributions and influences as I was in gleaning from them what I could about Brazilian music and society. Exteriority was not something to run from, but rather something to accept, take advantage of, even embrace. Though I embodied exteriority, I was not a distanced, objective observer, an outsider within. Rather, as observing participant, like all inhabitants, I created lines and paths, equally meandering yet simultaneously entwined in the lives of those I encountered along the way.

Aural Methodologies

In attempting to explain the amorphous musical concept of "groove," neuroscientist Daniel Levitin (2004) asserts that music, far more than language, "taps into primitive brain structures involved with motivation, reward, and emotion" (Levitin 2004, 191). "Effective" music has groove, it triggers positive neurological, and thus emotional responses. What's more, "our response to groove is largely pre- or unconscious because it goes through the cerebellum rather than the frontal lobes" (Levitin 2004, 192). Neurologically, the most basic emotional responses to music come before cognition; *they are pre-representational*.

At the same time, conventional methods in human geography "do not and cannot capture the more expressive, non-verbal…emotive, [and] non-cognitive aspects of social practice and performance" (Morton 2005, 663; see also Latham 2003; 2004). Because of music's inherent aural quality, scholars have recently been working to develop methodological approaches that attempt to access sound

more directly (e.g., Smith 2000, footnote 626; Revill 2004; Wood and Smith 2004; Duffy 2005; Morton 2005; Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007). Instead of using visual methods dressed up for the sound world—methods that have a distinct tendency to "fix and objectify musical events"—aural methodologies strive to "explore and experiment with what music is and how it works *as* music in the world" (Wood, Duffy, and Smith 2007, 868, original emphasis). For instance, "experimental 'listenings' to" (Smith 2000, 626) and "participant listening" (Wood and Smith 2004) engage a wider set of participants and incorporate the researcher's own impressions, insights, interpretations, and understandings of that place. Similarly, audio-ethnographies of music in performance (Smith 2000) use interviews and conversations with anyone connected to a particular performance, and observation of the performances, rehearsals, or other music-related activities.[2] Through these targeted methods, she engages the political, economic, and emotional aspects of musical performance and gains insight into the nuanced and contradictory world of musicalized space.

Similarly, Morton's (2005, 667, original emphasis) use of "performance ethnography" in her study of Irish traditional music takes into account the

---

[2] In his attempt to reclaim "music" as a verb, Small (1998) argues that "to music" incorporates a vast group of people related to the creation, performance and appreciation of music. As defined by Small (1998, 9), and quite appropriate here, "to music" is "*to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing*. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance."

"*intricacies and unknown elements of practice.*" Key to performance ethnography

is the use of spoken diaries for musicians, in which performers record their

thoughts and experiences before, during, and after performances. In doing so,

Morton (2005, 668) is able to access the performers' experiences and emotions

"*in the making…* consider[ing] motion and fluidity rather than representations,"

while also capturing the "unpredictable and impromptu elements [of performance]

such as improvisation during a tune, and the accompanying unpredictable feelings

and sensations that occur only in the now of performance" (668). These spoken

diaries, supported by audio recordings, participatory interviews, photography, and

video, help create a methodological platform able to access the multiple more-

than-representational levels of musical performance.

In this project I sought to transcend traditional limits of ethnographic

research by deploying aural methodologies in addition to interviews and

participant observation. In order to apprehend effects of music in the ongoing

creation and constitution of everyday spaces in people's lives, I developed quick,

on the spot, impromptu interviews aimed not at musicians or others professionally

associated with music making, but rather at a broader public in musicalized

spaces. I designed questions to tap into people's spontaneous and emotional

reactions to music in the moment of creation. Rather than elicit reflection, the

goal was to record impulse, the pre-cognitive, that which comes before the

thinking mind translates the moment into representational terms. For instance,

during a free and open to the public summer rehearsal of the carnival group

Olodum, attended by at least 1,000 people, I moved through the crowd asking

various spectators a short series of questions such as "*Para você, o que é o Olodum?*"—For you, what is Olodum? and "*como você está sentindo aqui no show do Olodum?*"—How are you feeling right here at the show?

This type of spot encounter often produces rough, choppy, and incomplete responses. This was certainly the case in my research, as impromptu interviews allowed me access to respondents' affective reactions to an unfolding musicalized world. The following transcription and translation of four interviews shows how my questions elicited partially formed reactions, heavily mediated by their emotional responses to the music:

ME: What is Olodum for you?
R1: It's a marvelous thing, it's frenetic rhythm, very cool.
ME: And how are you feeling right now at this show?
R1: In a state of general ecstasy. Really good, really cool.

ME: What is Olodum for you?
R2: It's the history of Bahia
ME: In what way?
R2:It marks everything, all the history of Bahia… All their songs recount the history of Bahia, all of them! Their songs always talk about Bahia, about life…
ME: And how are you feeling right now?
R2: I feel Bahian, happiness

ME: What is Olodum for you?
R3: Everything!
ME: In what way?
R3: Happiness, harmony, Olodum is *huge*!
ME: How long have you been with Olodum?
R3: This year will be my 14th
ME: And how are you feeling right now in this show?
R3: I can't explain it! Every time I come it's the same thing… I come every year, I'm passionate about it! I love it!

ME: What is Olodum for you?
R4: For me, Olodum is everything!
ME: In what way?
R4: Everything that is good.
ME: Have you been coming for a long time?

R4: Third year.
ME: And why Olodum and not a different block?
R4: Olodum is my life… Olodum is *everything*, my man. If you go with Olodum once, you'll want to go again.
ME: And how are you feeling right now at this show?
R4: I can't explain it, it's really unexplainable. I only I could explain it to you.

Much more than interviewees reflecting on the importance of Olodum in the culture of the city or their personal lives, these reactions display the raw, emotive power of music in place.

Conclusion

Recognizing that the denial of positionality and partiality, or attempts to create a method through which all subjectivities are rendered invisible (simply denial at a different level) are fundamentally displaced, Rosaldo (1993, 69) long ago argued that it is "a mistake to urge social analysts to strive for a position of innocence designated by such adjectives as detached, neutral, or impartial." On the other hand, the dismissal of the notion of objectivity as another situated human construct should not drive the researcher to forgo rigor and method in her research. Embracing the rhythmanalyst, I aim to transcend the mutual exclusivity of interiority and exteriority, thus mapping a route to theorizing music as much more than a metaphor for social life.

Chapter 4

SAMBA

Though roughly 1,000 miles from my research site in Salvador da Bahia,
the story of samba in Rio de Janeiro provides an essential framework in
understanding race and music in a Brazilian context. It is, after all, from the
favelas of Rio that the sounds and rhythms that would become known
internationally as samba emerged in the late 19th century. Originally a sound of
identity for Rio's negro-mestiço population, samba coalesced as a soundtrack of
resistance to the structural and societal racism endemic in Brazilian society
following the abolition of slavery in 1888. The stories of samba and of Brazil's
changing understandings of race travel together.

As I argue throughout this dissertation, music's role in society is not
simply reflexive or representational. More than a reflection of broader societal
forces, more than a mirror, music is an active force in the continual becoming-
ness of social life. In Brazil, linkages between music and understandings of race
show that sound and rhythm, melody and harmony, resonance and dissonance, are
ever-present as people negotiate and contest their physical and symbolic place(s)
in society. By way of contextualizing my research within Brazil's dominant
understandings of race in the 20th, and now 21st, century, I show that musical
changes occurring in Rio de Janeiro from 1888 to 1945 are more than reflections
of larger racial and economic pressures of the era. Music played an active and
pivotal role in the creation of the two racial regimes that dominated Brazilian
society in the 20th century.

Branqueamento

The abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, and the creation of the Brazilian

Republic the following year, led Brazil's white elite to strive for the complete

erasure of the country's colonial origins (Needell 1995). Ashamed of their slave-

owning past and hoping to appear "modern" and "developed" in the eyes of the

world (i.e. Europe), this elite[3] redefined Brazilian culture in terms of European

aesthetic notions, fixing their cultural gaze firmly on the old continent (Reily

2000, 2). Within this mindset, scholars of the time turned to environmental

determinism to explain "the country's stunted development" (Reily 2000, 2) in

comparison with their European counterparts. It was considered "scientifically

proven that the intellectual capacities of Indians and Africans were significantly

lower than those of European whites, [as] the vaporous conditions of the southern

hemisphere were supposed to be conducive to indolence" (Reily 1997, 79).

Brazil's elite set out on a quest for "ethnic 'redemption'" (Skidmore 1990, 7),

rethinking race in Brazil in terms of *branqueamento*, or "whitening," and

believing (hoping) that Brazil's race "problem" would, quite literally, fade away

(Skidmore 1990). Fundamental to this theory was the idea that miscegenation

would not produce "'degenerates,' but could forge a healthy mixed population

growing steadily whiter, both culturally and physically" (Skidmore 1974, 65).

Based on assumptions of the inherent superiority of the white race and the

---

[3] Goldstein (2003, 51) explains that following the creation of the Brazilian
Republic, "only 2 percent of the population voted during the first election for
civilian president held in 1894. The turn of the century thereby brought about a
consolidation of the elite, who managed to form a republic without significant
bloodshed and who survived abolition without undergoing a major land reform."

supposed lower birth rates, higher incidences of disease, and general social disorganization of the black population (Skidmore 1974, 64), it was simply "a matter of time before the common practice of interracial marriage would produce a people 'white' enough to approximate the European ideal" (Page 1996, 69).

A desire to help speed along the process of branqueamento ironically led to the use of massive amounts of capital accumulated during slavery to finance a campaign to attract European migrants to Brazil with the direct intent to dilute the country's dark hue (Pitanga 1999, 32). Presuming that Europeans to be "better workers and more reliable future citizens" while "former slaves would be less productive laborers" (Skidmore, Smith, and Green 2010, 317), the Brazilian government paid the ocean passage of millions of European migrants. Between 1877 and 1930 some four million Europeans migrated to Brazil (Skidmore, Smith, and Green 2010).

The Brazilian elite widely embraced, even celebrated, the theoretical premises and practical implications of racial whitening. Sílvio Romero, a prominent Brazilian literary critic of the era, exalted branqueamento, asserting that the white race would be victorious in the "struggle among races" (in Ventura 1991, 51). He predicted that the complete whitening of Brazil's population would take three to four hundred years. Others argued that this scientific process of whitening would be more rapid. In 1913 Brazilian politician and writer Martím Francisco argued that Caucasian blood would soon dominate "the Ethiopian... It will win out within a century, and will later conquer the Indian... In São Paulo, for example, thanks to the climate and a number of other anthropological factors,

Negro blood disappears in the fifth generation" (Francisco 1929-1930; in

Skidmore 1974, 66). Similarly, based on scant census data[4] and hopeful

conjecture, João Batista de Lacerda, director of Brazil's National Museum,

quantified the progression of whitening in Brazil. Presenting his findings as the

Brazilian Delegate to the 1911 Universal Races Congress in London, Lacerda

predicted that over the subsequent 100 years Brazil's mixed (*mestiço*) population

would be reduced to only three percent while the black (*negro*) population would

completely disappear (see Figure 16).
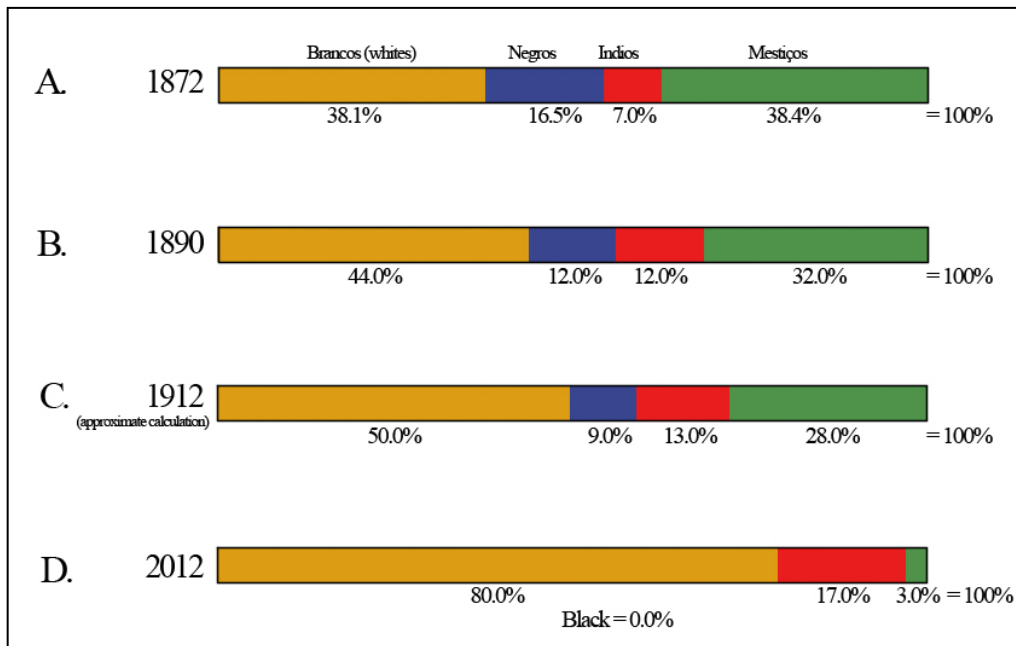
Figure 16. "Ethnological constitution of Brazil's population for the next 100
years" (after Lacerda 1912, 101).

[4] Skidmore (1974; 1992) explains that following the 1890 census in which
Brazil's white population was only 44%, race was removed from the census until
1940.

Following a scientific expedition through Brazil in 1913, former American

president Theodore Roosevelt summarized with admiration Brazil's ongoing

process of whitening:

> In Brazil... the idea looked forward to is the disappearance of the
> Negro question through the disappearance of the Negro himself—that is,
> through his gradual absorption into the white race.
>   This does not mean that Brazilians are or will become the 'mongrel'
> people that they have been asserted to be by certain writers, not only
> French and English, but American. The Brazilians are a white people,
> belonging to the Mediterranean race, and differing from the northern
> stocks only as such great and civilized old races as the Spaniards and
> Italians, with their splendid historic past, differ from these northern stocks.
> The evident Indian admixture has added a good, and not a bad, element.
> The very large European immigration of itself tends, decade by decade, to
> make the Negro blood a smaller element of the blood of the whole
> community. The Brazilian of the future will be in blood more European
> than in the past, and he will differ in culture only as the American of the
> North differs (Roosevelt 1914, 410; in Skidmore 1974, 68-69).

The effects of branqueamento on Brazil's negro-mestiço population were

devastating. There was perhaps no place where this was truer than in Rio de

Janeiro, Brazil's political, cultural, and economic capital. Hoping to erase the

shame of over 300 years of slavery in which five million Africans were stolen

from their homes and imported to Brazil (roughly ten times the number of slaves

brought to the United States), and very much in keeping with the dominant ideas

of branqueamento, there was a distinct desire among Rio's elite to remove all

vestiges of Africa from the city and transform Rio de Janeiro into the Paris of

South America. Starting at the turn of the century, Rio center was the site of a vast

"*bota-abaixo*," or "knocking down" (Shaw 1999, 5). The grand *Avenida Central*,

just one piece in a much broader Haussmannist urban renewal project, rose from

the ashes of over 600 structures and 20 streets that were demolished between

1904 and 1906 (Shaw 1999). With the popular mantra "*O Rio civiliza-se*" (Rio is civilizing itself), the city was crossing the "universal threshold of Civilization" (Needell 1995, 524). Celebrating the inauguration of Rio's Parisian-inspired rebirth, one newspaper columnist remarked:

> A few days ago, the picks, intoning a jubilant hymn, began the work of the Avenida Central's construction, knocking down the first condemned houses… In the collapse of the walls, in the crumbling of the stones, in the pulverization of the earth, there was a long groan. It was the sad and lamenting groan of the Past, of Backwardness, of Shame. The colonial city, filthy, backward, obstinate in its old traditions was weeping… But the clear hymn of the picks… [was] chanting, in their unceasing, rhythmic clamor…the victory of hygiene, good taste, and art! (in Needell 1995: 533).

The "Old Portuguese Bantustan," as this commentator dubbed the city, would be refashioned as French and European through "a war on a shameful and barbaric past of 'colonial' filth and 'African' degradation" (Needell 1995, 533).

The "Europeanization" of Rio and the desire to remove all traces of Africa from this newly imagined European capital in the tropics resulted in the forced exodus of tens of thousands of people, the vast majority of African descent, from this prime real estate in Rio de Janeiro's center. As structures, streets, entire neighborhoods were razed, poor (and predominantly negro-mestiço) residents were physically forced to the extreme urban fringe, creating shantytowns that would become known as favelas. The influx of millions of European workers further complicated the lives of the city's negro-mestiço population, as employment opportunities disappeared and unemployment among Afro-Brazilians skyrocketed (Shaw 1999). In the words of Luiz Fernando Vianna (2004, 16):

> Already at the beginning of the 20th century Rio de Janeiro possessed something of "Francáfrica" [France-Africa]: the government dreamed of

turning the city into a replica of Paris in the tropics, but at the same time a good portion of the city's enormous black population lived concentrated in unhealthy conditions, including in the hills surrounding the city, which were increasingly being occupied because of the lack of other options for housing.

All, however, did not lament the nearly total racial segregation of Rio. One commentator celebrated the resulting demographic transformation in Rio de Janeiro thusly:

> The city slowly bean to change. New immigration began to head here. New and numerous, augmenting our population considerably and, above all, diminishing enormously the number of blacks… There were transformations even in our usages and customs… We changed everything, until we came to change, completely, our mentality, hobbled by long years of stubborn self-absorption and routine… Rio…was being civilized, indeed! Progress, which had houvered about the door for a long time, without permission to enter, was welcomed joyously (da Costa 1958, 162-163; quoted in Needell 1995, 534).

At the same time, by the 1940s, 95 percent of the population of the favelas in the hills surrounding Rio was black or mixed race (Shaw 1999).

Figure 17. Rio de Janeiro's South Zone, the site of the Bota-Abaixo (photo by author).

Figure 18. Favelas in the hills just outside of Rio's South Zone (photo by author).

In addition to physical removal, Rio's negro-mestiço population was further being excluded from conceptualizations of the legitimate public. Writing on public space in the context of homelessness in the United States, Don Mitchell (1995b, 115) comments:

> By claiming space in public, by creating public spaces, social groups themselves become public. *Only* in public spaces can the homeless, for example, represent themselves as a legitimate part of "the public." Insofar as homeless people or other marginalized groups remain invisible to society, they fail to be counted as legitimate members of the polity.

Further, prohibitions against loitering, sleeping in public spaces, panhandling, and urinating and defecating in public display a clear intent: "to control behavior and space such that homeless people cannot do what they must do in order to survive without breaking the law. Survival itself is criminalized" (Mitchell 2003, 163). Public legitimacy is extended only to those who enjoy the privilege of private property (Mitchell 2003, Ch 5). Instead of being "a work in which all...citizens

participate" (Mitchell 2003, 17), public space in the 20th—and now 21st—century

capitalist city is defined exclusively.

Tracing *fin-de-siècle* urban transformation in Rio de Janeiro, Needell

(1995) explains that urban reforms concentrated on public spaces connected to

government, commerce, tourism, and high culture. In Rio, the Brazilian elite

actively set out to render invisible the city's negro-mestiço population, physically

removing them from public space, but more importantly eliminating them as

legitimate members of the public. Needell (1995, 538) explains:

> The Brazilian elites' notion of the word public was clearly exclusive. They
> made such public spaces, in effect, private spaces, by defining the public
> space and consciousness of their concern along lines restricted by wealth
> and Europhile culture. The great mass of their countrymen were [*sic*]
> simply excluded. It was not that they were ignored; rather, they were
> pushed aside or even attacked. In Rio, for example, poor people were
> often forced out of the repaired or newly constructed thoroughfares in the
> Old City because much of their housing was demolished, police increased
> their harassment, and shabby commerce or Afro-Brazilian culture were
> forbidden there. The poor people interfered with the elite's fantasy of
> civilization and so had to be hidden away in the Afro-Brazilian slums near
> the docks and on the hills, in the Zona Norte [North Zone].

By denying Rio de Janeiro's negro-mestiço population a physical place in the

city's center, they were at the same time excluded from societal constructions of

the legitimate public. The physical expulsion required a legal basis, as city and

state governments imposed exclusionary laws and regulations, and deployed state-

sponsored police violence to enforce them. In the words of Mitchell (2003, 172,

original emphasis), "the annihilation of space by law is unavoidably...the

annihilation of *people*." At the same time, the exclusion of Rio's Afro-descendent

population from the legitimate public required an active process of ongoing

performance to remove them from the social imaginary, a process of annihilating

their place in the past, present, and future. With the negro-mestiço population thus removed not only from the physical spaces of the city's center, but also from the legitimate public, "in the Club del Progresso, the Jockey Club, or another fashionable spot modeled on London or Parisian antecedents, these elites could easily imagine themselves in Europe. After all, everything in such places was shipped over from the Old World, except for the…Brazilians themselves (Needell 1995, 537). In the brute physicality of the removal of tens of thousands of people from Rio's city center, and the erasure of Brazil's African roots from popular constructions of the legitimate public, in effect what was created was a city "in which a whole class of people cannot be—simply because they have a place to be" (Mitchell 2003, 171).

Within this urban situation of grinding poverty, racial segregation, and the ghettoization of Rio de Janeiro's negro-mestiço population in the favelas, music emerged as an important force in asserting an Afro-Brazilian identity. Tracing the geography of samba in Rio de Janeiro starting in the beginning of the 20th century, Vianna (2004) outlines the emergence of samba from within this mass of marginalized neighborhoods—an area that would become known as "pequena África," or little Africa—as a strong form of social cohesion in the face of exclusion from broader *carioca*[5] society. In the words of Shaw (1999, 5), it was this musical form that "acted as an identity marker for the poor, largely black community, whose physical territory was frequently taken away." In the face of overt racial discrimination and marginalization from the economic and political

---

[5] The term carioca refers to a person from Rio de Janeiro.

mainstream, samba became an important organizing mechanism for community solidarity.

Central to the emergence of samba from the favelas was the figure of the *malandro*, an Afro-Brazilian spiv or hustler, much more interested in fashion and women than labor (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992; Shaw 1999). According to Shaw (1999, 7), the malandro

> parodied bourgeois values and lifestyle in his dapper, white, linen suit, which formed an ironic contrast to his dark skin, his jauntily titled straw hat, two-tone shoes, silk shirt and scarf, and spurned the manual labour that was so closely associated with exploitation and the institution of slavery.

The malandro rose in the face of extreme levels of unemployment within the negro-mestiço community, brought on by both Rio's inability to absorb the labor capacity of freed slaves and the distinct preference among elites to import European workers before employing former slaves. As "blacks became a reserve army of labour for whom work evoked not only the oppressive memory of slavery but also the present equally oppressive experience of exploitation tied to the process of primitive accumulation of capital" (Rowe and Schelling 1991, 128-129), the malandro emerged as folk hero of the favelas.

The popular persona of the malandro found its way into the sambas that were increasingly solidifying and articulating a Black identity within the favelas. However, in Rio's white, elite society there was a distinct tendency to conflate the figure of the malandro, celebrated and mythized throughout samba music as a Black resistance figure in the favelas, with the *sambistas*, or samba singers

themselves. This is apparent in Noel Rosa's 1931 samba titled "Mulato Bamba,"

or "Cool Mulatto":

Este mulato forte
É de Salgueiro
Passear no tintureiro
Era seu esporte
Já nasceu com sorte
E desde pirralho
Vive à custa do baralho
Nunca viu trabalho

[This strong mulatto
Is from Salgueiro
Hanging around the dry cleaner's
Was his favorite sport
He was born lucky
And since he was a kid
He's lived from a pack of cards
He's never seen a day's work]

The word "tintureiro," in the third line and translated here as "dry cleaner's," was

also a common term in local parlance for the police vans used to round up

vagrants. The double meaning gets at the essence of the malandro's preoccupation

with his smart appearance, and at the same time foregrounds the police

harassment suffered not only by both these marginalized figures, but also the

sambistas themselves (Shaw 1999).

Reading a distinct danger in the social cohesion emerging among Rio's

Afro-Brazilian population, as embodied through religion (e.g. *Candomblé*), dance

(e.g. capoeira), and especially music, the ruling white elite could not tolerate

samba, this musical embodiment of the black experience in post-slavery Rio de

Janeiro. It was a threat to both the image of the European city that they were

busily attempting to construct, and more importantly the "traditional" (i.e. white)

values of carioca society as a whole (Shaw 1999, 10). As Vianna (2004, 21) puts it, "the repression of samba was connected to its association with its African origins… the repression was continuous as samba performances were seen as meetings of thieves and the marginalized." The conflation of Afro-descendent cultural practices and criminality—of sambistas and the mythizied malandro—became so widespread among the elite population that samba musicians were virtually, if not literally, criminalized, and performing the music, even possessing the instruments to do so, were, in the eyes of the law, equivalent to "public order offences like drunkenness, vagrancy and begging [that] were used to control those outside mainstream society" (Shaw 1999, 10). The stigmatization of afro-Brazilian music was so complete that the pandeiro, a Brazilian tambourine central to samba's rhythms and syncopations (see Figure 19), was "seen by the police as synonymous with vagrancy, and simply having one could result in imprisonment" (Vianna 2004, 21).

The three decades following the abolition of slavery in Brazil constitute a period in which Brazil's African heritage was a great source of shame for carioca high society. Branqueamento, it was hoped, would effectively rid both their capital city—and the elite's cultural imaginary—of all remnants of Africa in Brazil. More than a representational cultural product, samba played an active role in the on-going creation of a black identity for Rio's marginalized negro-mestiço population. Resonating through the alleys and streets of Little Africa, the syncopations of samba and the persona of the malandro actively created an

alternative for a population that was both physically and discursively being shut

out of mainstream society, erased from this new Paris in the Tropics.

Figure 19. The Pandeiro, or Brazilian tambourine (photo by author).

Racial Democracy

Vast shifts in Brazil's cultural understanding of itself following the end of

World War I had serious implications for the construction of race in Brazil. It was

at this point, according to Turino (2003, 172) that a new global focus was placed

on the "Wilsonian principle of making state borders coincide with the frontiers of

nationality ('culture') and language." In these terms, Brazil's African heritage was

no longer something to be covered up, marginalized from view, and eventually

erased. Rather, in the reconfigured view of the Brazilian elite, the three Brazilian

races—Portuguese, African, and Indigenous—were said to "meet and mix in the

heat of the tropical jungle" (Reily 2000, 4), thereby creating the *mestiço* (mixed

87

race), superior as a result of his ability to survive in the tropics. Racial

miscegenation was considered at the heart of Brazil's "natural" democracy as

whites, blacks, and *mestiços* worked together toward common goals. In his

extraordinarily influential, if overly optimistic tome deconstructing Brazil's racial

history under slavery, *The Masters and the Slaves* (*Casa grande e senaleza*),

sociologist and cultural anthropologist Gilberto Freyre wrote that miscegenation

did not result in underdevelopment as previously thought. Originally published in

1933, Freyre argued that racial mixing should be carefully cultivated, as it held

the promise of Brazil's distinctiveness among other nations both in Latin America

and Europe (Freyre 1961 [1933]; Vianna 1999).

This colossal shift in Brazilian mainstream understanding of race required

a fundamental reimagining of Brazil's then still-recent history of slavery. Freyre's

idyllic vision of race in Brazil led him to lament the end of slavery as a "vanishing

way of life" (Freyre 1999, 91), explaining:

> there is no doubt that under the patriarchal system employed in the old
> sugar mills, more help was given to the labor force [i.e. slaves] than is the
> case at the great majority of sugar factories today. There was, no one can
> deny, harshness and even brutality in the ways that the whites from the
> Big House treated their slaves. But the slave owners usually helped the
> blacks in the slave shacks more than the *usineiro* [factory foreman] today
> helps his employee; he would keep on, for example, old or sick blacks,
> supporting them. In the majority of the old *engenhos* [sugar mills], life
> was sweeter and more humane than it is today in the sugar factories
> (Freyre 1999, 91).

Drawing on Freyre, Tannenbaum (1947) celebrates Brazilian slavery as compared

to its North American counterpart, characterizing the "freeing of one's slaves [as]

an honorific tradition" emphasizing slave's "numerous" opportunities for

manumission, such as after "having ten children" or "by will upon the death of the

master" (Tannenbaum 1947, 58). He goes on:

> With all its cruelty, abuse, hardship, and inhumanity, the atmosphere in
> Brazil and in the Spanish-American countries made for manumission.
> Even in the rural regions individuals were allowed to sell the products
> from their own plots, given them to work for themselves, and to save their
> money toward the day of freedom... It should be further noticed that, in
> addition to their Sundays, the Negroes in Brazil had many holidays,
> amounting all together to eighty-four days a year, which they could use for
> their own purposes, and for garnering such funds as their immediate skill
> and opportunities made possible. The purchase of one's own freedom was
> so accepted a tradition among the Negroes that many a Negro bought the
> freedom of his wife and children while he himself continued laboring as a
> slave, and among the freed Negroes societies were organized for pooling
> resources and collecting funds for the freeing of their brethren still in
> bondage (Tannenbaum 1947, 61).

Reimagining slavery as "ordinarily a mild form of servitude" (Pierson

1967, 45; in Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 147) was fundamental in the shift

from branqueamento to the myth of racial democracy, as it allowed for the

inclusion of Brazil's Afro-descendent population in the Brazilian mainstream

without having to directly confront the horrors of over three centuries of slavery.

Put bluntly, it was a way for the Brazilian elite to re-imagine themselves not in

terms of a racist, slave owning past, but rather in terms of a present defined by

miscegenation and racial democracy. This re-imagining hinged on the idea that

miscegenation and racism were contradictory. Again according to Freyre (1969,

34; in Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 109):

> The cross-breeding so widely practiced [in Brazil] corrected the social
> distance which otherwise would have remained enormous between
> plantation mansion and slave quarters. What the large-landholding,
> slaveowning monoculture produced in the way of aristocratization,
> dividing Brazilian society into classes of masters and slaves, with a
> piddling and insignificant middle section of freedmen sandwiched
> between the two antagonistic extremes, was in great part neutralized by

miscegenation's social effects. Indian and African women, at first, then mulatto women, the yallers, octoroons and so on, becoming the white master's domestics, concubines and even legitimate wives, played a powerful role in Brazil's social democratization.

As is fully apparent here (and to a large extent continuing today), "miscegenation and the unawareness of racial prejudice are taken to be one and the same thing" (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 147).

The broad cultural effects of racial democracy and this new embrace of miscegenation cannot be overstated as the cultural focus of Brazil's elite shifted inward, away from Europe. Weakening their transatlantic cultural ties, painters, sculptors, composers, writers, poets, and intellectuals deployed their art for the sake of a unifying Brazilian national identity (Burns 1993, 328). Symbolizing the shift from Brazil's Euro-centric traditionalism to nationalistic modernism, national culture was increasingly defined in terms of a European root transformed in the context of the New World. "Brazilian culture owed a debt to Europe but it was also the creation of its own environment" (Burns 1993, 328-329). In 1928 Brazilian musicologist Mário de Andrade wrote that "any Brazilian artist who, in the present day, makes Brazilian art is a capable being with human value. The artist that practices international or foreign art, short of being a genius, is useless, is a void. That artist is a complete brute" (Andrade 1962 [1928], 19).

Samba—the music itself, the notes, melodies, rhythms, and syncopations—played an active role in Brazil's shift from cultural traditionalism to modernism, and from branqueamento to the myth of racial democracy, as this musical symbol of black identity slowly came to symbolize the nation as a whole (Shaw 1999). The process was deliberate. Obsessed with the perceived

regionalization and potential cultural fragmentation of Brazil (Vianna 1999, 32),

Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas (in power from 1930 to 1945) set out on a

nationalistic mission. Given the country's massive size and the importance of

regional political identities, and compounded by Vargas' generally weak political

position following his rise to power in a 1930 coup, the Brazilian President felt

that "the need for a strong, unifying identity was paramount" (Shaw 1999, 29).

Indeed, "nationalism presupposed that all Brazilians identified with a common

destiny, with its roots in a shared past. The state was perceived as responsible for

the morality of the nation, and capable of redressing Brazil's backwardness in

relation to the developed world" (Shaw 1999, 27).

Samba was seen as an optimal vehicle to promote Brazilian cultural unity.

Created in 1939, the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* (Press &

Propaganda Department, henceforth DIP) had the explicit goal of elucidating

"national opinion on the doctrinal directives of the regime, in defence of culture,

of spiritual unity and of Brazilian civilization" (Goulart 1990, 62; in Shaw 1999,

33). To that end, the DIP shaped media output, encouraging artists and writers

that fit the nationalistic mould through subsidies, sponsorships, and prizes (Shaw

1999; Reily 2000). According to Reily (2000, 5), samba

> was co-opted and fashioned through censorship to promote 'Brazilian-
> ness'. With its carnivalesque associations, samba could be heralded as the
> felicitous integration of diverse cultural and racial groups that had been
> achieved in the country… Popular singers…were co-opted by the state-
> owned National Radio to sing the glories of Brazil. And thus, what could
> arguably be taken for a localized style from Rio de Janeiro soon became
> one of the most enduring symbols of Brazilian national identity.

Through the rescaling of samba from local to national, the Vargas regime, through the DIP, emphasized the "myth of the easy-going, cordial Brazilian temperament" (Shaw 1999, 34), thereby divorcing the music completely from its past, and inherent connections to Rio's marginalized negro-mestiço population. As the city's elite shifted their cultural compass inward, understanding their country's racial make-up in terms of what they perceived to be some kind of egalitarian racial democracy, they effectively dislodged the "dangerous elements [of samba] from the 'exotic/decorative,'" in a gradual process of cultural appropriation (Shaw 1999, 11; Menezes 1982; Fry 1982). As the earlier ideology of branqueamento gave way to racial democracy, the "rejection of 'offensive/disorderly' elements by the repressive apparatus of the state" slowly turned to the "domestication by separating these dangerous elements from the 'exotic/decorative'" (Shaw 1999, 11).

Not surprisingly, it took the face of white singers to popularize this sound in middle and upper class circles. And though partnerships between black composers and white singers meant that while many of the great sambas of the era were written by black sambistas—and the black songwriters often did receive credit and royalties for their work—the irony is that in this so-called era of racial democracy, it was only through cultural whitening that samba was decoupled from its Afro-Brazilian context and made to stand for the nation as a whole. In this era of racial democracy, the Portuguese civilization flourished in Brazil because of its ability to assimilate and integrate African and native Brazilian elements (Page 1996). In the land of racial democracy, this "Luso-Tropical"

paradise remained first and foremost a European and Christian nation, as the country's African and indigenous populations *were not* "equal partners in [this] 'new world in the tropics'" (Page 1996, 72; drawing on Freyre 1961 [1933]).

Re-scaling Samba

While samba had, in the first decades of the 20th century, become "a voice for those who had been silenced by their socio-economic status, and a source of self-affirmation in society" (McGowan and Pessanha 1998, 23), its elevation to symbol of national identity (to the expressed political benefit of president Vargas) diminished its role in the communities from which it arose. Much in the same way that racial democracy emphasizes a "biological and cultural assimilation [that creates] an illusion of happy intermixture masking its racist content," thereby stripping "the victims of their collective consciousness of domination" (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 147), the reconfiguration of samba to a national symbol had the distinct effect of neutralizing its power as a symbol of black identity. In the words of Fry (1982, 52-53, in Shaw 1999, 24):

> The conversion of ethnic symbols into national symbols does not only hide a situation of racial domination but also makes it much more difficult to denounce. When symbols of ethnic "boundaries" are converted into symbols that affirm the limits of nationality, what was originally dangerous is converted into something "clean", "safe", and "domesticated". Now that *candomblé* and samba are considered "chic" and respectable, they have lost the power that they once had.

With this shift the figure of the malandro ceded power to the *malandro regenerado*, reformed spiv more socially accepted in the Brazilian mainstream. Samba, newly stripped of its dangerous elements and Afro-Brazilian roots, was

rescaled from being the musical embodiment of black identity in the favelas to being an aestheticized musical symbol of Brazilian national identity.

The effects of scaling samba from a localized musical form in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro to a popular (and very much whitened) genre throughout the city, and finally to a musical symbol of the nation have been perpetuated into the present day. Following the pattern of cultural appropriation cited above (Menezes 1982; Shaw 1999)—through phases of initial outright rejection and later domestication—samba entered the period of "recuperation" in which "the ideological apparatus of the state transform[ed]...desirable elements into cultural expressions of the dominant class, for the purposes of ideological education, national marketing for the tourist industry, and suchlike" (Shaw 1999, 12). Today, samba exists solidly in the realm of *national* culture, a symbol of *Brazilian* identity. Synonymous with Brazil, samba is "produced and consumed by a cross-section of Brazilian society and projected abroad as a reflection of Brazil's mythical racial democracy" (Shaw 1999, 12).

Chapter 5

O PELOURINHO

When I arrived in Salvador in the autumn of 2008 I sat down with Beth, a woman I had known since the summer of 2007 when I traveled to Bahia for the first time for one month of reconnaissance fieldwork. At that time she had rented a large, run down row house in a working-class neighborhood just outside of the historic center known as the Pelourinho. To help make ends meet, Beth rented three of her four bedrooms to visitors, mostly to foreigners that came to Bahia to practice capoeira. She, too, practiced this Afro-Bahian martial art. Situated on a small side-street above a modest workshop, this house was an ideal location for travelers wanting to be close to the historic center and a nearby capoeira academy, but not able to pay the relatively high rents that apartments, hostels, and hotels commanded inside the officially designated historical area. During the summer of 2007, I shared the third floor of the house with three wayfaring *capoeiristas* from Santiago, Chile. Mine was a small, dingy room adorned with only a bed, desk, chair, and bookcase. A single window opened onto the street three stories below, and a transformer box perched high on a telephone pole above buzzed day and night. Many nights I slept in a hammock strung across the living room downstairs to escape the interminable buzz. From this house on *Rua Professor Palma* I spent a month familiarizing myself with the city and its music scene, meeting people and making contacts, laying the foundation for the much larger field engagement to come.

When I returned to Bahia in 2008, Beth had moved out of the house in *Barbalho*—she had not been renting enough rooms (she blamed it on the global economic crisis). She moved to the *Rua das Flores* (Flower Street) in the Pelourinho. And while she lived within the official bounds of the historical center—a UNESCO World Heritage Site—her apartment was off the beaten tourist path, down an alley frequented by drug users and small-time pushers. *Rua das Flores* is close enough to the city's greatest flows of tourists to hear the laughter of American students or European visitors at nearby open-air bars float through the evening air, yet down an alley which no tourist would venture.

Sitting in a large outdoor plaza serviced by three or four bars and restaurants and frequented by Salvador's bohemian youth, I asked her what she thought of living in Pelourinho. Her reaction surprised me; she told me that Pelourinho's energy is somehow off. It is a place whose history of slavery is covered up and forgotten in the flood of the constant parties, celebrations, concerts, and tour groups. The neighborhood's sordid history is buried as it is rebranded the Historic Centre, the first stop for tourists in this city before they head out to the bars and nightclubs of more modern neighborhoods, and finally the beach resorts of Bahia's long coastline. For Beth, the weight of the past, of the history of slavery and racial discrimination, is covered up by the blindly celebratory present, which perpetuates the myth of racial democracy. She hopes to soon move out, removing herself from this living contradiction, to a different neighborhood of Salvador, or perhaps to try her luck in another city altogether.

The story of the Pelourinho hinges on what is simply known as *a reforma*—the reform. Through these pages I deconstruct the disjunction of history and heritage in a neighborhood that has evolved from colonial capital to inner-city slum, only to be re-branded as the Historical Center. In the second half of this chapter I turn my focus to the musicscapes that envelop the Pelourinho. But first, a brief detour into the urban geography of the Pelourinho sets the *mise en scène*.

O Pelô

In the words of Bahian historian Antonio Risério (2004, 20), "*A Bahia de Todos os Santos* [All Saints Bay] is our interior ocean, our Mediterranean. This city, born on the high summits of the hills, casts its eyes back over this internal sea." Founded in 1549, the city of Salvador is one of the oldest colonial cities in the New World, and for over 200 years was the colonial capital of Brazil. The city is perched on the southernmost point of a peninsula rising dramatically between the depths of the Atlantic Ocean to the east and the vast Bahia de Todos os Santos to the west. From the very beginning, the extreme relief of local topography has divided Salvador vertically. Port-related activities have long been concentrated in the *cidade baixa*, or low city, situated at water level, originally composed of a single street and with the businesses and houses of wholesalers. The *cidade alta*, or high city—a place of crisscrossing streets, alleyways, buildings, businesses, and public plazas—became the political nucleus of the city (Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos 2009) (see Figures 20 - 21).

Figure 20. View of Cidade Baixa and the Bahia from the Cidade Alta (photo by author).

Figure 21. View from the Cidade Baixa looking toward the Cidade Alta (photo by author).

The noble class, businessmen, large-scale traders, exporters and importers, and public administration officials populated the Pelourinho, a neighborhood situated in the upper city picturesquely overlooking the Bahia. It was here, in this neighborhood, that the first slave market on the South American continent was constructed. The neighborhood's name itself, *O Pelourinho*, literally "the pillory," is a reference to the punishment (torture) devices that slave owners commonly employed to publically humiliate and punish their slaves during Brazil's long and dark slave history (Straile 2007).

Originally an important node in Salvador's political, economic, and cultural life, Pelourinho lost much of its prominence following the transfer of the colonial capital from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro in 1763. The end of the slave trade in 1850 and the final abolition of Slavery in Brazil in 1888 marked the end of Pelourinho's colonial prominence. Whereas the high perch of the upper city had previously served Salvador's function as a "fortress city" (Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos 2009, 6), the extreme topography became an obstacle to Salvador's urban expansion. "The process of the Old City's abandonment by the dominant classes…and, consequently, by public power...quickly began to change the characteristics of the area" (Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos 2009, 6). Property values plunged, historical buildings fell into disrepair, and "by the 1930s the Old City had become designated as an area of brothels and tenement housing" (Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos 2009, 6). The 1940s witnessed further (sub)urban expansion in Salvador as the middle and upper segments of society fled the increasingly poor inner city for areas of newer development away from the city

center. The process of divestment in the city center accelerated through the 1950s as vital infrastructure, such as the city's central bus station, and many other government installations, were constructed away from the city's historical center (Fernandes 2006). Writing in 1959, well-known Bahian geographer Milton dos Santos paints a vivid picture of the neighborhood:

> Pelourinho is an irregularly shaped plaza on a hillside, surrounded by buildings from the 18th and 19th century, noble homes of three and four stories, which were the residences of rich families, but have now fallen to ruins. [...] Basic commerce and artisans occupy the ground floors of all of these buildings. There you find vulcanization shops, bazaars, tailors, jewelers, blacksmiths, various other workshops, warehouses, cheap restaurants, cobblers, bakeries, typographers, photographers, third class barbers, butcher shops, a small soap factory, and so on. Above lives a diverse population in more-than-precarious conditions. [...] It is frequent to see various men or women living together in the same room. Houses that long ago sheltered just one family with their slaves or domestic workers are suffering an increasingly rapid process of subdivision; tiny rooms, cells really, are separated by wooden walls. There is no light or fresh air in these cubicles, and no chance for hygiene. Life in these tenement houses is a living hell, as the multiple families that live on each floor are required to use the same bath and latrine. Rickety stairwells, decaying wood floors, dirty walls, leaky roofs, characterize this entire zone of degradation. [...] The Pelourinho neighborhood…is preferred by persons that cannot pay high rents or spend much on transportation... There are a high number of people without permanent work. Among the occupations most common are lottery salesmen, plumbers, washers, cooks, firemen, doormen, shoeshines, travelling salesmen, typists, domestic workers, street vendors, chauffeurs, bus drivers, peddlers, etc. In all, the area is characterized by part time or temporary work, or by people without work or without well-defined jobs (dos Santos 2008 [1959], 170-172).

The Pelourinho, once the nucleus of Brazil's colonial capital, was now left to the poorest segments of society, the majority of whom made tenuous livings with informal and temporary activities.

By the beginning of the 1960s, the Pelourinho neighborhood had transformed into an inner-city slum uncomfortably situated in one of the most

historical areas of the city. It would take 20 more years for this neighborhood's value to be rediscovered in mainstream Bahian society, though this time not as a political center but as a tourist destination. The 18th and 19th century historical buildings, narrow cobblestone streets, and the neighborhood's rich cultural heritage would all become points of attraction for domestic and international tourists. In selling the Pelô to tourists, the struggles of past generations are repackaged as cultural heritage in which the myth of racial democracy is infused into the seemingly innocent surfaces of the urban landscape and the attitudes of those who populate it, serving to occlude the contradictions and racial tensions latent within. In the Pelourinho the struggle for space falls solidly in the realm of cultural politics, where "meanings are constructed and negotiated, where relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested" (Jackson 1991, 200). The boundary between politics and culture dissipates; culture itself is always already political. It is first to the problematic terrain of heritage and development *via* tourism that I turn before returning to the struggle for space in the Pelourinho.

"The Past is a Foreign Country"[6]

At the dawn of the 21st century, heritage is a growth industry. Whether this is the result of modern society's failure "to face the future after the decline of industry," and is instead "looking back to a more glorious past" (Merriman 1991, 3) or an attempt "to promote the notion of national or group identity...at a time when many peoples feel threatened by the loss of distinctiveness" (Edson 2004,

---

[6] Source: Hartley 1953, cited in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370

344) is open for debate. What is certain is that in an increasingly competitive

global market for tourist dollars, heritage provides locales place-based

distinctiveness in the face of the "sameness" and "standardization [that] is part

and parcel of economies of scale that high volume tourism requires"

(Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 371). Conceived as a leveraging of the past for

exhibition in the present, heritage brings the past back to life. Understood as such,

heritage "is a 'value added' industry" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370). It is

central in the competition among places seeking to transform themselves into

tourist destinations. It is a way to produce "hereness" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

1995).

History and heritage are often conflated. Molyneaux (1994, 2) points out

that there is a certain duality to the past: "the temporal [past] passes and is gone,

and the metaphorical 'past'...is held in the memories and traditions of a society

and its surroundings." Heritage cannot seek to preserve the temporal past; indeed,

it has passed us by. Rather, heritage recreates the past as myth. In heritage, events,

places, and objects from the temporal past are filled with symbolic meanings in

the present, often with only a loose "factual" relationship to historical referents

(Edson 2004). Or, in the words of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 369-370):

> Heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. Despite a discourse of
> conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, recreation,
> recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration, heritage produces something
> new in the present that has recourse to the past.

Heritage, or the metaphorical past, should not be confused with history, or the

temporal past. Nor can the former be understood as an accurate representation of

the latter. Baudrillard (1994, 6) writes of representation and simulation:

> Representation stems from the principle of the equivalence of the sign and of the real... Simulation, on the contrary, stems from the utopia of the principle of equivalence; *from the radical negation of the sign as value*, from the sign as the reversion and death sentence of every reference. Whereas representation attempts to absorb simulation by interpreting it as a false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation itself as simulacrum.

Heritage is "a simulacrum of social memory or myth" (Edson 2004, 339).

Once history, thoroughly infused with myth, becomes heritage, it is a direct road to commercialization. Indeed, while the goal is often to protect and preserve heritage, protection of cultural heritage requires the injection of value into form: "Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued will survive" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370). The very designation as heritage creates the ability to infuse cultural, and thus commercial value into places whose economic viability has declined or places that never had an economic life in the first place. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 370) suggests that "subsistence lifestyles, obsolete technologies, abandoned mines, the evidence of past disasters" can regain economic viability through heritage. For example, a traditional subsistence village in rural eastern Ghana that I have visited became a "host culture" (complete with restaurants, guest houses, and guided tours) for international visitors when the village's land was incorporated into a national park, thereby greatly limiting traditional subsistence economic activities. (It is of course ironic that economically valuing the local culture has served to protect it from economic decline due to the culture being blocked from the very activities that arguably played an important role in the ongoing cultural identity of the group in the first

place.) In any case, the designation of heritage associated with a place has the fundamental goal of increasing its economic value. "Landmarking, historic recreation, cultural conservation, and heritage tourism are not transparent. They are the very instruments for adding value" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 374). Heritage adds image value in a cultural economic spectacle.

While heritage must be conceptualized as simulacra, much of the economic value in heritage comes directly from its perceived authenticity, that is, its perceived historical accuracy. The economic valuation of heritage *depends on* the conflation of history and heritage. Conceptualizing the space between history and heritage in terms of actualities and virtualities, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 375) suggests that we end up with a "collaborative hallucination in an equivocal relationship with actualities:"

> Both museums and tourism are largely in the business of virtuality, but claim to be in the business of actualities—of real places, real things, and real experiences. 'Hereness,' [...] is not given but produced. The production of hereness, in the absence of actualities, depends increasingly on virtualities (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 375-376).

Actual destinations reveal virtual places as we travel to, say, the actual center of the Mayan world only to stay in an all-inclusive hotel shaped like a Mayan pyramid in a region recently re-named "Riviera Maya." Collective hallucination blends the actuality of the destination with a simulacral place experience, one which affords visitors the opportunity to scale the pyramids at Chichen-Itza and "relax and experience a[n authentic] Mayan treatment in one of the multiple spas" (Riviera Maya 2010, 1), all in the course of a single day.

104

Demands for authenticity are problematic and contradictory. Authenticity is a requirement for commercial success, something demanded by consumers of cultural heritage. At the same time, though:

> the call for 'realness' requires that the interface, the means by which the representation is staged, be muted or concealed... The kind of authenticity that requires the recession of the frame represses what is at stake for those whose heritage is exhibited. The feeling that you are there and nothing is between you and it is like photographs that conceal the camera or photographer that made them. These are illusions with a price (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 375).

That price is the analytical freezing of the idea of culture. And it is a cost borne by those whose culture is being frozen, framed, and put on display. These efforts to preserve cultural heritage have a strangely Saurian conceptualization of the very culture into which they seek to inject economic value. Theorizing culture as superorganic, something above the individual, the Saurian tradition in cultural geography emphasized products of culture, the material or ideological results of a cultural superstructure, rather than the individuals that produced it in their ongoing daily activities (e.g., Sauer 1941; 1963 [1925]; Wagner and Mikesell 1962; Zelinsky 1992).

This conception of culture, now rather antiquated in geography, has had a surprisingly long afterlife in the heritage industry. Based on a concern with the disappearance of cultural relics, much, if not most, official action at local, state, and international levels specifically addresses the protection of cultural heritage as the protection of *things* produced by a culture. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for instance, compiles a detailed list of World Heritage Sites (as set out in the 1972 Convention

Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, henceforth

"the Convention")—a total of 911 sites in 151 countries (UNESCO 2010). The

purpose of the Convention is threefold: "to enhance worldwide understanding and

appreciation of heritage conservation, to recognize and preserve natural and

cultural properties throughout the world that have outstanding universal value to

all of humanity, and to mobilize national and international resources" [7] (Drost

1996, 480). Noting the universal value of site-specific historical, scientific, or

aesthetic attributes, Drost (1996) observes that it should come as little surprise

that many sites become important tourist destinations. "The very designation of

World Heritage Site is the catalyst to rapid tourist development via increased

publicity of those destination areas" (Li, Wu, and Cai 2008, 311). A site's

recognition as "World Heritage" by UNESCO has the effect of infusing it with

economic value, the naming as heritage is used for "national aggrandissement and

commercial advantage within the international competition for tourists, more

often than it is a celebration of an international identity" (Ashworth and

Turnbridge 1990, 30). The coveted designation of World Heritage Site produces

"hereness."

---

[7] The Convention's lofty goals of "protection, conservation and presentation"
(UNESCO 1972, 3) of World Heritage Sites have the distinct tendency to, in
practice, contradict one another. On the one hand, sites should be "open to visitors
so that international and national heritage identities may be strengthened in the
public mind" (Drost 1996, 481). Indeed, it is widely reported that designation as a
World Heritage Site directly spurs the development of a tourist economy
surrounding that site (Li, Wu, and Cai 2008; Hall and Piggin 2001, Drost 1996).
On the other hand, "increased visitation is now the primary threat to World
Heritage Sites, sites that were not intended to accommodate thousands of tourists
when built" (Li, Wu, and Cai 2008, 308; ICOMOS 1993). The dual obligations of
promotion and protection tend toward irreconcilability as the former often works
in direct opposition to the latter (Drost 1996).

Plainly evident in the Convention, however, is the inherent elevation of cultural heritage *via* material culture above the people and ongoing human and social processes that went into—indeed continue to contribute to—the creation and on-going constitution of the sites. Conceived not as a process of on-going evolution and recreation, the idea of cultural heritage hinges on its inanimation; culture via cultural heritage is frozen, in the past, in need of present-day preservation. This is made clear in the Convention's definition of "cultural heritage" as:

- monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

- groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

- sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO 1972, 2).

Missing from the Convention are actual people. Where mentioned, the human element is constructed as a threat to the material heritage that the site seeks to protect. The Convention begins by noting "that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing *social and economic* conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction" (UNESCO 1972, 1, emphasis added). Understanding culture as

static, superorganic, fixed from above, heritage designations aim to protect

materials produced by peoples, in many cases from those very people. Almost

invariably this has the effect of freezing that "culture"—conceptualized for the

purpose of heritage as a physical entity—in time and space:

> The mendacity of objects is all too familiar to makers of collections and
> exhibitions: once removed from the continuity of everyday uses in time
> and space and made exquisite on display, stabilized and conserved, objects
> are transformed in the meanings that they may be said to carry: they
> become moments of ownership, commodities (Crew and Sims 1991, 159)

Culture is living, changing, adapting. "Cultures," according to James

Clifford (1986, 10) "do not hold still for their portraits." Indeed, culture is not a

"something" that can be pinned down, "stopped, captured, and accounted for"

(Rose 2006, 541). Heritage freezes culture, stops it in its tracks. Raymond

Williams (1983, 323) touched on the contradictory relationship between culture

and heritage when he wrote: "a culture can never be reduced to its artifacts while

it is being lived." He continues, however, that the "temptation to attend only to

external evidence is always strong." Heritage separates cultural artifacts from the

on-going processes that create them, thus relegating them to the realm of external

evidence, put on display for seekers of cultural heritage. "The underlying fact

about heritage (and identity) is that it seldom persists unaltered through

circumstantial change unless it is maintained in a non-contextual environment,

much as an artefact in a museum" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 339). Or, in the

words of MacCannell (1992, 1), "tourism is not just an aggregate of merely

commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and

tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own

needs." This is the cost of cultural authenticity.

UNESCO & the Pelô

Derelict conditions and marginalized black population notwithstanding, in

the 1980s the historical colonial architecture and rich cultural history of the

Pelourinho neighborhood of Salvador was seen to offer a potential route to

economic revitalization *via* the development of a viable tourist economy. The

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), one of the bodies

delegated the responsibility of recommending specific sites for inclusion on the

list, originally recommended Pelourinho's inclusion as a World Heritage Site

citing both architectural and cultural features:

> Salvador is an eminent example of Renaissance urban structuring adapted
> to a colonial site having an upper city of a defensive, administrative and
> residential nature which overlooks the lower city where commercial
> activities revolve around the port. The density of monuments...makes it the
> colonial city par excellence in the Brazilian North-East (ICOMOS 1983,
> 2-3).

And:

> Salvador is one of the major points of convergence of European, African
> and American Indian cultures of the 16th to 18th century. Its founding and
> historical role as capital of Brazil quite naturally associate it with the
> theme of the discovery of the universe already illustrated by the inclusion
> on the World Heritage List of the Old Havana (1982), Angra do Heroismo,
> San Juan de Puerto Rico (1983), and Cartagena (1984) (ICOMOS 1983,
> 3).

While this petition for Pelourinho's inclusion recognizes a human presence, the

actual heritage to be preserved is the site as the point of convergence of European,

African, and American Indian cultures many centuries in the past. The petition's

109

authors viewed the neighborhood's current population—the product of this

convergence—as the agent of "the dangerous urban growth" that threatens this

historical neighborhood (ICOMOS 1983, 2). Thus the petition's repeated

accentuation of the physical materiality of buildings, blocks, squares, plazas, and

monuments emphasizes the centrality of cultural relics. For example:

> The historic center itself, which revolves around the Pelourinho quarter with its triangular place, is characterized by its faithfulness to the 16th century plan, the density of its monuments, and the homogeneity of its constructions on a hilly and picturesque site which exalts the urban scenery by providing plunging and ascending views of incomparable beauty. In addition to a number of major building of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as the Cathedral and the Convents of St. Francis, St. Dominic, Carmel and St. Anthony, Salvador also retains a host of 16th century palaces... and baroque palaces (ICOMOS 1983, 2).

In 1985 the Pelourinho was inaugurated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and

crowned Salvador's Historic Center.

Attempting to parlay the Pelourinho's newly minted status as a UNESCO

World Heritage Site into broader economic development in the city, Bahia's state

government naturally placed this neighborhood at the center of its development

plan (Fernandes 2006). The physical rehabilitation and restoration of buildings

was the top priority (Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos 2009). In 1992, just seven

years after the official UNESCO designation, Bahia's state government

inaugurated a well-funded *Programa de Recuperação do Centro Histórico de

Salvador* (Program for the Recuperation of Salvador's Historic Center, henceforth

PRCHS).

The PRCHS explicitly focused on built form of the urban landscape, yet

again casting aside the people who populate it. The discursive absence of the

Pelourinho's marginalized black population in the creation of the World Heritage Site set the stage for the physical removal, *via* the PRCHS, of this perceived human "threat" to the Site, now explicitly constructed as the material culture left from previous human inhabitants. Detailing his vision for the development of the Pelourinho, Suarez (1990, 58-59; in Fernandes 2006, 3) argued that

> in order to create a modern tourist economy of great proportions in Bahia, radical action in the recuperation of the historical center is urgent...The recuperation of the historical center, as it were, is not simply a question of the architectural restoration of the buildings in that general area. It is also necessary to recuperate the area economically, reintegrating it into the formal urban economy, which shouldn't be that hard... Naturally, the implementation of this type of dynamic in our Historical Center will have to pass, *a priori*, through the removal of the better part of the current marginal population. In doing so an important precondition for the social transformation of this area will be created.

Later adding that the economic development of the area would result in the development and social advancement of the local population, the actions of the State government have shown that it fully adopted the idea of economic development in the Pelourinho was indeed based on the "a priori" removal of the majority of the neighborhood's population.

The results were as swift as they were striking. Full city blocks, as opposed to individual buildings, defined the scale of intervention (Fernandes 2006). Occupants of buildings within the condemned blocks were presented with three choices: monetary compensation for their property, permanent relocation in a restored building inside the Pelourinho, or temporary relocation with eventual relocation outside the Pelourinho (Fernandes 2006; Vieira 2007). Fernandes (2006) describes multiples ways in which government actions heavily mediated those choices. First, negotiations for compensation would be conducted

111

individually, making effective negotiation and collective bargaining difficult, if not impossible. If residents wanted to dispute their monetary compensation, the government required that they do so individually and in civilian court. Second, most residents were already living in very difficult economic conditions and tended to see monetary compensation for their property as a solution (if only short-term) to their economic situation as a whole. Third, it was made explicit to the residents that were they to choose to stay in a restored building inside the Pelourinho, they would be required pay market rents, which would certainly be increasing due to the revitalization of the area. Lastly, the entire process was marred by violence. Military police invasions without proper identification and judicial mandate were common as residents quickly concluded that "the best thing for us to do is leave the Pelourinho" (in Fernandes 2006, 6). In the end, 85 percent of affected Pelourinho residents opted for monetary compensation. Only one individual went to court over the amount of compensation, and lost (Vieira 2007, 88; see also Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural da Bahia 1995). By 2006 over 2,000 families had been removed and nearly three quarters of the nearly 750 originally condemned buildings recuperated (Fernandes 2006).

It is worth tracing forward the most common outcomes for people and families affected by the reform. The original plan dictated that those who chose relocation over monetary compensation would be relocated inside the newly reformed neighborhood. In the end this portion of the population was moved to *Jardim Valéria II*, a favela in the extreme urban periphery over ten miles from the Pelourinho. This relocation was devastating for the affected population, especially

considering the consequences of dislocation for a population dependent on unstable, informal activities with marginal employment experience and economic opportunities, little formal education, and no private means of motorized transportation (Fernandes 2006).

Running on average between US$400 and $800 (Butler 1998), this monetary compensation was grossly insufficient to provide the affected population with the financial means to obtain other housing, especially for a population already living on the edge, many without steady income or savings. Perhaps not surprisingly, in the early years of the reform, homelessness grew precipitously in *Baixa dos Sapateiros* and *Rocinha*, two poor neighborhoods just outside the official lines demarcating the Historic Centre (Fernandez 2006). One participant in this study, Zé, illustrated this point with force as we chatted one afternoon at an outdoor café in the middle of Pelourinho, surrounded by reformed buildings brightly painted in pastel colors. Arriving in Salvador in the midst of the reform in 1993, Zé lived on the streets for nearly a year before finding steady work as a musician. He witnessed the neighborhood's distinct transformation. The Pelourinho, he told me, "is a neighborhood made up of people. It *has to be* a neighborhood made up of people. If you go over there..." He motions with his hand toward the center of the tourist area:

> ...on your way you'll see that there are various buildings that are completely empty, where no one lives, you know? Where the residents were thrown out, entire families were thrown out, people that weren't bums, that weren't drug dealers, that weren't prostitutes, that weren't anything, you know? It could have been that these families would have continued living in Pelourinho [after the reform], and that these families would have been the owners of stores in the neighborhood. They shouldn't have been just expelled like they were. Just give them some money, 2,000,

113

3,000 reais, for them to give up the houses where they and their families have been living for 50 years. Some of them took the money, spent it, smoking crack, snorting cocaine, the money ran out, and they didn't have anywhere to live, and now they live on the streets in the Baixo de Sapateiros. These were people that lived here, that had homes here.

According to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and compiled by Fernandez (2006), in the period between 1991 and 2000, Pelourinho's population became much richer, older, and better educated. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis point to the cause of this shift being *not* the increased age, education, and income of the pre-reform residents, but rather the removal of the most marginal segments of the population and their replacement with much more well-to-do populations. At the same time, infrastructure projects greatly improved the living conditions of Pelourinho's new residents. In the same 9-year period, the presence of running water in homes went from 75 percent to 90 percent and the presence of indoor plumbing connected to city sewers or septic tanks went from only one percent to 90 percent, no small feat in such a short period of time (Fernandez 2006).

Today, Pelourinho is known as the Historic Centre and is a neighborhood crowded with tourists and the common trappings of a tourist economy: professional and amateur tour guides offering their services, venders hawking all kinds of handmade (and increasingly manufactured) crafts, street musicians running down a common repertoire, women and girls offering to braid hair, capoeiristas perfecting their martial art—passing around the hat anytime a tourist stops to watch or snap a picture. The neighborhood is home to multiple restaurants, bars, and clubs, museums, and bookstores, and there are at least four

114

outdoor plazas that are sites of concerts, festivals, parties, and other special events. This is a fully tourist landscape.

Figure 22. Reformed buildings in the Pelourinho (photo by author).

Racial Democracy & the Pelô

From the very beginning of the movement to turn the Pelô into an UNESCO World Heritage Site, the myth of racial democracy has been, quite literally, mapped through cultural heritage and inscribed in the landscape. To arrive at this conclusion it is necessary to delve a bit further into the Program for the Recuperation of Salvador's Historic Center (PRCHS). According to planners Braga and Ribeiro dos Santos (2009, 7), from the start this plan was multifaceted:

> The objectives presented consisted of, generally speaking, the recuperation of these areas and of their heritage, the reinsertion of this area into the dynamic of the greater urban area, and the betterment of the social conditions of the population's habitation, and the economic valorization of the area, specifically through tourism (Braga & Ribeiro dos Santos 2009, 7).

The discourse of improved social conditions for the local population, as articulated here, proved to be farcical. Vieira (2007) reports that of the R$ 24 million invested in the first four stages of the PRCHS, not even two percent went toward the restoration of buildings for the local population, and less than four percent was set aside for indemnification costs. It was, rather, the "economic valorization" of the neighborhood through tourism that commanded the lion's share of funding. In the name of restoring the neighborhood from the threat of urban decay and destruction, the "reform" resulted in the occlusion of the social problems that caused the decay of that built form in the first place.

This covering up of social problems within the neighborhood *via* the deportation of its marginalized populations, and the subsequent structural reform that defined Pelourinho's revitalization, was the very method of infusing the myth of racial democracy into the collectively imagined past. Prior to the reform, the existence of a large marginalized population in this neighborhood, the majority of them Afro-descendant, signified a troubling contradiction in Brazil's popular imagination: in the land of racial democracy the Pelourinho was an inner city slum largely populated by poor Afro-Brazilians in what was, for many centuries, the center of slavery in Brazil. The movement to turn the Pelourinho into a World Heritage Site, a Historic Center and tourist magnet, focused both national and international attention on this neighborhood. As the eyes of Brazil and the world

116

turned toward the Pelourinho, the evacuation of the most marginalized elements of the neighborhood throughout the course of the reform effectually rendered invisible this stunning contradiction in what is supposedly a "beneficent, nonracist society in which Africans and Europeans are not 'two enemy halves' but 'two fraternizing halves,'" coexisting and procreating in a "Luso-Tropical" paradise (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 147). On the one hand, the remaining population of the Pelourinho was still largely an negro-mestiço population, and on the other hand it was said that evictees were not singled out because of race, but rather because of economic condition (Butler 1998). Non-"marginalized" black bodies served to infuse a picture of racial harmony into this landscape, to uphold the myth of racial democracy. History—now thoroughly inculcated with symbolic meaning and myth from society's collective imagination of its racial past and present—actively maps a heritage of racial harmony into this neighborhood. The Pelourinho's racial make-up, now free of the threatening elements of the poor and marginal, is a fundamental element in the virtuality of the place.

The remaining negro-mestiço presence in the Pelourinho—though fundamentally changed in economic structure—was not only necessary to maintain the façade of racial democracy, but also "essential to marketing the new Pelourinho to Brazilian and international tourists" (Butler 1998, 171). After all, in the original petition for the Pelourinho's inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage list, the neighborhood's "strong cultural characteristic of the area, and above all the black culture, [was] considered as important as the architectural preservation" (Braga & Ribeiro dos Santos 2009, 6-7). The cultural heritage on display in the

117

Pelourinho depends heavily on the incorporation (cooptation?) of its (imagined)

Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Bahian elements. At the same time, however, like the

gradual cultural appropriation of samba from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, the

neutralization of "dangerous elements," and its eventual re-scaling to symbol of

national identity, the Afro-Bahian culture that is commodified as heritage

throughout the Pelourinho has largely been neutralized and divorced from its

original context. Regarding Afro-Brazilian religion, Nascimento and Nascimento

(1992, 156) remark that

> more pernicious than outright repression has been reduction of African
> religious and cultural values to the status of folklore, the picturesque and
> exotic, denying their deeper philosophical and epistemological essence...
> In a subtle strategy of cooptation, African religious symbols and deities in
> Brazil have become the focus of thriving tourist industries and
> commercialization schemes, whose profits go exclusively to the white
> moneyed elite" (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 156).

The present-day simulacral imagining of the past converts history into heritage,

marketing "authentic" Afro-Brazilian culture in a landscape of irony and racial

democracy.

Interestingly, cultural artifacts from long before Pelourinho's reform,

themselves highly influenced by the myth of racial democracy, are summoned in

the present day to give credence to the myth. Perhaps the most relevant example

is that of beloved Bahian novelist Jorge Amado (1912 – 2001). Influenced by the

scholarly work of Gilberto Freyre and the attraction of racial democracy, in the

mid-20th century Amado became an important proponent of racial democracy and

self-professed "defender and patron of Afro-Brazilian culture" (Nascimento and

Nascimento 1992, 156). While Amado's long-term relationship with racial

democracy is problematic on many levels, of specific interest here is the author's view of Afro-Brazilian life in the Pelourinho. Amado sees the pre-reform Pelourinho in starkly different terms than, say, Afro-Brazilian geographer Milton dos Santos, whom I cited at length earlier in this chapter. Whereas dos Santos described abject poverty, high unemployment, and generally "miserable" living conditions in the neighborhood (dos Santos 2008 [1959], 173-174), Amado, writing in the same era, imagined a very different existence for Afro-Brazilians in the landscape of the Pelourinho. Opening his novel *Tent of Miracles*, he writes:

> In the neighborhood of Pelourinho in the heart of Bahia, the whole world teaches and learns. A vast university branches out into Tabuão, the Carmo Gates, and Santo-Antônio-Beyond-Carmo, into Shoemakers' Hollow [baixa dos sapataeiros], the markets, Maciel, Lapinha, Cathedral Square, Tororó, Barroquinha, Sete Portas, and Rio Vermelho, wherever there are men and women who work. And from the working of metal and wood, the blending of medicines from herbs and roots, and the cadence of quick-blooded rhythms, is created a fresh, original image of novel colors and sounds.
>
> Listen to the wood and leather drums, the twanging bow, the beaded gourds and rattles, the tambourines and coconuts, the metal bells and gongs, *atabaque, berimbau, ganzá, adufe, caxixí, agogô*: musical instruments of the poor, rich in melody and rhythm. Music and dance were born on the common man's campus:
> > *Camaradinho ê*
> > *Camaradinho, camará*
>
> [...]
>
> Professors are to be found in every house, every store, every workspace. In an interior patio of the building that houses Budião's [capoeira] Academy, the Sirens meet to rehearse for the parade and festival of the Sons of Bahia under the direction of young Valdeloir, a cracker-jack when it comes to street plays and carnival frolics. He knows everything there is to know about *capoeira*, including some inventions of his own which he added when he opened his own school in Tororó.
>
> The samba circle meets in the big courtyard on Saturdays and Sundays, and that's when black Ajaiy loves to show off. He has a rival for the post of *Afoxé* Ambassador in the person of Lídio Corró, but when it comes to samba he rules supreme as band leader and chief choreographer. He sets the rhythms and he charts the steps.

Then there are the miracle painters, artists who work in oils, or crayon, or a powdered paint mixed with thin glue. Whenever anyone makes a promise to Our Lord of Bonfim or Our Lady of Candlemas or some other saint, and his prayer is granted, he always comes to the miracle painters' shops to order a picture to hang in the church as a sign of gratitude...

Street singers, guitarists, and improvisers sell romance and poetry for a few pennies in this free territory, as do the composers of little leaflets hand-printed on Master Lídio Corró's printing press or in some other ill-equipped little shop.

The men are poets, pamphleteers, historians, chroniclers, and moralists. They report and comment on life in the city, setting to rhyme both real events and the equally astonishing stories they make up themselves: "The Virgin of Barbalho Who Stuck a Banana up Her . . ." or "Princess Maricruz and the Fying Knight." They offer protest and criticism, moral lessons and entertainment, and every so often they father a surprisingly good piece of verse (Amado 1971, 3-5).

Amado's idyllic images of life in the pre-reform Pelourinho live on in the present-day, "reformed" neighborhood. More the product of a myth than any Afro-Brazilian reality in Bahia, these kinds of artifacts from the past blend with present day simulacra of urban landscapes in a Pelourinho (mostly) free of the most marginalized elements of Afro-Brazilian society, and actively contribute to the mirage of racial democracy in the tourist landscape of the Pelourinho. In this place of tourism, it is the landscape's ability to occlude uneven economic and race relations that affords heritage its power to continually convert history into simulacra.

Yet, the urban landscape's power of occlusion is limited. The contradictions inherent within Salvador's Historical Center can come crashing down within that very landscape. Moving through this neighborhood there are children living in the street, collecting cans, smoking tobacco and marijuana, begging, provide the new residents of this neighborhood—the tourists, that is—an unsettling juxtaposition to the façade of a quaint, carefully maintained colonial

neighborhood. One particular experience I had with a group of American students is telling. While conducting fieldwork I hosted two groups of undergraduate students from my university on short-term study abroad programs. One evening soon after their arrival we were traversing the Pelô on our way to attend the weekly rehearsal of Olodum, one of the city's largest and most influential *blocos afros* (discussed at length in chapter six). The setting is important. To begin with, the so-called rehearsals are much more like performances and are attended by hundreds of spectators every week. We were standing on the cobblestone street outside the entrance to the venue that hosts the weekly event. Being mid-summer, it was hot. It was also just a month or so before carnival, so the rehearsals were very well attended and there was plenty of commotion in the street. Tourists, in a multitude of languages, tried to figure out which line was to purchase tickets and which line was to enter. Illegal scalpers offered tickets at discounts as police looked on, mostly to discourage would-be pickpockets and to act as a disincentive to anyone who might try to start a fight. One of the students in my group, directly confronted with the tragedy of a child that lives in the street asking for money as he points to his belly saying *tenho fome*—"I'm hungry"—couldn't keep her composure. Actuality collided with virtuality; reality shattered the simulacrum. She broke down in tears in the middle of the street. This event, where the image of a racially democratized society confronted the brute reality of the Afro-Bahian experience in the Pelourinho, colored this student's entire experience in Bahia. The limits of the landscape's power of occlusion are laid bare as the celebration of

cultural heritage collides with the reality of a state that hides a marginalized

population beneath a landscape of freshly painted colonial buildings.

Musicscapes of the Pelô

Carlos, a professional musician from Salvador, lived and worked

professionally in the United States for seven years before moving back to Brazil

in 2008. I knew him in the U.S. before I began this study, I had even played a few

gigs with his Brazilian group, but it was not until we were both in Bahia that we

became much closer friends. The importance of music in society was a perennial

topic in our conversations. He often drew comparisons between music in the

United States and Brazil, citing the participatory nature of music in Bahia. He told

me that in Bahia, the audience doesn't just go to the show to see the band

perform. Rather, "they're part of the show. We don't have this requirement that

the audience comes to listen, that they stay quiet." He went on:

> When Brazilian artists go to Europe or the U.S. to play, they think it's
> strange that the crowd doesn't sing along. For a Brazilian, it's as if the
> audience doesn't like the music. Then, all of a sudden, when the song's
> over, everyone applauds...

One afternoon Carlos and I were sitting in a café in the Pelourinho talking

about the differences between music in the U.S. and Brazil. Accentuating the

central role of a musical culture in everyday life in Bahia, Carlos related:

> I think that music has a role that is a little more... music, art, Bahian
> identity, all these things have a more predominant role in the lives of
> people here than in the parts of the United States where I have lived or
> visited. For example, listen right now... here we are having a conversation
> and right outside there is a guy selling *atabola*, using a triangle as his way
> of catching people's attention. It's from the culture of *forró* [a traditional
> northeastern Brazilian musical style].

As if on cue the high-pitched clanging of a street vendor's triangle pierced our conversation. "*Tang-k tang-k tang-k tang-k,*" Carlos imitates the sound of the triangle in its standard forró rhythm (see Figure 23).

Figure 23. Cassius playing the triangle with Circo dá Samba (photo by author).

In Salvador, music is not simply a metaphor for social life. It is through music that life is lived, quite literally *taking place* in the musicscape. At this point I move beyond the realm of the visible, beyond the colorful walls and cobblestone streets, beyond the shops and boutiques, and importantly, beyond the concrete physicality of the reformed Pelourinho neighborhood. Forcing this analysis into

the realm of the musicscapes that permeate life in these places, societal rhythms come into focus as they move in unison and opposition, in random (and not so random) acts of tension and resolution (and further tension).

In chapter two I argued for a theoretical approach to music that reaches beyond representation, and in chapter three I presented a conceptualization of the musicscape that attempts to collapse the metaphorical relationship between music and life in championing music's constitutive role in social life. Based on arguments for a non-representational understanding of music, the idea is to "make sense of the ecologies of place created by actions and processes, rather than the place portrayed by the end product" (Lorimer 2005, 84-85). At issue are places that music-in-action creates rather than an analysis based upon the product of the performance. The musicscape, I asserted, is the place where society's polyrhythmia takes aural form. It is not a representation but rather the aural embodiment of society's rhythms, of tensions, resolutions, the ongoing process of build-up and release. Accordingly, the rhythmanalyst—striving for both the intimacy of being "in it" and the analytical power of exteriority—opens up new realms of aural analysis in the Pelourinho. In the musicscape new layers emerge as sounds resonate throughout this historical neighborhood, at one and the same time participating in the creation of space, identity, and culture, and simultaneously constituting a simulacrum, an aural "snapshot" of a virtual history.

I roam the streets and alleys of the Pelourinho, a rhythmanalyst. The sounds and musics of this Bahian landscape are striking. Aural lines fly through space and time, at times hurled from the ether, a cacophony of chaotic urban

clatter. Other times the music seems blessed from on high, harmonious resonance, as if place unfolds in the design of a master plan. The divergent timbres and complex polyrhythms are of instant and endless fascination. The rhythms of society are infinite, in motion, changing, interacting, adapting: a musicscape of possibility.

Two distinct musicscapes emerge from this same landscape. As in the story of the Pelourinho's landscape, the story of these musicscape hinges on the reform. However, this is not simply a temporal story of before and after, of pre- and post-. Rather, this single event forced the creation of two seemingly separate, homologous musicscapes simultaneously enveloping spaces and places, resonating on very different wavelengths. Characterizing them as homologous as opposed to parallel is intentional. Parallel implies two lines or planes, each independent of the other, never crossing, *ad infinitum*. Musicscapes in the Pelourinho are more complex; they are fields, encompassing the neighborhood, occupying different frequencies yet anchored spatially to points in the landscape. In the same way that musical notes resonate on a series of harmonic tones, so too do musicscapes. And in the same way that harmonics of distinct notes interact with each other—resonating harmoniously, creating violent dissonances, simply cancelling each other out—the musicscapes' harmonics are constantly changing, coming into contact with each other, and crisscrossing through space and time. But while the harmonic patterns of specific musical notes are functions of the sonic properties of that note, musicscapes' patterns, interactions, tensions, and resolutions are infinitely more complex. Socially produced and productive, these

musicscapes operate somewhere between complete autonomy and perfect

harmony. They play off of each other, neither achieving perfect pitch nor

descending into atonal dissonance.

Generally speaking, these musicscapes split along a line—porous and with

a large gray area, but a division nonetheless—between the neighborhood's local

population and the multitudes of visitors that pass through each year. This is,

quite literally, a heterotopia.

> The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the
> erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws
> and knaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words,
> we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place
> individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored
> with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates
> sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not
> superimposable on one another (Foucault 1986, 23).

These are "spaces of multiplicity or spaces of difference. They are spaces that are

simultaneously home to conflicting performances" (Mitchell 2000, 215). Or, in

the words of Foucault (1986, 25), "the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a

single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."

I start from the perspective of Milton, a professional musician who has

made his living working inside the Pelourinho for over 15 years (Figure 24). I met

Milton after seeing him perform a number of times at a small café in the

Pelourinho. The spot, J&K, is typical for the historic center: a small restaurant and

bar tucked into the ground floor of a freshly painted colonial building on *Rua

Maciel de Baixo*, one of the Pelourinho's cobblestone streets now only open to

foot traffic. Like many other restaurants in the neighborhood, J&K does the vast

majority of its business outdoors. Red, blue, and yellow plastic tables and chairs

brightly advertise the beer selections and seat 40 or so patrons in front of the restaurant in the middle of the street. The unevenness of the cobblestones underfoot creates a precarious situation for tables overloaded with beer bottles and chairs with lubricated patrons, though no one really seems to care. The collective attention of the J&K public is focused on a makeshift stage set up just a few feet to the right of the restaurant's front door. Three performances per day—a lunchtime set, a dinner set, and a third set that lasts late into the night—feature solo musicians, duos, or small combos working on a rotating schedule.

Figure 24. Milton performing at J&K (photo by author).

A transplant from the state of Sergipe, a few hours to the north, Milton has been playing music professionally in Salvador since 1991. Arriving on the eve of the Program for the Recuperation of Salvador's Historic Center (PRCHS), he

witnessed in the Pelourinho a vibrant cultural life centered in the marginalized

neighborhood. He told me:

> I arrived in Pelourinho 16 years ago. 16 years ago Pelourinho had its own
> life, its own musical life. No matter what corner you were on, there would
> be a musical manifestation. You would have a pop band, a reggae band,
> you would have very high quality MPB (Brazilian Popular Music),
> Olodum was playing, experimental bands, experimental music right in the
> street. The quality and diversity was really large. You had more options,
> more diversity...

He goes on to describe an organic, spontaneous scene, notable for its participatory

nature:

> [Before the reform], things were much freer, more spontaneous. Every
> Monday there was a meeting of many artists in the *Largo do Pelourinho*.
> It was a jam session where a lot of different artists performed. There was
> *Banzo*, a bar that had great music and hosted various bands, there was
> *Babilônia*, another place for great shows.

When I asked Milton about the Pelourinho today, his attitude quickly changed as

his mood soured. Milton sees in the Pelô a neighborhood that, culturally speaking,

has been seriously harmed by its status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and

the broad "reform" that followed:

> With the reforms that were done, a lot of establishments were closed
> down, a lot of the popular manifestations eventually ended. There was a
> lack of feeling, of soul... Pelourinho today, as the historical center of the
> city, is largely devoid of places with music, with good music.

To Milton, the top-down reform of the PRCHS fundamentally changed

this hyper-local scene. It shifted action from localized, participatory engagements

to top-down governmental organization at the scale of the city and state. Where

musical manifestations were once spontaneous, events in the Pelourinho today are

organized by the city or state and sponsored by national and international

companies. Vendors purchase permits to sell traditional street foods, beer and

mixed drinks, to crowds under strict surveillance by an organized (and often heavy-handed) security apparatus. Now officially dubbed the *Centro Histórico*, the spontaneity of the Pelourinho's scene is sacrificed in exchange for regularity—a musicscape controlled and commodified for tourist consumption. Bahia's state government "plays a very effective intermediary managerial role between the popular masses who perform traditional cultural activities and the outsiders who come to see [and consume] them" (Armstrong 2010, 465). Again, Milton:

> It's just that 15 years ago, the historical center had its own life. There were a lot more cultural options before the reform... There was a wider variety of places to hear these jam sessions. There was more direct contact with the artists. After the reform, in which a lot of people were thrown out, it became a political game where people were replaced with commerce. It has lost a lot, it really has lost a lot.

Freezing the on-going process of culture as a "cultural site" has drastically affected music in the Pelô. Dismayed, Milton related that "tour guides and tourism companies sell the Centro Histórico as *batucada* [African drumming]. You go to the Centro Histórico to see a lot of people playing drums." The case of Olodum, analyzed in depth in the next chapter, illustrates the implications of this cultural cryonics for race and racial democracy in Salvador. Suffice here to say that the act of defining, capturing, co-opting, and labeling as "culture" the performativity that was so central to the Pelourinho's musical existence—and the using it to attract tourists to the "reformed" neighborhood—eroded away that very spontaneity. The attempt to contain a vibrant musical culture, in the words of Milton, led directly to a vast "*falta de cultura*" (lack of culture) in exactly that place.

More than simply chronological, the reform has resulted in the fracturing of the neighborhood in multiple musical dimensions, largely segregated yet in constant interaction. Spatially—horizontally—there is the unsurprising segregation between spots frequented by tourists and those frequented by locals. Though clearly diminished as a result of the reform, the historically participatory nature of music in Bahia becomes an organizing factor in the Pelourinho's segregated musicscapes. Chatting with Milton about places in Pelourinho frequented by Bahians more than tourists, he related, "the tourists like to sit down and watch. Bahians like to dance, to participate in the show."

The effect is palpable. The ground level restaurant of the Hotel Villa Bahia faces out onto the *Largo do Cruzeiro de São Francisco* in the heart of the Pelourinho. "*Baianas*"—women in traditional Afro-Bahian costumes (see Figure 25)—greet visitors and passers-by with menus, luring them in with a coupon for a free *caipirinha*. A solo guitarist sits quietly in the corner strumming an acoustic guitar and sings a mostly recognizable catalogue of bossa novas and sambas, the music of the likes of Antonio Carlos Jobim, Vinícius de Moraes, João Gilberto, Astrud Gilberto, and Caetano Veloso. Diners, very few of whom speak Portuguese, have very little interaction with the musician as he provides a quiet, relaxing background soundtrack to their evening. A similar scene unfolds just a few blocks away at the much smaller *Pousada Beija Flor*, where guests, mostly those staying in one of the boutique hotels in the area, might drop a Real or two in the tip jar, but otherwise have very limited contact with the musician. These musicalized spaces of tourism are highly choreographed and controlled. Prices

probably seem cheap compared to similar spots in the United States or Europe (the frame of reference for the vast majority of the clientele) as the tourist consumes a meal, a drink, and an "authentic" musical experience.

Figure 25. *Baianas* in the Pelourinho (photos by author).

Spots in the Pelourinho frequented by a local clientele provide a striking counterpoint to these controlled spaces of tourism. At the *Boteco do Dy*, a local spot on the southernmost edge of the Pelourinho (see Figure 26), samba and *chorinho* groups play live on Friday and Saturday nights. The restaurant offers two or three different *pratos feitos*, or prepared meals, generally rice, beans, pasta, and a choice of meats—chicken or beef, beef or port, sometimes fish—for about R$5, or just over two dollars. The bar is stocked with beer and *cachaça* (a Brazil liquor made from fermented sugarcane). The band, usually four members, plays seated around a table in one corner. As the restaurant fills up, the crowd spills

onto the street. Extra plastic tables and chairs materialize on the sidewalk outside.

Pedestrian traffic is forced into the street to contend with buses, taxis, and private

cars. As the night progresses the tables and chairs are pushed aside as the

seemingly natural tendency to shake to the samba rhythm overtakes nearly

everyone within earshot. The waiters and bartenders seem unconcerned by the

independent vendors that congregate on the outermost edges of the crowd selling

cans of beer out of Styrofoam coolers—the bar can't keep up with the demand for

beer anyway. These types of places are dominated by locals and almost

completely devoid of a foreign accent. The music, from *samba de mesa* (literally

"table samba") to chorinho, is much more than the consumable representational

product of "culture." It is alive, active in the on-going constitution of local

identity in this place. In the Pelourinho local spot are dwarfed by many more

aimed specifically at tourists. There are distinct lines between places of tourism

and places for local baianos. And this difference is distinctly felt in the

musicscapes.

Figure 26. Boteco do Dy on a Friday night (photo by author).

The spatial segregation, however, is in no way absolute. Heterotopias, the musicscapes exist—completely subsume—the very same physical territory. There is overlap as these societal rhythms do not exist in a vacuum but rather crisscross and interact, simultaneously shaping, and being shaped by, the other. At times the two distinct musicscapes overlap in a single space and time, at a particular event perhaps. This spatial and temporal confluence might lead a casual observer to conclude that some kind of consolidation or unification has occurred. But nuanced differences in spatialities and temporalities make it clear that while there is clear interaction between musicscapes, one has not collapsed into the other. Distinction prevails.

The events of one particular night are telling. I was in the Pelourinho on a Tuesday, one of the busiest nights for live music in the neighborhood. It was

133

summer, just a month or two before carnival, and the height of the tourist season. The concerts and parties every Tuesday night culminate in a single event, Olodum's weekly rehearsal in the *Praça Pedro Arcanjo*. I was there to conduct impromptu, on-the-spot interviews with people from all over the world who gathered for the live music and festivities on that summer night. The dynamics of individuals and groups, observed from afar, proved more enlightening than any interview that I conducted that evening. Unlike many of the festivities in the Pelourinho, Olodum's rehearsals take place in an enclosed plaza, accessible only to those who pay the R$30 (~US$15) ticket price. From a stairway across the street I watched as the line for tickets swelled. By seven o'clock there were at least 100 people waiting in line for tickets. It was obvious that the line was mostly made up of people from out of town, both Brazilian and international tourists it seemed to me. A general level of confusion accompanied this gathering of people, speaking different languages, negotiating currency values, purchasing tickets from the ticket window and beers and bottled water from street vendors, posing for photos with friends, some with whom they travelled to Bahia, others that they'd just met minutes, hours, or days earlier. Also, this crowd was almost completely white. I stood about halfway up a stairway across the narrow street, observing, chatting with passers-by, watching and—importantly—listening. I greeted an acquaintance who worked in a nearby café. I asked her, as a local woman who grew up in Salvador, about her impressions of the scene playing out in the street below. She confirmed my suspicions: she couldn't imagine that any more than 10 or 15 percent of those that were actually in line, waiting to get into the show, were

134

locals. After the better part of an hour the line finally died down as everyone purchased tickets, passed through security, and advanced into the plaza.

Quickly a new crowd congregated on the steps outside the protected entrance into the rehearsal space. This time the crowd was very different. From my vantage across the street it was clear that this new crowd was dominated by baianos. My friend had left, but this new group came dressed in local styles and spoke with a distinctly Bahian inflection. They were also much darker. Many in this crowd knew the workers, security guards, and police officers surrounding the entrance. Some musicians came out to greet their friends while other musicians, arriving late, negotiated the crowd with their massive drums to escape into the interior plaza, hopefully unnoticed to the group's directors. Importantly, this crowd was not paying R$30 to get in the door. Rather, the security guards at the door were checking names off the guest list, allowing many to get in for free. Some of the musicians that came out from within negotiated the free entrance of their friends waiting outside, others bought discounted *meia* (half-price) tickets to at least get their friends in for R$15 instead of R$30. While an hour earlier this place was the site of a spectacle to a mostly foreign crowd, the same place, indeed the very same event, ripples through both musicscapes, segregated, if not by space, then by time.

The temporal segregation outside the plaza translated to a strong spatial segregation inside. Quite literally, tourists and foreigners dominate one side of the hall while the other side is populated almost completely by baianos. Following one rehearsal, I wrote in my field notebook:

135

Dec 21, 2008: Went to Olodum's rehearsal last night. I started to see how space is segregated. Foreigners congregate on one side, near the entrance where you walk in (providing an easy escape route in a situation perceived as potentially dangerous?). Brazilians—and mostly darker skinned Bahians—populate the far side. The near side has a couple little restaurants with servers and cocktail waitresses wandering through crowd, serving beers for R$3 and caipirinhas for R$5. On the far side (but probably less than 50 feet away), beer only costs R$2 and is sold out of old Styrofoam coolers by individuals sellers. No bars, restaurants, or servers present here.

In the enclosed space of a single small interior plaza in the historic neighborhood of the Pelourinho the tensions of a society—between white and black, local and foreigner, between performance and "authentic" cultural representation—resonate, quite literally, in the same musicscape but on different frequencies as their harmonies and overtones meet and interact in the aural spaces of the 500-year-old neighborhood. Ever-present the tension of music for tourist consumption, but at the same time tourists who are uneasy of those selling them what they have travelled to see, and those that are selling uneasy with the tourists, and their motives, in the first place.

Experiencing Place in the Musicscape

While common points in space-time provide opportunities for convergence, divergent musicscapes lead different groups to vastly different place experiences. On the one hand, to many baianos music in the Pelourinho is perhaps the central aspect of the on-going performance of identity in a conflicted and contradictory neighborhood of racism and exclusion. The baiano experiences a musicscape where notes, rhythms, drums, melodies, harmonies, form the very

fabric of existence in contemporary Bahia. Central to that existence is Salvador's

ever-present African heritage. Milton told me:

> Listen, for being an area that is 70% black, 80% black, the drums speak
> very loudly. The African thing is deeply inculcated in the culture of the
> people here. It's in the groove. You can see kids that are just three years
> old drumming, they've already got the rhythm, the groove, and it's strong.
> Afro culture is really strong here. And it's mixed with other things. You
> see Carlinhos Brown, in Wilson Café, in Ilê Aiyê, in Olodum. You see this
> during carnival, it is a force that brings people together. It's like that,
> everything is between the rhythms and some harmony.

This force is on display during the many free, public events that take place in the

Pelourinho, especially in the months leading up to carnival. During one pre-

carnival festival I roamed the crowd, made up of mostly baianos, chatting with

different groups people, conducting impromptu interviews with anyone who

seemed willing. At one point in the night, while Olodum's drums pounded in the

background, I asked a young man in his late 20s what he thought about the show,

how he was feeling. "Olodum *é uma coisa maravilhosa*"—it's a marvelous thing.

"It's frenetic rhythm, very cool... I'm in a general state of ecstasy. It's very good,

very cool." A minute later I talked to another young baiano who told me that

"Olodum is the history of Bahia, it marks the entire history of Bahia... It makes

me really happy, I feel like a real Bahian." Later in the night I interviewed a group

of three Bahian women, all in the late 20s or early 30s. They knew all the songs,

the rhythms, the breaks, and the calls. As the others sang along in the background,

each took turns shouting into my recorder.

> Olodum is everything... Happiness, harmony, Olodum is *huge*... I can't
> explain it! Every time I come it's the same thing... I come every year, I'm
> passionate about it! I love it!

The next told me:

> I'm from Bahia, *Salvador da Bahia...* Olodum is everything! Everything that is good. Olodum is my life. Olodum is everything *velho* [old man]. If you go to carnival once with Olodum, you'll go every year.

I tell her I'm going to march with Olodum during carnival, at this point only a few weeks off. Her only response is to say "there you'll find out what it is... it's really unexplainable. If only I could explain it to you..." Her voice trails off before she picks up the chorus of the song being sung.

Figure 27. In the bloco with Olodum (photo by author).

Mostly blind to the subtle segregating power a wallet full of foreign currency affords, tourists fill spaces and experience places much differently than locals. Visitors experience this musicscape as a cultural representation of the still-pervasive myth of racial democracy. Just as in the case of the built landscape in which the very act of creating heritage cut against the fundamental interests of the people who the heritage supposedly celebrates, in the musicscape of the reformed Pelourinho the tourist sees the music, the *batuque*, the groove, the parades, the festivals, as evidence of some kind of racial harmony. Writing on culture and tourism in the Pelourinho Straile (2007, 226) comments:

> ...Afro-Brazilian cultural forms also fall prey to the forces of capitalism and white supremacy. Selling *acarajé* at curbside or advertising her costume, [the Bahiana woman wearing traditional Candomblé dress] exemplifies the most common kind of opportunity for the foreign or Brazilian tourist to intersect with culture—as a consumer. The visitor to the Pelourinho or to Salvador may partake of any number of cultural facsimiles, all genuinely entertaining and even educational to varying degrees. The state's educational goals and even those of consciousness raising groups are often subordinated to the commercial needs for tourism, the effect being that everything is for sale, including and perhaps most importantly, culture.

In this context, music as a commercialized cultural product only furthers the pervasiveness of the myth of racial democracy.

I again used impromptu, on-the-spot interviews to connect with many visitors in Bahia. I spoke with people from all over Brazil and the rest of the world, from the neighboring Brazilian state of *Espiritu Santo* to New York City, from the U.K. to the French Caribbean. One Tuesday night in the Pelourinho I struck up a conversation with four foreigners roaming the streets looking for the most inviting party. Each from very different places, Sweden, Norway, London,

139

and Turkey *via* San Diego, and each in Bahia for a different reason, they had heard from the hotel receptionist that Tuesday nights in the Pelourinho were big. In the words of one, "it is actually the night of Pelourinho, Tuesday night, it's supposed to be amazing, and it is." And while the climax of Tuesday nights in the Pelô is always the Olodum show, this group was skeptical about going in. One of the women told me that they were tempted, "but we were just talking that we might as well stay on the streets listening to the different types of music." The Londoner quickly chimed in:

> I was thinking that they charge a lot of money here. I reckon it's something like a tourist trap. I think if we walk around, a bit more out of the way. I'm probably here another week or two, so I'll probably definitely go see it [the Olodum rehearsal], but I think you can get more just walking around, getting a lot of different music.

Obviously a tourist attraction, this international crew traversed the alleys and streets of the Pelô in search of the best deal on musical experience.

The next Tuesday I spoke with a couple visiting from the city of Vitoria, just one state to the South (and Salvador's biggest rival in *futebol*). They identified Olodum as "*uma referencia Baiana, é a cultura da Bahia. Que o batuque é a cultura da Bahia*"—"a Bahian reference point, it's the culture of Bahia. This *batuque* is the culture of Bahia." The rhythm and beat, the drums, the neighborhood itself, become cultural items to be consumed. Understood in representational terms, rather than animate, living, perpetually becoming, the musicscape is culture on display. It is something for visitors to come into, experience, shoot pictures, even make audio recordings to take home with them, and then depart.

140

Chapter 6

O OLODUM

Digging deeper into the musicscapes of the Pelourinho, well beneath the surfaces of a vibrant musical scene and through the veneer of a city pulsating with rhythm and melody, immediately apparent is a musical culture replete with multiple levels of power contestations. Perhaps the best manifestation of this cultural contestation is Olodum, one of the city's largest blocos afros (African blocks). Situated within the physical spaces of the Pelourinho and the conflicted and contradictory history that this neighborhood embodies, Olodum was born in the late 1970s out of the reAfricanization movement in Bahia and a rejection of mainstream Brazilian identity radiating from Brazil's southeastern power center of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Music crystallized early on as Olodum's vehicle in this cultural contestation, as new rhythms and genres emerged as active ingredients in its quest to end racism and violence in Brazil's African capital. The music of Olodum—the rhythm of the drums, the melodies and harmonies of the songs, the tightly choreographed movements of the dance—provided a platform for a societal performance that reaches beyond resistance. In the face of marginalization from the political and economic mainstream and from popular constructions of *brasilidade*, or a national Brazilian identity, the music of Olodum provided an alternative route for the negro-mestiço majority to contest national social hegemonies, producing a lived and vibrant world constructed on their own terms.

Understanding the role of music in society as more than representational, this chapter traces the emergence of Olodum from the marginalized neighborhood of the Pelourinho in the 1970s. In over 30 years Olodum has grown into a 300-plus member *bloco* that performs during Salvador's massive carnival celebration, an 18-piece touring stage band, a theatre and dance company, a 350-student cultural school, and an Olodum store selling officially licensed gear, including tee-shirts, hats, CDs, DVDs, and even the drums themselves. More than a musical group, or even a vast community and cultural organization, Olodum is a brand. The commodification not only of the music of Olodum, but of the group's actual discourse of resistance, challenges the notion of a purely non-representational treatment of music. It is to the story of Olodum that I now turn.

Unequal Brazil

While the Brazilian economy was the eighth largest in the world in 2009 (World Bank 2010), and consistently experiences robust growth, especially in industrial and postindustrial sectors, the United Nations 2009 Human Development Report shows that inequality within the country is also among the highest in the world. While the poorest 10 percent of Brazil's population controls just one percent of the country's wealth, the richest 10 percent controls nearly half.[8] Concomitantly, mortality rates for children under the age of five are three times higher for the poorest 20 percent of the population compared to that of the richest 20 percent (UN HDR 2009, 200).

---

[8] According to the UN Human Development Report (UN HDR 2009), there are only nine countries in the world in which wealth is more unequally distributed.

In Brazil, economic and educational disparity correlates tightly with racial difference. In 2008 black or mixed race Brazilians over the age of 15 were more than twice as likely as their white counterparts to be illiterate. While more than 20 percent of college-age whites attend some form of higher education, just 7 percent of blacks and mixed race Brazilians do. A glance at various economic indicators shows a similar pattern. Nationally, whites have, on average, two more years of education than black or mixed-race Brazilians, and earn nearly twice the average monthly salary. At the same time, white Brazilians command salaries that are, on average, 36 percent greater than black or mixed-race Brazilians of similar education levels (IBGE 2010).

Racial difference and economic disparity is also manifest geographically. While the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro is over 50 percent white and the population of São Paulo is more than 60 percent white, the northeast city of Salvador's population is less than 20 percent white, while 25 percent self identify as black and over 55 percent as "brown," or mixed race (IBGE 2010). GDP per capita of the northeast city of Salvador is also less than half of that of its southeastern counterparts (IBGE 2010). (Visualized, the results are striking: http://184.73.169.197/brazil/Brazil.html.)

The situation within the state of Bahia (of which Salvador is the capital city) largely mirrors that of Brazil as a whole. Patterns of poverty and racism that date to Salvador's colonial existence permeate this city that is over 80 percent Afro-descendant. The salary of whites of all education levels in Salvador nearly triples that of their Afro-descendant counterparts, while illiteracy in the black and

mixed-race population is 60% higher than in the white population (IBGE 2010).

Not surprisingly, political power is also concentrated among the city's white

population (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992; Butler 1998).

The concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the few

leads Butler (1998, 157-158) to state:

> Basic truths about Bahia [and Brazil more generally] have defined its
> society since the sixteenth century. True power, derived from wealth and
> influence, is vested in a relatively small segment of the population and is
> accessed through complex chains of patronage. Government is frequently
> little more than a venue for patrons and clients to negotiate favors. The
> dynastic nature of power in Bahia is such that few non-elites (not only
> Afro-Brazilians) have been able to enter a ruling class defined by its
> origins in the landed aristocracy of the sugar colony.

Butler (1998, 158) continues that those "seeking elite status without all of the

other tacitly defined keys of access discover that they must either accept limits on

their advance or, alternatively, create their own private spheres of influence." In

Bahia, art, and especially music, have emerged to create this alternative sphere of

influence, providing new routes of visibility, influence, and (eventually) power.

Artistic forms have long provided marginalized populations with such

alternative routes. Smith (1997, 502) foregrounds art as a medium "in which

boundaries are established and transgressed, and in which difference is marked

out and challenged" (cf. Bhabha 1994; Pile and Thrift 1995; Kirby 1996). And

while geography's preoccupations with art have generally remained fixated on the

visual, a cultural politics approach to music has recently begun to emerge. Music

can function as a spatial marker, and at the same time, styles, and even

instruments are often emblematic of regional and national identities. In some

cases, music is purely celebratory, while in others, it marks sites of contestation

144

and transgression. Ingham, Purvis, and Clarke (1999), for instance, demonstrate the potential that music holds in contesting cultural norms by tracing the evolution of temporary warehouse parties in northern England. Originally these events were sites of countercultural transgression using music, dance, and drugs to reappropriate "libertarian capitalism and put it to uses for which it wasn't intended" (Collin 1997, 7; in Ingham, Purvis, and Clarke 1999, 290). Simultaneously there is always the threat of appropriation and commercialization, as demonstrated by Ingham, Purvis, and Clarke (1999), noting that these sites of transgression were quickly appropriated into the British commercial mainstream.

Further, unlike other cultural forms, music "penetrates forbidden spaces, expresses the unspeakable and offers a style of communication quite different from the written or spoken word" (Smith 1997, 515). Echoing critical race and feminist theorist bell hooks (1992), Smith (1997, 516) elaborates on the complex ways in which rap music provides a voice to racial minorities in the United States:

> Music is the one cultural form that has consistently provided black Americans with a voice that is likely to be heard… Music…provides a means of expressing creativity, articulating frustration, asserting identity and claiming entitlements… Perhaps the truth is that music flourishes in the spaces of oppression precisely because it is the one resource the powerless can mobilize to enhance their lives and challenge their marginality.

Though the case of rap in the United States is also complicated by its tremendous commercialization (Smith 1997), it nevertheless demonstrates how music became an effective medium through which Black Americans contested, and continue to contest, oppression and racism. In the end, music, according to Saldanha (2005,

707) "is always bound up in power struggles." It has "the capacity to arrange and politicize social formations."

Maria Lucas (2000, 44) asserts that in Brazil, music has long been "of utmost importance as a channel of communication in a society in which education and literacy are limited to half of the population, and in which social and civil rights are denied to the majority of Brazilians." It is precisely the racially and economically exclusive power structure that has created a situation in which, in order to assert collective strength and identity, the negro-mestiço majority has been forced to seek alternative routes to power and influence. The outcome has been striking. Referring specifically to Salvador, Butler (1998, 159) remarks:

> What began as one of the New World's most nefarious plantation economies, where slaves were worked to death because it was cheaper and easier to replace them than to keep them into old age, is today a Mecca of African culture in the diaspora. Afro-Bahians have created one of the most vital alternative communities in the Afro-Atlantic world, with institutions such as Candomblé through which people of African descent maintain a distinct value system and world view. Through these institutions, Afro-Brazilians find the personal dignity, self-worth, and social power that is so frequently denied them in the larger society.

From marginality spring alternative routes to social power. In Bahia, the arts—and especially music—have been central in creating these alternatives. But their very success has also led to remarkable contradictions bubbling just below the surface, as the specific case of Olodum clearly demonstrates.

Marginality & Resistance

To bell hooks, marginality is not only defined by deprivation, and the margin is not simply a site of oppression. It is also a "space of resistance" (hooks 1990, 341). Indeed, marginality is:

> a central location for the production of a counter hegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives. [It is not] marginality one wished to lose, to give up, or surrender as part of moving into the center, but rather as a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist. It offers the possibility of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds (hooks 1990, 341).

She continues: "Understanding marginality as position and place of resistance is crucial for oppressed, exploited, colonized people" (hooks 1990, 342). It is within these conditions of deprivation that oppositional and counter-hegemonic currents are formulated and expressed, be it through music, fine art, theatre, or poetry. As early as the 1970s in Salvador, as in the favelas of turn-of-the-century Rio de Janeiro (see Chapter Four), music was an important means through which marginalized groups are able to challenge hegemonic cultural constructions of national identity. And it is not only through music that marginality is contested, but it is precisely music, and the arts more broadly, that provide an alternative to this marginality.

Perhaps one of the most marginalizing institutions in Brazil is the education system. Speaking from personal experience, Zé, a participant in this study, told me:

> We had a childhood, we had time to grow up. Today, kids are not kids, they have an adult mentality, you know? You actually have to teach children that they are children. You have to give the kids the opportunity to be kids, so that they can eventually become adults. It's easy to see that

147

here, kids don't have anything to do. They go to school and return home. From there they go with mothers as domestic workers or with their fathers to work in the fields. All this time they remain outside of society. They know that school, the act itself of studying, won't actually take them anywhere. School only works if you have money to pay tuition in a private school. If you have to depend on the public school, you won't get anywhere.

This commentary is but one of many articulations I heard from participants and personal friends alike of the fundamental paradox of Brazil's education system. At the primary and secondary level, the quality of public education is shameful. The public university system, on the other hand, is both excellent and free. The irony is, of course, that public primary and secondary education cannot properly prepare students for the public university system's rigorous entrance examinations. In almost all cases, the only way to get into the public university system is to have received an expensive private secondary education, something that only the wealthiest Brazilians can afford. This has a strong segregating effect. My personal experience working in affiliation with the Department of Social Science at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBa) corroborates the education and development statistics cited above: walking the campus of the university was quite possibly the whitest space that I experienced in this Afro-Brazilian city.

I spoke at length about the education system in Brazil and its connection to the arts with Sara, a singer and journalist who grew up in Salvador. One of very few black women to graduate from the federal university, she enunciated the role that music, and art more generally, can play in the face of a public education system so heavily tilted against Brazil's massive working class.

> Art has a universal role, it is inclusive, it permits difference… I think that art is utilized in many cases to bring individuals that are invisible in mainstream society into the realm of visibility.

She went on, articulating the importance of music in her development not only as a musician, but also as a black woman growing up in Salvador:

> I was really mature for my age. It was music, in a way, that accelerated this maturity, this understanding of the world, of differences, of why I was, this condition. Why I was different than the other kids, why my hair was like this, why my physical characteristics as a black woman were devalued. It was music that gave me a certain social understanding. It wasn't just about dancing. Music brought a comfort because it was telling me these same things that I was feeling.

Thus geographically distant and politically, economically, and racially marginalized from the Brazilian mainstream, social resistance in Salvador has long operated in the city's cultural realm. Writing over a generation ago, Bahia historian and cultural critic Antonio Risério (1981, 21) described the centrality of cultural forms to Bahian daily life:

> It is important to restate that Bahia is a region that is essentially cultural. For example, it can be noted that up until now not a single politician has the background or leadership that the artists, intellectuals, and the religious leaders have. In fact, it is the latter group that has been the real creators of Bahian consciousness, from Jorge Amado to Menininha do Gantois, from Dorival Caymmi to Caetano Veloso […] Today, Gilberto Gil is the largest figure to the Black youth.

Echoing Risério, Sara similarly emphasized the importance of culture in this so-called "Black Bahia":

> It's not just the high quantitative presence of Blacks as much as the culture, Candomblé, which comes with its specific rhythms for each orixá [deity]. More than just that, it's the dissemination of groups that become internationally known, like Olodum and Ilê and the dissemination of [Bahia's] percussive music.

Deprived of adequate public education and in the face of crippling economic and political marginalization, music has been, and continues to be a vital tool that Bahia's negro-mestiço population turns to in order to understand the reality of their marginalized place in a racist social order, to channel their frustrations, to challenge the center from the margin.

Solidly within this framework of cultural resistance from the margin, Salvador became, in the 1960s and 1970s, the center of a nationwide "reAfricanization" movement influenced by the black movement in North America (and especially the Black Panthers, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X), and the Pan-Africa movement happening worldwide (Rodrigues 1999, 43). The geographic center of this movement in Salvador is fitting as this city was the original capital of Brazil, was the center of the Brazilian slave trade, is said to be the largest black capital off the continent of Africa, and is nearly the closest place to Africa in the Americas—a spatial symbolism not lost on the local population.

In the 1970s a new sound emerged in Salvador with strong local and regional resonance. At the time, Jamaican reggae was popular in the city as a racialized and politicized musical genre that was the soundtrack of the African diaspora worldwide. With Afro-centric themes of civil rights and black power, reggae fit the larger context of reAfricanization, and was hugely popular in Salvador. At the same time, central to the reAfricanization movement in Salvador was the creation and proliferation of blocos afros, Afro-centric neighborhood-based community organizations. And central to these blocos was providing Salvador's negro-mestiço majority a black space in the city's carnival celebration,

150

hitherto largely restricted to the city's white elite. (This is an issue I deal with extensively in the next chapter). With the creation of blocos afros came the creation of samba-reggae, a musical genre that blended elements of Jamaican reggae with the beat of Brazil's so-called "national" music. The result was a laid back samba, grooving with many of the same instruments, but a wildly different feel. Instead of frantically burning by at more than 120 beats per minute (more than two beats per second), samba-reggae takes it slow, generally clocking in at just over half the tempo of its frenetic root. Further, like Jamaican reggae, samba-reggae's lyrical messages have been racially conscious and socially motivated since its inception. According to Schaeber (1999, 64), "Blocos afros originated from anti-racist protest, within which music was the vehicle of denunciation." Through samba-reggae, born in the streets of Salvador and institutionalized by the city's blocos, the resistance of the negro-mestiço population rang out throughout the city, embodied in rhythm and song. In this new hybrid genre, the beat itself was a musical protest.

In the late 1970s the phenomena of the bloco afro was coalescing throughout the various neighborhoods in Salvador. In the Pelourinho neighborhood, the historical center of the city, "a group called Olodum was born. Olodum is a Yoruba word that means the moment of creation, of being in Orum, the supreme deity, conceived by other religions as God. It is a powerful force" (Jorge 1999, 47). Olodum's goals are broad, going far beyond the five days of carnival. First and foremost, the group directly challenges the paradigm of racial democracy that has dominated Brazilian thought since the early 20th century.

Rejecting the widespread view that class—not race—has been the force behind

the marginalization of Brazil's negro-mestiço population, Olodum directly

denounced racism at all levels of society (Armstrong 2002). At the same time,

while the movement toward reAfricanization in Bahia is predicated on asserting

the fundamental civil and social rights of Bahia's (and indeed all of Brazil's) vast

negro-mestiço population, Olodum is "alert to the struggle against various other

structural ills in society (eradicating oppressions and liberating creativity)"

(Armstrong 2002, 186).

Fundamental to Olodum's narrative is the group's very localized place

connection to the Pelourinho neighborhood. To Olodum percussionist Zé,

Olodum's strength comes precisely because the group "was born here, inside

Maciel[9] Pelourinho… during a time of war, of drug trafficking, from all of those

things Olodum was formed here." This statement articulates two themes that run

common throughout Olodum's popular narrative: that the group rose out of the

dilapidated neighborhood of Pelourinho, and that its creators were the deviant and

marginalized population within that neighborhood. Another participant in this

study, Beto, an Olodum dancer and choreographer, echoed this sentiment,

explaining that

> Olodum was created for the poor blacks that inhabited the neighborhood
> of Pelourinho. Olodum was formed by prostitutes, thieves, and drug
> traffickers, the poor people that lived in the sub-world of Pelourinho.

---

[9] The Pelourinho is sometimes referred to as "Maciel Pelourinho," "Maciel-
Pelourinho," or "Pelourinho-Maciel." These names connote the same physical
neighborhood and can be used interchangeably. Outside of direct quotations, in
this dissertation I simply use "the Pelourinho."

The importance of these two common features in Olodum's narrative, and many

contradictions and breakdowns within them, will resurface in the coming pages.

Suffice here to say that Olodum's narrative, one that its members repeat with

frequency, is tied tightly to the neighborhood of Pelourinho and to the group's

roots in marginality and deviance.

In 1987 Olodum became the first bloco afro to be credited with the

composition and performance of Bahian carnival's most popular song (Schaeber

1999). In this song, titled *Farao* (Pharaoh), Olodum mixed Egyptian mythology

with a strong sense of Bahian *negritude*, likening their own emergence from the

slums of Salvador to the pharaohs' rise to power among the pyramids of ancient

Egypt (Moura 2002):

> *Pelourinho*
> *Uma Pequena Comunidade*
> *Que Porém Olodum Um Dia*
> *Em Laço De Confraternidade*
>
> *Despertai-vos para*
> *Cultura egípcia no Brasil*
> *Em vez de cabelos trançados*
> *Veremos turbantes de tucamóm*
>
> *E Nas Cabeças*
> *Enchei-se De Liberdade*
> *O Povo Negro Pede Igualdade*
> *Deixando De Lado As Separações*
>
> [Pelourinho
> A small community
> To which one day Olodum
> Brought fraternity
>
> Wake up
> The Egyptian culture of Brazil
> Instead of using braids,
> We'll see the turbans of Tutankhamen

And in those heads
Now full of liberty
The Black population demands equality
Casting aside any separations]

In less than 10 years Olodum had physically and symbolically elevated Salvador's negro-mestiço population from the invisible edges of society to the center of Salvador's single most important annual event.

Olodum's founders used the marginality of the black experience in the city, of the derelict Pelourinho neighborhood, as the site of pushback. Music was the method. Through music Olodum mobilizes values, pride, ideas, alternatives. More than metaphor or representation, music provides the platform for an ongoing performance of becoming, of creation. Through music Olodum actively reworks Brazil's racial history and imaginary, embodying through sound, rhythm, beat, the notion that greater "interracial amity in Bahia does not negate the reality of the poverty, violence, and lack of opportunity that disproportionately affect people of African descent" (Butler 1998, 160).

Figure 28. An Olodum dancer during carnival 2009 (photo by author).

Figure 29. Olodum's drummers, carnival 2009 (photo by author).

The Dialectic of Success

While in the words of Olodum percussionist ARNALDO, the broad goal

of the bloco is to be "against all forms of violence, against all forms of racism,"

the success of Olodum is largely measured in economic terms. Schaeber (1999)

demonstrates that Olodum's success affords its members access to goods and

services typically considered middle and upper class (and, by extension white). In

Olodum's early years this was signified by members' use of beepers and later

cellular telephones. With further success came increasingly expensive status

symbols, especially the purchase of new imported cars, which, due to Brazil's

protectionist tariffs on many foreign imports, are prohibitively expensive for the

vast majority of Brazilians. Perhaps the most important symbol of economic

status and success has been Olodum's international travel, taking its members to

Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States. This was at the forefront of many

participants' minds. Beto told me:

> Olodum has projects that transform children… They have the Olodum
> school, they are re-forming the Olodum dance company. This idea of
> reactivating the dance company is really going to be very good: many
> adolescents that are now in the Olodum school will be able to become
> professionals, earn a living, travel to other countries. We have actors now
> on *Globo* [Brazil's largest TV network] that came out of the Olodum
> band… Through Olodum they have become famous here [in Brazil], they
> work for the best television network, which is *Globo*, and they have
> traveled to the United States and around the world.

This economic success and access to luxury goods, does not necessarily

signify a shift away from racism in Brazilian society, Olodum's single most

important purpose (Schaeber 1999). Zé's personal experience demonstrates how

economic success is largely symbolic, is not necessarily lasting, and certainly

156

does not signify advance in Brazil's racial hierarchy. Often performing as a substitute in the Olodum stage band (the smaller subgroup of Olodum that records and performs internationally), Zé has traveled throughout Europe and Asia with Olodum. He appears in the 1995 Michael Jackson/Olodum music video and has been a part of the bloco starting in 1994. At the same time, though, as of 2009 he is still forced to seek out manual day labor in order to supplement his income. He told me:

> In reality I'm at a standstill. I'm not traveling, and Olodum doesn't have many shows. In the past few months I've only worked when they call me, when someone can't play. So I'm at a standstill, I'm doing other types of things… Just this week I went to unload a truck at the São Joaquim market… Four in the morning at São Joaquim… and it's not a lot of money. That day I made 30, maybe 40 *reais* [$US15-20], but I got to do it.

Schaeber (1999, 64) writes that "the best economic conditions made it possible to acquire symbols of status, but this did not necessarily mean an improvement in social position. Olodum's members are still negro-mestiços in a racist society." Even in cases where economic advancement is more durable and long lasting, the conflation of economic gains with the perceived advance of Olodum's overtly anti-racist narrative is but one in a long series of contradictions embodied within Olodum, its narrative, and its reality in the heart of the Pelourinho.

Ironically, many participants in this study—including multiple Olodum members—expressed concern that the manner in which Olodum operates might actually have the opposite effect of the group's stated mission to end racial discrimination. On the one hand the bloco continues to play an important role in organizing and empowering the marginalized and mostly black residents of the Pelourinho. At the same time, critics argue that they are actually perpetuating the

debilitating prejudice by seeming to demonstrate that the only way out of poverty

and away from violence for Bahia's black youth is through drumming. Sara

articulated her concerns:

> I think that there is a myth here, and it goes like this: Today there are
> many projects that work with popular music. It's as if young kids can only
> bang on drums, as if the social ascension of a black kid depends on him
> being either a soccer player or a musician, and specifically playing
> percussive music, drums, which is all that is taught. In a certain way, this
> is our collective imaginary, so much so that you see very few people
> learning erudite music, learning piano, in these [marginalized]
> communities. It's not just that these instruments are more expensive, that
> the cost would be higher, but also because classical culture has always
> been, from the beginning, from a specific social class.

Zé echoed this sentiment. Even as a product of Olodum's social outreach, and a

current member of Olodum, he is able to see the problem, though he

acknowledges the benefits as well:

> It's not just about sticking a kid behind a drum… I think that today
> Olodum has to focus on a variety of things, not just learning to play
> samba-reggae, which is what Olodum does. They have to open the minds
> of kids, let them learn other instruments, sax, bass, guitar, other types of
> percussion. It has to be in this way. I think that they lose a lot. But at the
> same time, [Olodum] helps a lot, many children come out of that school.

To be sure, Olodum does far more than stick kids behinds drums. Their

cultural school has an on-going matriculation of over 350 students who attend

courses in music performance and theory, stage and event production, digital

education. Bira, a high-level administrator for Olodum, explained Olodum's

mission to me in broad terms:

> Here [at Olodum's school] we have classes in percussion, dance, choir,
> cultural production, and stage production… But the students don't come
> here only to play percussion... And they all participate in classes to
> develop leadership skills... They come to be citizens.

Further, Olodum requires that students in its cultural school are also enrolled and attend normal primary or secondary schools. Bira continued:

> In order to study here, the students have to be attending formal school... If they go to formal school in the morning, they come here in the afternoon. If they are in formal school in the afternoon, they come here in the morning... And they have to get good grades... We verify report cards to see how the students are doing in school.

There is a clear, if indirect, benefit of advancing primary and secondary education in the city and fighting against dropping out. It is precisely this ability of Olodum to use music as a vehicle to drive toward much broader societal goals that perpetuates their relevancy within their communities.

A basic contradiction arises, though, not from the educational results that students in the cultural school attain, and even the very real (if short-lived) economic results that Olodum can produce for its performers at the professional level, but from the widespread public perception of the group. Olodum is perceived to be simply a bloco afro, a group of hundreds of percussionists, filling the historic streets and alleys of the Pelourinho with the rhythms of samba-reggae. The single most important purpose of Olodum—to fight against racial prejudice— is undermined by the public perception of what they are doing: sticking poor black kids behind drums, actively perpetuating the further racialization of this marginalized population.

Marginalization at the Site of Resistance

The growth of Olodum as a local social outreach project, a carnival bloco, and an internationally acclaimed musical group that tours the globe and attracts

tourists to Bahia directly challenges the group's popular narrative. The narrative celebrates Olodum as being born of resistance to both the marginalization of Brazil's negro-mestiço population and the marginalized conditions in the Pelourinho neighborhood. Yet at the same time the reality of Pelourinho's reform, tourism, and Olodum's commercial interest actively negate the present-day legitimacy of those marginalized elements. Overtly, Olodum is still anti-racist and anti-violence, and their social projects have had very real and positive effects. At the same time, an important shift following the reform of the Pelourinho neighborhood has translated to the bloco's actions contradicting their anti-racist and anti-violence stances. There is an inherent tension between marginalization as a site of resistance, and the demonization of that same marginality once the resistance movement born of it is no longer a resistance movement at all, but rather a much more mainstream organization with powerful political and (especially) commercial interests. It is to this tension that I now turn.

As I laid out in chapter four, the Brazilian state under the rule of president Getúlio Vargas (term: 1930-1945) played a central role in co-opting samba, a localized sound in radiating from the hillside slums of Rio de Janeiro. State mechanisms sought to neutralize its resistance, mainstream its sound, and put it to the service of the state. The case of Olodum in Salvador is eerily parallel—the difference a function of scale. Rather than state action, the international market for cultural goods produces an analogous outcome, effectually co-opting the sound of Olodum and the rhythms of samba-reggae more broadly, not to control potentially subversive groups for the sake of state stability and national identity,

but rather to tame cultural content for marketability to largely white audiences throughout the First World.

At this point it is necessary to turn to the theoretical intersections of race and cultural commodification, specifically related to the commodification of cultural products originating in the lesser-developed world, but being marketed and sold to audiences in the global North. Katharyne Mitchell (1997) asserts that there may be a darker side to the multicultural aesthetic throughout the West as cultural hybridity is not, by definition, politically progressive. Indeed, hooks' (1992, 21-22) familiar, if pessimistic critique is revealing: "Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture." Examples of the commercial desire for the culture of an exotic Other abound. Early folklorists and ethnomusicologists constructed Delta blues in the U.S. as a window into the "despair, the thoughts, the passions, the aspirations, the anxieties, the deferred dreams, the frightening honesty of a new generation of black Southerners and their efforts to grapple with day-to-day life, to make it somehow more bearable, perhaps even to transcend it" (Litwack 1998, 457; in Hamilton 2007, 8). In this view, the blues of Robert Johnson, Leadbelly, and so many other bluesmen provides an "audio snapshot of the innermost truths of the past" (Hamilton 2007, 8). While seductive, this view of the Delta blues as "'uncontaminated' black singing" is problematic. According to Hamilton (2007, 9-10):

> The Delta blues was 'discovered'—or, if you like, invented—as the culmination of a quest that began in the early twentieth century, as white men and women…search[ed for] black voices that they heard as uncorrupted and pure. In an age of mechanical reproduction, they set

themselves up as cultural arbiters, connoisseurs whose authority rested on their powers of discernment, their ability to distinguish the ersatz from the real.

The fundamental paradox is, of course, that folklorists and ethnomusicologists combed the American South in search of a sound that could be "conveyed mechanically and yet be perceived as pristinely untouched by the modern world" (Hamilton 2007, 9).

Rosaldo (1993, 69) theorizes this cultural exoticism in terms of imperial nostalgia:

> [A]gents of colonialism—officials, constabulary officers, missionaries, and other figures from whom anthropologists ritually dissociate themselves—often display nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was "traditionally" (that is, when they first encountered it). The peculiarity of their yearning, of course, is that agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed… [W]ith a particular kind of nostalgia, often found under imperialism…people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed.

Parallel sentiment permeates commercial culture as there exists a distinct "nostalgia for the cultures that colonial modernity has destroyed" (Gregory 2004, 10). To Rutherford (1990), it is precisely this nostalgia and guilt that drives a renewed commercial interest for "primitive" products:

> Paradoxically, capital has fallen in love with difference: advertising thrives on selling us things that will enhance our uniqueness and individuality. It's no longer about keeping up with the Joneses, it's about being different from them… [C]ultural difference *sells* (Rutherford 1990, 10, original emphasis).

Driven by guilt and nostalgia, this cultural cannibalism (MacCannell 1992) devolves into "eating the other" (hooks 1992, 21). For example, Leydon (1999, 48) argues that exotic representations of pseudo-Polynesian exotica music in the 1950s "functioned as an exoticised complement to American suburbia: a

162

colourful, dangerous, mysterious, heterogeneous Other which contrasted with the safe, predictable, homogeneous and sexually repressive environment at home." To Torgovnick's (1990, 157; in hooks 1992, 22), the West's "fascination with the primitive has to do with its own crisis in identity, with its own need to clearly demarcate subject and object even while flirting with other ways of experiencing the universe." Characterizations of the Other tend to be "self-empowering," even "self-referential" for the dominant viewer (Huggan 2001, 14). The Other, the object of the gaze, is passive, and does not look back.

The case of "world" music is an apropos example of the "self-empowering" and "self-referencial" tendencies of imperial nostalgia in a musical context. The need to effectively market an exotic musical Other in the West eventually led to the creation of the genre of world music. Even calling it a genre, however, is problematic as "world music" is a pseudomusical marketing term based on a specific style of music, but is purely a marketing term for countless genres of music from all over the Third World (Byrne 1999). While other musical genres (e.g. jazz or rock) are grouped according to some form of inherent *musical* cohesion, the definition of world music "depends on the social, political and demographic position of certain minority groups in a particular country" (Guilbault 1993, 45). As the melodies, harmonies, and rhythms of the Third World are consumed in the West as the sound of an exoticized Other, world music is their genre. And just as *Europeans* defined Asia negatively—that which was *not* Europe (Tuan 1991, 689)—the creative power of naming in world music belongs to the mainstream, *not* the exoticized Other being named. World music

163

serves as a negative taxonomy, grouping disparate types of music—music from *outside* the First World—in a manner convenient and economically beneficial to record labels and record stores in the West (Connell and Gibson 2003; 2004).

While it may be hard to appreciate the ways that imperial nostalgia, acting through cultural commodification, negatively impacts those whose culture is being commodified (after all, individuals are making money, poor countries attract tourists and "develop," etc.), this process has very real effects. Of specific interest here is that the cultural products being sought after are often born out of marginality. While marginality is a site of deprivation and oppression, as I hope I have articulated above, it is also a vital site of counter-hegemonic organization and resistance. However, cultural commodification has the distinct tendency to subvert marginality as a place of resistance, as marginalized cultural producers are coerced to produce cultural commodities according to a predetermined "geopolitical aesthetic" (Brennan 1997, 36). This readily marketable predetermined aesthetic acts as a kind of "cultural cryonics. Other cultures are fixed and frozen, often as a series of fetishes, and then brought back to life through metropolitan circuits of consumption. Commodity fetishism and cannibalism are repatriated to the metropolis" (Gregory 2004, 10). Effectually, cultural producers lose cultural agency as marginality is "rerouted into safe assertions of a fetishised cultural difference… Exoticism's 'aesthetics of diversity' is manipulated for the purpose of channeling difference into areas where it can be attractively packaged, and, at the same time, safely contained" (Huggan 2001, 24, quoting Segalen 1978). Cultural consumers are willing to

consume—even go out of their way in search of—an exoticized Other, but only insofar as this exotic Other, fitting a predetermined aesthetic, does not threaten hegemonic representations and the norms of white mainstream society. Marginality, no longer as site of resistance, is deprived of its subversive implications. Once commodified for Western consumptions, the cultural product as a symbol of resistance arising from a site of marginality is lost. It is now a commercial product swimming in a globalized market of exoticized cultural content.[10]

The case of Olodum complicates this theoretical understanding of cultural commodification at the margins, adding new levels of signification. In Salvador, samba-reggae was born an aural contestation of exclusionary hegemonic culture and the dominant national identity that shut out entire sections of the Brazilian population. Starting in the 1980s, though, Olodum's success locally, nationally, and finally internationally was swift. In 1987 the group's song *Faraó* (cited above) became the most popular song of that year's carnival celebration. Three

---

[10] There are many examples of this. Fee (1989) shows that the West's demand for Forth World "authenticity" is greatly limiting to Aboriginal writers and Huss (2000, 181) writes that "the common image of reggae artists as dreadlocked revolutionaries against a ghetto zinc-fence backdrop appears to be typical more of an outsider's romantic view than the preferred vision of Jamaicans themselves." In terms of racial representation in the United States, hooks (1992, 75) demonstrates that there was a high level of societal discomfort when Vanessa Williams crossed a boundary and became the first black Miss America. When *Penthouse* published photographs of her "engaged in sexual play with a white woman" (crossing not one, but *two* social norms in the United States, one based on race and the other on heteronormativity), her Miss America crown was revoked. While rejected in the (white) position of Miss America, "the American public had no difficulty accepting and applauding her when she accepted the image of fallen woman…" To be successful, Williams had to accept and conform to conventional representations of the black female (hooks 1992, 75).

years later Olodum's samba-reggae groove opened Paul Simon's multi-platinum album *Rhythm of the Saints* (Simon 1990). Following this introduction into the North American market, which included an international tour with Simon culminating in a performance in New York City's Central Park, Michael Jackson and Spike Lee followed Simon's lead, traveling to Salvador to feature hundreds of Olodum's drummers in the music video to Jackson's song "They don't care about us." Situated among hundreds of drummers, Jackson, like Olodum, "gives visibility to poverty and social problems...without resorting to traditional political discourse (Bentes 2003, 123):

> Skin head, dead head
> Everybody gone bad
> Situation, aggravation
> Everybody allegation
> In the suite, on the news
> Everybody dog food
> Bang bang, shot dead
> Everybody's gone mad
>
> All I wanna say is that
> They don't really care about us
> All I wanna say is that
> They don't really care about us (Jackson 1995).

Simultaneously, beginning in the 1980s and accelerating through the 1990s, great investment, especially from the state government, was made in the Pelourinho neighborhood. Propelled by classification as an UNESCO World Heritage Site, this inner-city slum was transformed into Salvador's historical center. Olodum, by this time a central figure in the neighborhood, and indeed the entire city, places itself at the center of the Pelourinho's restoration. According to current Olodum president João Jorge:

166

We were behind the current restoration of the historical center of Salvador. When everyone else wanted to forget Maciel-Pelourinho, we identified ourselves as a *bloco afro* from Maciel-Pelourinho. The state government has recently inaugurated the restoration of the historical center of the Pelourinho at a cost of $12 million dollars. This is the concrete result of the national and international action of Olodum. It is not a gift from the governor to the city. It is the result of pressure, a collection of past debts, on the level of civil rights, so that the taxes we paid would restore this historical patrimony of humanity (Jorge 1999, 49).

In this context it is fitting that just as Olodum has been, since its inception, tied tightly to the once-dilapidated inner city slum of Pelourinho, today in the mind of the tourists Olodum and Pelourinho are once again inseparable entities, mutually constitutive of the physical and symbolic spaces of this neighborhood. In the words of Bira:

Tourism is fundamental to Pelourinho. It's the tourist that brings money. The tourist is fundamental because the tourist goes to Olodum's shows, the tourist comes in, buys products here, not just in the Olodum school, not just in the Olodum store, but in all of Pelourinho.

The *Lonely Planet's* guide to Brazil (St. Louis et al. 2005) and other tourist guides (e.g., Blore and de Vries 2006) direct visitors to Olodum's weekly rehearsals in the Pelourinho neighborhood, and Olodum T-shirts, hats, backpacks, and other franchised merchandise are on sale in hundreds of small tourist shops that dot the neighborhood. As Armstrong (2002) asserts, there is no doubt that Olodum's reach is far beyond the community from which it arose.

Even as a central cultural force in Pelourinho's transformation as a tourist landscape, Olodum's narrative of deviance and marginality has not been lost among the bright pastels of the reformed colonial façades. According to Jorge (1999, 47), and echoed by almost everyone connected to Olodum with whom I spoke, Olodum was created by "prostitutes, homosexuals, people associated with

167

the *jogo do bicho* [an illegal lottery], dope smokers, bohemian lawyers, and

intellectuals" (Jorge 1999, 47). He quickly tones down this message, however,

explaining that the group has "established [its] independence from the jogo do

bicho and from drug traffickers" (Jorge 1999, 48). It is at this point that Olodum

the narrative—deviance, marginality, resistance, contestation—separate from the

current reality of the group, an internationally known cultural organization in the

heart of a UNESCO World Heritage site, and one of Bahia's most important

tourist destinations.

Olodum drummer Zé displays the tension between narrative and reality,

explaining that Olodum's weekly rehearsals used to be an important focal point

for the community. Taking place outdoors in a central square in Pelourinho,

rehearsals were free and open to the general public every Sunday night. Zé

related, however, that four or five years ago they started moving to controlled

areas with security guards and ticket prices:

> It's a question of security. Today if we were to do an unrestricted, open
> rehearsal, [tourists] would be afraid, because there can be robberies and
> violence, you know? Olodum used to do all the rehearsals open. Every
> Sunday Olodum's rehearsals were open. But you know, in the newspaper
> there would be accounts that after the Olodum rehearsal a bus was robbed,
> there was a stabbing, there was a shooting, there was a fight... And these
> people in reality didn't bring all that much to Olodum in the first place.
> You know, if an Olodum song was popular that year they'd sing along in
> the rehearsal. But they didn't buy the costume to be a member of
> Olodum's bloco, they didn't buy Olodum CDs, they didn't do this, you
> know, they didn't buy.

Today, a R$30 (~$15 US) cover charge a plenty of bulky security guards filter out

these "elements" from Olodum's rehearsals, which have since been moved to an

interior plaza with controllable entrances and exits. Populated by a rather even

mix of tourists and locals, these controlled rehearsals cater to commerce, as three

or four bars and restaurants service the area, there is an official merchandise area

where the group sells CDs, tee-shirts, and other gear.

Occasionally, however, Olodum does still hold an open, public rehearsal

in the same square where they would hold all their rehearsals in years past. The

difference between the two types of rehearsals is astounding. After I attended

Olodum's final open rehearsal just weeks before Carnival 2009 I wrote in my

field notebook:

> Jan 26, 2009: Last night I went to a packed show at the Largo do
> Pelourinho where Olodum was performing. A couple things worth
> pointing out that came up while talking to a buddy, Augusto:
>
> First, this event is "popular." The show is intended for—and indeed the
> audience is dominated by—the working class, and by extension is mostly
> black. Augusto pointed out that not many of the people he hangs out with
> and works with would enjoy an event like this (he is light skinned with a
> law degree and works at a bank). It's too "popular."
>
> Second, somewhat related to that, we both made the observation that there
> were very few tourists. By far the vast majority of the crowd was
> Brazilian—I would even say mostly Bahian—and very dark skinned.
> Similar to conversations I have had with Reynaldo in the past, we noted
> that the revitalization of Pelô was done to turn it into a tourist place,
> something that it certainly is. But at the same time when the many free
> "cultural services" (i.e. concerts, etc) that the city and state provide are
> also utilized by local Bahians, it seems to scare off the tourists.
>
> Third, at this particular concert Augusto —and especially I—stick out in a
> big way. After being there for more than two hours I had only seen two
> other small groups of *estrangeiros* (foreigners). Though there were a lot of
> white faces looking down from the third- and forth-floor windows from
> the small hotels, hostels, and B&Bs that line the edges of the square.
>
> Fourth, there were lots of police and numerous arrests. Agusto says this
> was mostly because of fights, and sometimes because of thieves (pick-
> pockets, etc).

This example illustrates a potent contradiction between Olodum serving the community and serving its own commercial interest *via* tourism. With very few exceptions, their rehearsals are enclosed and protected, out of the public space of the Largo do Pelourinho and away from the dangerous elements that might scare away the tourists.

Perhaps the strongest example of this internal contradiction came in one of my many conversations with Beto. Explaining to me what he thought would be necessary to resolve the many problems that continue to plague the now "reformed" Pelourinho, he told me:

> I think that Bahia's government has to create the solution. In Pelourinho there are lot of social projects, and there are also places with a lot of drug dealing very close to Pelourinho. So, the solution would be for the government to install more security, and get rid of all the kids living in the street, you know? When they see a street kid, they need to take him to a home, to an orphanage. They need to take all the street vendors and create a shopping center inside the neighborhood for the tourists, something like the Mercado Modelo. The Mercado Modelo is a shopping mall where the tourists go in and buy whatever they want. They need to prohibit those street vendors that are selling necklaces and other things to tourists in the middle of the street. When the tourist wants to buy something, he goes into the shopping center and buys whatever he wants. For me this would be a solution: get rid of the drug users, the beggars, the street vendors that are always in the middle of the street, organize Pelourinho more so that the tourists have more freedom to move throughout the streets, you know, so that they have more security. Because here you can get your cell phone stolen, your camera stolen. It's just like anywhere else in the world. But tourist locations have to take care of their tourists. For me, that would be the solution.

In the same conversation Beto illustrates the contradictory nature of the relationship between Olodum's historical narrative and present reality. Just minutes before he had celebrated Olodum as a bloco afro originally made up of "prostitutes, thieves, drugs dealers, the poor people that made up the underworld

of the neighborhood" (Beto). Moments later he advocates the removal of these same elements of society from the neighborhood in order for it to be more appealing to tourists.

Olodum occupies a conflicted and contradictory space between counter-hegemonic cultural form and a global cultural commodity. Armstrong (2002, 182) articulates this conflicted position:

> In a marketplace of volatile tastes and styles, the issue of cultural articulation is fundamental at both the ideological and the pragmatic level...In this context, the approach of traditional community organizations…is often problematic if long-term survival is to be ensured.

Continuing, Armstrong (2002, 185) points out that Olodum's constituency is complex. The group "was founded to serve the local community, but has always looked beyond it, even to global dimensions. The Pelourinho is a mixed community in that even before its commercialization it comprehended both very poor locals and a bohemian, intellectual class with disparate roots." The commercialization to which Armstrong refers furthers the tension between Olodum's anti-racist social commitment and the group's commercial viability. Olodum is now fully dependent on their marketability in the so-called first world, manifest through tourists in Salvador coming to Olodum's rehearsals and performances and buying official Olodum merchandise, as well as through their activities abroad, including record sales and frequent tours in the United States, Europe, and Asia.

This is not, however, a simple case of Brennen's (1997) "geopolitical aesthetic," in which in order to be marketable Olodum is recast as an exoticized and non-threatening cultural product from the Third World. This case is further

171

complicated. Rather than neutralizing their anti-racist discourse, it is precisely

Olodum's narrative of deviance and marginality that is central to the group's

commercial success. As global capitalism consumes all in its path, "even

Olodum's anti-racist discourse has become commodified"(!) (Schaeber 1998, 65).

It is at this point of commodification that music is fixed as a representational

cultural product. What was a fundamental ingredient in the active reworking of

Brazil's racial history and the on-going formation and creation of its future

becomes a representation of a past struggle defined with fixed beginning and end

points, for sale on a global cultural market. (And not unlike the processes

embedded within traditional Marxian commodity fetishism, it is unlikely that

globally-minded consumers of this musical representational product truly

appreciate the societal processes that went into its creation.) This case of Olodum

shows that the transformation from active force to cultural representation does not

necessarily serve to neutralize the narrative of resistance and contestation. Rather,

the mechanisms to sell this commodified representational product have the effect

of neutralizing the becoming-ness of what was an active musical and societal

force. Now largely performing a representational product for global consumption

by celebrating a narrative of marginality, a commoditized Olodum occludes—

even actively contributes to—the processes that further marginalize the people

that their discourse professes to defend.

Chapter 7

CARNIVAL

Wednesday, Feb 25, 2009. Ash Wednesday:

All over the world the beginning of the Lenten season is preceded by carnival (its most popular U.S. manifestation being Mardi Gras)—the last chance for carnal excess before 40 days of fasting and prayer. In Brazil this is most commonly represented by the all-too-familiar images of shapely women in little more than bikinis—sometimes much less—gyrating atop parade floats gliding through the streets of Rio de Janeiro surrounded by hundreds of thousands of spectators—each one paying nearly US$500 to be in the crowd on any given night.

In Salvador carnival isn't like that. Not at all. In Rio the line between performer and audience is as clearly delineated as the gap between those who can pay to get in and those who watch from afar. Here in Salvador, carnival is a participatory affair, the festivities center on the crowd. The music, performed live by some of Brazil's most famous stars, is the soundtrack for the party. And it's not just any party. Baianos are quick to point out that according to the Guinness Book of World Records it is the largest street party in the world. Live bands perform on top of customized 18-wheelers, complete with PA systems big enough to power a Rolling Stones concert and generators to run them, rumble their way through the parade routes. And the crowd follows… Literally, thousands of people surround each of these massive stages-on-wheels, as the party takes nearly five hours to get around the 3-mile parade circuit. Many have "support cars"—a

second semi-truck following behind complete with a full bar, restrooms, and a

dance-floor on top for those lucky enough to score an all-access pass.

The last three months have basically been a warm up for six days of

serious parties. And when it arrived, it was unlike anything we had ever seen

before. Whereas traditionally Carnival starts on the Sunday before Ash

Wednesday, lasting, of course, through Fat Tuesday, this party was bopping by

sunset on the Thursday before. To kick it off we headed out with Os Mascarados—

"the Masked Ones"...

Bakhtin in Brazil

Theories of carnival and the carnivalesque generally start—and all-too-often end—with Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's (1984) dissertation on French Renaissance novelist François Rabelais, *Rabelais and His World*. Examining carnival in terms of the profoundly unequal feudalistic society that Rabelais wrote about in 16th century France, Bakhtin theorizes a dichotomous world, split between the oppressive and cruel reality of ordinary time, and the fleeting freedom of carnival time. "Carnival is the people's *second life*" (Bakhtin 1984, 8). Organized around a laughter that "builds its own world in opposition to the official world, its own church versus the official church, its own state versus the official state'" (Bakhtin 1984, 88), this second life pays no heed to the social order or societal norms of ordinary time. Carnival was "the true feast of time, the feat of becoming, change, and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and completed" (Bakhtin 1984, 10). If ordinary time is static, ordered, complete,

carnival is a space of possibility, an alternative reality. Carnival marks a distinct—and distinctly temporary—departure from this order: "As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions" (Bakhtin 1984, 10). He continues:

> The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance. Rank was especially evident during official feasts; everyone was expected to appear in the full regalia of his calling, rank, and merits and to take the place corresponding to his position. It was a consecration of inequality. On the contrary, all were considered equal during carnival. Here, in the town square, a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, and age. The hierarchical background and extreme corporative and caste divisions of the medieval social order were exceptionally strong. Therefore such free, familiar contacts were deeply felt and formed an essential element of the carnival spirit. People were, so to speak, reborn for new, purely human relations. These truly human relations were not only a fruit of imagination or abstract thought; they were experienced. The utopian ideal and the realistic merged in this carnival experience, unique of its kind (Bakhtin 1983, 10).

Carnival was a time for the people to gather in the streets for the turning-upside-down of the world. In Rabelais's France, Darnton (1999, 83) explains, carnival was indeed "high season for hilarity, sexuality, and youth riot—a time when young people tested social boundaries by limited outbursts of deviance, before being reassimilated into the world or order, submission and Lentine seriousness." Carnival is "outside of and contrary to all existing forms of the coercive socioeconomic and political organization, which is suspended for the time of the festivity" (Bakhtin 1984, 255). Bakhtinian carnival is truly bottom-up,

communitarian, and radically egalitarian in nature, a respite of freedom within a broader society characterized by rigidity and inequality.

To many, Bakhtin's theorizations are overly optimistic, even utopian (Cresswell 1996). Terry Eagleton (1981, 148) highlights a gaping hole in Bakhtin's reasoning:

> carnival is so vivaciously celebrated that the necessary political criticism is almost too obvious to make. Carnival, after all, is a licensed affair in every sense, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual as a revolutionary work of art. As Shakespeare's Olivia remarks, there is no slander in an allowed fool.

Carnival, in this formulation, is an elaborate escape valve through which oppressed segments of society "can let off steam, express their sense of injustice, and then return to normal life and the rule of law" (Cresswell 1996, 128). While carnival brings to the public square marginalized and subversive identities and practices, "it is often assumed that this alterity is not only unsustainable beyond the event, but that *its presence in public spaces ultimately contributes to social stability*" (Aching 2010, 415-416, my emphasis). Turning to an upside down world for a short period of time every year is a mechanism through which the ruling class controls the "masses" the rest of the year. Writing on the carnivalesque nature of the comic, Umberto Eco (1990, 275) expands on this idea:

> The comic seems to belong to the people, liberating, subversive, because it gives license to violate the rule. But it gives such license precisely to those who have so absorbed the rule that they also presume it is inviolable. The rule violated by the comic is so acknowledged that there is no need to reaffirm it. That is why carnival can take place only once a year. It takes a year of ritual observance for the violation of the ritual precepts to be enjoyed...
>   In a world of absolute permissiveness and complete anomie no carnival is possible, because nobody would remember what is being called

(parenthetically) into question. Carnival comic, the moment of transgression, can exist only if a background of unquestioned observance exists.

The conceptualization of carnival as an *inversion* of the ordinary acts to maintain, even naturalize "ordinary time" as the dominant ideology. Carnival, it might be said, is a revolution that simultaneously prevents revolutionary uprising (Holquist 1984).

Perhaps it is not surprising that Bakhtin's ideas of carnival have had a long and durable life in Brazil, a country governed by autocratic rulers for much of the 20th century and where carnival has been an organizing factor in defining what it means to be Brazilian. Writing particularly on the quintessential carnival celebrations of Rio de Janeiro, two scholars in particular—Roberto da Matta and Victor Turner—have been instrumental in conceptualizing Brazilian carnival in distinctly Bakhtinian terms. Take, for example, this passage from Turner's 1983 article titled "*Carnaval*[11] in Rio: Dionysian Drama in an Industrializing Society:"

> Today there is not only the centrally organized street carnival of samba schools competing in leagues in downtown Rio and the internal carnival of the club balls on Mardi Gras itself, but there are also the locally organized processions of groups known as *blocos*, with their own songs and sambas, often subversive of the regime and not at all respecters of its persons. In addition, countless people dressed in their 'private fantasies' stroll, flirt, get drunk and make love in the streets and squares from which business, commerce, and motorized traffic have been summarily banished (Turner 1983, 112-114).

The divisions that cleave an unequal society the rest of the year are forgotten during carnival.

---

[11] Carnival is sometimes written "Carnaval," it's Portuguese translation. Outside of direct quotations, in this dissertation I simply use the English spelling.

Da Matta's characterizations of carnival in Rio de Janeiro, like those of

Turner, are celebratory and idyllic. Da Matta (1983, 163) writes, for instance, that

"it is impossible...to have a funeral without sadness and a Carnival without joy."

The "orgiastic splendor" of carnival in Rio de Janeiro, an indeed all throughout

Brazil, breaks down society's barriers, transforming "society itself into a wheel, a

mandala wherein the high can find the low" (da Matta 1983, 166), and indeed

where "the low" can, if not become, at least channel the high for a few precious

days. "In Rio de Janeiro, a city in which domains are normally arranged

hierarchically Carnival makes fragmentation of these domains possible, creating

an opening so that the entire city becomes filled with carnivalesque possibilities"

(da Matta 1983, 166). Brazil's world of carnival becomes "miraculous and

carnivalesquely convivial" (da Matta 1983, 167). He goes on:

> There are no longer separate ethics for the home, the street, and other
> world, but rather everything is coherently united by the reign of Momus.
> During Carnival in Brazil, I can behave in the same way in every place
> since the festival unites, dramatically, home with street, where it is now
> possible to eat, dance, sing, and make love... The orgy permitted during
> Brazilian Carnival carries the connotation of democracy and equality...
> The Brazilian orgy has to do with loving oneself by means of dance. It
> generates a space in which it is possible to see the minister, the president,
> the tycoon, and the intellectual fucking and experiencing pleasure like
> everyone else" (da Matta 1983, 167-168).

Rio de Janeiro's carnival, according to these scholars, breaks down societal

barriers, enables "the low" to attain the status of "the high," and allows "the high"

to cast aside the bourgeois values that regulate their behavior throughout the rest

of the year. "Brazilian Carnival disintegrates hierarchical connections and makes

it possible for the signified to be equated with the signifier and the means with the

ends" (da Matta 1983, 169).

While embracing a Bakhtinian idealism, da Matta and Turner also see in Rio's carnival the fleeting nature of this societal inversion. According to Turner (1983, 123), Brazilian culture has erected a "'palace of *Carnaval*,' a place of samba, out of fantasies suppressed through the rest of the year by immersion in industrial labor, by submission to an autocratic regime, by tenacious vestiges of feudal attitudes…" In the end da Matta and Turner alike leave Rio's carnival a space of racial harmony, of gender equality, a place of revolutionary and egalitarian possibility.

Rio's carnival today, on the other hand, resembles spectacle much more than (and indeed quite the opposite of) carnival. Bakhtin recognizes the inherent similarities between carnival and spectacle: "because of their obvious sensuous character and their strong element of play, carnival images closely resemble certain artistic forms, namely the spectacle" (Bakhtin 1984, 7). He goes on, however:

> In fact, carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlights would destroy a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival, vividly felt by all its participants (Bakhtin 1984, 7).

Carnival in Rio de Janeiro fits much more comfortably in the realm of spectacle. In her 1975 ethnography of one of Rio's largest *escolas de samba,* Maria Goldwasser described a rigid internal structure, more representative of a

179

governmental or corporate body than the anarchic, communitarian, and chaotic event theorized by Bakhtin and celebrated by da Matta and Turner.

Carlos, a participant in this study and close friend of mine, echoed this sentiment in many of our conversations. At one point he told me that growing up in Brazil, Rio's carnival was the carnival that the whole country, the whole world watched:

> Rio's carnival was always the televised carnival. It's also been the carnival that all of Brazil watches. It's the carnival of the great samba schools, of great monetary investment... Rio's carnival is more structured, more "samba school," more aesthetic. It's a competition.

This rigidity and structure of contemporary carnival in Rio de Janeiro go far beyond the internal organization of the samba schools. Crichlow and Armstrong (2010, 408) explain that Rio's carnival is today "predicated on plastic arts with Hollywood standards, vast human choreographies, extraordinary musical precision by hundreds of percussionists, and logistic discipline. Tellingly, this transpires in a stadium pastiched as a street" (Crichlow and Armstrong 2010, 408). Armstrong (2010, 456) describes the spectacular nature Rio's event in more detail:

> The Rio carnival, at least in the form familiar to outsiders, is a spectacle held in the *sambódromo* – an arena which looks like a street but is in fact a completely controlled space for which one buys an admission ticket. The music of the Rio carnival is a special genre of samba, essentially restricted to carnival performance and rehearsals and stylistically stable. The Rio carnival is competitive in a very serious and rigid way. Its clubs – suggestively called *escolas-de-samba* or samba schools – must obey extraordinarily fine-tuned rules governing visuals, music, thematic interest and duration (not to exceed 65 minutes). The rules allow for gradual increases of extravagance of visual display in the costumes and floats, but judge dance-steps and percussion according to classical parameters, thus discouraging major change (Armstrong 2010, 456).

The sexualization of Rio's carnival further illustrates a fundamental difference between the Bakhtinian carnivalesque, where gender roles might be reversed and bourgeois sexual mores loosened, and Rio de Janeiro's carnival spectacle. Turner's (1983, 114) naïve idealization of the carnivalized female body illustrates the sexualized nature of Rio's carnival.

> Women, no longer under the *patria protestas* of fathers of the *manus* of husbands, as in ancient Rome, become the very soul of the samba in the street and club. In a sense, the whole city worships Aphrodite on the half-shell. Here Aphrodite is a *mulata*, extolled in every song, and appearing in person, in the tiniest of bikinis, on many a float, and reveling with many a tamborinist in groups of two men and one woman, known as *passistas*. The archetypal *mulata* was an eighteenth-century 'lady,' Chica da Silva, who became a provincial governor's mistress, and dominated men by her lambent, even heroic, sexual prowess. Many movies and TV series have been made about here (Turner 1983, 114).

The turn, at the end of this passage, to racialization and sexualization as signified in the iconic Brazilian *mulata* has a long and problematic history in Brazil's national identity. The mulata, an eroticized black female body, has clear and obvious roots in slavery. According to Nascimento and Nascimento (1992, 48), "miscegenation is an integral part of white supremacist domination, derived historically from the process of sexual violence against African women." They are quick to note that they are not speaking of individual cases of intermarriage nor defending "biological purity of race." Rather, they are referring to the "social phenomenon of domination, [of] identifying African as inferior and therefore sexually exploitable and socially expendable" (Nascimento and Nascimento 1992, 48). Firmly rooted in racialized difference, the figure of the mulata has long been exalted and romanticized in Brazilian popular lore, so much so that according to Goldstein (2003, 112):

Because the mulata is so much a product of a national ideology about both race and sexuality, it forms a particular set of images that is much more protected and even exalted as a positive reading of national identity, and not one that is criticized as an overly exoticized or overly sexualized image of black women... The mulata figure is in fact recognized as a positive image of the citizen, an embodiment of mixed-race creativity, beauty, and sensuality. The mulata is, among other things, the embodiment of Carnival. Yet, in spite of these positive readings, Brazilian television rarely features anyone but white actors. This paradoxical absence and yet exoticization of sexualized blackness still serves to privilege whiteness and 'imaginary' rather than actual blackness.

In contemporary carnival the sexualized spectacle is taken to a whole new level. In 2009, for instance, Jéssica Maia was both Rio's Carnival Queen and the February cover model for the Brazilian edition of Playboy, while in 2010 the São Clemente samba school had points reduced because their lead dancer, supermodel Viviane Castro, "was entirely naked except for a 4 cm (1.6 inch) patch covering her modesty believed to be the smallest in Rio history" (Metro 2010, 1). While I am certainly not giving this discussion the attention it deserves, suffice to say that in Rio de Janeiro's carnival, female sexuality becomes a spectacle in and of itself.

Beyond Bakhtin

Reflecting on the debate between Bakhtin's revolutionary views of carnival and the more pessimistic view of carnival as an escape valve serving only to reinforce power, Cresswell (1996) wonders if academics might have gone too far in essentializing and dehistoricizing the event in the first place. Certainly some carnivals have served as mechanisms of societal control while others have led to riots, or even revolutionary transformation (Cresswell 1996). A way to de-essentialize our treatment of the event, according to Cresswell (1996, 130), would be to "look at specific histories and instances of carnival in the places they occur."

182

In what follows I turn away from the tired, perhaps essentialized formulations of carnival as "inversion" or "escape valve" with the aim of crafting a richer and more nuanced conceptualization of Brazilian carnival. My analysis will eventually focus on the carnival celebrations of Salvador da Bahia. Salvador provides a unique vantage from which to inspect carnival in greater ethnological detail. Its carnival, after all, is a celebration that at once takes place in "the country of carnival" yet at the same time departs radically from Rio's quintessentially "Brazilian" carnival. First, however, I consider the confluence of race and carnival before briefly returning to Bakhtin to see what might lie beyond in a Brazilian context.

The myth of racial democracy permeates almost all social relations in Brazil. Carnival is no exception. Carnival in the New World takes place in a context vastly different from when Bakhtin, and especially Rabelais, were writing. Echoing Schechner's (2004) work on Trinidadian carnival, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and globalization cast a long shadow over Brazilian carnival. In this context, racial democracy is projected wholeheartedly into carnival spaces. During carnival, optimistically writes Turner (1983, 114, my emphasis), the "centers of Brazilian hierarchy—the house, office, and factory— are emptied and closed. The whole city becomes a symbol of Brazilianity, *of a single multicolored family brought into the open*..." He continues that in Rio de Janeiro,

> Blacks and mulattos form the very core of *Carnaval*, since they provide the central organization of every samba school, while white celebrities clamor to be allowed into the *desfile* [parade]... This type of grouping,

183

which cuts across class and ethnic divisions, Da Matta regards as *typical of Brazilian social organization* (Turner 1983, 114, my emphasis).

There is an imagined racial harmony present in carnival. These scholars then make a huge conceptual leap. Contrary to the Bakhtinian inversion that they so readily embrace, what is accepted as racial integration in carnival times (the supposed turning upside down of the social order) is projected back into ordinary times as reflective of Brazil's racial democracy.

In equally compelling ethnographies of the Brazilian favelas, Scheper-Hughes (1992) and Goldstein (2003) see past carnival's supposed equalizing power and through any imagined carnivalesque racial harmony. Scheper-Hughes (1992, 482) relates that "if Brazilian *carnaval* creates a privileged space of forgetting and a dream world where anything is possible, the marginals' *carnaval* of [the favela of] Bom Jesus also provides a space for *remembering* and is as much a ritual of intensification as a ritual of reversal." Echoing this sentiment, Goldstein (2003) points out that after such theoretical emphasis having been placed on inversion and transgression, on the transformative power of carnival, in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro "nothing really changed for the poor as a result of Carnival. There was still no water or decent health care, and the class structure remained rigid... Carnival is not the same experience for all populations" (Goldstein 2003, 33). Carnival, especially for the poorest and most marginalized segments of the population, is little more than a distraction from their daily work of survival. Carnival is indeed not the same for all.

Returning to Bakhtin, Pieter Breughel's 1559 painting *The Battle of Carnival and Lent* (see Figure 30) is often deployed to illustrate carnival's

184

standard societal inversion. The painting, in reality, does much more: it illustrates that carnival and ordinary time are porous, contested. Instead of a switch that is flipped, turning carnival "on," then "off", the logic of both carnival and ordinary time are present in all times and places. In the painting a church is on one side, on the other a party in full swing, churchgoing children populate one side, drunken madness the other. Atop a barrel of beer the carnival king is pushed to a joust with a gaunt figure seated on a humble prayer stool. The carnival king wields the head of a pig on a spit, the prayer boy a baking paddle with two meager herring. Religious figures, dressed in black, proceed solemnly into the church while the chaos of carnival revelry threatens the order of the public square. Bakhtinian theory divides society between oppressive ordinary time and carnival—its inversion. I propose that a more useful way to think of carnival would be in terms of the perpetual competition between the opposing poles of carnival time and ordinary time. During Salvador's carnival, hierarchical ranks, privileges, norms, and prohibitions are not simply suspended in mid air, hovering just above the plane of everyday life, waiting to come crashing back down after the end of this five-day escape from reality. Rather, the norms, prohibitions, privileges, and ranks of ordinary time are in fierce and constant competition with the anarchic tendencies of carnival's inverted social order. As in Breughel's painting, carnival invades Lent just as the oppressive forces of the church push back into carnival space-time.

185

Figure 30. *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent*, Pieter Breughel, 1559 (© 2008, Zenodot Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, used with permission).

The competition between carnival time and ordinary time is not simply temporal, but ideological and spatial as well. Ideologically, a carnivalesque social order strives to affect real social change in ordinary time as the dominant economic, political, and social powers of ordinary time (now much more capitalistic than the feudal social orders that Bakhtin wrote about) simultaneously seek to project their power into carnival. Spatial competition arises on multiple scales. There is the competition for the city: tourists invade; *baianos* have a choice: participate or escape. Then there is competition in the microgeographies of the carnivalized street as state and capitalistic interests struggle to reinsert their logic into the disordered and chaotic spaces of carnival.

Monday, Feb 16, 2009. Three days before carnival starts:

The best thing about summer in Bahia is not the tropical heat, which, with its dense humidity yet mild temperatures somehow makes life in Salvador seem so much more real. And it's not the beaches, although their ubiquitous presence in this city leaves no doubt about how baianos keep cool on hot summer afternoons. The best thing about summer in this northeastern Brazilian city is the anticipation of what's to come. That is, carnaval.

Anticipation. I'm writing with three or four days to go before the city is engulfed in two million people drumming, singing, and dancing in the street, 24 hours a day for six solid days. Bahia is thick with anticipation. And for good reason. Starting months before carnaval are the ensaios, *or rehearsals. Some of the biggest groups start mid-winter. Olodum kicks off their weekly Sunday night rehearsals no later than mid-June every year (winter here in the Southern Hemisphere). And by July pounding rhythms resonate deep from within the neighborhood of* Liberdade, *as the 35-year-old bloco* Ilê Aiyê *tunes up their drums for public rehearsals every Saturday night. This handful of weekly or biweekly events seems to multiply as the weather warms up. By early November the local newspaper adds a "Summer Rehearsal" column to its weekly events calendar. In the Pelourinho, Olodum adds a second weekly rehearsal every Tuesday night, and Mariene de Castro begins rehearsing her far more traditional Bahian samba group every Friday night in the Cidade Baixa. By December it seems that there is at least one rehearsal every night of the week, and sometimes even two or three.*

The pressure continues to build as tourists begin arriving for the holiday season. New Years Eve is a warm-up. The heat and excitement of summer nearly simmers to the boiling point for two days of concerts and celebrations, but the euphoria is drawn back in. On January 15, with just weeks until carnival, the anticipation and energy of the real thing nearly escapes again. The Lavagem do Bonfim*, an 8-kilometer religious procession to the Church of Lord of the Good End, turns into a 50,000-person street party. The Afro-centric* Ijexá *grooves of the traditional bloco* Filhos de Gandhy*, or Sons of Gandhi lead the procession every year. Just two weeks later is the* Festa de Iemanjá*, or the Feast of Iemanjá, the Afro-Bahian goddess of the Ocean. Starting at dawn tens of thousands of* baianos *descend on one particular beach in the city to send their offerings of flowers and perfume into the ocean. By mid-afternoon there are multiple bands performing simultaneously on three different stages in the neighborhood.*

The city braces for the coming storm...

Figure 31. Making offerings to Iemanjá (photo by author).

The Temporal Competition

There is, first and foremost, the competition of time: ordinary time versus carnival time. Bakhtin theorized that carnival is simply the world inverted. But there is no switch for inversion that can simply be flipped—CLICK—between ordinary time and carnival. Rather, it is a process. Bahia each year builds toward carnival, at first slowly, and increasingly rapidly as the summer progresses. In this long *crescendo* from ordinary to carnival there is always a look past carnival, even past the *ressaca*—the hangover—to the ordinary time that follows, and of course to carnival that will inevitably come again. In the words of Beto, a participant in this study, "we wait for carnival all year."

On Thursday, the night before carnival officially begins, the city is in the calm before the storm. That night only one of the three parade circuits operates, but the anticipation of carnival—my first—drew me into the streets early. I descended the hill from my neighborhood and walked about two kilometers west along *Avenida Oceânica* toward the site of the evening's parade. It was about 4 pm. I called my friend Augusto to see if he was around to join me for a beer. He jokingly told me "Johnny, my friend, I'm at work." He works at a local bank.

I said "but Guto, it's carnival."

He laughed and replied: "Hey, *someone's* gotta work during carnival." The logic of ordinary time hangs on by a thread.

After a seemingly interminable season of anticipation, carnival arrives. In Salvador's carnival there are two principal parade routes: the original route, beginning and ending at a centrally located plaza known as *Campo Grande*; and

the more upscale route—the *Barra-Ondina* circuit—runs in front of the high-end hotels and condos along the southernmost coast of the city. (A much smaller third parade route through the Pelourinho prohibits electrified sound, and is thus calmer and more family friendly.) In the two main routes attention centers on what are known as *trios elétricos*—"electrified trios." The power of the *trio* is difficult to describe in words. Its common translation, a sound truck, seems to diminish the sheer volume and power. A semi truck pulls a custom-designed trailer outfitted with sound system and stage. Wall-to-wall speakers on all sides convert the trailer into a deafening three-dimensional assault on the ears. A concert stage sits atop the walls of speakers and carries the band (sometimes 15 or more musicians), dancers, technicians, and VIPs. Trios, the actual trucks and sound trailers, belong to blocos, such as Olodum, and other carnival groups and organizations. On the street level are the crowds, tens of thousands of people swarming around, between, among the monstrous *trios*. Those immediately surrounding each trio are the members of the bloco who have paid to be there. Their *abadá*, a tunic provided to them by the bloco, gives them access inside the *cordão*, literally a giant rope encircling the trio that runs perhaps 200 meters longs and is nearly as wide as the street. Hundreds of *cordeiros* man this cord, allowing those sporting the proper abadá to pass underneath, into the territory of the bloco, and similarly keeping out those who have not paid for the right to enter. Wedged between the cordão of the bloco and the walls of the city's buildings is the *pipoca*—the popcorn—carnival revelers, free, in the street for the party. During parade hours, which run everyday from mid morning through the early hours of the morning the

190

following day, trios depart the starting point of each circuit on a set time schedule. They rumble through the streets every so slowly, never topping five miles an hour, and often stopping for 10 or 15 minutes at a time to perform multiple songs for stationary news cameras or the many *camarotes*—or boxes—that line the parade routes. The trios couldn't possibly move faster. They are surrounded— completely engulfed—by a mass of humanity.

Figure 32. A trio elétrico on the Barra-Ondina circuit (photo by author).

It goes on in this way through the weekend and into the following week. There is an early crest Saturday night followed by a slight lull Sunday. Ordinary time battles to insert the logic of the traditional weekend into the space-time of carnival. But the climax is yet to come. Monday builds, and Tuesday erupts. Mardi Gras, Shrove Tuesday, the last night before (what is supposed to be) 40

days of Lenten fasting. The most famous singers and bands, atop their trios, are scheduled to performer on Tuesday night.

Tuesday's climactic peak does not simply give way to a smooth transition to ordinary time. There are days, if not weeks, during which the after-effects of carnival drag on the coattails of the newly revived and ordered temporal logic. The beer vendors are up early on Ash Wednesday, maybe they don't even bother going to bed. One last procession—the *arastão*, literally the trawler—departs the Barra-Ondina parade route at 8:00 am Wednesday morning. This is only the beginning of ressaca, the hangover. There is a carnival custom in Bahia that the year's most popular song becomes the namesake of the post-carnival malady that strikes the population in the following days and weeks. For after it has taken such a tight grip on the city, carnival time is not quite ready to let go. In carnival 2009 the song was Ivete Sangalo's mostly nonsensical "*Cadê Dalila?*" ("Where's Dalila?"):

> *Vai Buscar Dalila*
> *Vai Buscar Dalila ligeiro*
> *Vai Buscar Dalila*
> *Vai Buscar Dalila ligeiro*
> *ligeiro, ligeiro, ligeiro...*
>
> *Hem Hem Hem Hem Oooooo*
> *Hem Hem Hem Hem Oooooo*

Dalila the song lives on, projected into the city's soundscapes from bars and restaurants, seeping into the airwaves home and car stereos alike. And Dalila the ailment only grows in carnival's aftermath, as practically the entire city calls in sick during the week following carnival—victims of Dalila.

More than a simple progression in time, the temporal competition between

ordinary time and carnival is felt, embodied, lived in the increasingly dense

security apparatus and police presence felt in the city in the months, and

especially weeks, leading up to carnival. Where carnival, in Bakhtinian terms, is

"exuberance and freedom" (Armstrong 2010, 458), as carnival time approaches

the logic of a security state is in an unending battle with this freedom of carnival.

Scheper-Hughes touched on the irony of this competition long ago, writing:

> *Carnaval* crowds are unpredictable; they can explode and turn from
> revelry to mass protest. That this so rarely happens is remarkable.
> *Carnaval* in Recife [Brazil] in 1965, the year after the military coup, was
> an eerie experience. One jumped and danced in the streets, along the
> beaches, and in the back of open trucks and jeeps under the watchful eye
> of armed military police officers. Their rifles and ammunition were not
> *fantasias* [costumes]. Nudity was prohibited, and costumes could not
> mock or satirize public officials, the military, or the police. Political
> themes were banned in *carnaval* songs and in the floats and parades of the
> organized samba schools of Rio...
>   As the years passed, however, and military power and presence
> were routinized, restrictions on *carnaval* play were gradually lifted, and
> the city of Rio de Janeiro sponsored the building of its giant *carnaval*
> dome [the *sambódromo*], where the samba schools now parade and flaunt
> their exotic and erotic costumes and dances as though under the circus 'big
> top'... In subverting the potential subverters, the state recognizes the
> usefulness of *carnaval*. But the truce between the state and the disorderly
> popular classes of Brazil is always tentative and unstable. It can shift at
> any moment (Scheper-Hughes 1992, 483).

In Salvador, the closer carnival comes, the heavier the police presence can

be felt in the street, directly challenging the idea of carnival freedom and

liberation. During Salvador's New Year's Eve celebration, a key warm-up for

carnival, we watched as four police officers bludgeoned a single man, seemingly

unarmed, wedged into the corner of two buildings with nowhere to go. In the

following weeks, getting closer and closer to the event, police on the street

seemed more aggressive. Multiple times we witnessed officers, guns drawn, patting people down—almost always young black men—in the middle of the day on busy streets. But my first real insight into the mounting police presence for carnival appeared during the February 2 Festa de Iemanjá. During an ostensibly religious procession and offering to the Afro-Bahian goddess of the seas (and the pre-carnival parties that came with it), there was a thick police security presence—the military police. Indeed, it was impossible to escape their watchful eye (see Figure 33).

Figure 33. The military police during the Festa de Iemanjá (photo by author).

When carnival arrives police sub stations populate every block, positioned in large tents outfitted with temporary jail cells. Teams of officers patrolled the revelers in groups of five or six. The first was on point, as the next three or four patrolled in all directions. Bringing up the rear, the final officer seemed

194

completely preoccupied with covering the preceding four (see Figures 34 and 35).

The tension mounted as the heat, festivities, inebriation, the supposed liberty and

freedom, all collided with an increasingly visible security apparatus reminiscence

of Brazil's long history of military governments.

Figure 34. Two teams of police among carnival revelers (photo by author).

Figure 35. *Polícia Militar* among carnival revelers (photo by author).

Monday, Feb 23, 2009. Monday of Carnival:

Olodum's choreographer Beto rented a car to take a couple tourists he was hosting to the beaches about two hours north of the city. He called me up early, he needed a translator and asked me if I'd go along. Already far from the city center, we sat at a stoplight on a busy street leading north from the city. Popping sounds, screeching tires, and a crash. A car races up from behind, slams into the car next to us, and spins out into the middle of the intersection. A police SUV screams up seconds later. The driver of the car flees on foot as four officers unload their handguns in his general direction. The passenger of the car surrenders as the SUV takes off again, now after the footloose driver. I watch in slow motion as a gun battle unfolds not 20 feet from where I sit, in a rented sports car with two Romanian tourists and a Brazilian choreographer, as we attempted to temporarily escape the anarchy of the city at the height of carnival.

Two days later, Ash Wednesday. I call our neighbor Marisa at about 8:00 pm; I left my camera at her house last night and am hoping to pick it up so I can download the photos. In shorts, a tee-shirt, and flip flops I pop over to her place, probably not more than 100 paces from the front door to our building. We chat for a few minutes, I grab my camera in its beat-up, rustic leather bag, throw it over my shoulder, and head back toward our apartment. A young guy I don't recognize is on the sidewalk as I leave. "Boa noite" I say, "good evening." He mutters something under his breath and I walk pass him back toward the entrance to my building. I notice him following me but I don't think much of it. It's a tight-knit community on top of a hill with no car access. It's safe. It's not until he

196

follows me into the dark hallway leading to the stairway to our second floor apartment that it struck me that something was off. He grabs my arm and demands the bag. Both unarmed, we scuffle. I'm not going to give up easily my bag, camera, and three days worth of carnival photographs. Upstairs Yindra hears the grunts of the struggle, and joins the fight and screams for the neighbors to come out. He lands one square jab to my left temple, stumbles, and escapes out the door. By this time the neighbors are all out, they guy who lives next door chases the attacker out of the bairro *and down the hill to the road below. It was the pre-dawn headache that wakes you up after a long night of drinking, foreshadowing the hangover to come, as you try to figure out what the hell happened last night, and swear off the inevitableness of future indulgences that only promise the same outcome. Carnival, long time coming, does not depart easily.*

The Ideological Competition

Beyond the annual competition between carnival and ordinary time, there is also a temporal competition that unfolds on a much longer time-scale. The realm of possibility explored during carnival cannot simply retreat with the arrival of Ash Wednesday, only to resurface during carnival revelry one year later. There is competition between past and future, as possibilities opened during carnival affect societal changes in ordinary time. Central to Bakhtinian carnivalesque inversion is the return to "normalcy" following the temporary turning-upside-down of the world. Even when carnival is conceptualized as an escape valve, it is

197

the very upside-down-ness of the world during carnival that naturalizes and perpetuates the ordered structure of ordinary time. In Bahia, things do not— *cannot*—simply go back to normal. Just as life outside of carnival affects the event, carnival has very real implications throughout the rest of year. Carnival points "not toward the past, but toward the future" (Risério 1999, 250). This is the ideological competition between carnival and ordinary time. In Bahia there is no place where this is truer than in terms of race relations.

Negro-mestiço influence in Salvador's carnival has, since the end of slavery, ebbed and flowed. In the final decades of the 19th century, immediately following the abolition of slavery in Brazil, Nina Rodrigues (2004 [1906]) wrote about Afro-centric carnival groups—the original blocos—with names such as the "African Embassy," "Sons of Africa," and the "African Warriors." Initially tolerated by the white elite, these Afro-Bahian carnival processions quickly lost their support from above. "At a moment in which [white, elite] culture was increasingly acquiring French manners, the elite saw something simianesque and dissonant in the colorful black groups" (Risério 1999, 251). The struggle that ensued had two important consequences. First, to a certain extent it was successful in driving this negro-mestiço Bahian carnival back underground. More importantly, however, it simultaneously drove white carnival celebrations from the streets into the homes and private clubs of the elite. After a period of relative calm in the 1950s, beginning in the 1960s *blocos de índios*, or "Indian blocks," emerged from the urban periphery of Salvador, asserting their right to the streets during carnival. Taking names from North American tribes—the Apache

198

("*Apache de Tororó*"), the Comanche, the Navajo, the Sioux, the Redskins ("*Pele Vermelhas*"), the Cheyenne—Bahia's negro-mestiço population was reasserting their own black identity by channeling American Indian resistance. According to Risério (1981, 67):

> From a sociological perspective, this identity would be reinforced by the compulsory marginality of both groups [North American Indians and Afro-Bahians] in contemporary society. From this perspective, the black *baiano*, economically, socially, politically, and culturally marginalized, would recognize himself, somehow poetically, in the Indians at the time of the white man's conquest of the American West.

Justifiably or not, these blocos de índios were quickly associated with violence and subjected to strict government controls (Risério 1981; Jorge 1999). It was said that when a bloco de índio lined up for the carnival parade "it was poor blacks from the urban periphery invading the center of the city, assaulting the owners of the street caught up in their own carnival revelry, bringing down their tomahawks on anyone and everyone who didn't belong to the 'tribe'" (Risério 1981, 68). The short lived popularity of the blocos de índios provided an important stepping stone for what became the reAfricanization of Bahian carnival, and the re-assertion of an Afro-centric identity more broadly throughout Bahian life. The legacy of the índios is still occasionally visible in Bahia's carnival parades (see Figure 36).

Figure 36. Singer Carlinhos Brown revived the symbolism of the Native American in carnival 2009 (photo by author).

A newfound negritude in Bahia influenced by the Black movement in the United States and the pan-Africa movement worldwide, led Bahia's *negro-mestiço* youth to abandon the indirect symbolism of the American Indian, instead directly embracing their African roots. Bahia became "the passageway from 'soul' to *ijexá*, from 'black' to 'Afro,' from 'funk' to afoxé, styles which melded together in something that might warrant the name *black-ijexá*" (Risério 1999, 252). According to Armstrong (2010, 449), "Afro-Bahians have traditionally used the license of carnival to affirm ethno-social identity with an Afro-centric dissidence distinct from other Brazilian carnivals." The reassertion of an Afro-centric identity during carnival—what Risério (1981, 1999) refers to as the reAfricanization of Bahia's carnival—has led to a very real reAfricanization of Bahian life outside of carnival. Carnival became a staging ground for broader

societal change as carnivalesque ideologies compete against the white, elite
ideologies of traditional Bahian ordinary time.

Ideological competition, however, does not flow in only one direction. Carnival and ordinary time play, in the words of Risério (1999, 258), "a game of reciprocal effects." While carnival most certainly disrupts mainstream societal order, carnival spaces are appropriated as new avenues for capitalist accumulation as the Euro-Brazilian elite profit from the commodification of the black movement (as seen in the previous chapter). Risério (1999, 258-259) explains:

> Since [the 1970s] black-mestizo carnival has been duly assimilated by the public powers and primarily by the tourism and cultural industries. Today Bahian carnival is unthinkable, from the entrepreneurial point of view, without its showy black characteristics. Or else this industry would suffer a tremendous loss. But this assumption is not the sign of defeat. The blocos afros, before accused of being [reverse] racist[s], managed to impose themselves, transforming the sociocultural atmosphere. And this is a very interesting point. Although they are not owners of the Bahian cultural industry, of the means of production and circulation of this industry, black-mestizos occupy almost all the space and time of the mass media [during carnival].

While it may still even be true that negro-mestiços continue to receive a disproportionate amount of media coverage during carnival, the newscasters—in a way the curators of carnival—are overwhelmingly white. The overrepresentation of Afro-Bahia is more easily attributable to the commodification of the Afro-Bahian experience and discourse than any change in the social position of Bahia's negro-mestiço population. Armstrong (2010,465-466), for instance, notes that

> one of the first images encountered at the airport is a large billboard of a smiling dreadlocked Afro-Bahian wearing the colors of Olodum, and bearing the paddles used by airport workers to direct incoming planes. The image thus forges a symbolic bridge between the Pelourinho, international tourism and a modern economic infrastructure. The centrality of carnival

is constantly re-iterated in official slogans like '*Vem para a Bahia – é carnaval o ano todo!*' ('Come to Bahia – it's carnival all year round').

The representation of carnival is disproportionally Afro-centric, privileging *blocos afro* and *afoxés*, though they constitute a small proportion of the total number of carnival clubs, because they successfully appeal both to international tourists and the preponderantly Euro-Brazilian tourists from the Brazilian Southeast.

The celebration of Afro-Bahian heritage *via* Afrocentric carnivalesque representations must be separated from any real negro-mestiço progress made through the reAfricanization of carnival, and society more broadly. It is little more than the commodification of Bahia's African roots. These representations do little to upset the distinctly unequal respective economic and political positions.

Armstrong (2010, 466) continues:

The local white oligarchy, which completely dominates the party system, is effaced from the representational visage of Bahia. This Afro-centrism generally does not transcend the symbolic to penetrate the material sphere. The modern infrastructure implied by the airport billboard is almost entirely controlled and direct by Euro-Bahians, following North Atlantic models, authorities and capital. In fact, the Bahian government blatantly uses carnival to alleviate popular anger in the face of poor material infrastructure and inefficient deployment of resources due to corruption.

In the past I have written about how most visual representations in Salvador effectually erase black bodies from the visual landscape, as a clear preference for whiteness is naturalized into the city's landscape (Finn 2010). The situation here reverses the racial roles. In my earlier study I argued that advertisements aimed at the local population, at Brazilians, at baianos, overwhelmingly represent whiteness, *not* blackness. Here, on the other hand, Afro-centric images are simply targeted representations of an exoticized Other for marketing carnival, and Bahia more broadly, to tourists.

Sara, who participates in carnival as a musician, embodies carnival's ideological competition. She told me:

> Carnival, for me, is one of the best examples that Bahia exists within the myth of racial democracy. A myth of social democracy. It's obvious who's excluded, who's included, what bodies are excluded, what bodies are included. It's easy to see that access to diversion, pleasure, culture, all these types of things, is unequal. But it's controlled in such a way that is legitimatized by the media, disseminated abroad by photographs, and so on. I think that carnival is a space of fake happiness. It's more a mask than actual joy. Carnival lacks truth; it's disingenuous.

There is a never-ending competition between the liberating forces of carnival and the oppressive strength of ordinary time. Carnival most certainly opens a space for broader societal change. At the same time the centers of power in ordinary time fight back. Just as the carnival mask is used to hide the identity of a peasant, who for a few short days can play the part of king, ideologies of ordinary time mask themselves in the veil of racial democracy.

Tuesday, February 24, 2009, the last night of carnival.

Tonight I've been contracted by Beto, Olodum's choreographer and lead dancer, to photograph him and his dance troupe as they perform during the carnival parade. It's a pretty good deal. I photograph him during the parade, and he makes sure I get an all-access pass to roam the bloco, to go onto the trio *where the show band performs, to access its support car, which has (very crude) bathrooms and bar for VIPs only.*

This is the big night. Olodum's 50 dancers will lead 300 drummers, the full stage band atop a trio elétrico*, and over 3,000 members of the* bloco *through the* Campo Grande *carnival circuit. Tonight's the night that we'll pass in front of*

the television cameras and the judging station, though no one really seems to

know that they are in a competition. It's here, on the ground, smack dab in the

middle of a crowd of perhaps millions, that I feel the raw power of music in

defining the spaces of carnival. Sound comes from all angles, from in front of me,

from behind, above, below. The high-pitched repeniques *pierce ears while the*

massive stacks of subwoofers on the trios aren't so much heard as felt—a

trembling vibration in my gut. I make my way through the crowd in search of

Olodum's starting position. With this crowd, the confusion, it took me nearly two

hours to find a group of over 3,000 people all wearing the same abadás. It's

finally Olodum's drummers warming up, the beat of samba-reggae cutting

through the amplified sounds of the trios *that surround me, that gives me a north.*

I fight through the masses for 45 minutes to finally catch up. Caetano Veloso

(1977) wasn't joking when he sang:

Todo mundo na praço
Manda a gente sem graço pro salã
Mete o cotovelo
e vai abrindo caminho
Pega no meu cabelo
pra não se perder
e terminar sozinho

[Everybody's in the plaza
Send the boring people to the ballroom
Shove in your elbow
And open up a path
Grab onto my hair
So you don't get lost
And end up alone]

I pass one trio as it's just getting warmed up. An unfortunate mother is

caught off guard with a small child. The trio's earthquake of sound overtakes the

child's senses. He bursts into tears, but can't even hear his own cry. Motioning

(language is useless in this soundscape), I offer my earplugs to his mother. She

smiles and refuses. These are the sounds that define the landscape of carnival.

The child will learn. Indeed, these are the spaces he himself will soon inherit.

The Spatial Competition

Everything discussed up to this point comes to a head as the drawn-out

anticipation of carnival gives way to the six full days and nights that now make up

the event in Salvador da Bahia. Those who abandon the city have fled, those who

stay dig in, and tens, if not hundreds of thousands of tourists are channeled

through Salvador's international airport and stream into the city. I present this

final section spatially: the divided microgeographies of carnival spaces.

The occupation and appropriation of space, and especially urban space, are

as central to carnival as the revelry that *takes place* in those spaces. "Carnival's

relationship to space can best be understood as a way of claiming, appropriating,

and dominating urban spaces" (Riggio 2004, 24). While time has long been

associated with carnival (ordinary time vs. carnival time), discussions of carnival

spaces have been largely restricted to the urban environment as a part of the social

world rather than carnivalesque appropriations of space during festive revelry

(Riggio 2004). According to Riggio (2004, 24):

> As the aesthetic equivalent of social protest, carnival claims city streets
> and other urban spaces or village squares not only for the momentary
> pleasures of play but also implicitly (and for many of the participants
> probably subconsciously) to affirm its right to those streets... Claiming the
> streets and replacing the corporate and governmental infrastructure with

festive exuberance for a day or two may seem like nothing more than a temporary inversion of the classic kind (Riggio 2004, 24).

Turner (1983, 103) restates the archetypical Bakhtinian inversion theory of the carnivalesque in spatial terms:

> Truly, carnival is the denizen of a place which is not place, and a time which is no time, even where that place is a city's main plazas, and that time can be found on an ecclesiastical calendar. For the squares, avenues, and streets of the city become, at carnival, the reverse of their daily selves. Instead of being the sites of offices and the conduits of purposive traffic, they are sealed off from traffic, and the millions who throng them on foot, drift idly wherever they please, no longer propelled by the urges of 'getting and spending' in particular places.

What are normally centers of capitalism are converted into purely ludic spaces. At first glance, it might seem that Turner's (1983) spatial inversion, described above, still applies: the city is indeed turned upside down, inside out. Official buildings and spaces cease functioning. Streets are closed to cars and buses as the "masses," through their physical presence, completely upend the spatial order of the city. Upon further inspection, however, divisions appear, separating what seemed at first glance to be a simple spatial inversion of ordinary time. In Salvador's carnival, the logic and order of capitalism battle the freedom and anarchy of carnival spaces. In terms of business, during carnival the goal simply cannot be business as usual. Running a drug store or café on the carnival circuit would be utterly impossible. But capitalism does not pause for this 5-day turning-upside-down of the world. Profits do not wait. Business interests thus seek to appropriate spaces within the carnival logic. Businesses are, both figuratively and quite literally, reformatted to function in a carnival logic.

206

Today, the spaces of Salvador's carnivals divide into three basic categories: the pipoca, the bloco, and the camarote. The pipoca—literally the "popcorn"—is the space that most represents the Bakhtinian ideal. The pipoca is the street, the chaos. There is no admission to be paid and no entry gate. The masses don't sit orderly on the curb while the parade goes by. Rather, they mix in among the trios elétricos. They are the parade. Divisions break down between spectator and performer; as Bakhtin (1984) wrote, carnival knows no footlights... Speaking of music and carnival, Sara told me:

> Carnival music is not contemplative music. It's participatory. It's different from the music that you go to see in the theater. There you contemplate, you reflect, you might even sing along, but there is a separation between up there on the stage and here in the audience. In carnival, no! The artist goes along right next to you...

The pipoca, the democratic, anarchic, turned-upside-down space of Bahian carnival, stretches the entire length of the parade circuits. It utterly fills the main parade street and overflows many blocks in every direction. The city attempts to impose some kind of civic order in these spaces—mostly through police and the placement of thousands of outhouses along the route—but carnival anarchy reigns as there are fights, pickpockets, people pissing in the street. Independent beer vendors roam the crowd selling *latões*—22-once cans of beer—for two reais (about a buck). People dance, kiss, grope. The pipoca is Bahian carnival.

Figure 37. The pipoca shot from above (photo by author).

Figure 38. Beer vendor inside the pipoca (photo by author).

While the pipoca is the truest version of Bakhtin's carnivalesque in
Salvador's carnival, there are spaces beyond its reach. Though Sara explained that

the musicians are among the people in carnival, closest access to the trios,

performers, musicians, and dancers is granted only to those who join a bloco.

Historically neighborhood based, blocos are now much more commercial entities

than local community groups. Some blocos, such as Olodum, Ilê Aiye, and the

Filhos de Gandhy, hold on to their roots in localized communities and social

activism. But much more, the blocos have become a big business. Sara explained:

> In the last ten years carnival has become a lot more professionalized. It's
> because the big companies have invested, they've put in more cash.
> They've invested more in marketing. Beer companies are a great example.
> The artists have also invested, with their blocos and companies, with their
> business that is music. Music becomes just a product for consumption, like
> the beer, like the trio eletrico, like the singer's legs...

Milton, who also performed on a trio during the 2009 carnival, lamented the

event's commercialization, explaining how many of the blocos work:

> Carnival has become a lot more industrialized. People changed, they
> turned toward making money off carnival. They started to close off the
> blocos... If you create a carnival bloco, you're going to sell a product. You
> find a good band to perform on top of your trio elétrico during carnival,
> then you start selling the abadás at whatever price you can, depending on
> the band that you've hired. And the public ends up spending a lot of
> money during carnival.

Joining the bloco in which the popular band *Chiclete com Banana* performs will

set individuals back about R$2,000 (about US$1,000) for three days of parades.

Some blocos charge as much as R$1,500 *per day* to join the bloco.

Figure 39. A thick blue cordão divides the pipoca (on the right) from the members of the bloco (on the left, in blue abadás) (photo by author).

There is competition, a battle, between capitalist logic appropriating carnival spaces and the free, democratic, even anarchic logic of the pipoca. Even the space atop the trio, literally the stage for the musicians and dancers, becomes a place subject to the forces of capitalism. Following up on her earlier statement, Sara, who sings atop a trio every year, downplays her previous optimism:

> I guess there is some separation. Nowadays even the artists' 'space' is not just for the artist, but also for those that bankroll the party. Up on top of the trio eletrico it's not just the artists. There are businessmen, guests, people who pay serious cash to be up there. It's a question of 'very important people' [she says it in English] more than it is a space for artists.

Perhaps the height of the irony is that the existence of the bloco and its thick cordão controlled by hundreds of cordeiros, literally privatizes the streets—public spaces not only during carnival, *but also during the rest of the year*. Harnessing

the chaos of carnival, the forces of capitalist accumulation—like the carnival revelers themselves—subverts the normal capitalistic order of ordinary time.

Moving from the pipoca, through the bloco, one final space creates the most serious threat to the traditional openness of Salvador's carnival: the camarote. A completely privatized space, the protecting walls of the camarote provide a spatial order b(r)ought exclusively by the forces of commercialization. Camarotes in Bahia's carnival are a relatively new phenomenon. Something akin to box seats, these structures line the parade routes—especially the more upscale Barra-Ondina route. Some of the camarotes are simply businesses—restaurants, bars, and hotels that happen to be on the parade route. They capitalize on their prime carnival location by selling the right to consume outside the reach of the mobs of the pipoca and bloco. The majority of the camarotes, however, are built either from the ground up in the space between the parade's road and the ocean, or literally on top of existing permanent structures. In both cases they create massive temporary clubs of scaffolding and plywood. The bottom level of these buildings—sometimes three or four stories tall, complete with elevators—is level with the top of the trio elétrico. The spectator, from the camarote, looks eye-to-eye with the performers as the trios rumble by. From the camarotes, Salvador's carnival becomes spectacle. For those who buy their way into the protected spaces of the camarote, carnival is no longer something to do, but something to observe, no longer something to live, but something to contemplate (Risério 1981, 1999; Bakhtin 1984). The logic of carnival is completely usurped as the comfort of privatized, organized, and secured space is purchased by those who can afford it.

211

Figure 40. Spectators in the camarote (right, in green abadás) look down upon the pipoca (left) one story below (photo by author).

Figure 41. Carnival Divas Daniela Mercury (left) and Margareth Menezes performing on their trio, as seen from the camarote (photo by author).

Figure 42. The view from the camarote, looking eye-to-eye with performers atop the trios (photos by author).

If the final competition, though, is measured by the people, the pipoca, at least for the time being, still comes out on top. Discussing the differences between Rio de Janeiro's carnival spectacle and Salvador's more participatory event, Beto told me:

> Rio's carnival exists in the sambódromo, in other words a closed club. It's a carnival where those with money are the only ones who can enter. In Salvador it's different because carnival... I'll put it like this: If you have money, you can go out with a bloco. If you don't have any money, you go out in the street. And you participate in the same way as those who are in the bloco. We call it the pipoca. Carnival here in Bahia is really more communitarian. If I pay to go with a bloco, the bloco has a set time to parade. My bloco lines up for the parade at 5 pm sharp. When my bloco is done with the parade, I either go home or I continue in the street, in the pipoca, checking out the other blocos, the other singers, the other bands... You might pay R$2,000 to line up with Chiclete com Banana, but when they're done, you end up in the pipoca. And you have fun just the same. Here in Salvador carnival is for those who have money and those who don't.

In a way this is an affirmation of the classic Bakhtinian carnivalesque optimism.

The forces of chaos, manifest in the pipoca, are too great for the ordered and

ordering logic of both capital and the state (security). According to Cresswell

(1996, 127),

> the big joke, for Bakhtin, is that wherever high-minded seriousness goes
> on people are always going to be shitting and sweating, eating and pissing.
> As metaphors these bodily functions refer to the importance of process.
> Culture...is not the finished, rounded, complete, and coherent product that
> 'high' culture would have us believe. Rather it is in constant flux, living
> and dying, eating and shitting—laughing.

In the end, Beto tells me, "everyone ends up in the pipoca."

Chapter 8

THE RESONANCE OF PLACE

Tension drives music. This is true both harmonically and rhythmically. A cycle of tension, its resolution, and the subsequent building of tension is what make music interesting. Harmonically, an unresolved chord leaves the listener in limbo, awaiting melodic closure that may or may not come. When it comes, it comes to rest. If, on the other hand, a performance ends in harmonic tension— perhaps concluding on the dominant seventh chord without resolving to the tonic—the listener is left, quite literally, in a state of discomfort and confusion. Rhythmic tension has the same a/effect. As Humberto told me, the key to Brazilian groove is understanding that it's not the notes, but the spaces between the notes that are most important. These spaces are elemental in creating rhythmic tensions at all scales, between individual notes, between measures, between sections of a song, between songs. Without tension music is bland, infantile.

It is similarly a repetitious cycle of tension–resolution–tension that pushes life forward. Death constitutes a pause that quickly cedes power to the tensile cycles of social life. And the patterns of tension and resolution in social life, as in music, follow what Lefebvre (2004, 90) called "cyclical repetition:"

> Cyclical repetition is easily understood if one considers days and nights – hours and months – the seasons and years. And tides! The cyclical is generally of cosmic origin; it is not measured in the same way as the linear... Cyclical rhythms, each having a determined period or frequency, are also the rhythms of beginning again: of the 'returning' which does not oppose itself to the 'becoming', we could say, modifying a phrase of René Crevel. The dawn is always new (Lefebvre 2004, citing Crevel 1989).

Like the tension that moves music forward, and the cycles of tension that push life along, there is tension inherent within ways that music works in social life, and within ways that scholars of music conceptualize and theorize this social force. This tension is between representation and that which lies beyond. I've argued throughout this dissertation that the aural nature of music places it beyond a strictly representational logic. Yet there is an undertow pulling, at all times and in all places, back toward representation. Breaking free from representational modes has proven a difficult, if not daunting challenge. I have attempted to address this problem in terms of both theory and methods, while the four narratives contained within lay bare multiple ways that this tension plays out through varying space-times.

As I asserted in chapter two, scholars of music have tended to approach music in a solidly representational framework. Frith (1996, 108) explains:

> The academic study of popular music has been limited by the assumption that the sounds must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent' the people. The analytic problem has been to trace the connections back, from the work (the score, the song, the beat) to the social groups who produce and consume it. What's been at issue is homology, some sort of *structural* relationship between material and musical forms…

These scholars—not least Theodor Adorno (e.g. Adorno 1993)—have struggled to articulate an analogous relationship between music and language. Semiotic analysis was the method of choice in seeking to unlock the meaning of music.

This culturologistic understanding of music and its structural/ representational place in society misses the point. To reify music limits it to hermeneutical inquiry that emphasizes what it represented to the composer or what it *means* to the audience. This tendency to favor music qua musical works is

216

backward. As Small (1998, 3) asserts, musical meanings "cannot be fixed on paper" but "have to be grasped in times as [the music] flies." Indeed, "*performance does not exist in order to present musical works, but rather, musical works exist in order to give performers something to perform*" (Small 1998, 8, original emphasis). To say that music is simply a reflection of underlying cultural forces oversimplifies the way music works in society. Approaching a geographic study of music in such a way reifies music and reduces it to an object reflective of an ontologically secure conception of culture. An overemphasis on musical works and composers' intentions pushes the force of sound in action, both to performers and observers, to the background.

Nonrepresentational approaches in the geography of music offer an opportunity to move past a hermeneutical understanding in favor of accessing music as it is created in performance. The question becomes: How can a researcher, a scholar of music, engage the musicscape in a way that respects, embraces, music beyond representation? It has been necessary to rethink some traditional field methods in the social sciences—namely interviewing and participant observation—in order to deploy them in research on and in the sound world. In this endeavour Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalyst provided a strikingly *apropos* way forward. Whereas traditional approaches emphasize the importance of objectivity and externality, the rhythmanalyst knows that "in order to *grasp* this fleeting object, which is not exactly an *object*, it is...necessary to situate oneself simultaneously inside and outside" (Lefebvre 2004, 27). While an external position might provide needed analytical distance, this distance cannot be

mistaken for the objectified position of a privileged outsider. Life—including that of the researcher—is not guided from some independent vantage hovering above the plane of objective reality. Rather, it is lived on a line, it is a journey through space-time (Ingold 2007).

Untangling this (beyond)representational tension is not strictly an academic exercise. It is precisely this tension that defines the unstable and highly tenuous place of music in social life. Representation freezes music, converting it into a product—a thing—of a "culture." Thusly reified, music (the product) can be harnessed, put to the service of the state or of capital. This tendency has been present throughout all the narratives of this dissertation.

The story of samba, through its intimate connection to race, exemplifies this tension. Samba originated in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, the musical embodiment of the harsh realities of the black experience in post-slavery Brazil. In the face of physical and symbolic erasure from popular constructions of the legitimate public, samba provided a route for Rio's negro-mestiço population to take control of their identity. Shifting constructions of race in Brazil—from whitening to a belief in racial democracy—led to the national appropriation of this musical cultural practice. The sound that the Brazilian elite once perceived as such a real danger that the instruments used to create them were criminalized, was watered down, appropriated, and converted to national symbol, a musical signifier representative of a unitary vision of "Brazilian-ness." The sounds of daily life in Rio's favelas were forced into the realm of representation by a government obsessed with creating a singular national identity.

This tension surfaces once again, manifest in the musicscapes of the Pelourinho, the historic center of the city of Salvador. Two distinct groups populate this heterotopic space, each seeing—hearing—this place distinctly. For the local residents, the spaces of the neighborhood are lived. The Pelourinho's musicscape is not an aural representation of life in this place. Rather it is constituent force in this lived space. For visitors, the place experience in this musicscape is quite the opposite—the spaces of the neighborhood work together to create a screen upon which a static, (post)colonial history (heritage) is projected. Music in these spaces is read, understood, and processed representationally, the aural product of a reified, static "culture." In the very same streets, alleyways, *barzinhos*, and plazas, differing spatial logics collide, tangling the lived world with an aural gaze that lives through representation.

The story of Olodum takes place at the center of these tangled musicscapes of the Pelourinho. It has been through music that Olodum, and Bahia's negro-mestiço population more generally, have challenged the structures of racism embedded within a society where the state apparatus has failed time and again to protect the basic rights of all of its citizens. And it is through music that Olodum explores its own conflicted, contradictory place within that culture and society. Their songs are songs of protest. Their rhythms are the musical embodiment of a rejection of samba as their national identity and the embrace of the reAfricanization of northeast Brazil. At the same time, Olodum performs these rhythms and songs on drums sponsored by PetroBras, the national oil company. Their signature rhythm, samba-reggae, is a central tourist attraction in this

protected UNESCO world heritage site. Olodum's narrative embraces the group's deviant roots even while their commercial success depends on casting to the side the same marginalized populations that gave birth to the movement in the first place. In a context at once urban and global, defined by an uneasy twinning of marginality and revitalization, of racism and the commodification of anti-racism messages, the pounding of Olodum's drums embodies this representational tension.

Lastly, carnival: a temporal, ideological, and spatial struggle between the logics of ordinary time and of carnival. Race and music are once again central in the competition between carnival and ordinary time, and the tension of representation and the lived world. As the temperatures warms and the year builds toward the chaos of carnival, the logic of ordinary time is hard pressed to cede power, and the state's security apparatus can be increasingly felt on the street. And following the climax, the after-e/affects of carnival's upside-down logic linger. Indeed, as a space-time of possibility, carnival never relinquishes itself back to the ordinary. Carnival, as Risério (1999) puts it, is forward looking. The reAfricanization of Salvador's carnival was an important platform for the reAfricanization of Bahian society writ large. Finally, as carnival erupts on the streets of Salvador, a spatial competition emerges. The normal spaces of capitalism are consumed by carnivalesque revelry, and capital looks to carnival as a site of capitalist accumulation. Inherent to these temporal, ideological, and spatial battles is the tension between representation and the lived spaces beyond. Carnival, after all, is to be lived, not contemplated (Riserio 1981; 1999; Bakhtin

1984). As carnival becomes spectacle, the lived is pulled toward representation.

As the forces of ordinary time, of capitalism, of the state security apparatus, take

over, so too does a representational logic. Guy Debord's (2004, 12) very first

thesis states that "the whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of

production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. All

that once was directly lived has become mere representation."

Embracing the unstable nature of culture, conceptualized here not as a

noun, a thing, but as a process of constant negotiation, constituted by the

continuous actions and activities of people creating worlds, music does much

more than represent. From the favelas of Rio de Janeiro to the troubled

neighborhood of the Pelourinho, from the manic tempos of samba to the laid back

grooves of samba-reggae, and in the year-round competition between the

oppressive forces of ordinary time and the fleeting possibility of carnival, music is

a creative societal force with affects and effects beyond the realm of

representation. Lefebvre (2004, 60) writes of the aural and affective reality of

music in place:

> Musical reality...cannot define itself simply as a language or a writing.
> Certainly, a musical *text* has a meaning, which brings it closer to language.
> There is a type of musical *writing*, writing (on the stave) set down in the
> eighteenth century, which has not been without influence on composition:
> harmony is written. But music cannot be reduced to these determinations.
> It gives itself above all else in return for a time: in return for a rhythm.
> Does musical time coincide with *lived* time? Or with imaginary time
> (duration)? Metaphorical? [...] Furthermore, the concept of (lived or
> dreamed) time remains abstract if one leaves the rhythmic aside. But
> would it be right to treat musical time as *essential* (or existential) outside
> space? No! Sound occupies a space, and the instruments of *existence*. The
> *spatialisation* of musical time cannot be deemed a betrayal. Perhaps music
> presupposes a unity of time and space, an alliance. In and through rhythm?

In Salvador da Bahia it is through resonance in place, the building and resolution of musical tension *qua* societal tension, that cultural and racial dominance is contested, that identity is asserted, that contradiction is embodied, breathes, lives, dies, is reborn.

REFERENCES

Abercrombie P. 1933: *Town and Country Planning*. Thornton Butterworth: London.

Aching, G. 2010. Carnival time versus modern social life: a false distinction. *Social Identities* 16 (4): 415–425.

Adorno, T. W. 1993. Music, Language, and Composition. *The Musical Quarterly* 77: 401–414.

Amado, J. 1971. *Tent of Miracles*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Amin, A. and N. Thrift. 2002. *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Anderson B. 2004. Recorded music and practices of memory. *Social and Cultural Geography* 5: 1–17.

Anderson B., F. Morton, and G. Revill. 2005. Editorial: Practices of music and sound. *Social and Cultural Geography* 6: 639–644.

Anderson B., and P. Harrison. 2010. The Promise of Non–Representational Theories. In *Taking Place: Non–Representational Theories and Geography*, ed. B. Anderson and P. Harrison, 1–34. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

De Andrade, M. 1962. *Ensâio sobre a música brasiliera*. São Paulo: Martins.

Armstrong, P. 1999. The Aesthetic Escape Hatch: *carnaval*, *blocos afro* and the Mutations of *baianidade* under the Signs of Globalisation and re–Africanisation. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 5 (2): 65–98.

———. 2001. Moralizing Dionysus and Lubricating Apollo: A Semantic Topography of Subject Construction in Afro–Bahian Carnival. *Luso–Brazilian Review* 38 (2): 29–59.

———. 2002. Songs of Olodum: Ethnicity, Activism, and Art in a Globalized Carnival Community. In *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, ed. C. A. Perrone and C. Dunn, 177–191. New York: Routledge.

———. 2010. Bahian carnival and social carnivalesque in trans–Atlantic context. *Social Identities* 16 (4): 447–469.

Ashworth, G. J., and J. E. Tunbridge. 1990. *The tourist–historic city London*. Belhaven Press.

Atkinson, R. 2007. Ecology of Sound: The Sonic Order of Urban Space. *Urban Studies* 44: 1905–1917.

———. Forthcoming. Ears Have Walls: Thoughts on the Listening Body in Urban Space. *Aether*.

Attali J. 1985. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bakhtin, M. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Barz, G. F. and T. J. Cooley, eds. 1997. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baudrillard, J. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Bentes, I. 2003. The *sertão* and the *favela* in contemporary Brazilian film. In *The New Brazilian Cinema*, ed. L. Nagib, 122–137. London: University of Oxford Press.

Berger. J. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. New York: Penguin Books.

Berger, B. M. 1995. *An Essay on Culture: Symbolic Structure and Social Structure*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bergson, H. 1983. *Creative Evolution*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The location of culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Blore, S., and A. de Vries. 2006. *Frommer's Brazil*, 3rd ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing, Inc.

Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The Fields of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Braga, P. M., and W. R. dos Santos. 2009. O Programa de Recuperação do Centro Histórico de Salvador e as lições das Cartas Patrimoniais. *Arquitextos* Texto Especial 510.

Brennan, T. 1997. *At Home in the World: Cosmopolitanism Now*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burman–Hall, L. C. 1975. Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles. *Ethnomusicology* 19 (1): 47–65.

Burns, E. B. 1993. *A History of Brazil*, 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Butler, K. D. 1998. *Freedoms given, freedoms won: Afro–Brazilians in post–abolition, São Paulo and Salvador*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Byrne, D. 1999. I Hate World Music. *The New York Times*: www.davidbyrne.com (last accessed 27 December 2010).

Cage, J. 1952. *4' 33"* Musical Composition.

Cage, J. 1973. *Silence: Lectures and Writing*. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Clifford, J. 1986. Introduction: Partial Truths. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*, eds. J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus, 1–26. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Clifford, J. and G. E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cochrane, A. 1998. Illusions of power: interviewing local elites. *Environment and Planning A* 30(12): 2121–2132.

Collin, M. 1997. *Altered State. The Story of Ecstasy Culture and Acid House*. London: Serpent's Tail.

Connell, J., and C. Gibson. 2003. *Sound tracks: popular music, identity and place*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2004. World Music: Deterritorializing place and indentity. *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (3): 342–361.

Cooley, T. J. 1997. Casting shadowing in the field: an introduction. In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, eds. G. F. Barz, and T. J. Cooley, 3–19. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cornish V., 1928: Harmonies of scenery: an outline of aesthetic geography. *Geography* 14: 275–282 and 383–394.

———. 1934. The scenic amenity of Great Britain. *Geography* 19: 195-202.

Cosgrove, D. 1984. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscapes*. London: Croom Helm.

———. 1996. Ideas and culture: a response to Don Mitchell. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21: 574–575.

Da Costa, L. E. 1958. *De um livro de memórias*. Rio de Janeiro: Nacional.

Crang, M. 2002. Qualitative methods: the new orthodoxy? *Progress in Human Geography* 26 (5): 647–655.

Crang, M. & I. Cook. 2007. *Doing Ethnographies*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cresswell, T. 1996. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Crevel, R. 1989. *Le roman cassé et derniers écrits*. Paris: Pauvert.

Crew, S. R., and J. E. Sims. 1991. Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue. In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. I. Karp and S. D. Lavine, 159–175. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Crichlow, M. A., and P. Armstrong. 2010. Carnival praxis, carnivalesque strategies and Atlantic interstices. *Social Identities* 16 (4): 399–414.

Crook, L, and R. Johnson, eds. 1999. *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

Crowley J. M. 1987. Old–time fiddling in big sky country. In *The Sounds of People and Place: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, ed. G. E. Carney, 75–89. Latham, NY: University Press of America.

Curtis, J. R. 1994. Woody Guthrie and the Dust Bowl. In *Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd ed, ed. G. O. Carney, 254–262. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Da Matta, R. 1983. An Interpretation of Carnaval. *SubStance* 37/38: 162–170.

Daniels, S. 1993. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Darnton, R. 1999. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Basic Books.

De Certeau, M. 1988. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Deleuze, G. and F. Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. London: Athlone.

Deluze, G. 1988. *Bergsonism*. New York: Zone Books.

DeNora, T. 2000. *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2003. *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Devereux. 1967. *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. The Hague: Mouton.

Dewsbury, J. D., P. Harrison, M. Rose, and J. Wylie. 2002. Introduction: enacting geographies. *Geoforum* 33: 437–440.

Dewsbury. J. D. 2003. Witnessing Space: Knowledge without Contemplation. *Environment and Planning A* 35: 1907–1932.

Doane, Mary Ann. 2009. Scale and the Negotiation of the 'Real' and 'Unreal' Space in the Cinema. In, Realism and the Audiovisual Media. P63–81. Eds. Lúcia Nagib and Cecília Mello. Palgrave MacMillan: New York.

Dos Santos, M. 2008. *O Centro da Cidade do Salvador: Estudo de Geografia Urbana*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo. Salvador: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia.

Drost, A. 1996. Developing Sustainable Tourism for World Heritage Sites. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (2): 479-492.

Duffy, M. 2005. Performing identity within a multicultural framework. *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (5): 677–692.

Duncan, J. 1980. The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (2): 181–198.

Duncan, J. and N. Duncan. 1988. (Re)reading the landscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 117–126.

———. 1996. Reconceptualizing the idea of culture in geography: a reply to Don Mitchell. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21: 576–579.

———. 2001. The aestheticization of the politics of landscape preservation. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91: 387–409.

Duncan, J. and D. Ley 1993. *Place/Culture/Representation*. London: Routledge.

Eagleton, T. 1981. *Walter Benjamin: Toward a Revolutionary Criticism*. London: Verso.

Eco, U. 1990. *Travels in Hyperreality*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch.

Edson, G. 2004. Heritage: Pride or Passion, Product or Service? *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 (4): 333–348.

Elwood, S.A., and D.G. Martin. 2000. "Placing" Interviews: Location and Scales of Power in Qualitative Research. *The Professional Geographer* 52(4): 649–657.

Featherstone, M. 1998. The *Flâneur*, the City and Virtual Public Life. *Urban Studies* 35 (5-6): 909-925.

Fee, M. 1989. Why C.K. Stead Didn't Like Keri Hulme's *the bone people*: Who Can Write as Other? *Australian and New Zealand Studies in Canada* 1: 11–32.

Fernandes, A. 2006. Projeto Pelourinho: Operação Deportação X Ampliação do Direito. Paper for the *Curso de Capacitação: Programas de reabilitação de áreas urbanas centrais*. The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy: http://www.cidades.gov.br/secretarias-nacionais/programas-urbanos/biblioteca/reabilitacao-de-areas-urbanas-centrais/materiais-de-capacitacao/curso-de-capacitacao-programas-de-reabilitacao-de-areas-urbanas-centrais-lab-hab/textos/T_Ana_Fernandes.pdf (last accessed 27 December 2010).

Ferguson, R., M. Gever, T. T. Minh–ha, and C. West, eds. 1990. *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Finn, J. 2010. Propaganda, grafite, e as representações de uma cidade negra. *Educação Temática Digital* 11 (2): 75–101.

Ford, L. R. 1994. Geographic Factors in the Origin, Evolution, and Diffusion of Rock and Roll Music. In *Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd ed, ed. G. O. Carney, 203–214. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Ford, L. R., and F. M. Henderson. 1994. The Image of Place in American Popular Music: 1890-1970. In *Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd ed, ed. G. O. Carney, 291–302. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Foucault, M. 1986. Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics* 16 (1): 22–27.

Francisco, M. 1929–1930. *Viajando*. São Paulo: No publisher data.

Freyre, G. 1961 [1933]. *Casa Grande e Senzala*. 11th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editôra.

———. 1969. *Casa Grande e Senzala*. 14th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editôra.

———. 1999. A Vanishing Way of Life. In *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, eds. R. M. Levine and J. J. Crocitti, 91–92. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fry, P. 1982. Feijoada e "soul food": notas sobre a manipulação de símbolos étnicos e nacionais, in *Para inglês ver: identidade e política na cultura brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Frith, S. 1981. *Sound Effects: Youth, Lesure, and the Politics of Rock'N'Roll*. New York: Pantheon.

———. 1996. Music and Identity. In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. S. Hall and P. DuGay, 100–127. London: Sage.

Gibson, C., and L. Kong. 2005. Cultural economy: a critical review. *Progress in Human Geography* 29: 541–561.

Gillespie, S. 2002. Translator's Note. In *Essays on Music*, by T. W. Adorno, xiii–xv. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilroy, P. 1993. The Black Atlantic: *Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso.

Glasgow, J. A. 1994. An Example of Spatial Diffusion: Jazz Music. In *Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd ed, ed. G. O. Carney, 191–202. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Goldstein, D. M. 2003. *Laugher out of Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goulart, S. 1990. *Sob a verdade official: ideologia, propaganda e censura no Estado Novo*. São Paulo: Marco Zero.

Gregory, D. 2004. *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Guilbault, J. 1993. On Redefining the 'Local' through World Music. *The World of Music* 35: 33–47.

Hall, S. 1980. Cultural studies and the centre: some problematics and problems. In *Culture, Media, Language*, eds. S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis, 15–47. London: Edward Arnold.

Hall, S., D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis. 1980. *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hall, S., and P. DuGay, eds., 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage.

Hall, C. M., and R. Piggin. 2001. Tourism and world heritage in OECD countries. *Tourism Recreation Research* 26 (1): 103–105.

Hamilton, M. 2007. *In Search of the Blues*. London: Jonathon Cape.

Handel, S. 1989. *Listening: An Introduction to the Perception of Auditory Events*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hartley, L. P. 1953. *The Go-Between*. London: H. Hamilton.

Hayward, P., ed. 1999. *Widening the Horizon: Exoticism in Post–War Popular Music*. Sydney: John Libbey.

Herbert, S. 2000. For ethnography. *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (4): 550–568.

Highmore, B. 2004. *HOMEWORK: Routine, social aesthetics and the ambiguity of everyday life. Cultural Studies* 18 (2/3): 306-327.

Ho, M–W. 1989. Reanimating nature: the integration of science with human experience. *Beshara* 8: 16–25.

———. 1991. Reanimating Nature: The Integration of Science with Human Experience. *Leonardo* 24 (5): 607–615.

Holquist, M. 1984. Preface. In *Rabelais and His World*, by M. Bakhtin, xiii–xxiii. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

hooks, b. 1990. Marginality as Site of Resistance. In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture*, eds. R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh–ha, and Cornel West, 341–344. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Hu, Y., and G. C. Cardoso. 2009. Are bird species that vocalize at higher frequencies preadapted to inhabit noisy urban areas? *Behavioral Ecology* 20 (6): 1268–1273.

———. 2010. Which birds adjust the frequency of vocalizations in urban noise? *Animal Behaviour* 79 (4): 863–867.

Huggan, G. 2001. *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London & New York: Routledge.

Huss, H. 2000. The "Zinc–Fence Thing": When Will Reggae Album Covers be Allowed out of the Ghetto? *Black Music Research Journal* 20 (2): 181–194.

ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). 1983. World Heritage List No. 309: Historic Centre of Salvador da Bahia. Paris.

IBGE (Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics). 2010. http://www.ibge.gov.br/english/ (last accessed 27 December 2010).

Ingham, J., M. Purvis, and D. B. Clarke. 1999. Hearing places, making spaces: sonorous geographies, emphemeral rhythms, and the Blackburn warehouse parties. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17: 283–305.

Ingold, T. 1993. The Temporality of Landscape. *World Archeology* 25 (2): 152–174.

———. 2007. *Lines: A Brief History*. London: Routledge.

Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural da Bahia (IPAC). 1995. *Programa de Recuperação do Centro Histórico de Salvador*. Salvador: Corrupio.

Jackson, G. P. 1952. Some factors in the diffusion of American religious folksongs. *Journal of American Folklore* 65(258): 365–369.

Jackson, P. 1989. *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge.

———. 1991. The Cultural Politics of Masculinity: Towards a Social Geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16 (2): 199–213.

———. 1992. The politics of the streets: A geography of Caribana. *Political Geography* 11 (2): 130–151.

———. 1994. Black Male: Advertising and the Cultural Politics of Masculinity. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 1 (1): 49–60.

———. 1996. The idea of culture: a response to Don Mitchell. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21: 572–573.

Jay, M. 1988. Scopic Regimes of Modernity. In *Vision and Visuality*, ed. H. Foster, 3–23. New York: The New Press.

———. 1993. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Visionin Twentieth-century French Thought.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jazeel, T. 2005. The world is sound? Geography, musicology and British–Asian soundscapes. *Area* 37 (3): 233–241.

Jenks, C. 1995. The Centrality of the Eye in Western Culture: An Introduction. In *Visual Culture, ed.* C. Jenks, 1–25. London and New York: Routledge.

Jones, S. H. 1998. Kaleidoscope notes: writing women's music and organisational culture. *Qualitative Inquiry* 4 (2): 148–177.

Jorge, J. 1999. Olodum and the Black Struggle in Brazil. In *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, ed. L. Crook and R. Johnson, 43–52. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

Keizer, G. 2010. *The Unwanted Sound of Everything We Want: A Book about Noise*. New York: Public Affairs.

Kirby, K. M. 1996. *Indifferent Boundaries*. New York and London: Guilford Press.

232

Kirshenblatt–Gimblett, B. 1995. Theorizing Heritage. *Ethnomusicology* 39 (3): 367–380.

Knowles, C., and P. Sweetman, eds. 2004. *Picturing the Social Landscape, Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination*. London and New York: Routledge

Kong L. 1995. Popular Music in geographical analyses. *Progress in Human Geography* 19: 183–198.

Kong L. 1996. Popular music in Singapore: exploring local cultures, global resources, and regional identities. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14: 273–292.

Krause, B. 1998. *Into a Wild Sanctuary: A Life in Music & Natural Sound*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.

———. 2002. *Wild Soundscapes: Discovering the Voice of the Natural World*. Berkeley, CA: Wilderness Press.

———. 2008. Anatomy of the Soundscape: Evolving Perspectives. *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society* 56: 73–80.

Kuhlken, R., and R. Sexton. 1994.The Geography of Zydeco Music. In *Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*, 3rd ed, ed. G. O. Carney, 63–76. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Lacerda, J. B. D. 1912. *O Congresso universal das raças reunido em Londres (1911): Apreciação e comentários pelo Dr. J. B. de Lacerda, delegado do Brasil nesse congresso*. Rio de Janeiro: no publisher data.

Langer, S. K. 1953. *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art*. London: Routledge.

Latham, A. 2003. Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary–photograph, diary–interview method. *Environment and Planning A* 35: 1993–2017.

———. 2004. Researching and writing everyday accounts of the city: an introduction to the diary–photo diary–interview method. In *Picturing the Social Landscape, Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination*, eds. C. Knowles and P. Sweetman, 117–131. London and New York: Routledge.

Lee, S. 1989. *Do the Right Thing*. Universal Studios: 0783227949.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 1996. *Writings on Cities*, selected, translated, and introduced by E. Kofman and E. Lebas. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum.

Leppert, R. 1993. *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

———. 2005. "Pushed to the Edge of Existence" (Adorno, Listening, and the Question of Hope). *Cultural Critique* 60: 92–133.

Levine, R. A., and J. J. Crocitti. 1999. *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Levitin, D. 2006. *This is Your Brain on Music: The Science of a Human Obsession*. New York: Penguin.

Leydon, Rebecca. 1999. Utopias of the Tropics: the Exotic Music of Les Baxter and Yma Sumac. In *Widening the Horizon: Exoticism in Post–War Popular Music*, ed. P. Hayward, 45–71. Sydney: John Libbey.

Leyshon A., D. Matless, and G. Revill, eds. 1998. *The Place of Music*. New York and London: The Guilford Press.

Li. M., B. Wu., and L. Cai. 2008. Tourism Development of World Heritage Sites in China: A geographic perspective. *Tourism Management* 29 (2): 308-319.

Litwack, L. F. 1998. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lorimer, H. 2005. Cultural geography: the busyness of being 'more-than-representational'. *Progress in Human Geography* 29 (1): 83–94.

Lucas, M. E. 2000. Gaucho Musical Regionalism. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9(1): 41–60.

MacCannell, D. 1992. *Empty meeting grounds: The tourist papers*. London: Routledge.

Marston, S., J. P. Jones III, and K. Woodward. 2005. Human Geography Without Scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (4): 416–432.

Martin, P. J. 1995. *Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McCall Smith, A. 2008. And the Band Played Badly. *New York Times*, 9 March.

McClary, S. 1985. Afterword: The Politics of Silence and Sound. In *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, J. Attali, 149–160. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

McCormack, Derek. 2002. A paper with an interest in rhythm. *Geoforum* 33: 469–485.

McGowan, C., and R. Pessanha. 1998. *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova, and the Popular Music of Brazil*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Menezes, E. D. B. D. 1982. Elitelore versus folklore, ou de como a cultura hegemônica tende a devorar a cultura subalterna. *Cadernos* 17.

Menezes Bastos, R. J. 1999. The "Origin of Samba" as the Invention of Brazil (Why Do Songs Have Music?). *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 8: 67–96.

Merriman, N. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Metro. 2010. Naked dancer too rude for Rio. *Metro*: http://www.metro.co.uk/news/world/97821-naked-dancer-too-rude-for-rio (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Mitchell, D. 1995a. There's no such thing as culture: towards a reconceptualization of the idea of culture in geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20: 102–116.

———. 1995b. The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85 (1): 108–133.

———. 2000. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

———. 2003. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guilford Press.

Mitchell, K. 1997. Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15: 533-553.

Moers, E. 1977. *Literary Women*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

Molyneaux, B. L. 1994. Introduction: The Represented Past. In *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*, eds. P. G. Stone, and B. L. Molyneaux, 1–13. London: Routledge.

Morrison, T. 1992. *Playing in the dark: whiteness and the literary imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morton, F. 2005. Performing ethnography: Irish traditional music sessions and new methodological spaces. *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (5): 661–676.

Moura, M. A. 2002. World of Fantasy, Fantasy of the World: Geographic Space and Representation of Identity in the Carnival of Salvador, Bahia. In *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, eds. C. Perrone, and C. Dunn, 161–176. New York: Routledge.

Nascimento, A. D., and E.L. Nascimento. 1992. *Africans in Brazil: A Pan–African Perspective*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Needell, J. 1995. Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Spaces and Public Consciousness in *Fin-de-Siècle* Latin America. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (3): 519-540.

Olsson, G. 2007. *Abysmal: A Critique of Cartographic Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Page, J. 1996. *The Brazilians*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Parris, K. M., and A. Schneider. 2009. *Impacts of traffic noise and traffic volume on birds of roadside habitats*. Ecology and Society 14 (1): 29.

Paul, B. 1953. Interview Techniques and Field Relationships. In *Anthropology Today: And Encyclopedic Inventory*, ed. A. Kroeber, 430-451. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Perrone, C. and C. Dunn, eds. 2002. *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*. New York and London: Routledge.

Phelan P, 1993. *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. Routledge: New York.

Pierson, D. 1967. *Negroes in Brazil*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Pijanowski, B. C., L. J. Villanueva-Rivera, S. L. Dumyahn, A. Farina, B. L. Krause, B. M. Napoletano, S. H. Gage, and N. Pieretti. 2011. Soundscape Ecology: The Science of Sound in the Landscape. *BioScience* 61 (3): 203-216.

Pile, S., and N. Thrift, eds. 1995. *Mapping the Subject*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pinker, S. 1997. *How the Mind Works*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Pitanga, A. 1999. Where are the Blacks? In *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, eds. L. Crook and R. Johnson, 31–42. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin America Center Publications.

Pramaggiore, M. and T. Wallis 2008. *Film: A Critical Introduction*. Boston: Pearson.

Pratt, G. 2004. *Working Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Rabinow, P. 1977. *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Recording Industry Association of America. 2010. *2009* Year-End Shipment Statistics. *Recording Industry Association of America*: http://76.74.24.142/A200B8A7-6BBF-EF15-3038-582014919F78.pdf (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Reily, S. A. 1997. Macunaíma's music: National Identity and Ethnomusicological Research in Brazil. In *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music*, ed. M. Stokes, 71–96. Oxford and New York: Berg.

———. 2000. Introduction: Brazilian Musics, Brazilian Identities. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9 (1): 1–10.

Revill, G. 2000. Music and the politics of sound: nationalism, citizenship, and auditory space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 597–613

———. 2004. Performing French folk music: dance, authenticity and nonrepresentational theory. *Cultural Geographies* 11: 199–209.

Riggio. M. C. 2004. Time out or time in? The urban dialectic of carnival. In *Carnival: Culture in Action – the Trinidad Experience*, Ed. M. C. Riggio, 13–30. New York and London: Routledge.

Risério, A. 1981. *Carnaval Ijexá*. Salvador: Corrupio.

———. 1999. Carnival: The Colors of Change. In *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, Eds. L. Crook, and R. Johnson, 249–260. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

———. 2004. *Uma História da Cidade da Bahia*. Rio de Janeiro: Versal Editores.

Riviera Maya. 2010. *Riviera Maya: Paradise is Forever*: http://www.rivieramaya.com (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Rodrigues, J. J. S. 1999. Olodum and the Black Struggle in Brazil. In *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*, eds. L. Crook and R. Johnson, 43–52. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

Rodrigues, N. 2004. *Os Africanos No Brasil*. Brasilia: Editora Universidade de Brasilia.

Roosevelt, T. 1914. Brazil and the Negro. *Outlook* 106: 410.

Rosaldo, R. 1993. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rose, G. 1996. As If the Mirrors Had Bled: Masculine Dwelling, Masculinist Theory and Feminist Masquerade. In *Bodyspace: destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality*, ed. N. Duncan, 57–74.

———. 2001. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Images*. London: Sage.

Rose, M. 2002. Landscape and labyrinths. *Geoforum* 33 (4): 455–467.

———. 2006. Gathering dreams of presence: a project for the cultural landscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24: 537–554.

———. 2007. The problem of power and the politics of landscape: stopping the Greater Cairo ring road. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32: 460–476.

Rowe, William Brian, and Vivian Schelling. 1991. *Memory and modernity: Popular culture in Latin America*. London; Verso.

Russolo, L. 1967. *The Art of Noise (futurist manifesto, 1913)*. A Great Bear Pamphlet: Something Else Press.

Rutherford, J. 1990. *Identity: Community, culture, and difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Saldanha, A. 2002. Music, Space, Identity: Geographies of Youth Culture in Bangalore. *Cultural Studies* 16 (3): 337–350.

———. 2005. Trance and visibility at dawn: racial dynamics in Goa's rave scene. *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (5): 707–721.

Sauer, C. O. 1963 [1925]. The Morphology of Landscape. In *Land and Life: A Selection of the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. J. Leighly, 315-350. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1941. Foreword to Historical Geography. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 31 (1): 1-24.

Schaeber, P. 1999. Carro do Ano, Celular, antenna Parabólica: símbolos de uma vida melhor? – Ascensão Social de Negros-Mestiços através de Grupos Culturais em Salvador – O Exemplo do Olodum. In *Brasil: Um País de Negros?*, eds. J. Bacelar, and C. Caroso, 51–70. Rio de Janeiro: Oallas Editora e Distribuidaor, Ltda.

Schafer, R. M. 1977. *Tuning of the World*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Schechner, R. 2004. Carnival (theory) after Bakhtin. In *Carnival: Culture in Action – the Trinidad Experience*, Ed. M. C. Riggio, 3–12. New York and London: Routledge.

Scheper–Hughes, N. 1992. *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Seeger, A. 1987. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Segalen, V. 1978. *Essai sur l'exotisme, une esthétique du Divers*. Paris: Fata Morgana.

Shaw, L. 1999. *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba*. Brookfield: Ashgate.

Shaw–Miller, S. 1996. 'Concerts of Everyday Living': Cage, Fluxus and Barthes, interdisciplinarity and inter–media events. *Art History* 19: 1–25.

Shepherd, J. 2001. Sociology of Music. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie et al., 603-614. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simon, P. 1990. *Rhythm of the Saints*. Warner Bros: B000002LKF.

Skidmore, T. E. 1974. *Black into White; Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. New York, Oxford University Press.

———. 1990. Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940. In *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1949*, ed. R. Graham, 7-36. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

———. 1992. Fact and Myth: Discovering a Racial Problem in Brazil. *Working Paper # 173*: www.brazilink.org/tiki-download_file.php?fileId=106 (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Skidmore, T. E., P. H. Smith, and J. N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Slabbekoorn, H., and E. A. P. Ripmeester: Birdsong and anthropogenic noise: implications and applications for conservation. *Molecular Ecology* 17 (1): 72–83.

Slabbekoorn, H., N. Bouton, I. van Opzeeland, A. Coers, C. Cate, and A. N. Popper. 2010. A noisy spring: The impact of globally rising underwater sound levels on fish. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 25 (7): 419–427.

Small, C. 1998. *Musicking: The Meaning of Performing and Listening*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Smith, N. 1990. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, S. 1997. Beyond geography's visible worlds: a culture politics of music. *Progress in Human Geography* 21: 502–529.

———. 2000. Performing the (sound) world. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 615–637.

St. Louis, R., A. Draffen, M. Green, and T. Kohnstamm. 2006. *Lonely Planet Brazil*. Berkeley, CA: Lonely Planet Publications.

Southworth, M. 1969. The Sonic Environment of Cities. *Environment and Behavior* 1 (1): 49–70.

Stokes, M., ed. 1997. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford and New York: Berg.

Stover, D. 2009. Not So Silent Spring. *Conservation Magazine* 10 (1): http://www.conservationmagazine.org/2009/01/not-so-silent-spring/ (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Straile, P. 2007. The Pillory/Pelourinho in Open-Air Museums in the US and Brazil: A Site of Racism and Racial Reconciliation. In *Erasing Public Memory: Race, Aesthetics, and Cultural Amnesia in the Americas*, eds. J. A. Young, and J. E. Braziel, 209–242. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Suarez, M. A. 1990. Salvador: Uma alternativa pós-industrial. Cultura, turismo, e alta tenologia. Salvador: SIC.

Sui, D. 2000. Visuality, Aurality, and Shifting Metaphors of Geographical Thought in the Late Twentieth Century. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (2): 322–343.

Tannenbaum, F. 1947. *Slave and Citizen*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Tashakkori, A., and C. Teddlie. 2003. *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tedlock, B. 1991. From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47 (1): 69–94.

Templeton, D. 2007. Mighty Mahler. *MetroActive*. 14–20 Feb. http://www.metroactive.com/bohemian/02.14.07/american-philharmonic-0707.html (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Thompson, C. 2008. How Man-Made Noise May Be Altering Earth's Ecology. *Wired Magazine* 16 (6): http://www.wired.com/science/planetearth/magazine/16-06/st_thompson (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Thrift, N. 2000a. Afterwords. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18 (2): 213–255.

———. 2000b. Non–representational theory. In R. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts, eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, p. 556.

———. 2003. Performance and… *Environment and Planning A* 35: 2019–2024.

Tuan, Y–F. 1991. Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative–Descriptive Approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (4): 684–696.

Turino, T. 2003. Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations. *Latin American Music Review* 24 (2): 169–209.

Turner, V. 1983. *Carnaval* in Rio: Dionysian Drama in an Industrializing Society. In *The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performance*, ed. F. E. Manning, 103–124. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press.

UNESCO. 1972. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf (last accessed 27 November 2010).

———. 2010. World Heritage List: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list (last accessed 27 November 2010).

United Nations Human Development Report. 2007. *Human Development Report 2007/2008*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

UN HDR. 2009. *The United Nations Human Development Report: Overcoming Barriers: Human mobility and development*. New York: The United Nations Development Programme: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Complete.pdf (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Valentine, G. 1999. Doing household research: interviewing couples together and apart. *Area* 31: 67–74.

Veissiere, S. P. L. 2010. Making a Living: The Gringo Ethnographer as Pimp of the Suffering in the Late Capitalist Night. *Cultural Studies* 10 (1): 29-39.

Ventura, R. 1991. *Estilo Tropical: História Cultural e Polêmicas Literárias no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia Das Letras.

Verzijden, M. N., E. A. P. Ripmeester, V. R. Ohms, P. Snelderwaard, and H. Slabbekoorn. 2010. *Immediate spectral flexibility in singing chiffchaffs during experimental exposure to highway noise.* Journal of Experimental Biology 213 (15) (AUG 1): 2575–81.

Vianna, L. F. 2004. *Geografia Carioca do Samba*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra Produção Editorial.

Vianna, H. 1999. *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Vieira, N. M. 2007. The Applicability of the Declaration of Amsterdam in Brazil: Case Studies of Bairro do Recifie, Pelourinho and Praia Grande. *City and Time* 3 (2): 81–93.

Wagner, P. L., and M. W. Mikesell, eds. 1962. *Readings in Cultural Geography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Whitehead, A. N., and L. Price. 1974. *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Williams, R. 1983. *Culture and Society, 1780 – 1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 1995. *The Sociology of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, E. 1992. The Invisible Flâneur. *New Left Review*. 191: 90-110.

Winant, H. 1992. Rethinking Race in Brazil. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1): 173–192.

Wolff, J. 1985. The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Moderinty. *Theory, Culture, & Society* 2 (3): 1985.

Wood N., and S. Smith. 2004. Instrumental routes to emotional geographies. *Social and Cultural Geography* 5 (4): 533–548.

Wood, N., M. Duffy, and S. Smith. 2007. The art of doing (geographies of) music. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25: 867–889.

World Bank. 2010. Gross Domestic Product 2009, World Development Indicators Database. *World Bank*: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GDP.pdf (last accessed 27 November 2010).

Wylie, J. 2002a. Becoming icy: Scott and Amundsen's South Polar voyages, 1910-1913. *Cultural Geographies* 9: 249–265.

———. 2002b. An essay on ascending Glastonbury Tor. *Geoforum* 33: 441–454.

Young, M. 1988. *The Metronomic Society: Natural Rhythms and Human Timetables*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Zelinsky, W. 1992. *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD EXEMPTION

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Christopher Lukinbeal
	Coor Hall
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair
	Soc Beh IRB
Date:	10/24/2008
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	10/24/2008
IRB Protocol #:	0810003349
Study Title:	Resonant Places: Cultural Politics, Commodifcation, and Music in Salvador, Brazil

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.   It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

John Finn was born in Alexandria, VA, but grew up in Northern New Mexico. He has a B.A. in international studies and an M.A. in geography from the University of Missouri–Columbia. He completed his Ph.D. in geography at Arizona State University. Besides researching music geographically, John is a professional percussionist. His obsession with rhythm has led him to Ghana, Cuba, and Brazil.