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“Performative Aspects of Brazilian Music
as a Means of Creating Identity
in Rio de Janeiro”

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1. Introduction

What does it mean to be Brazilian?

It is never easy to define and trace the origins of one's national identity. In the Brazilian case however, this is particularly difficult. At first glance, its multi-faceted society shows more differences than points in common: it suffices to walk down any street in downtown Rio de Janeiro to see people of different races, most of them mixed, to see very rich people next to miserably poor ones. Also language, a powerful motor of integration in most countries, cannot entirely fulfil this task: Standard Portuguese is spoken by the literate few and often used as a means of class distinction. It suffices to look up from one's newspaper and talk to the next passer-by – cariocas¹ are ever ready for a chat – to witness the huge gap between official Portuguese and the language used by the poorer majority. What then does hold these people together, what constitutes their common identity?

At the centre of this thesis I have put the performative aspects of the two currently dominant music styles in Rio: Samba and Carioca Funk² and their role in creating much needed common identity in a divided society. With the help of performance theory, I have tried to answer the questions: Why is Samba so important for carioca identity? How could the Carnival parades become such a huge show? Why is "*Baile Funk*" so popular with younger cariocas?

Both music styles are of Afro-Brazilian origin, like most of the other popular music styles in Rio. Both samba and carioca funk have produced important events in Rio's cultural life, the world-renowned Rio Carnival Parades in the Sambódromo and the so-called "*Baile Funk*",³ funk dancing performances. Both have been successful in reaching out to almost all layers of Rio's society making *cariocas*, black, white or mixed, meet and dance together.

Brazil is known for its multi-ethnic society, with an overwhelming majority of the population of European or African origin, or indeed – this is a truly Brazilian

¹ Rio citizens.

² Carioca Funk is a locally adapted variety of Funk or Miami Bass, mixed with different Brazilian music styles. As a result it differs quite sharply from these origins.

³ Organised funk parties with a D.J., a M.C., electronic music and dancers.

“speciality” – of both. In fact, the *mulato* population of mixed Euro-African origin is particularly strong in Rio and makes it one of the most ethnically-mixed societies world-wide.

While “miscegenation” is omnipresent in Brazilian society, integrating the different parts of society and creating a common identity remains a difficult and uncompleted task, one I shall describe in chapter 4. Afro-Brazilians still constitute the majority of Brazil's poor and illiterate. Brazil's distribution of wealth is one of the world's most unequal and so is access to education. As a result social integration and mobility is extremely limited.

History is, of course, at the root of the problem: Most of the Afro-Brazilians can trace their origins back to the times of slave trade and slave work on coffee or sugar plantations. Brazil relied so heavily on its slave work-force that it was one of the last countries to abolish slavery in 1889. Slaves were freed, but they were not given education or training. Therefore they mostly moved to the cities to constitute the lower working class there. Being the capital at that time, Rio attracted a greater number of former slaves than any other city, save Salvador de Bahia. This fact and the resulting problems and opportunities I shall discuss in chapter 3.

Brazil is traditionally an oral-based society, mostly because of the huge gap between spoken Brazilian and written Portuguese and very limited access to education in the past. Thus, cultural activities based on literature and text cannot reach most Brazilians. Therefore, Samba and the *escolas de samba* have taken on a particularly important integrative role in Rio's society. *Escolas de samba* and the Samba parade are – together with the beach and the soccer grounds – the only places where rich and poor, old and young, meet on a largely equal footing.

Brazilian Carnival and all its events that start months before the parades have become big (show) business over the last decades and opened up to the middle- and upper-class. Some even say that they are bound to leave their roots and their original communities and the poorer founding members behind in the process. This I shall analyse in chapter 8 with the help of performance protocols.

Funk originally arrived in Rio in the 1970ies, from the USA. As music hardly ever comes without dancing in Brazil, the first funk parties started very soon after its arrival. They quickly become very popular, particularly in the poorer parts of Rio and with the youth. I shall describe the rise of “*Baile Funk*”, its main performative aspects and the common heritage with Samba in chapter 9. For both inherited Afro-Brazilian rhythms and body movements from precursors such as lundu or maxixe. Both provide cariocas, especially Afro-Brazilians, with a performance opportunity not based on language and where they are not discriminated against. I shall also ask whether *Baile Funk* can become a lasting competition for the samba events, both as a much needed source of entertainment and of common identity.

The concepts of performance studies that helped me on this journey through Rio’s two main current cultural communities and the methods employed to get access to them and try to describe them as much as possible from within, the “participant observation” and the “ero-epic conversation”, are shortly introduced in chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

For this thesis I have used Madureira, a northern suburb of Rio, as a case study for various reasons⁴. This Rio suburb has no less than three *escolas de samba*: Portela, Império Serrano and Tradição. In addition, every weekend many Bailes Funk take place there. In my childhood I witnessed the preparations for carnival, the *ensaios*, the numerous rehearsals that start months before Carnival and are big parties in their own right. As from the year’s end, Carnival definitely plays the central role in Madureira’s cultural life and it reins undisputedly in the Carnival weeks and days.

⁴ See also chapter 7.2.3

2. Rio de Janeiro Society and the African Influence

When the Portuguese arrived in Brazil in 1500, they did not find valuable resources such as gold. Therefore in the first thirty years very little activity took place there. The first product that was taken out from Brazil to Europe was “pau-brasil” that gave the country its name. This wood was well-known in Europe because of its coloring effect for furniture and tissue.

The Portuguese kingdom had to look for a way to durably occupy the Brazilian land. The solution it found was to install sugar cane plantations based on the work of Africans slaves.

The first capital of Brazil was Salvador de Bahia. Through its port entered most of the African slaves destined to work on the sugar cane plantations in the Brazilian Northeast and from here sugar cane was exported to Portugal. This “importation” of African slaves was the result of the few Portuguese settlers available and of the impossibility of using indigenous labor force. All attempts to employ – by force – the local Indian tribes on plantations failed, as they usually fled after some time and it proved impossible to capture them in a land that they knew much better than the Portuguese.

This first period of Brazil-colony lasted until the second half of the XVIIth century, when the sugar cane commercialization declined due to increasing competition by the Dutch sugar plantations in the West Indies.

In 1693 Antônio Rodrigues Arzão finally found gold in Minas Gerais.⁵ However, Portugal was going through a big financial crisis at that time and it was important to find outside source for investments in finding gold in other areas in Brazil.

In 1703 Portugal signed an agreement with England, the Methuen treaty: Basically, the English bought Portuguese products such as Portwine and the Portuguese opened their market to English manufactured products. This way the gold transported

⁵ Costa/Itaussu: História do Brasil, page 86.

from Rio de Janeiro to Portugal had its final destination in England to pay for the Portuguese debt.

Due to the growing importance of mining, the economic space in the colony changed, with the center moving from the northeast to the center south. It was important to have a port close to the mines to export their products to Europe. In 1763 the capital of the colony was transferred from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro.

Rio had been the second town established in Brazil-Colony, during the government of Mem de Sá (1558-72)⁶. His nephew, Estácio de Sá⁷, was the founder of “São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro”. He commanded the mission against the French that had already created a sort of a French town in the Bahia of Guanabara. Rio de Janeiro remained capital of Brazil from 1763 to 1960, when the capital was moved to Brasília in the center of Brazil.⁸

2.1 The African Population in Brazil

It is difficult to calculate how many Africans were taken from Africa to Brazil, during the colonial period. In “História do Brasil”, Luís César Amad Costa and Leonel Itassu A. Mello estimate a total of about 75 million Africans⁹. The first African concentrations in Brazil were in Recife and Salvador because of the sugar cane plantations in their hinterland. Later it was Rio de Janeiro because of gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais and the coffee plantations in “Vale do Paraíba”¹⁰.

The living conditions for the Africans were horrible and life expectancy low which in turn kept up the demand for transatlantic slave trading. They also suffered all kinds of maltreatment and torture. Disobedience was severely punished, sometimes by castration or the amputation of a leg or an arm.

⁶ Costa/Itaussu:História do Brasil, page 42.

⁷ A district in Rio and name of the first Samba school.

⁸ The inauguration of Brasília was on 21 April 1960.

⁹ Costa/Itaussu Leonel: História do Brasil, page 90.

¹⁰ An area between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo state.

In the chart below, we can see the estimated landing of African slaves in Brazil according to the official calculation of IBGE (the Brazilian Geographic and Statistical Institute). These numbers show the landings in the official ports such as Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. However, in addition there was also illegal trafficking and many more Africans died during the trip to Brazil. Their bodies were simply thrown into the ocean, and they went unrecorded in the statistics.

Chart nr. 1

Landing of Africans in Brazil during the colonization from 1531-1855 (in 1850 the transatlantic slave trade was banned) Source: Brasil: 500 anos de povoamento. Rio de Janeiro. IBGE, 2000

Time	Africans
1531-1575	10000
1576-1600	40000
1601-1625	100000
1626-1650	100000
1651-1670	185000
1676-1700	175000
1701-1710	153700
1711-1720	139000
1721-1730	146300
1731-1740	166100
1741-1750	185100
1751-1760	169400
1761-1770	164600
1771-1780	161300
1781-1785	63100
1786-1790	97800
1791-1795	125000
1796-1800	108700
1801-1805	117900
1806-1810	123500
1811-1815	139400
1816-1820	188300
1821-1825	181200
1826-1830	250200
1831-1835	93700
1836-1840	240600
1841-1845	120900
1846-1850	157500
1851-1855	6100
Total	4 009 400

During the colonial period, the African slaves tried to fight against their captivity and the living conditions. Flights, suicide, execution of whites were forms of this resistance.

*Lá da Africa distante
Trouxeram o misticismo da magia
Mações e mestres alufás
Usavam estrategia e ousadia
As revoltas se sucederam
Com Luíza Mahim, Licutam e Nassim
A cidadania era o ideal destas nações
Liberdade ou a morte¹¹*

*From there, from distant Africa
They brought the mysticism of magic
Magicians and masters alufás
Used strategies and daring
One rebellion after the other
With Luíza Mahim, Licutam e Nassim
Full citizenship was these nations' ideal
Freedom or death*

Many Africans were unable or unwilling to adapt to this new harsh environment. They made escapes, mostly in groups, and sometimes organized themselves in “Quilombos” a sort of small villages. In these villages they tried to live their lives like before in Africa.

The most famous African resistance movement was the “Quilombo dos Palmares”,¹² the biggest “African” village situated in the Northeast, between Alagoas and the south of Pernambuco state. There were about twenty thousand fugitive slaves who fought against slavery during the whole XVIIth century.

In 1690 Portuguese settlers organized a huge attack against “Quilombo de Palmares”. They tried to starve the village, but without success. The second strategy was to give clothes infected with smallpox to some fugitives. Over time many Africans became sick, and this eventually resulted in the Portuguese settlers destroying the “Quilombo de Palmares” and killing most of its inhabitants. The leader of “Quilombo de Palmares”, Zumbi, was killed and his head exhibited in the main square of Olinda to deter others from fleeing.

2.2 The African Population in Rio de Janeiro

After the independence of Brazil in 1822, there was a huge economic crisis. The lack of a new product to sustain the agrarian structure based on slavery was the problem of the time.¹³

¹¹ “Salamaleikum, aepopéia dos insubmissos males”, Samba-enredo, Unidos da Tijuca, 1984

¹² www.historiadobrasil.net/quilombos

¹³ Costa/Itaussu: História do Brasil, page 190.

After the establishment of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, the plantation of coffee began in earnest in Rio de Janeiro state. In 1825 coffee was established in “Vale do Paraíba”¹⁴ and this became the new main exportation product from Brazil.¹⁵ Also with the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio, the newly established aristocratic families wanted “African” arms to do the domestic work in the tropics.¹⁶

Over time, getting the man-power to work on the coffee plantations became a major problem. In the beginning African slaves that had worked in the mines in nearby Minas Gerais state were “recruited”. Over time however, more man-power was needed.

The traditional solution would have been to import more slaves, but the British government was making pressure to end slavery or at least the transatlantic slave trade. In 1807 in the West Indies slavery was abolished and in 1833 it was ended in all British colonies.

The Brazilian government postponed the end of slavery many times. In 1850 after a lot of pressure from the British government the law “Eusébio de Queirós”¹⁷ to forbid slave trading was promulgated. To compensate for the missing man-power on the coffee plantation, the Brazilian government began to stimulate immigration, mostly from Southern Europe.¹⁸ This substantially increased the number of European descendants in Brazil.

¹⁴ “Vale do Paraíba” is an area between the north part of Rio de Janeiro state and south part of São Paulo state.

¹⁵ www.abic.com.br/safe_historia.htm

¹⁶ Farias/Soares/Gomes: No Labirinto das nações, page 23.

¹⁷ www.historiadorbrasil.net/escravidão

¹⁸ During this time, many Europeans came to Brazil, especially Portuguese, Italians and Japanese. Brazilian historians call this the “white wave” of immigration. IBGE, Brazilian Geographic and Statistic Institute.

2.3 The Abolition of Slavery

*Hoje eu sei, vovô
Que não foi em vão
Apesar da nossa história bis
Não mostrar toda a verdade
Do tempo da escravidão¹⁹*

*Today I know, granpa,
That all was not in vain
Even though our history bis
It does not tell all the truth
Of the times of slavery*

After the law “Eusébio de Queirós” in 1850, there was the law “Visconde do Rio Branco” or the free womb law²⁰ in 1871. According to this law, children of slaves born from this time on would be free and their owner should bring them up until they turned eight years old.

The owners could however maintain the “free” slaves until they turned twenty one years old. They received compensation from the Brazilian government to cover the cost of the maintenance of these “free” slaves. The main idea of this law was to prepare the gradual ending of slavery.²¹

In 1885 there was the sexagenarian law or “lei Saraiva-Cotegipe”²². According to this law, all African slaves over sixty years old would be free. This law was very controversial: Few slaves reached this age at all, and the law allowed the owners to get rid of their responsibility for their elderly slaves.

On 13 May 1888, Princess Isabel signed the “lei áurea”, “the golden law”, which finally abolished slavery in Brazil.²³ Many former slaves simply left the coffee farms in the “Vale do Paraíba” and went to towns, mostly to Rio. In the song “Vapor na Paraíba”, Grandma Maria tells her arrival from “Vale da Paraíba” in Rio.

¹⁹ “Salamaleikum, aepopéia dos insubmissos males”, Samba-enredo, Unidos da Tijuca, 1984

²⁰ “lei do ventre livre”

²¹ Costa/Itaussu: História do Brasil, page 216.

²² www.historiadobrasil.net/escravidão

²³ Costa/Itaussu: História do Brasil, page 219.

Vapor na Paraíba

*Vapor berrou na Paraíba
Chora eu, chora eu Vovó
Fumaça dele na Madureira
E chora eu.*

Steam calls in Paraíba

*Steam calls in Paraíba
I've cried, I've cried, Grandma
The train steams in Madureira,
And I've cried²⁴*

The escola de samba Imperatriz Leopoldinense told the story of abolition in a samba-enredo in 1988, the year of the first centenary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil:

Liberdade! Liberdade! Abra as Asas sobre Nós!²⁵

*Liberdade Liberdade abre as asas sobre nós
E que a voz da Liberdade seja sempre a
nossa voz*

...

*E a princesa Isabel, a heroína
Que assinou a Lei Divina
Negro dançou e comemorou o fim da sina*

*Na noite quinze reluzente
Uma bravura finalmente
Um marechal que proclamou foi presidente*

Freedom! Freedom! Open your wings over us!

*Freedom! Freedom! Open your Wings over us!
May the voice of freedom always be
our voice*

...

*Princess Isabel (1), the heroine
Who has signed the divine law
Black people danced to commemorate the end of
suffering*

*In the night of 15th November (2)
With amazing courage
The marshal who declared the republic became
its first president*

2.4 African Cultural Heritage

It is not easy to name traces of the indigenous people formerly living on the land where Rio de Janeiro is today. However, numerous geographic names persist such as Copacabana or Jaquarepáqua and certain tropical culinary specialties or certain behaviors are attributed – at least partially – to their heritage.²⁶

When slaves and immigrants came to Rio, they brought their culture and their way of living with them and tried to implement it in the new environment. The European

²⁴ In this jongo-song, Grandma Teresa tells her moving from Paraíba do Sul, in Rio de Janeiro State, to Madureira. The steam train reminds her of the steam ships on the Paraíba River.

²⁵ Samba-enredo 1988, Imperatriz Leopoldinense:

- 1- Princess Isabel, the daughter of Emperor Pedro II and the granddaughter of Princess Maria Leopoldina from Austria and the King of Portugal Pedro I
- 2- The End of Monarchy in Brazil in 15th November 1889 with the first Brazilian president, Marschal Deodoro da Fonseca.

²⁶ Freyre Gilberto: Casa Grande e Senzala - Masters and Slaves, p. 97 and 125

influence, in particular the Portuguese, is, of course, obvious, from administration to religion or food.

The African influence is also easy to note, from syncretism in religion to culture and cooking, to name but a few areas. For this analysis, music and dance are, of course, the main focus. In Rio, cultural influences from the wider Congo-Angola area, where Bantu groups are predominant, were strongest.

In the north-eastern state of Bahia, the other centre of African immigration and culture, there are strong cultural elements mostly from south-eastern Nigeria and Benin. These also irradiated into Rio's culture, through internal migration and lately also through the media.

It is obvious that over time and due to the isolation from the former home-land and culture, this heritage changed as it was adapted to the new living circumstances. Also, a mixture of different African cultures took place, as often African slaves of very different origin were put to work in the same place²⁷ – sometimes deliberately so to make rebellions more difficult.

Due to the social stigma against all things “African”, it took time for the African music and dances to escape from their communities of origin. In fact, most African events, the then so-called *batuques*, were repressed by the authorities. The first music style to make inroads into the wider society is believed to be “Lundu”, a urbanized version of earlier music and dancing styles. Muniz Sodré for instance writes “Lundu however was already integrally urban: it was the first black music accepted by white people”²⁸. Lundu is also considered the first genuinely Brazilian style, as it incorporates elements of all three Brazilian ethnicities, Indigenous, African and European.²⁹

However, as was the case with latter music and dance styles, Lundu had to split and produce a more erudite version to become popular with the better-off.³⁰ The most striking example of Lundu's success with white people is the case of the *mulato*

²⁷ Farias/Soares/Gomes: No Labirinto das nações, p. 25

²⁸ “Mas o lundu já era plenamente urbano: é a primeira musica negra aceita pelos brancos”. Sodré Muniz: Samba o dono do corpo, page 30

²⁹ Caldas Waldenyr: Iniciação á Música Popular Brasileira – Lessons in Brazilian folk music, p. 5

³⁰ Idem, p. 8 ff

Domingos Caldas. Caldas was born in Rio in 1740, his mother a free African from Angola and his father a Portuguese. He studied in the then leading Portuguese University, in Coimbra, and during the reign of Maria I, he was very successful with lundu-canção, singing even at the royal court.³¹

However, the dancing remained the domain mostly of Afro-Brazilians. The body movement of this dance apparently was not far away from today's samba dancing, with similar hip and legs movements.

Lundu-canção was practiced by composers from Rio de Janeiro particularly at the beginning of 20th century, with lyrics with sensual and funny contents. The first recorded song in Brazil was a lundu: "Isto é bom" – This is good. This song was composed by Xisto Bahia (1841-1894),³² and recorded by Eduardo das Neves in 1902 in the "Casa Edison". It became very successful at the time. The lyrics talk about the *mulata*, the typical Afro-Brazilian mixed woman:

Isto é bom

*O inverno é rigoroso
Bem dizia a minha vó
Quem dorme junto tem frio
Quanto mais quem dorme só*

*Quem ver mulata bonita
Bater no chão com o pezinho
No sapateado a meio
Mata o meu coraçãozinho*

This is good

*The winter is strong
Said my grandma
Who sleeps together catches a cold
More so, who sleeps alone*

*Looking at the beautiful "mulata"
With her foot tapping on the floor 2x
Showing her dance, there in the middle
Going straight to my heart*

There is a line from earlier African *batuque* to Lundu and its main successor, Maxixe, and from there to Samba.³³ The first samba song recorded was "Over the phone", composed by Donga and recorded by Baiano, in 1917. The Foundation of the first Escola de Samba was in 1929, "Me deixa falar", today's "Estácio de Sá" samba school. Samba became very popular in the 1920 and has remained so, partly also due to Carnival, in Rio and in Brazil to this day.

³¹ Short biography about Domingos Caldas: www.anovademocracia.com.br/2627.html

³² On-line dictionary about Brazilian Popular Music: www.dicionariompb.com.br

³³ Lopes Nei: O Negro no Rio de Janeiro e sua tradição musical – The Black in Rio de Janeiro and his musical tradition, p.47

Samba was also at the root of another Rio de Janeiro music style, “bossa nova”,³⁴ that became known worldwide. In a 1994 “Globo Reporter” documentary on Antônio Carlos Jobim, one of the creators of *bossa nova*, is quoted saying: “Bossa Nova is samba and I consecrated my life to making samba”.³⁵

A friend of Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes, wrote the script for the movie “Orfeu Negro” by the French film-maker Marcel Camus³⁶, and Tom Jobim composed the songs. The story is adapted from Greek tragedy “Orpheus and Eurydike”, but it is transferred to a *favela* in Rio during Carnival time. The movie was released in 1959 and won the Oscar for the best foreign movie and the “Palme d’or” at the Festival de Cannes. It was a milestone in making bossa nova popular and shaping Brazil’s image abroad.

Funk carioca is another African music style developed in Rio. Originally from the USA, it merged with a number of local music styles. “*Baile Funk*” dancing is based on the typical African body movement, with the hip movements in the forefront. These body movements, and particularly its focus on the hips, can be traced from Lundu through Maxixe to Samba and Funk. Also the focus on dancing – “there was no possibility for, nor did there exist any interest by the people in a rhythm, unless it was presented through choreographic movement”³⁷ – is certainly a remainder of the music’s roots in African *batuque*.

³⁴ Music style from Rio de Janeiro created by Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes and João Gilberto, at the end of the 1950ies. The first music of this movement was “Chega de Saudade” released in 1959.

³⁵ Documentary made by Rede Globo in 1994 as a homage to Tom Jobim, after his death

³⁶ Movie “Orfeu Negro” made by Marcel Camus in 1959. DVD Focus Edition number 3.

³⁷ “Não era possível, e nem existia interesse popular num ritmo, se ele não se apresentasse mediante movimentos coreográficos.” Caldas Waldenyr: Iniciação à Música Popular Brasileira, p. 16

3. Identity in a Mixed Society

*Negro chegou
Meu Brasil morenizou...
Forte, lutou pela sorte,
Cantou e dançou
Quando se libertou...*

*The black people came
My Brazil got darker
Strong, they fought for their luck
Singing and dancing
When freed*

*Canta Borel,
A tua raça
Hoje é o cor de mel...
"Dança Brasil"
Teus acordes vêm do céu...³⁸*

*Sing Borel
Your race
Today is color of honey
"Dance Brazil"
Your notes descend from the sky*

*É hora da verdade
A liberdade ainda não raiou
Queremos o direito de igualdade
Viver com dignidade
Não representa favor³⁹*

*This is the hour of decision
Freedom not yet shone
We want our equal rights
Live in dignity
Not by favour*

Rio de Janeiro is a mixed and a socially very unequal society. According to the last census realized in 2006 by IBGE,⁴⁰ over half of the population is white, one third mixed (mostly of European and African origin), about 12 % black and less than one percent Indian. Given Rio's history and its role as one of the biggest Atlantic African cities at the end of the 18th and up to the middle of the 19th century,⁴¹ it is quite surprising to see that the majority of the population in Rio today considers itself white.

In fact, after the abolishment of the slavery in 1888 many Africans came to Rio to try a new life. However, due to precarious living conditions and lack of hygiene in the *favelas*, many Afro-Brazilians died because of diseases such as cholera.

³⁸ "Dança Brasil", samba enredo, Unidos da Tijuca, 1993

³⁹ Direito é direito, samba enredo, Vila Isabel, 1989

⁴⁰ IBGE, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Brazilian Institute for Statistics and Geography

⁴¹ Farias/Soares/Gomes: No Labirinto das nações, p. 23

Chart nr. 2

The distribution of Population in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro state and metropolitan area according to race and color.

Source: IBGE Síntese de Indicadores Sociais 2007. Tabela 8.1

Distribution of Population for Color e Race (%)					
	Total (mio)	White	Black	Mixed	Indians
Brazil	187.228	49,7	6,9	42,6	0,8
Rio de Janeiro	15.593	54,6	12,0	33,0	0,5
Rio de Janeiro Metropolitan Area	11.714	53,5	12,3	33,6	0,5

At the same time, many Europeans came to Brazil, Germans as from 1824, Italians 1870, Spanish 1890 and then Japanese 1908⁴². Most of these Europeans started to work on the coffee plantations to replace Afro-Brazilian slaves. From 1850 on slave trade was forbidden in Brazil.⁴³ This switch had important social effects: the European immigrants' work on the coffee farms was the beginning of big scale paid employment in Brazil.⁴⁴ According to some, these European immigrants were also welcomed by the ruling classes as they reconstituted a "whiter" Brazil and helped to put the Africans in the place of a second class workforce.⁴⁵ In fact, even legislation favoring European immigrants over Asian or African was adopted.⁴⁶

In any case, the Brazilian nation today consists of two dominant ethnic groups: European and mixed (mostly Afro-European) descendants. In the chapter "Rio de Janeiro Society and the African Influence" above the history of slavery during the colonization time in Brazil (1500-1822) was discussed in more detail.

The European immigration was predominantly Portuguese until the end of the slave trade. Then Spanish, Italians and Germans joined the continuing Portuguese immigration.

⁴² www.ibge.gov.br/brasil/500/index.html

⁴³ Lei Eusébio de Queiros.

⁴⁴ Costa/Amad: História do Brasil, page 192.

⁴⁵ Lopes Nei: O Negro no Rio de Janeiro e sua Tradição Musical – Partido-Alto, Calango, Chula e outras cantorias, page 3.

⁴⁶ Schwarcz Lilia Katri Moritz: Complexo de Zé Carioca, Notas sobre uma identidade mestiça e malandra, www.anpocs.org.br/portal/publicacoes/rbcs_00_29/rbcs29_03.htm, Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais.

Chart nr. 3

Immigration to Brazil by nationalities

Fonte: Brasil: 500 anos de povoamento. Rio de Janeiro : IBGE, 2000. Apêndice: Estatísticas de 500 anos de povoamento. p. 226

Nationality	Decades				
	1884-1893	1894-1903	1904-1913	1914-1923	1924-1933
Germans	22778	6698	33859	29339	61723
Spanish	113116	102142	224672	94779	52405
Italians	510533	537784	196521	86320	70177
Japanese	-	-	11868	20398	110191
Portuguese	170621	155542	384672	201252	233650
Syrian and Turks	96	7124	45803	20400	20400
Others	66524	42820	109222	51493	164586
Total	883668	852110	1006617	503981	717223

Periods	Germans	Spanish	Italians	Portuguese	Japanese	Others
1945-1949	5188	4092	15312	26268	12	29552
1950-1954	12204	53357	59785	123082	5447	84851
1955-1959	4633	38819	31263	96811	28819	47599

IBGE's statistics describe a radical decline in the estimated numbers of indigenous people in Brazil after the arrival of the Portuguese and then the African slaves. IBGE estimates that in the first century of colonization there were about 2 ½ mio. of indigenous people in what is today Brazil. By 1998 their number declined to a total of about 300 000. The respective decline in Rio de Janeiro state was from about 100 000 to a self-declared number of only 22. The indigenous population lives on in Rio's society as a myth and through traces mostly in the language, in geographical names, such as Copacabana, Ipanema or Jacarepágua, in cooking, and also in Carnival: one of the major Carnival groups still calls itself "Caciques de Ramos", Indian chiefs of Ramos, a northern suburb. However, due to their small numbers, as an ethnical grouping they have virtually lost their influence.

Gilberto Freyre in his famous book “The Masters and the Slaves” published in 1933 tries to explain the origin of Brazil as a multi-ethnic society by concentrating on the miscegenation among races. According to him, miscegenation was the only viable economic and social solution during the colonial time. The Portuguese settlers had to mix with Africans: “In Brazil, the relations between whites and colored people were determined since the 16th century by both the economic system – big-scale agricultural monoculture - and the shortage of white women among the settlers.”⁴⁷

The importance of African women in this miscegenation process can be seen today in the *mulatas* and their almost legendary status as beautiful, seductive women in Brazilian culture. This myth is especially used today by the sambaschools and by the tourism industry in order to sell Brazil abroad. The typical mixed *mulata* and her stereotyped image can be found in a lot of Brazilian popular songs like the first ever recorded lundu: *Isto é bom* by Xisto Bahia (see below) or in the famous carnival “marchinha” *O Teu Cabelo não nega* – *Your Hair does not deny (your origins)* by Lamartine Babo written in 1931:

O teu cabelo não nega

*O teu cabelo não nega mulata
Porque és mulata na cor
Mas como a cor não pega mulata
Mulata eu quero o teu amor*

*Tens um sabor bem do Brasil
Tens a alma cor de anil
Mulata mulatinha meu amor
Fui nomeado teu tenente interventor*⁴⁸

Your hair does not deny

*Your hair does not deny
Because you are Mulata in your color
But as your color does not pass on Mulata
Mulata I want your love*

*You have the real flavor of Brazil
You have the soul with indigo color
Mulata mulatinha my love
I was nominated your inspector lieutenant*

Another very famous book that treats the Brazilian miscegenation in a more surrealistic way is *Macunaíma* from Mario de Andrade (published 1928). The Brazilian non-hero Macunaíma is a black Indian born in Amazonia. One day after a bath in the river however: “When the hero left the river, he was blonde with blue eyes.

⁴⁷ “No Brasil, as relações entre os brancos e as raças de cor foram desde a primeira metade do século XVI condicionadas, de um lado pelo sistema de produção econômica – a monocultura latifundiária; do outro, pela escassez de mulheres brancas, entre os conquistadores.” Freyre Gilberto: Casa Grande e Senzala, forewords, page 49.

⁴⁸ Lyrics from the homepage specialized in lyrics www.vagalume.uol.com.br/lamartine-babo/o-teu-cabelo-nao-nega.html

The water of the river just washed his black skin. After that, nobody was able to recognize Macunaíma as a member of the Tapanhumas tribe.”⁴⁹

Portela escola de Samba even paraded to a samba-plot on Macunaíma in 1975. Its lyrics show the synthesis of the Brazilian identity, a mix of the Indian, white and black.

Macunaíma indio, branco, catimbeiro
Negro, sonso, feiticeiro

Macunaíma, Indian, white, smart
Black, lazy, magician

For Brazil’s identity this big number of mixed people posed a special problem. Are they an ethnical group in their own right or are they to be included in one of the other groups? In any case, contrary to other societies, mixed people are not automatically considered black people in Brazil. After having suffered for a long time from discrimination even more than the black – but “ethnically pure” – population, starting with the 1930ies their social status changed.

Brazilian intellectuals and the government long suffered from the complex of trying to copy the original “European” or “African”. With the growing mixed population they finally discovered an element truly unique and Brazilian. Today the qualities of the *mulata* dancer or the *mulato malandro* (a good humored clever bohemian) are considered a central part of what it means to be Brazilian.⁵⁰

In his book *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson stresses “the formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will “have” a nationality, as he or she has a gender.”⁵¹ What does it mean then to have the Brazilian nationality? When discussing Brazilian national identity one cannot neglect the fact, that Brazil was a colony until 1822. This question has thus only become an official issue relatively late, with independence.

⁴⁹ “Quando o herói saiu do banho estava branco louro e de olhozinhos azuizinhos, água lavara o pretume dele. E ninguém seria capaz mais de indicar nele um filho da tribo retinta dos Tapanhumas.” Andrade Mário: Macuaíma, page 37.

⁵⁰ Schwarcz Lilia Katri Moritz: Complexo de Zé Carioca, Notas sobre uma identidade mestiça e malandra, www.anpocs.org.br/portal/publicacoes/rbcs_00_29/rbcs29_03.htm, Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais.

⁵¹ Anderson Benedict: Imagined Communities, page 5.

After the abolishment of slavery in Brazil, the Africans got finally their freedom. But what kind of a freedom? Many of them were working on the coffee plantation in the “Vale do Paraíba”. They came to Rio to get a job to survive. It is important to point out that these Africans could speak very little Portuguese, let alone read or write.

“...as duas linguas da terra: o brasileiro falado, e o português escrito.”
 “...both languages of this land: the Brazilian spoken, and the Portuguese written.”⁵²

The *jongo* song “*Eu num é doutô*” shows that the African could not work in better jobs for obvious reasons:

Eu num é doutô

I’m no doctor

Eu num é doutô

Im no doctor

Eu num é “fermêro”

Im no nurse

Como vai tomá conta de butica na Piedade?

How can look after pharmacy?

Eu num sabe lê

I cant read

Eu num sabe “crevê”

I cant write

*Como vai tomá conta de butica na Piedade?*⁵³

How can look after pharmacy?

Without a sound knowledge of the Portuguese language, many “free” Africans concentrated in the Rio port area. They got jobs as a docker, street seller or household help.

Overall the background for this analysis of music styles as a means to create identity is a fairly complex one and one that is in the process of relatively rapid evolution. In short, the main factors to consider are the relatively short time of independence, the late abolition of slavery, the myth of an extraordinary, peaceful co-habitation of three races in one state, and finally the re-evaluating of miscegenation and the *mulato*-population as a valuable unique Brazilian element of identity.

⁵² Andrade Mario: Macunaíma, p. 87

⁵³ In correct Portuguese: “Eu não sou doutor/eu não sou enfermeiro/ como vou tomar conta de butica na Piedade/ Eu não sei ler/Eu não sei escrever/ Como vou tomar contar de butica na Piedade?”. The word butica means farmácia and Piedade is the district in north part of town. Song from the CD Jongo da Serrinha www.jongodaserrinha.org.br.

3.1 The situation of Afro-Brazilians today

Racial and ethnical borders are never clearly defined, much less so in a mixed society like the Brazilian one. In this context statistics that aim at categorizing people are a profoundly political operation in which the main interest groups try to prepare the ground for their political activities. These statistics also have an important impact on the ethnical groups they describe. They sometimes form a reference for their members' affiliation and also for their political demands, such as quotas in access to public universities.⁵⁴

The Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE) since the return to democracy discusses all these questions in depth. It compared, in particular, attempts for "objective" approaches that rely on a person's appearance to subjective ones that allow a person to choose among certain pre-defined categories. In practice, however, classification in function of a person's skin-color is still the rule in Brazil. This creates obvious problems in a profoundly mixed society, where a family's offspring can present different appearances according more to chance and their grandparents than to their parent's appearance. Skin-color and subjectively felt belonging to an ethnical group can often differ. Also nowadays some people, particularly in the cities, define their identity more by their place of living, rather than any racial or ethnical considerations. A problem inherent to the Brazilian statistical data is the traditional use of "pardo" both as a category in its own right for mixed people, mostly Afro-Brazilians, and as a residual for people declaring categories not foreseen in the classification system.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that IBGE's data are the most reliable available today. They also describe in details the result of continuing discrimination against the "non-white", mostly Afro-Brazilian population. The statistical numbers show lower levels for the non-white population in basically all areas, from housing to medical assistance, schooling, jobs and income. These disadvantages result in systematically

⁵⁴ Síntese de Indicadores Sociais, Uma análise das Condições de Vida da População Brasileira 2007, Estudos e Pesquisas Nr. 21, p. 178, IBGE, Brazilian Institute for Statistics and Geography, available on www.ibge.gov.br

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 181

lower life-expectancy and higher death-rates both for infants and for youths living in the more violent areas.

For this thesis the wide differences in education and income are most important. To give only two examples: among the 15 mio. of Brazil's official analphabets, 2/3 are "non-white"; on average whites have an advantage of two years of schooling over the rest of the population.⁵⁶

The situation in the labor market is even more telling: not even different schooling levels can explain the important gap between the average income between whites and Afro-Brazilians (mixed or black). Indeed, even with on-paper identical schooling, whites have an average per-hour salary 40 % higher than Afro-Brazilians.⁵⁷ This can be partly attributed to the fact that quality levels between nominally equal schools differ substantially (private schools play an important role in Brazil) and also to the fact that non-whites dominate in the lesser developed parts of Brazil, particularly the populous North-east, where wages are substantially lower for all. However, the numbers still point to a systematical disadvantage for Afro-Brazilians in the labor market, whatever their schooling or residential area.

Most analyses on identity in a multi-ethnic society focus on ethnical origins. However, this poses a number of questions in a society like Brazil, where mixed people make up over 40 % of the population. Also there are some doubts as to whether the declared 50 % of white population is not inflated by the social status this attribute still carries.

Most authors agree that the identity even of the Afro-Brazilian part of the population cannot be easily traced to their origins.⁵⁸ First, they were mostly brought to Brazil as slaves and therefore isolated from their original society and environment. Also they were mixed with Africans from other nations on the long way to Brazil and once there on the plantations and in the mines. In addition, they were subject to a completely

⁵⁶ Síntese de Indicadores Sociais, Uma análise das Condições de Vida da População Brasileira 2007, Estudos e Pesquisas Nr. 21, p. 182f, IBGE, available on www.ibge.gov.br

⁵⁷ Idem p. 184 f

⁵⁸ Farias/Soares/Gomes: No Labirinto das nações, p. 25

new social system in Brazil. Whatever their culture of origin might have been, it is only natural that it had to adapt to these radical changes.

Other factors shaping the – sometimes multiple – identity of Afro-Brazilians in their new home should also be considered:⁵⁹ their status as freed or enslaved, as rural or urban people, their professions or their residential area.

3.2 Affirmative Action? The Discussion about Quotas for “Black” Students

In recent years an interesting discussion on affirmative action to promote the social and economic situation of Afro-Brazilians has started. Currently it centers on Brazilian public universities which are still considered the “European” elite’s stronghold.⁶⁰ In fact a number of universities, such as the University of Brasília or the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) have installed quotas a couple of years ago.

The example of UERJ is particularly interesting, both for its quotas design and for first results after five years of this policy. UERJ’s quota reserve up to 45 % for certain groups of society. They take into account in all cases economic aspects, i.e. a low maximum per capita income. In addition, one of the following criteria has to be met: students from the public education system (access tests systematically favor students from expensive private secondary schools); “black” students (interestingly Afro-Brazilians are obviously considered black in this respect); indigenous people and certain other disfavored, such as people with deficiencies.⁶¹ The UERJ system therefore mixes social, economic and ethnic considerations.

The heated debate that has resulted in a federal draft law has divided both the academic world and the wider public. Opinion polls show that well-off Brazilians and

⁵⁹ Farias/Soares/Gomes: No Labirinto das nações, p. 40

⁶⁰ Although private university outnumber public ones by far, they are usually too young to be considered a serious threat to the public university’s dominant role. Access to public universities is strictly limited through testing (vestibular); private universities charge relatively high attendance fees, whereas public ones are free.

⁶¹ See UERJ homepage for more details www.vestibular.uerj.br “sistema de cotas”.

those with higher education are in their majority against quotas, poorer Brazilians and those with limited education overwhelmingly in favor.⁶²

In the academic world, there are those who oppose quotas because of a supposed risk to quality. However, others see this argument as a prejudice against Afro-Brazilians and their culture and thinking that may be different from the European mainstream.⁶³ Cases are heard in Brazilian courts with the argument that the Brazilian constitution establishes equality at birth for all, and that deliberate affirmative action would go against this principle.

The underlying worry for most middle-class students and parents however seems to be mostly social and economic: these quotas might do away with a reserve for middle- and upper-class students and consequently threaten their future job opportunities. For in Brazil, moving up the social ladder without a diploma from a prestigious University continues to be extremely difficult.

The result of the few quota systems in place long enough for a first evaluation are not very encouraging: as there is little financial support, numerous “quota” students drop out of University, because they cannot afford teaching material, transport etc. without having a full-time job besides University.

⁶² Datafolha opinion poll quoted in da Silva Antonio Ozaí: Porque a Universidade resiste às cotas raciais? – Why University resists racial Quotas? In Revista Espaço Acadêmico, p. 2

⁶³ da Silva Antonio Ozaí: Porque a Universidade resiste às cotas raciais? – Why University resists racial Quotas? In Revista Espaço Acadêmico, p. 4

4. Concepts of Performance

Performance is an English term that was incorporated in other languages mostly as a specific concept.⁶⁴ According to the American Heritage dictionary there are three basic meanings:

1. The act or manner of performing
2. A presentation as of a dance of theatrical work, before an audience
3. Something performed; accomplishment.

The word “performative” was introduced by John L. Austin to describe the fact that certain utterances – when made in the right circumstances - do not state a reality, but rather create one: the pronouncement itself makes the action. The performative utterance in this sense becomes the staging of a social act.⁶⁵

Performance Studies is a relatively young discipline that began about forty years ago in England and has become very popular in recent years. Since the 1970ies the term “performance” stands for “variously called actions, events ... pieces, things, the works present physical activities, ordinary bodily functions and other usual and unusual functions of physicality. The artist’s body becomes both the subject and the object of the work.”⁶⁶ The concept of Performance combines human sciences approaches in an interdisciplinary way, involving sociology, anthropology, music, language and theater.

Richard Schechner combines more anthropological approaches with theater studies. In his book “Performance Theory” he focuses on the “ritualization of animals, including humans”.⁶⁷ For Schechner “ritual is one of several activities related to theater. The others are play, games, sports, dance, and music...Together these seven comprise the public performance activities of humans.” He sees neither a hierarchy among these activities, nor clear boundaries among them. In fact,

⁶⁴ In Portuguese there is no translation for the word performance. In Brazil this concept is mostly used to describe something that works well such as car. For “performance” in the sense “presentation” Brazilians normally use the word “espetáculo” for a theater play or a concert. Brazilians normally use the word “show” instead of “concerto” which would refer more to the rare “erudite” classic music event. All in all, “espetáculo” is probably closest to the meaning of performance that is discussed here.

⁶⁵ Fischer-Lichte Erika: Ästhetik des Performativen, p. 31 f

⁶⁶ Willoughby Sharp quoted in Marvin Carlson, Performance, p. 102

⁶⁷ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. XVii

sometimes they “are merged so that it is impossible to call the activity by any one limiting name”.⁶⁸ This is certainly true for Carnival, a period where humans are free to express themselves in a counter-world, freed from everyday constraints.

These activities share several basic qualities:

- Special ordering of time
- Special value attached to objects
- Non-productivity in terms of goods
- Rules

Time is adapted to the event creating a special ordering of time. Schechner gives the example of football or baseball “games structured on ‘how many’ or ‘how much’ can you do in x time”⁶⁹. To a certain extent, this is a common point with the sambaschools’ parades. A special group *escola de samba* that exceeds the time limit set for its parading through the *Sambodrome* - currently eighty minutes⁷⁰ - will be punished by losing valuable points in the competition.

Schechner emphasizes the disparity between an object’s value in the market and in the “other-world” of play where they can assume a symbolic value and where they are often made to look more costly than they actually are. The *escola*’s costumes are an extreme case: they are made to look as rich as possible, but at the same time produced so cheaply that they only last for the one parade they are made for.

Schechner is more uncertain about the non-productivity of these activities, as a number of them are becoming increasingly financially important events. However, he sees “the money, services and products ... generated *by* these activities not as part *of* them.”⁷¹

Rules are a central element here. They indicate how to play, but they also defend the activity from encroachment from the outside. *Baile funk* for instance has very strict behavioral and clothing rules. Rules are also essential to create something apart from

⁶⁸ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 7

⁶⁹ idem, p. 8

⁷⁰ Chapter VII, article 19, rules of special group parade. www.liesa.com.br

⁷¹ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 13

everyday life. They permit the creation of a special world where people can make their own rules, re-interpret time and objects and their relationships and behavior. “The world of these performance activities is the pleasure principle institutionalized”.⁷² How better to describe Rio’s Carnival?

“Deep structures” are an essential element of performances. “These deep structures include preparations for performance both by performers (training, workshop, rehearsals, preparations immediately before going-on), and spectators (deciding to attend, dressing, going, settling in, waiting) and what happens after a performance. The ways people cool off ... are very important.”⁷³

These three points are of course very important both to the sambaschools parade with its almost year round preparation activities, but also for “*Baile Funk*”.

Schechner also raises the importance of the performances spaces. These are spaces that are empty the most of the time and normally used only to perform. “Great arenas, stadiums, churches or theaters are places economically non-self-supporting...The spaces are uniquely organized so that a large group can watch a small group – and become aware of itself at the same time. These arrangements foster celebratory and ceremonial feelings”.⁷⁴

This aspect we can see clearly with the *Sambodrome* that was built for the Carnival parades only and included the tearing-down of houses and closing-off of a whole street, the “Marquês de Sapucaí” in Rio downtown. At the end of it, there is a square, “Praça da Apoteose”, where sometimes shows take place during the year. The performance space for the “*Baile Funk*” is different however: it is more “democratic”, in the sense that we can have *Baile Funk* anywhere, including on the street. In addition venues hardly ever provide for stalls for crowds watching in distance, nor are they sophisticated enough to inspire ceremonial feelings.

Victor Turner used a more anthropological approach to analyze Rio’s Carnival in 1970. He focused on the connection of play and ritual with carnival: “Clearly, carnival

⁷² Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 13f

⁷³ idem, p. XViii

⁷⁴ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 14

is a form of play”.⁷⁵ In fact, he emphasizes childhood play as one of its main ingredients.

As the ritual frame is declining in importance, the play frame has to some extent inherited its functions. Turner observed links between Afro-Brazilian rituals involving vertigo and trance, and Carnival which involves mimicry (also by the spectators), costuming and the enactment of a plot.⁷⁶ One might add the drums that rhythm both activities and the rapid gyrating dances that create dizziness.

Like Schechner Turner focuses on the change in roles, the “other-worldness” of Rio’s Carnival: “While these blacks from the poor slums display the elegance of a vanished feudalism in their liminality, the white “beautiful people” in the restricted indoor Carnaval of the Clubs revert to the almost naked barbarism of the night revels of the La Dolce Vita.”⁷⁷

However, Rio’s Carnival is ever farther away from chaos. It respects ever more the definition of play established by Johan Huizinga: “... a free activity standing quite consciously outside “ordinary life” as being “not serious”, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly....It proceeds within its own boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to ... stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.”⁷⁸ Turner sees Rio’s organized Carnival as a “creative anti-structure of the mechanized modernity”, however one where rules are important (for winning the competition associated with each year’s parade). Carnival is not a moment of fake, but rather of validity of feelings.⁷⁹

According to Huizinga, play is a variety of culture, a means for “a community to express its interpretation of life and the world”.⁸⁰ Community life is valued through its expression in the form of play. The link between culture and play is strongest in social play – as opposed to individual one – where orderly action of a community or two

⁷⁵ Turner Victor: *The Anthropology of Performance*, p. 124

⁷⁶ Idem, p. 127 and 130

⁷⁷ Idem, p. 135

⁷⁸ Huizinga Johan: *Homo Ludens*, p. 13

⁷⁹ Turner Victor: *The Anthropology of Performance*, p. 137

⁸⁰ Huizinga Johan: *Homo Ludens*, p. 51: “(In diesen Spielen bringt) die Gemeinschaft ihre Deutung des Lebens und der Welt zum Ausdruck.”

opposed communities is involved.⁸¹ In fact, competition between opposing groups is a main element in Huizinga's analysis. For it creates interest and uncertainty in the competition's outcome and thus interest in the audience and it adds an important element to social play: one group can win, can distinguish itself over and from the other(s) and thus gain prestige and self-esteem in society.⁸² This is one of the main reasons for people from a poorer background participating with all their heart in the Samba parades: to achieve society's attention and respect.

Huizinga also predicts that the interest of the audience in play will increase with its difficulties, with the amount of special capacities required. Also uncertainty about the outcome will capture the onlooker. Huizinga explicitly mentions esthetics as an ingredient that directly attributes cultural value to a game. The other ingredients are physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual values.⁸³ It is obvious that the big escola parades fit in perfectly well with Huizinga's analysis: their beauty, the numerous visual effects, the dancers' and the musicians' prowesses ... everything is meant to capture the tens of thousands of onlookers on the stalls.

Interestingly Huizinga also points to a tendency of social play to become ever more organized over time and increase its rules to a point where they threaten its play character. Play becomes so well organized, participants so specialized and professional, that it is perceived as something earnest and rules something important in themselves. This development tends to limit the individual spontaneity and his creativity ever more. Huizinga's remarks were meant to criticize 1930ies sports, but they are almost identical with today's criticism of the way big escolas and their parades are organized.

For Afro-Brazilian musical performances the change in approach that musicology has gone through, from seeing music as a text to seeing it more as a performance, is vital. For Cook the concept of WAM – Western “art” music is a ritual among others. However, this concept is not adapted to music styles like rock, jazz or samba (all of

⁸¹ Huizinga Johan: *Homo Ludens*, p. 52

⁸² *Idem* p. 55

⁸³ *Idem* p. 53

them partly of African origin) and it places western art music as high art above other music styles that are less formalized.⁸⁴

For Afro-Brazilian events, a radical opposite view might be more adequate: “musical works exist in order to give performers something to perform”.⁸⁵ Music here is not a product, but purely a process. In both events, the escola de samba parade and *Baile Funk*, the music is a way to give or produce performance through the immediate interaction between performers and audience. In both one must also consider the performative contribution of the audience.

However, according to Schechner this distinction between product and process does not really hold up. He sees it as a matter of emphasis: some cultures emphasize the dramatic text, others the theatrical performance.⁸⁶ Due to its African roots and its historical distance from “correct” language, the Afro-Brazilian culture clearly sides with the theatrical performance side.

The contemporary performance studies paradigm, developed primarily in the context of theater studies and ethnomusicology, stresses that signification is constructed through the very act of performance, the acts of negotiation between the performers and audiences. These are certainly constant both in *Baile Funk* and in Samba events. In the latter most of the people present are in fact participants in the performance. Cook’s conclusion that “to call music a performing art, then, is not just to say that we perform it; it is to say that music performs meaning”⁸⁷ is certainly true for the participants in these events.

A very different, more theatre-based approach is to focus on the functioning of the performing body, both in itself and in relation to the other dimensions of the performance event. This kind of approach that also values creativity highly was originally developed for the articulation of characteristic features of the African-

⁸⁴ Cook Nicolas: Between Process and Product: Music and/as a Performance, in Music Theory Online, 7 (2001), p. 8

⁸⁵ Martin Robert L.: Musical Works in the Words of Performers and Listeners, in Michael Krausz, ed.: The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993 quoted in Cook p. 3

⁸⁶ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 70 ff

⁸⁷ Cook Nicolas: Between Process and Product: Music and/as a Performance, in Music Theory Online, 7 (2001), Cook , p. 10

American culture. It is no surprise that it is well adapted for the analysis of jazz, but also of Samba and Funk with their Afro-Brazilian roots.

Recently Fischer-Lichte has stressed a new focus on the specificity and the individuality of a performers' body, rather than on the role his body performs. This new strand intends to give "the body a paradigmatic position comparable with that of the text, instead of including it into the text paradigm."⁸⁸ This shall be achieved by the term "embodiment" that opens a new field, where the physical body of humans is (re-)constituted as the precondition of all cultural production.

Also the interaction that takes invariably place between the performer and his audience has been put into the center of analysis. Erika Fischer-Lichte has established the term of a "feedback-Schleife", a feedback-loop, among all present in a live event.⁸⁹

In the context of physical co-presence of artist and audience, this feedback-Schleife cannot be suppressed; at the most it can be manipulated like in an experiment or studied and made visible to all. This is achieved for instance by role change among actors and audience or by the creation of a short-time community through a common ritual-style action of all present, normally involving a breaching of a taboo.

As this feedback-Schleife contains numerous and partly random elements, the result of a performance cannot be predetermined and each one is unique and cannot be repeated. Therefore, any attempt to reproduce a performance, results in an attempt to document it.⁹⁰

Also this new focus means that "in the esthetics of the performative the areas art, social living world and politics can hardly be separated one from the other in a precise way."⁹¹ This certainly is an adequate approach both for *Baile Funk* and the samba events that reflect the social reality.

⁸⁸ "... dem Körper eine vergleichbare paradigmatische Position zu verschaffen wie dem Text, statt ihn unter dem Textparadigma zu subsumieren." Fischer-Lichte Erika, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, p. 153

⁸⁹ Fischer-Lichte Erika, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, chapter 3, p. 58 ff

⁹⁰ Fischer-Lichte Erika, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, p. 127

⁹¹ „dass sich in einer Ästhetik des Performativen die Bereiche Kunst, soziale Lebenswelt und Politik kaum säuberlich voneinander trennen lassen.“ Fischer-Lichte Erika, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, p. 82

Due to her focus, Fischer-Lichte sees in live performances (in the sense of physical co-presence) the main element for authenticity and subversiveness of performances, something purely medialised performances can never achieve. Major events that are recorded and mainly destined for a TV audience will be shaped by TV needs. Yet, if they involve co-presence, the feedback-loop will be present and at work.

5. The methods of „Participant Observation“ and „Ero-Epic Conversation“

It was of particular importance to choose an adequate method to get access to the people from the Rio samba and funk communities, both for contacts and conversations and for participation in the escolas parade and *baile funk*.⁹² The “participant observation” and the “ero-epic conversation” seemed best suited to achieve this.⁹³

The term “participant observation” was introduced by American sociologists who looked for a method suited to study “marginal” groups and cultures in all their details and richness. The main idea is to describe a culture from within, from one’s own experience in participating for some time as closely as possible in a group.

This observation is complemented by numerous conversations. The “ero-epic conversation” is based on the principle of equality between the researcher and his partners in the conversations. This includes creating an ambiance of mutual trust through an exchange of information, both on the researcher’s intentions and interests and on the partner’s experiences. The aim is to create a situation where members of the group to be described count freely stories and opinions about their group. These are then usually noted in a researcher’s diary and confronted with conversations⁹⁴ with other members of the group and the researcher’s own observations.

The first step to analyse the performative aspects of the two main Afro-Brazilian performances in Rio was, therefore, personal participation both in the samba parade and its numerous preparatory events and in *Baile Funk*.⁹⁵

The Brazilian society and the Afro-Brazilian culture in particular are pre-dominantly oral cultures. Correct standard Portuguese is seen as an artificial way of speaking by most members of these communities who use Rio slang in every-day life and even more so in the context of entertainment. As a result, standard Portuguese is often

⁹² See chapter 7.3.1.2 Performance Protocol of Escola Parades and chapter 8.3.2 Performance Protocol of Baile Funk

⁹³ For a detailed description of these methods see Girtler Roland: Methoden der Feldforschung, 2001

⁹⁴ See Appendix with Conversations.

⁹⁵ See chapters 7.3.1.2 Performance Protocol of the Escola Parade and 8.3.2 Performance Protocol of Baile Funk

considered a way of distancing oneself and expressing superiority. Therefore most *cariocas* would not feel at ease and understood in such a standardized situation. They might interpret wrongly the questions put to them and even feel discriminated against.

The classic interview technique with a questionnaire or even a recorder can be problematic in this ambience. For it creates an important distance between interviewer and interviewed. In Rio this can be exacerbated if the people involved are of different skin-colour. Also an “interviewer”, due to his academic background and his job, is often automatically considered a representative of the state or at least the academic elite.

The first consideration therefore was how best to avoid this distancing effect and how to get adequate access to the community. This was even more urgent as I myself might exacerbate these problems, being a white Brazilian, of Portuguese origin, currently living in Europe.

Crime levels in Rio suburbs and *favelas* are high and increasingly prevent people from outside from visiting these areas. Travelling between suburbs can also be dangerous. Therefore, it was also important to have good contacts with people from within the local cultural scene to get safe access to these areas and the events there.

The media play a decisive role in creating Rio’s cultural identity by spreading samba and funk events through radio and TV. However, a number of people in the cultural communities have become sceptical about contacts with media representatives. They often feel used, as their cultural “products” are frequently taken away and sold by others who profit more than the original artists and thus hinder their social ascension. This made it important to distance my work from that of the media and the music or show business.

Against this background „participant observation“, the „ero-epic conversation“ and a “researcher’s diary” proved the best way to get true access to the cultural communities in the suburbs and also “honest” answers to my questions.

5.1 Questions of Presentation

An important aspect of my thesis is intercultural relationships and the analysing of the blending of different cultures. Therefore an “emic standpoint” in the sense of Kenneth L. Pike⁹⁶ seemed the best approach for an in-depth analysis. The Afro-Brazilian Culture is a cultural system in its own right and can indeed best be analysed and understood within and through its own rich terminology. Also it is sufficiently remote from a classical European scientific standpoint that the projection of ideas and questions that do not belong to its cultural sphere could influence the analysis significantly.

While conducting the research as much as possible in Portuguese and in particular in its Brazilian and local Rio de Janeiro version, it was my intention to make its results accessible to a wider public, both in Brazil and in Europe. I therefore decided to write in English, aware that this is a language outside the local cultural system.

However, the worlds of Samba and Funk have developed a wide range of expressions proper to them that are both difficult to translate and constitute a richness in its own right. For this reason it seemed appropriate to mention and define them during the analysis and to add a glossary with key terms. A number of quotations mostly from songs are meant to provide the reader with a first taste of this language’s spices. Overall I tried to follow Gerhard Kubik’s recommendations (developed originally for studying African cultures): „If the presentation of the result of the research is nevertheless to be in a European language ... then the field notes that shall be taken in principle in the local language will be translated by the researcher only in part, keeping the local key terms when doing so. These shall then at least be defined in the form of a glossary.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Kubik Gerhard: Zum Verstehen afrikanischer Musik, page 53

⁹⁷ “Soll die Darstellung der Forschungsergebnisse dennoch in einer europäischen Sprache erfolgen ... dann werden die vom Forscher grundsätzlich in der einheimischen Sprache durchzuführenden Feldaufzeichnungen nur teilweise übersetzt, wobei die einheimischen Schlüsselbegriffe weiter erhalten bleiben. Diese müssen dann zumindest in Form eines Glossars definiert werden.“ Kubik Gerhard: Zum Verstehen afrikanischer Musik, page 54

5.2 Research trips

I travelled twice to Rio to study the *Baile Funk* and the samba parade and its preparations. In my first research trip in September 2007, I participated in two *Bailes Funk*, one in a poor neighbourhood and one in the centre of town. There are two main organizers of *Baile Funk* in Rio: “Furacão 2000” and “Big Mix é Mané”. The former has the longest history of organizing such events in Rio, the latter belongs to DJ Marlboro whom I had a conversation with. I also interviewed a number of other funk artists and analysed relevant DVDs.

I went to two very different *Bailes Funk* in this first trip⁹⁸. Both times I was there not only to observe the event, the ambiance and the participants according to the method of “Participant Observation”, but also to dance as a normal participant to get involved and feel what a *Baile Funk* is for a participant, to experience its performative aspects first-hand.

Material on the samba events is, of course, much more easily available, on DVDs, in historic and contemporary newspapers and magazines, but also analyses in books and articles.

In January 2008, I participated in various rehearsals, including the technical ones on the streets and in the *sambodrome*, as well as in the more spontaneous parades of smaller Carnival groups on the streets. I also assisted the “official” *sambodrome* parade of the accession group A. I preferred this group to the more renowned special group, as I had already assisted the latter’s parade and the group A is less commercial and has an almost exclusively local audience.⁹⁹ Like with *Baile Funk* I danced samba in many events to understand better this “dizer no pé”, speaking by foot, and the performative role participants play in these samba events.¹⁰⁰

Research on the ethnical roots of both music and dancing styles in Rios audio-museum and in the Brazilian National Archive was particularly rich in details. The

⁹⁸ See 8.3.2 Performance Protocol of Baile Funk.

⁹⁹ See 7.3.1.2 Performance Protocol of the Escola parade.

¹⁰⁰ Browning Barbara: Samba Resistance in Motion, page 13.

Third International Samba Meeting¹⁰¹ in the so-called “city of Samba” was an opportunity to discuss and analyse the organization of special group parade with *escola* members in detail.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix

6. Hypothesis

My starting point is the particular difficulties the multi-ethnic Rio society faces to integrate all of its members and to create a minimum of common identity. Of course, Brazil's history is at the root of this problem, as a colonial slave-based society stands at the beginning of Brazil's society. Until its relatively young independence in 1822 the Portuguese did not permit the installation of a University nor was there a printing press operating in the colony.¹⁰² Brazil's particular multi-ethnic mix and different cultural traditions according to one's origin is another factor of segregation.

Due to lack of general access to quality education, the Portuguese language has been a factor of segregation between the literate few and the illiterate many, rather than of integration like in Europe. Correct standard Portuguese has become a powerful status symbol and divisive element. In effect, it has become a hindrance to social mobility in general.

The Portuguese language also makes all language-based culture like theatre and literature, other than the little offered in Brazilian dialect, a minority programme for the relatively small middle and upper class. It is therefore usually an expensive offer, available to and created for the richer, mostly white Brazilians. The creation of a common cultural identity is therefore the task mostly of performance-based art, music and dance as well as sports. For these allow all Brazilians to participate on an equal footing, independent of their educational level and wealth. It is not surprising therefore that most of the Afro-Brazilian role-models stem from these activities, and that the two best known Afro-Brazilians in government were minister of sports and of culture respectively.¹⁰³

The *escola* parade as a performance has taken the front place in Rio's yearly event calendar. Due to its success in the media and its growing financial importance, bigger *escolas* have acquired a role of important companies with a yearly budget of millions of euro. This has made them an important source for jobs and money in the poorer neighbourhoods, e.g. through the making of costumes etc. However, the richer, more

¹⁰² De Carvalho José Murilo: Nineteenth Century Brazil, p. 378 ff quoted in Anderson Benedict: Imagined Communities, p. 51

¹⁰³ The famous soccer player Edson Arantes do Nascimento, "Pél  ", as minister of sports and the singer and composer Gilberto Gil as minister of culture.

commercially successful have become estranged of their community with the need to organize and administrate this success. Schools have also opened up to the middle- and upper-class with the resulting conflict of interests.¹⁰⁴ A well-known actress as queen of the orchestra might donate most of the orchestra's dresses, but in exchange she will make sure she takes front stage in the media – and not the community dancers.

The role of the media, particularly TV and radio, together with mouth-to-mouth propaganda is crucial for spreading both samba and funk events. Brazil's biggest TV channel, Rede Globo, has both its administrative seat and its production facilities for telenovelas etc. in Rio. Rede Globo's live coverage of the two nights of parading – and of other preparatory events – certainly plays a big role in spreading the samba parades. Rede Globo also played an important role in spreading funk and funk balls throughout Brazil as from the late 1990ies.

It is particularly interesting to analyse whether this relative lack of common cultural activities have put most of the burden of creating a common identity on the few remaining factors. In other words: Have samba and the samba parade become one of the world's biggest spectacles, because it has to shoulder so much of this responsibility? Have they privileged the creating of a national identity to the detriment of offering space for the expression of individual Afro-Brazilian identity? Who is it that “diz no pé”, speaks by foot in these parades? How can the performative aspects of samba contribute to Rio's identity? Can performance theory explain the form of today's parades and their huge success?

Since the 1970ies, samba has met a more long-term competitor as central cultural activity for most *cariocas*: Carioca Funk. This local variety of funk was created in Rio, mostly in the poorer parts of town. Through *Bailes Funk*, funk parties, that have become big, organized commercial events and through media coverage, funk has made his way to the richer and whiter parts of Rio and from there to the rest of Brazil.

However, it is unclear whether funk can substitute samba as a factor of integration and of economic importance for poorer neighbourhood. Moreover, funk has not been

¹⁰⁴ Joci clay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, conversation in Jan. 2008

able to leave behind violent lyrics and gestures. In the Brazilian society which is in general very liberal with regard to sexual references, but due to high crime rates very sensitive to violence in culture, this remains unacceptable to many outside the *funk carioca* community.

In any case, *escola* parades and *bailes* funk have a common basis: both are events to dance, to perform, to express oneself through body movements rather than language. Whether in the *sambodrome* or on *Intendente Magalhães* avenue, in a poor or rich *baile funk*,¹⁰⁵ all *cariocas* will dance samba and *funk carioca*. Can these performances create a common identity in an otherwise divided society? How could this work? What do these events fit in with traditional performance theory?

¹⁰⁵ Conversation with Onésio Meirelles, February 2008. See Appendix

7. Carnival and Samba in Rio

7.1 Origins of Samba and Carnival in Rio

7.1.1 Samba

*Eu sou o samba,
A voz do morro
Sou eu mesmo sim senhor
Quero mostrar ao mundo
Que tenho valor
Eu sou o rei dos terreiros
Eu sou o samba
Sou natural aqui do Rio de Janeiro*¹⁰⁶

...

*I am Samba
The voice from the hills
That's me, yes, it is
The world I want to show
My full value
I am the king of Umbanda
I am Samba
The legitimate son of Rio de Janeiro*

Samba as a music style has its roots in African culture. During the three centuries of colonial history and importation of slaves to Brazil, Afro-Brazilian descendants have succeeded in creating a strong regional neo-African culture. In Rio, cultural influences from the wider Congo-Angola area, where Bantu groups are predominant, were strongest. In the north-eastern state of Bahia, the other center of African immigration and culture, there are strong cultural elements mostly from south-eastern Nigeria and Benin.

Samba in Brazil also has strong roots in Afro-Brazilian cults, in particular Umbanda. A number of the cult's followers normally play drums and thus rhythm the ambiance for dancing and eventually religious extasis that accompanies the descending of spirits. Numerous samba *enredos* have made these religious roots their topic. In 1984 Unidos da Ponte paraded to "Oferendas" – offerings:

*Axé
O samba pisa mais forte
É mistério, é magia bis
É mandigueiro*

*Malungo se liberta no Zambê
Esquece o Banzo
É hora de oferecer
Prá Exu e Pomba-Gira
Tem marafo e dendê
Muitas flores e pipoca*

*Axé
Samba steps so strong
The mystery, the magic bis
The sorcerer*

*Malungo frees himself in Zambê
Forget the Banzo
It's the moment to offer
To Exu e Pomba-Gira
We got brandy and palmoil
A lot of flowers and pop-corn*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ "A voz do morro", samba by Zé Ketí

The term “samba” exists in most Bantu languages. As a verb, “kusamba”, it is known from Angola and Congo to Eastern Africa, but with different meanings. In his book “Extensionen Afrikanischer Kultur in Brasilien” (Extension of African Culture in Brazil) Gerhard Kubik enumerates a number of different meanings of this verb. Most of them, however, refer to a movement. According to Kubik “similar African terms can be found in words with a deep tone, i.e. *sàmba*”.¹⁰⁸

In Brazil there is a theory that derives the term “samba” from “semba” which is the word in the quimbondo language (a Bantu language) for navel (umbigo)¹⁰⁹ and also the umbigada, a dance considered one of the precursors of samba and part of the early samba dancing.¹¹⁰

Lundu style is mostly considered the precursor of Samba. It arrived in Brazil from Angola, brought as early as the 16th century as *batuques*, i.e. percussion music and dancing, by the slaves from that area. In the 19th century these *batuques* adapted to a more urban environment and to different social conditions: the first (Afro-)Brazilian urban music styles appeared with Lundu being its first dominant proponent.¹¹¹ Lundu’s dance still created some scandal with the European masters, because of the way the bodies moved, with sometimes explicitly sexual choreographies to African “batuque”, drum rhythms. The Portuguese traveller, Alfredo Sarmiento, who witnessed this dancing in Angola in the 1880ies, describes it as a form of theatre performance with explicitly sexual connotations. João Chagas, another Brazilian traveller describes lundu choreography at the end of the 19th century:

“All of a sudden, they spin, always in the same hug, and in this rapid movement, they incline the bodies forwards and backwards, as much as their kidneys permit; then

¹⁰⁷ Exu and Pomba-Gira are candomblé goddesses.

¹⁰⁸ „... die vergleichbaren afrikanischen Begriffe sind in Wörtern mit Tieftönen, also *sàmba* zu suchen.” Kubik Gerhard: Extensionen afrikanischer Kultur in Brasilien, p. 47

¹⁰⁹ Sodré Muniz: Samba, o dono do corpo, p. 12

¹¹⁰ “O Jongo da Serrinha”, CD-Book, edited and recorded by the Grupo Cultural Jongo da Serrinha, 2001

¹¹¹ Sodré Muniz: Samba, o dono do corpo, p. 13

they incline themselves again, always making three steps forwards, then three back, going forth and back, as if they want to possess each other.”¹¹²

However, Lundu nevertheless became the first Afro-Brazilian music style accepted in most of Rio’s society. Its more erudite form, the Lundu “brando” was popular with the richer and more European part of society, whereas the Lundu “selvagem” that kept more of its African roots was very popular with the Afro-Brazilian descendants.¹¹³ Lundu-dancing in the streets by Afro-Brazilian was prohibited and strictly repressed by the police.¹¹⁴

Another musical precursor of Samba in Rio is the Maxixe that dates back to about 1875. Its musical structure is very similar to the Lundu, and in the beginning it was more a particular style of dancing the then fashionable music, including the latest import from Europe, the Polka. With time, it substituted the Lundu dancing. However, due to its strong Afro-Brazilian origins, Maxixe could only spread to Rio’s middle class through the Carnival dancing of the Sociedades Carnavalescas and the “teatro de revista”, a popular theatre play consisting mostly of musical scenes.¹¹⁵ It also copied Lundu’s strategy to develop a more erudite form, the Maxixe polido.

Some authors pretend that Maxixe dancing is the very basis for the Samba body movements: „Although all choreography that has been created by the *passistas*, the samba dancers, of the Escolas de samba up to this date have their origin in maxixe, we should not forget that this style is in almost all aspects similar to lundu... the hip movements of rocking and gyrating, sensuality and the navel movements, in short, all the explicitness of the choreography of lundu and its “wild” strength”.¹¹⁶

¹¹² “Súbito, circunvolteam, guardando sempre o memso abraço, e nesse rapido movimento dobram os corpos para frente e para tras, para quanto permite a solidez dos rins; tornam a dobrar-se, sempre lentamente tres passos á frente, tres á tras, vão avançando e retrocendo, como a quererem possuir-se.” Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação á Música Popular Brasileira – Lessons in Brazilian folk music*, Editora Atica, São Paulo, 1985, p. 17

¹¹³ Sodré Muniz: *Samba, o dono do corpo*, p. 31

¹¹⁴ Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação á Música Popular Brasileira – Lessons in Brazilian folk music*, Editora Atica, São Paulo, 1985, p. 10

¹¹⁵ CD-Book “500 anos da Música Popular Brasileira – 500 years of Brazilian popular music”, Brazilian Audiovisual Museum (Museu da Imagem e do Som), Rio de Janeiro

¹¹⁶ “Se toda a coreografia desenvolvida até hoje pelos passistas das escolas de samba tem sua origem no maxixe, não podemos nos esquecer que este em quase tudo lembra o lundu... os gingados, o remelexo, a sensualidade, a umbigada, o erotismo, os requebros, enfim, toda a ousadia da coreografia do lundu de força “selvagem” Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação á Música Popular Brasileira*, p. 10

Another precursor of Samba is the *jongo* that was brought to Rio with the resettlement of slaves, again from the Congo-Angola area, from the plantations in Rio's innerland. It was particularly popular in the beginning of the last century in the first *favelas*, and most of the early *sambeiros* also organized *jongo* festivities in their houses. Even some of the instruments of samba, such as the *cuíca*, a friction drum, are supposed to be adapted from *jongo* instruments (in this case the *mpwita*).¹¹⁷ The singing of *jongo* was normally a leading solo singer, mostly inventing short phrases about his people's daily life or criticizing their living conditions, and the whole group answering in a common refrain. This way of singing was adopted by the *samba do partido alto* and the *samba do terreiro*.

Jongo festivities usually took place late at night and often last until sunrise. *Jongueiros* normally dance without shoes and usually wear normal everyday clothing. There is the group dancing together in a circle and couples taking turns in dancing in the middle. The couples whirl contrary to the sense of the watch. Every now and then a new couple asks for permission to substitute the couple in the middle trying to outdo its dancing. The couple in the middle improvises communicating with each other through eye-contact. Today, *jongo* is strongest in Serrinha, the berth of the *Império Serrano escola*.¹¹⁸

However, *jongo*, which was a festivity mostly for entertainment but with a mystical connotation, was mostly restricted to the wider family clan and could therefore not easily spread outside the communities. Samba, on the contrary, started out as generic term for all kinds of Afro-Brazilian dance and then also music. Samba was a truly Brazilian result of musical syncretism: It contained opening elements of the European polka, rhythmical elements of the *habanera*, choreography and *sincopa* form *lundu* and *batuque*, and finally a Brazilian way of singing and playing.¹¹⁹

In 1917 Donga whose original name was Ernesto Joaquim Maria dos Santos (Rio de Janeiro 1882-1956) recorded for the first time a Samba song "Pelo Telephone – Over the Phone". He also registered the song as "Samba Carnavalesco" in the Brazilian

¹¹⁷ CD-Book, "O Jongo da Serrinha", Grupo Cultural Jongo da Serrinha, 2001

¹¹⁸ *idem*

¹¹⁹ Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação à Música Popular Brasileira*, p. 28

National Library and the term “Samba” together with the song and the music style became extremely popular and spread rapidly all over Rio.¹²⁰ This fast success was partly due to the fact that the houses of mostly Bahian “tias” – aunts – that were hosting both Samba and religious events had already been open to white Brazilians for some time. The houses of the “tias” were mostly located in the center of Rio, as the remodeling of this area into a commercial and business district took place later. Samba therefore grew in the center, in the so-called little Africa, and only later moved out and up the *morros*, the hills, and the *favelas* there together with the Afro-Brazilian population.¹²¹ Samba also suffered repression from the police – officially one needed a license to organize a samba festivity or party. This was another reason for Samba to move to the *favelas*.¹²²

Modern Samba has its roots in rural Samba. However, it was, like its precursors, already at its birth an urban style based in Rio.¹²³ It is only with the spreading of radio and discs that it started its success in all of Brazil.

Samba has remained to this day the musical and dancing basis of Rio’s Carnival and in particular the *escolas*’ parading.

Dancing and body movements have always been an essential part of Afro-Brazilian music, from the early *lundus* to contemporary samba. This dancing normally includes the audience and thus creates a social effect, as people dance “together”, although usually not in couples. Dancing and Carnival also were the only times Afro-Brazilians were allowed to dress in costumes and dance together, in public, on the streets.

¹²⁰ CD-Book: 500 anos da Música Popular Brasileira – 500 years of Brazilian popular music, Brazilian Audiovisual Museum (Museu da Imagem e do Som), Rio de Janeiro

¹²¹ Conversation with Donga, quoted in: *As vozes desassombradas do Museu*, Museu da Imagem e do Som, 1970, p. 78; see also Lopes Nei: *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro e sua tradição musical* – The Black in Rio de Janeiro and his musical tradition

¹²² Lopes Nei: *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro e sua tradição musical* – The Black in Rio de Janeiro and his musical tradition, p. 15

¹²³ *Idem* p. 16 and Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação á Música Popular Brasileira* – Lessons in Brazilian folk music, p. 28

7.1.2 Carnival

The history of Carnival in Rio can be roughly divided in four phases¹²⁴:

1. Religious and profane festivities
2. Portuguese Entrudo
3. Refined European Carnival
4. Carnival in the era of cultural industry

*Vindo da Africa distante
Lendas e crenças fascinantes
Só vovô sabe contar*¹²⁵

*From distant Africa
Fascinating legends and believes
Granma only knows the tale*

During colonial times, in Brazil there was no defined date for Carnival, but rather Carnival-like festivities according to the occasions. As there were very few festivities and events in the colony, the few occasions, in particular Portuguese religious festivities, provided a welcome excuse for festivities. Most researchers date the first Carnival parade on 31 March 1641. On this day a religious celebration that included a procession accompanied by music and mobilizing a big crowd parading through the streets of Rio. The event's official occasion was the coronation of João VI, the first king of Portuguese origin after the end of the union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns.¹²⁶ Some of the elements of the time still continue in traces in today's Carnival: for some time *mulatas* accompanied the processions and such *baianas* are still mandatory today in the parades escolas de samba.

The next phase was the Portuguese entrudo, an old tradition that includes participants throwing flower, water and ice at each other, but this is done without music. This tradition which came with new waves of Portuguese immigrants apparently took place for the first time in Rio in 1723. This was also the first documented event where Afro-Brazilian slaves could join in with the Europeans in the streets for partying. This exceptional permission for the Afro-Brazilians was limited to the Carnival period and events. On other occasions their tradition, their music and events were repressed by the European masters.

¹²⁴ Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director and member of the Carnival Department of Estácio de Sá University, conversation in Sept. 2008.

¹²⁵ "Dique, um mar de amor", samba-enredo, Vila Isabel, 1978

¹²⁶ Hiram Araújo, Study Material on Carnival of the University Estácio de Sá

Starting in the 1840ies the European tradition of ball masque, mostly in its Italian variant, took hold in the well-to-do classes. During the same period, as early as 1847 or 1848, the first Carnival group was created with the name of Zé Perreira. This group was founded by José Nogueira de Azevedo, was already partly financed by shopowners, newspapers and businesspeople, and brought a big crowd to the street during Carnival time dancing to percussion music.

In the 1850ies and 60ies the first Grandes Sociedades, Carnival associations for Rio's elite were founded. Apart from organizing balls these also started to parade through the streets with luxurious Carnival floats.

In the following decades the poorer Afro-Brazilians started parading – in different places – with “Cordões” that included percussion music and costumes. As these turned ever more violent, they were gradually substituted by the “Blocos Carnavalescos”.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the major Rio Branco avenue became the privileged venue for the parades that started to dominate Carnival activities. These were still organised by the Grandes Sociedades, by the Ranchos Carnavalescos (originally founded by Afro-Brazilians from Bahia state) and the Corsos *Carnavalescos* (cars full with costumed people).

With the great depression Carnival entered in a financial crisis in the 1930ies, as business became increasingly reluctant to provide financing. However, the autocratic ruler of the time, President Getúlio Vargas, insisted, probably for political reasons, that the street Carnival should not be abandoned. He therefore offered state financing to the Samba parade. However, it was only through the Escolas de Samba that were created in and with the support of the poorer neighbourhoods that the Rio Carnival survived this crisis.

The lengthy preparations of the Carnival parade is done in numerous steps and rehearsals that bring all participants together, for music playing and dancing, on numerous occasion and thus create a strong “we” identity.

Rio de Janeiro
Salve São Sebastião
Santo padroeiro
Samba, amor e tradição
Esquece a tristeza
Que é a hora do Rio cantar
Com tanta beleza
A gente não pode chorar
É na passarela
É na Cinêlandia
*A tribuna popular*¹²⁷

Rio de Janeiro
Hail to São Sebastião
Patron saint
Samba, love and tradition
Leave sadness behind
This is the moment for all Rio to sing
With all beauty
Now we shall not cry
We are on the avenue
*We are in Cinêlandia*¹²⁸
On the people's stalls

7. 2 The Escolas de Samba

Officially, there are a total of 72 escolas de samba in Rio. Today, all of them are organized in two associations, the Ligue of Rio de Janeiro Escolas de Samba - Liga das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro and the Association of Rio de Janeiro Escolas de samba - Associação das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro.

Originally there was one association in which all schools participated. However, with the inauguration of the *Sambodroms* in 1984 and the resulting differentiation between different groups as well as between richer and poorer schools, this association split, mainly because the big richer schools had different interests from the rest. Today, the Ligue defends the interests of the Special Group, the “Premiere Ligue” of Escolas de samba that stages the main parade in the *Sambodrome*, whereas the Association caters for all the others. The Ligue now carries out tasks like negotiating the parades’ broadcasting rights etc. It is also meant to avoid the bureaucracy that an administration by the city of Rio would necessarily bring with it. ¹²⁹

The escolas are divided in six categories:

- **“Special Group – Grupo Especial”**: these are the year’s twelve best schools. They usually consist of about 4000 participants. They are the only ones to have the right to parade in the *Sambodrome* on the big nights, i.e. Carnival

¹²⁷ Rio, Samba, Amor e Tradição, samba enredo Tradição, 1989

¹²⁸ An area in downtown Rio

¹²⁹ Conversation with Onésio Meirelles, Feb. 2008

Sunday and Monday. The school that wins the parade usually gets lucrative contracts for TV acts, DVDs, CDs and – sometimes – international tournées.

- **“Group A or Accession Group – Grupo A ou de Acesso”**: these 10 escolas that normally still consist of between 2 and 3 thousand participants, have the right to parade the night before the special group. Lately, only the winner of this competition is admitted to the Special Group, replacing that group’s last-ranked escola.
- **“Group B”**: ten smaller Schools that also have to right to parade in the *Sambodrome* and to move up one group.
- **“Groups C to E”**: A total of 36 schools that do not parade in the *Sambodrome*, but on a Suburban main street called Estrada Intendente Magalhães-Campinho, either on Carnival Monday or Tuesday.

Escolas normally have at their origins so-called “blocos”. These are Carnival groups that gather every year in halls or on the streets to celebrate Carnival. They are usually much smaller than the escolas (at least there are fewer permanent members, for these blocos are usually open to anyone when out on the streets). Also they are far from being as well organised as the escolas. They do not have unified costumes, the band and participants do not rehearse for a long time before parading. However, even apart from the participation in the above hierarchy and ranking, limits between the two can be blurred. Some of the most successful blocos are starting to organise a permanent seat and rehearsals to raise financing. Also sometimes the smaller escolas are closed and continue activities “only” as a bloco.

7.2.1 Origins and Evolution of Escolas de Samba

*Ramos tem cacique
Bafo tem também
Um devora o outro
Ninguém sabe quem é quem¹³⁰*

*In Ramos there is the chief
And also the breath¹³¹
One eating the other
And nobody knows who is who*

¹³⁰ “A Lapa de Adão e Eva”, samba-enredo, Beija-Flor, 1985

¹³¹ Ramos is a Rio suburb, Cacique de Ramos and Bafo da Onça are Carnival groups.

Like the urban samba had its precursors in rural samba rhythm, the *escolas de samba* developed out of precursors, mostly the *blocos* and the *cordões*. *Cordões* were groups of the lower classes, *blocos* were more lower middle class groups where neighbours teamed up to dance to polka and waltzes. The time of the *escolas* had come when the former predominant Carnival activities entered into crisis in the beginning of the 1930ies.¹³²

Until then the *Grandes Sociedades* had organised middle- and upper-class festivities according to the refined European model imported from France. The *Ranchos Carnavalescos* had organised smaller events for the lower classes. However, with the remodelling of the center of Rio into an administrative and commercial district, there were ever fewer neighbourhoods to sustain the activities and the great economic crises at the end of the 1920ies meant that financing by shops and newspapers also dried up.

In this situation the government of the time decided to grant subsidies to the carnival activities. At the same time the *blocos* and *cordões* merged to form bigger *Blocos Carnavalescos*, the first of which was “Deixa Falar” – “Let them talk” in 1928. Soon this name was changed to “Escola de Samba Deixa Falar”. It is unclear where the term “escola de samba” came from, but in 1923 there was a samba that sang: “There is no escola de samba, like Estácio de Sá”.¹³³

Originally these *Blocos Carnavalescos* and the *escolas de samba* had no fixed meeting places, and it became increasingly difficult to accommodate the big crowd of participants. As more and more *escolas* were created in the suburbs and *favelas* in the north of town, the first simple meeting places, precursors of today’s *quadras*, were created, normally in vicinity of the community at the center of the *escola*.

The *escolas* built on the tradition of *blocos*, *cordões* and *ranchos*. They incorporated elements such as the *mestre de sala* and *porta bandeira* (master of ceremony and the standard bearer) or the *comissão da frente* (the opening committee) that were already known in the *ranchos*’ parades. However, the co-founder of *Portela escola*,

¹³² Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, conversation in Sept. 2008

¹³³ „Não tem escola de samba, como a Estácio de Sá”, Schreiner Klaus: *Musica Popular Brasileira*, p. 145

Paulinho da Portela, invented the *enredo*, the general theme, and the *samba-enredo* to accompany it and thereby gave the parade a revolutionising new uniform structure.¹³⁴

The *escolas* that had started out with a hundred or so artists quickly grew and the government decided to invite them to the centre to fill the void there – and to keep a closer watch on their activities. Also the *escolas* were officially constituted as “Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba” – Recreative Association Sambaschool.¹³⁵

During the 1940ies and 50ies the four pillars of the parade were put in place: the *enredo*, the *samba-enredo*, the Carnival floats and the costumes. These are unique to the *escolas* and make their organisation differ ever more from that of other Carnival groups. In addition there was a ritualistic element, constituted by the samba rhythm, the *bateria*’s instruments mostly derived from Afro-Brazilian cult instruments, and the samba dancing. The *samba-enredo* lyrics still used to reflect closely the community and its life, its problems and joys.

The 1960ies and 70ies witnessed the “embranquecimento do samba”, the incorporation of members of the middle-class,¹³⁶ and an increasing role played by the city’s tourist administration, nowadays called Riotur. Also in 1962 for the first time entrance fees were levied for some of the stalls. The visual effects became ever more sophisticated so that floats and costumes were no longer “home-made” in the communities, but rather by hired professionals from theatre, television and so on. With the introduction of a time limit, the *samba-enredos* became faster and shorter and the wings more compact.

The 1980ies witnessed the inauguration of the *Sambodrome* and the commercialization of the special group *escolas* which also revolutionised their administration. Over time even the choice of the *enredo* became a mostly financial matter, as the theme is now often negotiated by the *escolas*’ directors and the year’s main sponsor. The *escolas* started to produce mass art and entertainment on the basis of strong visual effects, both for the audience on the stalls and in front of the TV

¹³⁴ Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, conversation in Sept. 2008

¹³⁵ Schreiner Klaus: *Musica Popular Brasileira*, p. 142 f.

¹³⁶ Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, conversation in Sept. 2008

stations. As the financial investment is important and failure can result in great losses for the escolas and job losses for its administrative and artistic elite, the readiness for innovation and risk is low. Instead successful elements are re-edited to ensure success in a mass market.¹³⁷

7.2.2 The Special Group Escolas de Samba

The ranking and grouping is crucial for the Escolas de samba in terms of financial and media success. The scheme is very similar to that of football leagues. Only the two nights of parade of the Special Group are covered all night long by the major Brazilian TV station, TV Globo, and exported abroad. The Accession Group is the only other group to get TV coverage, however, only on a local level and with considerably less audience.

The Special Group also receives most of the state subsidies and of the city money. They are also most likely to benefit from financing out of more opaque sources, such as drug trafficking and a popular, but illegal street lottery, the *jogo do bicho* (animal's game).

The Special Group's main financial sources are:

- State and City subsidies, sometimes millions of Reais;
- Money from the *jogo do bicho* (the illegal street lottery) and the local drug trafficking bosses (both in order to launder money and to secure support by community locals where these activities take place);
- Sale of Carnival costumes to participants, both locals and Brazilian and international tourists (at differentiated prices);
- TV royalties, money from sponsoring during the parade and the rehearsals;
- Entrance fees to the parade and the preliminary events;
- CD and DVD sales;
- Special presentations in TV shows, parties etc. outside Carnival.

¹³⁷ Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, conversation in Sept. 2008

As the escolas de samba became ever bigger and more commercialized they had to find new, more efficient ways of management. Today almost all of them have two layers of management, the artistic or *carnavalesco* section and the administrative section.¹³⁸ The latter is composed of the directorate, secretariat, the financial and even an auditing department, but it also includes the following special departments:

- Social activities: mostly programming of festivities;
- Sports;
- Public Relations: programming media contacts;
- Cultural activities' programming
- Carnival activities' programming (tellingly today this is only one of a number of the administration's department)

7.2.3 Case study “Madureira”

*Copacabana é princesinha a vida inteira
E a capital do samba é Madureira*¹³⁹

*Copacabana will always be the princess
And the capital of samba is Madureira*

Rio's north zone suburban area started to develop with the railway construction. 1858 the “Estrada de Ferro D. Pedro II”¹⁴⁰ was inaugurated, leading from the city centre to Nova Iguaçu, about 37 kilometres to the north. Wherever a station was inaugurated, a new district of town gradually developed. The abolition of slavery 1888 and the following exodus from the countryside by former slaves contributed to the acceleration of this process.

“Madureira” station was inaugurated in 1897. Its initial name was Dona Clara, apparently after a former big scale farmer in Madureira (the whole area was then dominated by large farms).

The term “Madureira” does not have a meaning in itself in Portuguese. Francisco Vasconcellos, in his book “Império Serrano 1947/1956” derives this name from a

¹³⁸ Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, conversation in Sept. 2008

¹³⁹ “Rio, Samba, Amor e Tradição”, samba enredo Tradição, 1989

¹⁴⁰ The main suburban train line in Rio de Janeiro.

certain “Lourenço Madureira: “Lourenço Madureira should have been very renowned in this area, to justify the link between his name and the later Rio district. It is possible that the dealings in which he was involved and which were provoked by the widow of his master, Dona Rosa Maria dos Santos, and ultimately lead to his expulsion from the areas he occupied transformed him into a cultural hero.”¹⁴¹

Whatever the exact origins of its name, Madureira is a particularly interesting district, because it is home to three escolas de samba which is exceptional even for Rio: Portela, the richest school, Tradição, a spring-off of Portela, and Império Serrano, a more traditional, but poorer escola.

7.2.3.1 The three main Escolas de Samba from Madureira

Portela is one of the oldest escolas de samba in Rio. In Madureira, in the 1920ies, there was a number of sambagroups like “Ouro sobre azul – Gold on blue”, “Baianinhas de Oswaldo Cruz – the little girls of Bahia from Oswaldo Cruz” or “quem fala de nós come mosca – those who talk about us, will regret it”. In 1935 most of these groups united to form the Portela escola de samba. Portela has participated in the Special Group’s parade ever since and won the parade for 21 times. 2008 it came 4th.¹⁴² However, it has been without a first place for decades. Some members sustain that this is due to a certain lack of support in the community because of its growing commercialization and with the opening up to outside participants and tourists for whom the entertainment aspect is obviously much more important than the escola’s ranking.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ “Lourenço Madureira deve ter deixado fama no lugar, para justificar a ligação de seu nome ao futuro arrabalde carioca. É possível que as questões em que se viu metido, provocadas pela viúva de seu senhorio. d. Rosa Maria dos Santos, e que provocaram sua expulsão das terras que ocupava, o tenham transformado em herói cultural”. Vasconcellos Francisco: Império Serrano: Primeiro Decênio, p 26.

¹⁴² Homepage of Portela Escola de Samba: www.gresportela.com.br

¹⁴³ Joci clay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, conversation in Jan. 2008

*Jogo feito, banca forte,
Qual foi o bicho que deu,
Deu Águia, símbolo da sorte
Pois vinte vezes venceu*

...

*E o povo na rua cantando
É feito uma reza, um ritual
É a procissão do samba abençoando
A festa do divino carnaval
Portela é a deusa do samba, o passado
revela
E tem a velha guarda como sentinela*

...

*Salve o samba, salve a santa, salve ela
Salve o manto azul e branco da portela
Desfilando triunfal sobre o altar do carnaval*

*The game is done, the bank is strong,
What animal came on top,
It was the eagle, the symbol of luck,
Already twenty times it won¹⁴⁴*

...

*That's folks on the streets singing
Like in a prayer, in a ritual
That's the samba procession blessing
The festivities of divine carnival
Portela is the goddess of carnival, her pasts
reveals
And there is the velha guarda as a guard*

...

*Hail to samba, hail to the saint, hail to her
Hail to the blue and white flag of Portela
Parading in a triumph on Samba's altar¹⁴⁵*

Colours: Blue and White

Symbol: The Eagle

Carnival Plot 2008: “Reconstruindo a natureza, recriando a vida: o sonho vira realidade” – “Restoring nature, recreating life: the dream becomes reality”.

Members parading: 4.600¹⁴⁶

Carnival Floats: 7

Tradição originally was part of the Portela escola. However, after a 1984 dispute between Nézio Nascimento, a descendant of the Portela school founder, and its then president, Carlinhos Maracanã, this new escola was founded. Nascimento wanted to re-focus the school on its traditions. Today, Tradição is in the Group B and stands little chances to compete with its mother school¹⁴⁷.

Colours: Light-Blue, Dark-Blue, White, Gold and Silver.

Symbol: The condor.

Carnival Plot 2008: “Isto sim que é a Tradição – Yes, this really is our Tradição - Tradition”.

¹⁴⁴ Pun on the animals' lottery and the eagle, the animal symbol of Portela escola

¹⁴⁵ Clara Nunes - Portela Na Avenida (song by Mauro Duarte e Paulo César Pinheiro)

¹⁴⁶ Portela parade 2008. Source: Jornal da Associação Commercial de Madureira number 3 January 2008.

¹⁴⁷ Jornal da Associação Commercial de Madureira number 3 January 2008.

Império Serrano originally was part of the now extinct escola de samba “Prazer da Serrinha”. She was founded in 1947.¹⁴⁸ There is a special and important nucleus, the so-called *Jongo da Serrinha*, a group that still holds up the *jongo*, a traditional dance imported from the Congo-Angola area, with Bantu slaves. This music and dance was a common basis for festivities in the plantations in the Rio de Janeiro state hinterland. Liberated slaves brought them to Rio and with their expulsions from the town center and the dock area, starting in the 1930ies, the *jongo* went up the *morro*, the hills, together with the Afro-Brazilian population.

It was present in most *morros* until the middle of the last century, and most sambeiros war jongueiros as well. However, it managed to survive mostly in Serrinha due to a different approach. Instead of keeping it strictly within the families and reserved to the elders, in the 1960ies the *Jongo da Serrinha* movement was created to propagate it more widely and to teach it to the young. Also Serrinha was farther away from the town centre and traditional rural customs such as the *jongo* therefore resisted better. Today the *Jongo* movement in Serrinha also invests in a NGO to cater for youths, education and the passing on of the *Jongo* tradition.¹⁴⁹

In 2008 Império Serrano managed to win the Accession Group parade and will therefore parade with the Special Group next year. Nevertheless, Império is certainly the poorer of the Madureira two big escolas, partially because it is firmly rooted in Serrinha, a very poor neighbourhood. Some people also allege that the north part of town was mostly settled by former slaves from the Vale do Paraíba coffee plantations. These Afro-Brazilians are supposed to be of mostly Angola-area origin and relatively humble people, as they had very little access to education. In Rio downtown there were mostly liberated slaves settled there a long time before, after the Paraguayan war. These are supposed to be mostly “Sudanese-area” origin and better educated. The founder of Portela claimed to be a descendent of this last group and he made a big effort to inspire pride of their culture and roots to the Portela people.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Homepage of Império Serrano Escola de Samba www.imperioserrano.com.br

¹⁴⁹ “O Jongo da Serrinha”, CD-Book, Grupo Cultural Jongo da Serrinha, 2001

¹⁵⁰ Conversation with Onésio Meirelles, Feb. 2008

Colours: Green and White

Symbol: The Crown

Carnival Plot 2008: “Taí eu fiz tudo para você gostar de mim – There you see: I did everything for you to like me”. This tribute to the famous Brazilian actor and singer Carmem Miranda had been the theme of the 1972 parade and was restaged 2008.

Members participating: 2.500¹⁵¹

Carnival Floats: 5

Serrinha

É o império do samba chegando

É o povo te homenageando

Te escolhendo como a preferida

Serrinha

Que, no meio de tanta riqueza,

É uma dama da alta nobreza

No cortejo real da avenida

...

Tens tradição

És imortal

Sobre as cores verde e branco

Repousa a coroa do Império sobre o carnaval

Mesmo quando perde, o povo grita

*É vencedor*¹⁵²

...

Serrinha

Here it comes, the empire of samba

And here people pay you their respect

Making you their favorite

Serrinha

In the middle of such riches

You are the noble lady

In the avenida's royal parade

...

You have tradition

You are immortal

On the colors green and white

Rests the crown of Carnival

Even if you lose, your people shout

You are our winner

...

7.2.4 Preparation of the Parades

“Pra tudo se acabar na quinta-feira” –

*For all of this to end on (Ash-)Wednesday*¹⁵³

In my second trip to Rio de Janeiro, in January 2008, I followed the preparations for the parade of the special group's escolas. It is important to show how complex and time-consuming this process is. In fact, the preparations are not limited to the Carnival period, but occupy some members of the escola for most of the year and the

¹⁵¹ Jornal da Associação Commercial de Madureira number 3 January 2008.

¹⁵² Clara Nunes: Serrinha (samba)

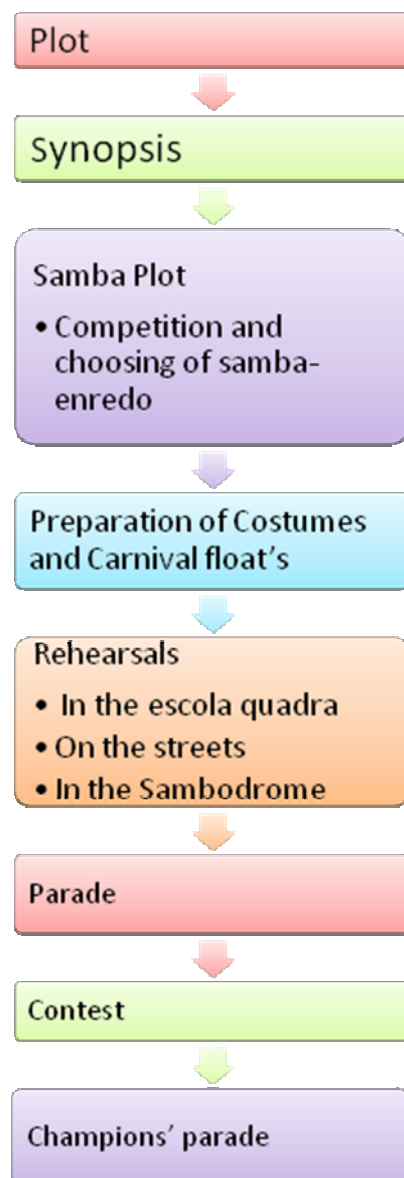
¹⁵³ Title of Vila Isabel's samba-enredo in 1984

great majority of them for months. Compared to a *Baile Funk*, the parade's preparation is a much more complex process and produces a number of important events in their own right.

Scheme Samba School Rio de Janeiro

Third Samba International Meeting Rio de Janeiro January 2008

Lecture with Mr. Amarildo Mello - Costume Carnival Designer



Starting on Ash Wednesday - after the parade, the contest, and then the Champions' parade on the weekend after Carnival - the analyses of the last year's parade, its

strengths and weaknesses, and the elaboration of next year's parade begin.¹⁵⁴ The first thing is to dismount the carnival floats and to prepare them for recycling. Many of them are made of old trucks.

The first step to a new parade is to invent and choose a plot. The idea is to tell a story or a situation that is important to Brazilians' lives. The plot is the main theme of what the escola will present for the parade. An important point is to choose a plot that motivates a sponsor to co-finance the parade, at times with millions of reais – sometimes it is a sponsor who proposes the plot and its financing to an escola. This was the case for example when the Rio city administration co-financed Portela's parade on the Panamerican Games in Rio or the Recife city administration co-financed a plot on this North-eastern city's typical dance, the frevo. This financial support is very important for the preparation of the expensive costumes for star participants such as the standard bearers and for the construction of the carnival floats.

Normally it is the *carnevalesco*, the “costume and wing designer”, together with the escola's management who decide about the best plot. The *carnevalesco* is responsible for developing the plot through the creation of themes for the wings and the respective costumes and carnival floats.

On the basis of the plot a synopsis is elaborated. This has to be submitted to Liesa until the end of July. A synopsis is a leaflet summarizing the important elements of the plot, usually including a description of the theme's relevance and historical aspects, but also a first sketch of the different scenes and wings that will represent the theme.

On the basis of the synopsis the composers' wing of the escola is then invited to compose a number of *samba-enredos* or *samba-plots*. This starts a contest in the escola's *quadra* to choose the best *samba-enredo* for the year's carnival. This

¹⁵⁴ Most information about the parades' preparations taken from a lecture by Amarildo Mello, a Carnival Costume Designer or *Carnavalesco*, during the third international encounter on Samba, Rio de Janeiro, 28 to 30 January 2008 and from other conversations with escola directors.

contest can last between 8 to 12 weeks. It usually takes place in the beginning of the austral spring, i.e. August to October.

When the samba-*enredo* is chosen, the rehearsals in the escola's *quadra* start. These are important to adapt the samba-*enredo* to the *bateria*, the drums orchestra. About two months before the carnival, the rehearsals also take place in the *Sambodrome*. This is the moment the sambaschool's members sing the samba-*enredo* together with the drums to test the timing for the parade. For the special group the parading through the *Sambodrome* lasts a maximum of 85 minutes – any minute of overtime will result in negative points for the contest.

There are three kinds of rehearsals in very different locations:

- **Rehearsals in the *quadra*, the samba school court:** These rehearsals present the samba *enredo* to members and brings in money for the escola to prepare for the parade through entrance fees and the selling of food and drinks, but also shirts and souvenirs;
- **Rehearsals on the streets:** These normally happen in the district where the escola comes from. It is the first opportunity for the escolas' members in their wings to combine dancing and singing and check on the timing for the parade in the *Sambodrome*.
- **Rehearsals in the *Sambodrome*:** about a month before the parade, the special group's escolas make rehearsals in the *Sambodrome* to make final adjustments to the dancing, singing and timing of the parade in the real venue.

During this period and again on the basis of the synopsis, the carnevalesco begin to draw the first sketches for the costumes and the carnival floats that will be followed by prototypes. The carnevalescos need to search for adequate materials and strike an adequate balance between cost and visual effect, but also the weight and practicability of the costumes. Of course, only a costume that allows the bearer to dance and move in it, sometimes in pouring rain or great heat, is viable for the parade.

For the preparation of the costumes, there are two different sewing studios, one for luxury costumes and another for “ordinary” wings costumes. The luxury costumes are very expensive and produced in small numbers, e.g. for the *comissão de frente* – Opening Committee, *mestre-sala e porta-bandeira* – Master of Ceremony and Standard-Bearer and *destaques* – stand-out performers. The wings costumes are much simpler and cheaper and made by the hundreds.

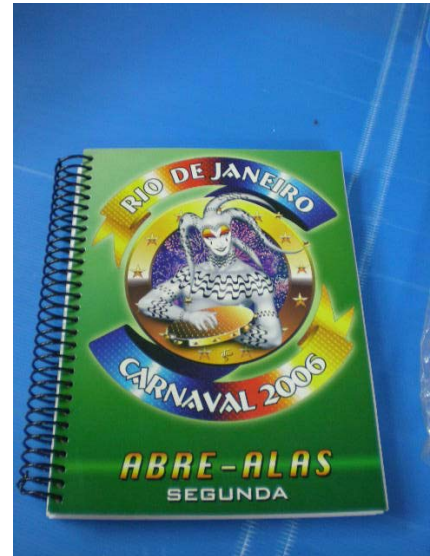
In the past the carnival floats were constructed in the *barracões*, big and simple hangars. These *barracões* were far away from the *Sambodrome* and many carnival floats were damaged already before the parade on the way there. Today the carnival floats are built in the *cidade do samba* – the so-called city of samba - where each special group *escola* has its hangar. This place is relatively close to the *sambodrome*.

In late autumn the CD “Sambas de *Enredo* of the year x” with all samba *enredos* of the special group will be recorded. Normally, for marketing reasons, it is released before Christmas. The idea is to give people a help to prepare for the year’s parade and to give them a chance to sing with the *escolas* during the rehearsals and also in the *Sambodrome* during the parades. These sambas will be played a lot on radio and on TV and in particular the Brazilians living outside Rio who intend to parade usually buy it to prepare for their time in the *Sambodrome*.

Each special group *escola* is obliged to present a script, the *Abre-Alas*,¹⁵⁵ to the *Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba*¹⁵⁶ before the parade. It is the *Liga* that organises the contest “The Best Samba School of the year”. This script is a detailed description of the plot that the *escola* will present in the *Sambodrome*. It contains the costumes of each sambaschool wing, a description of the carnival floats themes and the sequence of the parade. On the basis of this script and more importantly the sambaschool’s performance in the *Sambodrome*, the jury will evaluate and give scores.

¹⁵⁵ See annex for an example.

¹⁵⁶ *Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba* – Independent Association of Samba Schools.



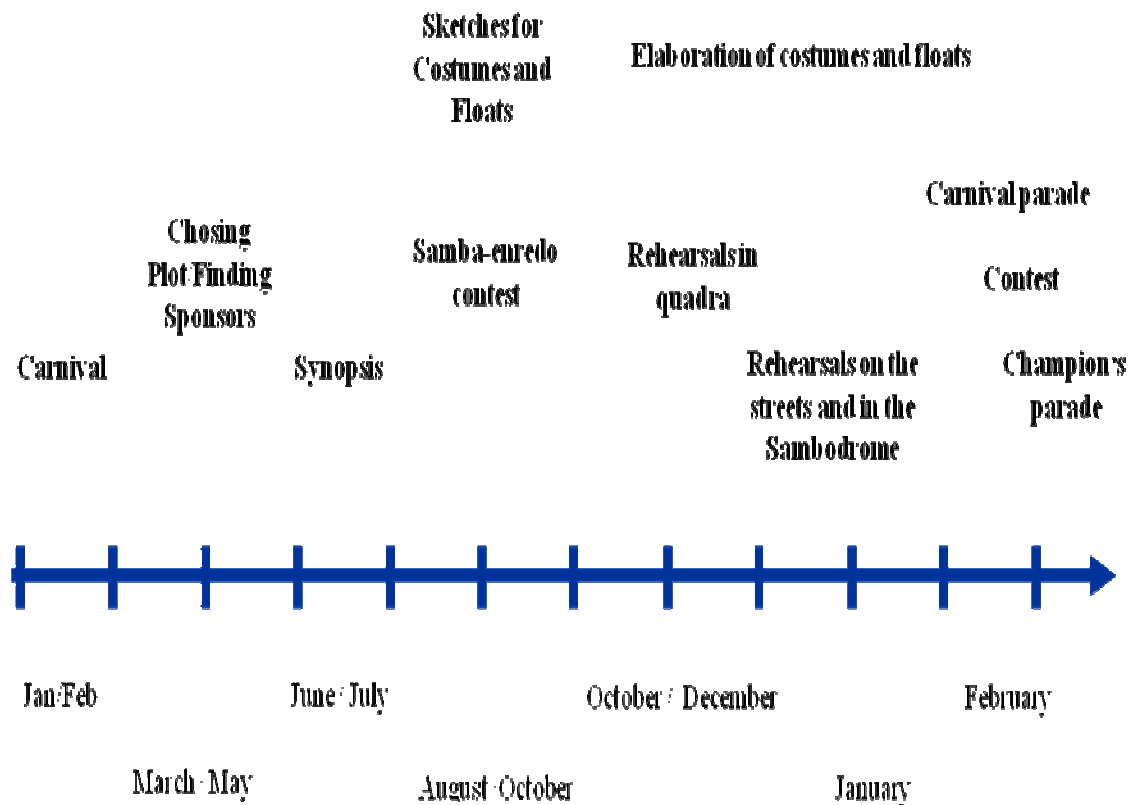
Script: Workshop of Samba
Adriana Ribeiro January 2008

Of course, the parade is the high moment for the escolas. Normally it takes place at night, because of the heat during the day and the light effects, on the last Sunday and Monday of Carnival. There are very strict rules to follow to win the contest (see chapter on the escola competition below).

The contest's evaluation is on Ash Wednesday, in the afternoon, also in the *Sambodrome*. It is a public event, organized by Liesa, with supporting crowds and broadcast live. The scores from each jury member are announced and summed up to the final score. The samba school with the highest score – in practice the fewest minus points - is declared the year's winner. Winning the contest is very important not so much for artistic reasons, but for prestige and economic reasons as a lot of TV and sponsor contracts come with it.

On Saturday after carnival the champions' parade with the six first placed samba schools from the special group. With this parade the year's carnival officially finishes – and next year's starts.

Escola Preparations for the Parade during the Year



7.2.4.1 Cidade do Samba – Samba City

“...four suggestions: upgrade the Sambodrome lighting system; offer more incentives to the independent samba groups; establish a Carnival Museum; and above all build a permanent samba complex near the Docklands.”¹⁵⁷

With the inauguration of the *Sambodrome* the function of the Carnival floats changed: From simple opening attraction they became, over time, elaborated stage-sets on

¹⁵⁷ “...quatro sugestões: melhorar a qualidade de iluminação do Sambódromo; dar mais incentivo aos blocos independentes; criar um Museu de Carnival e, o principal delas, a construção de um espaço definitivo para o samba, na Zona Portuária”, Joãozinho Trinta (Carnavalesco) in *Lies News*, Number 5 of 2006

which to perform a major theme of the parade. Their numbers increased (today the rules allow eight floats per escola) and the floats became ever bigger and more sophisticated. All of this increased radically the requirements for their construction and in particular for the construction facilities.

During the 1960ies the floats were still built in make-shift shed-like barracões in the communities. This construction on the spot had the advantage to involve a lot of people from the community. However, it also had serious drawbacks for the workers, as there were almost no safety provisions. Fires and collapses were a permanent danger.

Another serious problem was the transportation of the finished carnival floats to the parades' venues: this included sometimes dozens of kilometres through heavy traffic. Accidents and breakdowns were common, sometimes the floats broke and were abandoned in the middle of major streets.

In the 1970ies the city of Rio gave the escolas the opportunity to use the then abandoned São Cristovão Pavilion (a sort of a stadion) to prepare the floats there. However, due to the poor conditions of the place, again fires and accidents were common and most escolas moved to warehouses in the Docklands during the 1980ies. These had the advantage to be close to the *Sambodrome*, limiting the problem of transportation to the parades.¹⁵⁸

With the increasing institutionalisation and commercialisation of Samba after the inauguration of the *Sambodrome*, the parades' importance for Rio and its tourism industry grew. Finally, the City of Rio decided to construct permanent facilities for the escolas, both for them to construct the floats in better conditions and to offer tourists a year-round attraction about samba and Carnival: the Cidade do Samba – Samba City. This is located comfortably close to the *Sambodrome* and in an area, Gamboa, that is considered one of the cradles of Samba. For it was once a place of slave-trading and then mostly inhabited by Afro-Brazilians working in the docks.

¹⁵⁸ Liesa News, Number 5 of 2006, special edition on the Cidade do Samba

The site, which is the size of ten football pitches (not all of it used as yet) hosts the construction hangars for all special group escolas. Even the surrounding streets were modified to allow the passage of the bigger floats. There is also a stage and bars and small restaurants to cater for weekly Carnival shows for tourists and for the workers during the rest of the week.

Map of the Rio downtown with the Sambodrome

Source: Rio de Janeiro Cartoplan 2008.

On the map: line rose is the sambodrome



Construction conditions for the floats have thus improved markedly. However, the preparation of the floats of all major escolas in close-by hangars is not without problems. Towards the end of the construction most escolas try to hide their floats from rival escolas to avoid espionage and even sabotage. Another problem is that only the members of the special group are given a place in the Cidade do Samba. If an escola loses its place in this group, it also loses its place in Cidade do Samba and has to look for construction premises elsewhere.

7.2.5 The Sambodrome

*Que saudade
Da Praça Quinze e dos grandes carnavais
Antigo reduto de bambas,
Onde todos curtiam o verdadeiro samba*¹⁵⁹

*Oh, how I miss
Praça Quinze and the great Carnivals
Former hideaway of the real sambistas,
Where all enjoyed the real samba*

At the beginning of the 20th century there were numerous carnival groups parading on the streets of Rio. They usually received financing from shopowners and businesspeople. In the beginning a big square in a run-down area in downtown Rio, Praça Onze, was the privileged venue of the parading. This was partly due to the fact that at the time most of the people living there and in its vicinity were Afro-Brazilians.

However, in 1930, due to the general economic crisis the state had to provide most of the financing. Until this date there was no big distinction between Carnival groups and escolas de samba. This difference started to become important with state financing, as the escolas de samba were the biggest beneficiaries of this money.

With the traditional parades of Grandes Sociedades and Ranchos *Carnavalescos* in decline, in 1957 the escolas' parade took their place in the noble arena of Rio Carnival: Presidente Vargas in the financial and burocratic district. This obviously increased the distance between mere Carnival groups and the Escolas de samba.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ „E o Samba sambou“, samba enredo, São Clemente, 1990

¹⁶⁰ Hiram Araújo, study material for University classes on Carnival

Only four years later, due to its huge success the escolas' parade was moved to an even more noble location: Avenida Rio Branco, a central thoroughway. Already at this time Rio's intellectuals started to take interest in this growing social phenomenon. In the 1960ies Rio's middle class discovered the escolas and their parades as an event worth assisting and participating.

1976 is generally seen as the year when luxury definitely took over the parades, with the famous artistic director of the Beija-Flor Escola de samba, João Trinta, staging the first in a row of very luxurious parades. This new richness was the result of increased funding of the parade by the illegal street lottery, the animal's game *jogo do bicho*, where the mostly illiterate players bet on an animal. The bosses of this lottery – usually one per neighbourhood – used their investment in the escolas both to gather support in their neighbourhood and to launder money.

With the parade's increasing success and growth a long discussion about finding a fixed venue for the escolas' parade started. However, in the words of Hiram Araújo, artistic director of Liesa: "there was not yet a commercial vision, and thus the Escolas de samba would have to wait another twenty years for the building of the *Sambodrome*"¹⁶¹.

Of course, with the growing audience numbers, the mounting and dismounting of stalls and other facilities became increasingly time-consuming and wasteful.¹⁶² Also fixed installations could provide much more comfort for visitors and consequently higher entrance-fees could be charged.

The *Sambodrome* that was finally inaugurated in 1984 was built mostly with public money. It is an arena 650 meters long and with a capacity for approximately 90 000 spectators. It is administered by the special group's escolas' *Liga* and the administration of the city of Rio de Janeiro (details see below).

¹⁶¹ "Ainda não tinha visão comercial e as escolas de samba tiveram de esperar mais vinte anos para a construção do sambodromo", conversation with Dr. Hiram Araújo in September 2007

¹⁶² Idem

The inauguration of the *Sambodrome* revolutionized the parades: The main parades were divided in two nights (in addition there are the accession group parade before and the champions' parade afterwards) which meant that each escola had more time and a fixed slot, but also that the number of tickets on sale automatically doubled. In addition, the costly mounting and dismounting of stalls ended.

The new venue with a grandiose stadium gave the spectacle a new impetus to become ever bigger and more refined. Also the administration of the parades became more professional with the creation of the Liga *Independente das Escolas de Samba* that caters exclusively for the special group escolas.¹⁶³

*Vejam só!
O jeito que o samba ficou ... e sambou
Nosso povão ficou fora da jogada
Nem lugar na arquibancada
Ele tem mais pra ficar ...*¹⁶⁴

*Now look here!
How my samba became ... it sambad
Our people remained outside this game
Not even a seat on the stalls
It has to assist*

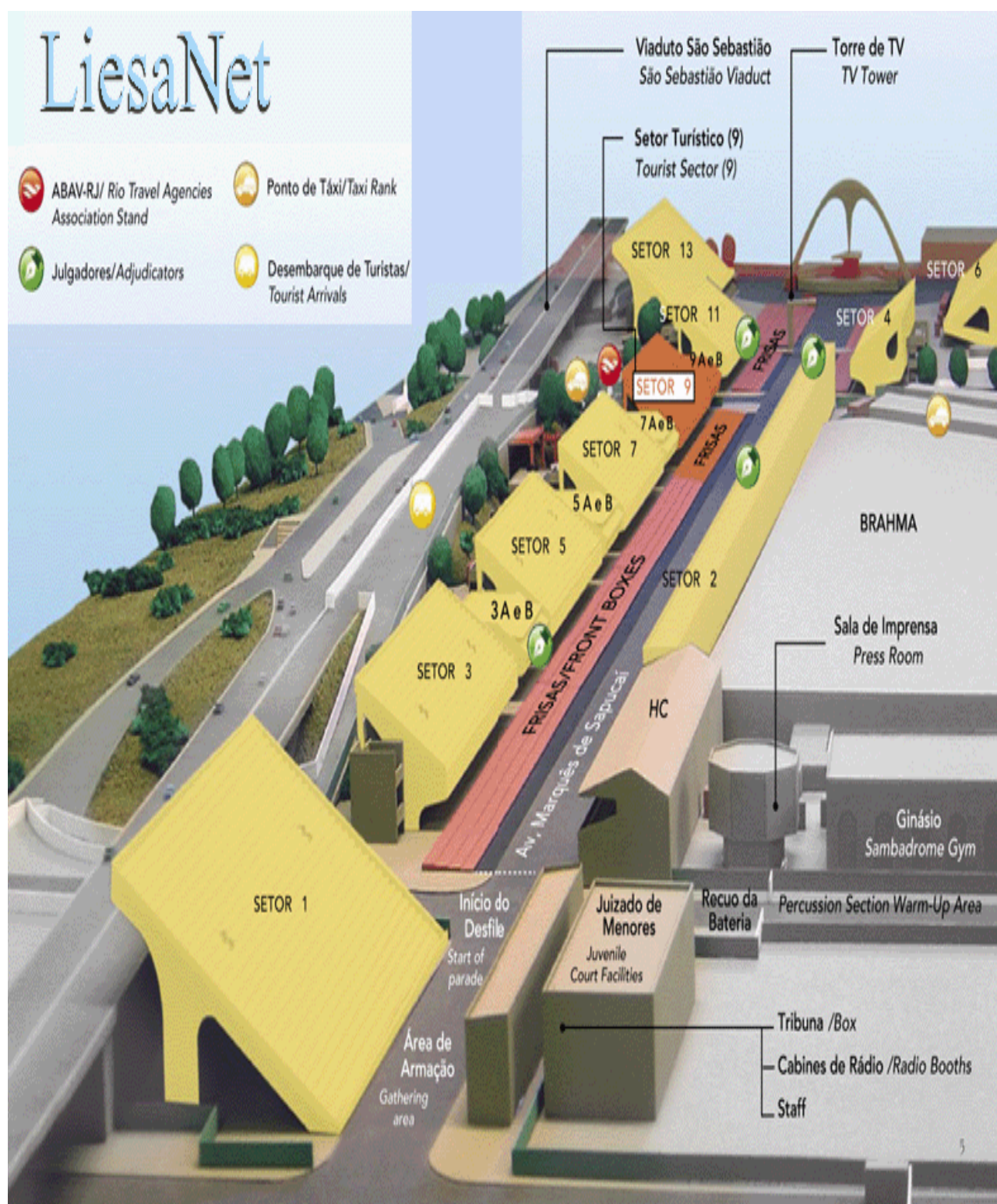
The building of stalls has an important side-effect for the audience, apart from the entrance fees: the perspective changes, the audience is farther away from the people parading and the parade is watched from an elevated point, from top to bottom. At the same time, the escolas became more competitive: more sophisticated costumes, a more elaborated general theme, the introduction of a growing number of carnival floats etc.

Each special group escola today has a minimum of 65 and maximum 80 minutes¹⁶⁵ for parading through the *Sambodrome*. The moment one school reaches the end of the avenue, the next will already be warming up in the concentration area that is situated on both sides of the entrance to the *Sambodrome* on a major thoroughway (closed off for the occasion). This way there is only about a quarter of an hour of interval between the different escolas.

¹⁶³ Hiram Araújo, study material for University classes on Carnival

¹⁶⁴ "E o samba sambou", Samba-enredo, São Clemente, 1990

¹⁶⁵ Rules of escola de samba Special Group Carnival 2008, article nineteen, homepage of Liesa www.liesa.com.br.



Source: homepage of Liesa www.liesa.com.br

The day after the second night of parading, on Ash Wednesday a numerous jury nominated predominantly by Liesa, during a several hours long public ceremony that is broadcast live on the major TV stations, gives points according to criteria established by the escolas (see also chapter “competition”). The Escola de samba

getting most points is declared the year's winning school. This obviously leads to lots of partying in the winning schools taking place even after Carnival. On Saturday night after Carnival the winning escolas will return to the *Sambodrome* for the "Champions' parade" that follows the usual pattern of parading.

7.2.6 The competition: "the best Escola de Samba of the year"

As early as 1935 clear rules for the parading and a competition were introduced. Over time and as winning the competition became ever more important, in particular commercially, these rules and the competition criteria became ever stricter.

The Special Group's parade is very different from the more or less spontaneous Carnival playing taking place elsewhere. One of the main reasons is that it has become a very competitive event. The final ranking in this competition is very important for an escola, both for its prestige and for financial reasons.

This importance is reflected by the rules that govern this competition. These are voted by simple majority by the escolas that are part of Liesa. For the year 2008 they contain no less than fifty articles that attempt to legally define all possible aspects of the parade and its evaluation.^{166 167} They also confer a decisive role to Liesa and in particular its president in all decisions relating to the competition and its evaluation.

The tourism authority of Rio – RIOTUR – is responsible for the preparation and the maintenance of the *Sambodrome*, whereas Liesa reserves itself the exclusive right on all artistic and competition decisions.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the artistic direction of the parades is composed by Liesa's president, its vice-president and its director of Carnival. This body in turn heads the Commissions guiding and checking all technical aspects: the

¹⁶⁶ Regulamento Específico dos desfiles das escolas de samba do grupo especial da Liesa, Carnaval/2008, on Liesa homepage

¹⁶⁷ No rules could be found by the author for the Accession Group, Grupo A, nor for any other group.

¹⁶⁸ Regulamento Específico dos desfiles das escolas de samba do grupo especial da Liesa, Carnaval/2008, on Liesa homepage, Art. 2 and 3

Commissions for the Formation, the Time-controlling, the Dissolution and the Compliance with the Ruling's Obligations.¹⁶⁹

The Commission for the formation for example verifies the good shape of the formation area according to a pre-established timetable and has to report on this. It establishes dates and hours of the removal of the floats from their *barracão*, the way to the *Sambodrome* and their arrival there.¹⁷⁰

The rules for the other Commissions are equally detailed. Non-compliance can result in a fine of up to 45 000 Reais (about 20 000 Euros) to be applied by Liesa's director.¹⁷¹

Each parade shall last no less than 65 and no more than 80 minutes. An escola starting to warm up early or exceeding these limits is sanctioned by a loss of 0,2 points per minute outside these limits (which, given the small distances between the escolas in the final score, can be decisive).¹⁷²

The rules also establish certain mandatory or forbidden components of a parade, thereby shaping its set-up:¹⁷³

- A minimum of 200 members of the *bateria*;
- A minimum of 100 *baianas* (bahia dancers);
- A minimum of five and a maximum of 8 carnival floats;
- Between 10 and 15 members for the opening committee;
- No living animals, no wind-instruments and no participants showing their sexes are allowed;
- No merchandising (exceptions for the float movers). Infringement of this point is most heavily punished, with a deduction of up to two full points (which sometimes is enough to result in an escola's demotion).

There are also recommendations such as a total number of between 2 500 and 4 500 participants per escola or the maximum size of the Carnival floats.

¹⁶⁹ Liesa rules, Art. 7

¹⁷⁰ Idem Art. 12

¹⁷¹ Idem Art. 18, Art. 25

¹⁷² Idem art. 22

¹⁷³ Idem art. 26

The evaluation of the parades is carried out by a total of forty judges, four for each criterion. All of the judges are nominated by Liesa's president.¹⁷⁴ Liesa also edits a judge's manual for the evaluation.

The criteria which usually do not change a lot from one year to the next were the following in 2008:

- Samba song – “*samba enredo*”
- Percussion orchestra – “*bateria*”
- Movement in the Sambodrome – “*harmonia*”
- Representation – “*evolução*”
- Plot – “*enredo*”
- General impression/overall picture – “*conjunto*”
- Carnival Floats – “*adereços e alegorias*”
- Costumes – “*fantasias*”
- Opening Committee – “*comissão de frente*”
- Master of Ceremony and Standard Bearer – “*mestre de sala e porta-bandeira*”

Failure to present one of these criteria can result in a vote of 0 points, which in effect most likely means demotion of the escola in question.¹⁷⁵

Votes are given between 7 and 10 points, with fractions allowed and very often used.¹⁷⁶

The public choosing of the year's winner usually takes place in the sambodrome, in Apotheose square, on 15 hrs on Ash-Wednesday by a Commission composed of the highest representatives of Liesa and Riotur.¹⁷⁷ It is broadcast live on the major national TV stations.

Todas as escolas são belas

All escolas are beautiful

¹⁷⁴ Liesa rules, art. 28 and 29

¹⁷⁵ Idem art. 35

¹⁷⁶ Idem art. 32

¹⁷⁷ Liesa rules, art. 33 and 34

¹⁷⁸ “O que há Portela?” samba, Luiz Ayrão

*E eu queiro todas elas
Com muito respeito e amor
Mas Portela é uma águia altaneira
Não pode voar a vida inteira
Mais baixo que um beija-flor*

...

*Quando vem o resultado
Sai da frente
Portelense doente
Eu quero só é brigar
Portela não há nervos que aturem
Ponha o olho na juri
Senão desse jeito não dá*

...

*Ninguém segura a Portela
É nosso o primeiro lugar¹⁷⁸*

*And I like all of them
With a lot of respect and love
But Portela is an eagle up in the skies
It cannot fly all its life
Lower than a colibri¹⁷⁹*

...

*When the result comes out
Out of my way
A fervent Portelense
All I want is to fight
Portela! How will my nerves hold
Keep a close eye on the jury
If not, we won't make it*

...

*Nobody shall block Portela's way
The first place is ours*

The rules also foresee that the one winning escola of the group A will change places with the last placed escola of the special group for the next Carnival.¹⁸⁰

The rules for the Champions' parade on Saturday night after Carnival contain explicit financial rules. After the deduction of Liesa's administration fee of 5 %, 40 % of all entrance fees are distributed equally among the six highest-ranked special group escolas, the rest of the money goes disproportionally to the best placed schools.¹⁸¹

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7.3 Performative Aspects of Samba and the Escolas' Parades

¹⁷⁹ The eagle is the animal symbol of Portela, the Colibri that of rival escola Beija-Flor

¹⁸⁰ Liesa rules, art. 46

¹⁸¹ Idem art. 43

¹⁸² No mentioning is made in the rules or elsewhere on Liesa's homepage on the division of the money from TV rights and entrance fees etc. for the main parades of the Special Group.

É fantástico!
Virou Hollywood isso aqui (isso aqui)
Luzes, câmeras e som
*Mil artistas na Sapucaí*¹⁸³

It's amazing
This here became Hollywood (yes indeed)
lights, cameras and sound
A thousand artists in the Sapucaí

The most visible samba performances in Rio are the sambaschool parades. However, in addition the escolas organize numerous rehearsals and other events almost year round where samba shows and dancing also are the main attraction.

During the parades the escola components dance to a *samba-enredo*. Such a samba-plot can be interpreted as an archtypical “musical work that exists in order to give performers something to perform”, to say it in the words of Cook.¹⁸⁴ For a *samba-enredo* is composed to present the different wings or elements of a parade that together represent the parades theme. It exists in order to name and give rhythm to the wings’ choreographies and the components’ dancing.

This dancing consists above all of an accentuated hip movement and the typical samba steps: One foot moves forward left, the other one forward right and so on. For the parades this body movement is very quick, partly due to the parade’s strict time limit. However, Turner interpreted this wild and rapid gyrating as a reminder of the Afro-Brazilian rituals, *Umbanda and Candomblé*, that are closely linked to the birth of Samba. For him, vertigo and trance are elements that can be achieved through gyrating and rapid dancing.¹⁸⁵

Sensuality is another central element of the dance. In fact, Rio became known for this dancing of the escola *mulatas*. The sensual hip movement has belonged to Afro-Brazilian dancing since a long time ago. It has been handed down through all of the major Afro-Brazilian dances, following the line lundu, maxixe and samba.

¹⁸³ „E o Samba sambou“, *samba-enredo*, São Clemente, 1990

¹⁸⁴ Martin Robert L.: *Musical Works in the Words of Performers and Listners*, in Michael Krausz, ed.: *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993 quoted in Cook p. 3

¹⁸⁵ Turner Victor: *The Anthropology of Performance*, p. 127 and 130

Maxixe was a dance that was very popular in Rio in the 1920ies, especially in the dance hall and gafieiras¹⁸⁶. It is a dance with a couple making sensual movements. Muniz Sodré explains that “together with the syncopation of lundu, maxixe aggregated and enlarged the voluptuous elements of other sensual dances in a very excited choreography”¹⁸⁷. Maxixe was the predecessor of samba. There still are gafieiras in Rio downtown, in the “Praça Tiradentes”. The most famous one is the “Estudentina”.

Another very important point is the syncopation. It consists of a rhythmic alteration of a sound in a strong time and a weak time. However, the strong beat is suspended, and the weak accentuated. Samba is a polymeter, layered over a 2/4 structure.¹⁸⁸

Muniz Sodré writes in his book, *Samba o dono do corpo* that the Brazilian syncopation is a form of African resistance in Brazil. When all their festivities were forbidden for the slaves, they accepted the European tonal system and at same time broke its stability through the syncopation.¹⁸⁹

Barbara Browning also insists on the special importance of this syncopation for samba dancing: ...”the strong beat is suspended, the weak accentuated. This suspension leaves the body with a hunger that can only be satisfied by filling the silence with motion. Samba, the dance, cannot exist without the suppression of a strong beat”.¹⁹⁰

The body movement in the escola parade is a very important performative aspect to analyze. During the parade’s eighty minutes, the escola components are not allowed to stop to move their bodies. The diretores de harmonia will control them, their rhythm and dancing and make them move on according to the planned timing of the parade.

¹⁸⁶ A place to dance “dança de salão”.

¹⁸⁷ “O maxixe, acionado pela sincopa e pelo dengo do lundu, sintetizava e amplificava os elementos voluptuosos de outras danças, de marcada sensualidade, não havia coreografia alguma, mas libido desenfreada.” Sodré Muniz: *Samba o dono do corpo*, page 32.

¹⁸⁸ Browning Barbara: *Samba resistance in motion*, 1995, page 9.

¹⁸⁹ Sodré Muniz: *O Samba o dono do corpo*, page 25.

¹⁹⁰ Browning Barbara: *Samba resistance in motion*, 1995, page 9.

In the past, the *passistas* were free to dance samba and “dizer no pé”, speak by foot. Old pictures collected in the National Archive in Rio (see appendix), of Portela and Império Serrano parades during the seventies, show that the *passistas* were still relatively free to dance samba spontaneously and to express their feelings and messages by “speaking with their feet”.

Today the situation is different. Due especially to the commercialization, the bigger special group *escolas* have turned to producing a show with impressive pictures for the audience in the *Sambodrome* and in front of the TV. Therefore, the components perform choreographies designed for each wing according to the *escola*’s plot. To achieve these uniform pictures of a whole wing performing the same choreography a long period of rehearsals is needed. These rehearsals teach the components how to dance in their respective wing, thereby obviously limiting their freedom and spontaneity during the parade.

The official 2008 *escola* parade DVD clearly shows this fact: the Viradouro parade that was considered the most innovative and daring was almost fully choreographed and most components did not dance samba any more. For instance, there was a wing with components dressed as penguins. During the whole parade, this wing was walking through the *sambodrome* exactly like penguins – which is obviously some way from the traditional sensual samba dancing.

Increasingly the *Escola* components become actors in the parade, using their bodies to perform a choreography according to an ever more detailed plot. This way, the special group parades have become a show similar to a musical or an opera. Interestingly though, even here a lot of Afro-Brazilian elements are kept: the story is told not by acting in small groups or by the lyrics of different songs, but rather in big groups, the *alas*, through the dancing and the costumes of the wings.

The show character of the parades therefore even changed the way samba is danced: For Muniz Sodré the traditional “samba no pé” of women *passistas* has given way to a “danced theatre” with feathers and glitter and a gymnastical or explicitly erotic dancing.¹⁹¹ The body in this latter case becomes itself the main

¹⁹¹ Sodré Muniz: O Samba o dono do corpo, page 53.

message which is reduced to beauty and sensuality, whereas in the former case its movements are used to transmit the performer's feelings.

For many therefore the more informal Intendente Magalhães parades are a better way to play carnival than the parades in the *Sambodrome*: "There is the original and traditional carnival, like in the 1970ies. The true carnival from the suburbs where people do not need to pay a costume nor an entrance fee to participate."¹⁹²

In the Intendente Magalhães the components are still allowed to dance samba and play. The sambaschools are there to play carnival with the participation of the people of the suburbs. In the *Sambodrome*, only some hand-picked *passistas* are still allowed to solo-dance samba in front of the TV-cameras.

The special group samba parade, due to its – widely medialised - show character and accordingly ever stricter rules, has moved – in Schechner's terms – from the play to the ritual. It is no longer a play, where the individual component makes his own rules. Here components have to obey rules that are given, the parades are strictly programmed: the components have to submit to forces other than oneself, more like in a ritual. The "reality principle" is strong.¹⁹³ The parades in the Intendente Magalhães remained freer and closer to the play end of Schechner's spectrum.

The numerous rehearsals are usually somewhere in between: most of the *quadra* rehearsals are more like "free" parties. On the contrary, the technical rehearsals in the streets and especially in the *Sambodrome* are rehearsals in the stricter sense of the word and therefore a preparation for the parades with all its rules.

However, all parades can be seen as "plays" in the sense of Huizinga:¹⁹⁴ they stand outside people normal lifes and even though they are "not serious" – at least outside the Carnival period – they involve the players intensely (in this case for a long time before the play begins). It has its strict boundaries and rules. Finally, it results in the formation of social groupings, lasting ones in the case of the *escolas de samba*. The

¹⁹² Conversation with Onésio Meirelles, February 2008.

¹⁹³ Schechner Richard: Performance Theory, p. 15

¹⁹⁴ Huizinga Johan: Homo Ludens, p. 13

central difference is special group's amount of and respect for the rules which are increasingly imposed by commercial and media needs.

Gestures and mimic are also important elements of any samba performance. According to Muniz Sodré these elements can be traced back to a more theatre-like *batuque* that came to Brazil from the Congo-Angola area. Gestures with the arms, suggestive movements with the hips or the whole body, stops and accelerations are used to count a story or transmit a message.¹⁹⁵

Interaction between actors and audience used to be so strong in the case of Afro-Brazilian events that the distinction between them used to be blurred and change of roles frequent. With the creation of the *Sambodrome* and its stalls the distance between the two has of course greatly increased. The feed-back loop nevertheless still exists.¹⁹⁶ Firstly among the several thousands of participants of an *escola*. Secondly, between them and the audience that is well visible for all and very strong in its mimicry of the components and its continuous applause and praise or otherwise.

All in all, Waldenyr Caldas' analysis of earlier Afro-Brazilian dances still holds true: "There was no possibility for, nor did there exist any interest by the people in a rhythm, unless it was presented through choreographic movement."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Sodré Muniz: *O Samba o dono do corpo*, page 29 f.

¹⁹⁶ Fischer-Lichte Erika: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, chapter 3, p. 58 ff

¹⁹⁷ "Não era possível, e nem existia interesse popular num ritmo, se ele não se apresentasse mediante movimentos coreográficos." Caldas Waldenyr: *Iniciação à Música Popular Brasileira*, p. 16

7.3.1 Dramaturgy of the Parade



Adriana Ribeiro February 2008

Roda baiana
Levanta a poeira do chão
Roda baiana
*Nas cores do meu coração*¹⁹⁸

Turn baiana
Make the dust raise from the ground
Turn baiana
In the (esola) colours of my heart

As the bigger Escolas de samba consist of several thousand participants, they are organized in sub-structures, the so-called wings, *alas*. These *alas* are groups with the same costume and dancing figures that jointly represent one of the episodes of the Samba theme. The rules already name a number of wings that are mandatory (failure to provide them will result in loss of points in the final ranking):

- **“Ala das Baianas”**: These are Afro-Brazilian ladies of a certain age that are dressed in the formerly typical dress for African descendant women: a large wide skirt that creates a special visual effect when the ladies rotate together.
- **“Ala da Bateria”**: This is the orchestra group (270 or 350 members); usually they are organized on instrument lines. The director or *mestre de bateria* is responsible for the overall harmony of playing.
- **“A rainha da bateria”**: the queen of the orchestra. The “patron” of the *bateria*, usually a well-known actress, a top-model or a rich woman financing part of the *baterias* costumes or instruments.
- **“Ala dos puxadores ou interpretes”**: The singers and cavaco players (cavaco is a sort of a small guitar).

¹⁹⁸ “Abram alas que eu quero passar”, samba-enredo, Mangueira, 1985

- **“Comissão da Frente”**: the opening committee that will greet the audience and give a short introduction into the theme to be developed.
- **“Opening Carnival float”**: this float follows the opening group and should either introduce to the theme or to the escola itself by displaying its symbol (the eagle for Portela or the crown for Império Serrano).
- **Carnival floats**: they illustrate the high points of the parade’s theme and also serve to present the school’s stars. Normally well-known actors or football players are given the best positions on the cars. They also show off the most luxurious costumes.
- **Mestre Sala and Porta Bandeira**: a couple of distinguished dancers that will present the school and dance with its flag.
- **“Passistas”**, the samba dancers, both male and female.
- **“A Velha Guarda”**, the older generation’s group. Formerly, when the parades were still on the streets, this group used to open the parade. Nowadays, as they are relatively simply dressed in the respective school’s colours, they finish off the parade.
- **“Ala Mirim”**: the children’s wing. Formerly mandatory, to ensure the school’s continuation, today about half of the school’s have such a group participating. There even is a special “desfile mirim”, a children’s parade, in the *Sambodrome* before the big parades.

In 1984 Martinho da Vila put all this in Vila Isabel’s samba *enredo*:

*A grande paixão
que foi inspiração
de um poeta é o enredo
que emociona a velha-guarda
lá na comissão de frente
como a diretoria
glória a quem trabalha o ano inteiro
(exemplo produção)
em mutirão
são escultores, são pintores, bordadeiras
são carpinteiros, vidraceiros, costureiras
figurinista, desenhista e artesão
gente empenhada em construir a ilusão*

*The great passion
The poet’s inspiration
Was the samba enredo
That thrills the elders
There in the opening committee
And the directors as well
Hail to those who work all year round

Hand in hand and in groups
Hail to the sculptors, painters, embroiderers,
carpenters, glass-makers, dress-makers,
costume designers and craftsmen
people inspired to create this illusion*

¹⁹⁹ Pra tudo se acabar na quarta-feira (for all of this to end on Wednesday), samba enredo Unidos de Vila Isabel, 1984

*e que têm sonhos
como a velha baiana*

*que foi passista
brincou em ala
dizem que foi o grande amor de um mestre-
sala*

*o sambista é um artista
e o nosso Tom é o diretor de harmonia
o foliões são embalados
pelo pessoal da bateria
sonhos de reis, de pirata a jardineira
pra tudo se acabar na quarta-feira
mas a quaresma lá no morro é colorida
com fantasias já usadas na avenida
que são cortinas
e são bandeiras
razões pra vida
tão real da quarta-feira¹⁹⁹*

*and who have dreams
like the old baiana*

*who was a samba dancer
who played in a wing
they say she was the great love of a master
of ceremony*

*the sambista is an artist
and our Tom is our director of harmony
the merry-makers are moved on
by the guys from the drums orchestra
dreams of kings, from pirate to gardener
for all of this to end on (Ash-)Wednesday
but lent is colorful up on the hills
with costumes worn on the avenida
that greet us as curtains
and flags
reasons for the life
all too real of (Ash)-Wednesday*

7.3.1.1 Example: Sequence of the 2008 Portela Parade²⁰⁰

Theme of the Samba plot:

“Reconstructing nature, re-creating life”

Total: seven sectors, one carnival float each, 38 wings and other special groupings, such as the opening committee, the master of ceremony and the standard bearer, the *bateria* (drums orchestra), the *velha guarda* (elder members) and the children’s wing. In total about 4 600 participants parading and hundreds of helpers.

For comparison: Império Serrano, the 2008 winner of the Accession Group, had five sectors, one carnival float each, and a total of 25 wings. In total it had about 2 500 participants.

²⁰⁰ Liesa Homepage, www.liesa.globo.com

Sector 1 – Mysteries of Life

Opening Committee
The medusas' ballet

*1º Master of Ceremony and
Standard Bearer*
Diego and Alessandra
Mystery of the waters
Accompanied by 20 guards

Performer on ground
Nill de Iemonjá
Tribute to the waters

Show group
The movement of waves

First Carnival Float
Water, eternal source of life

Sector 2 – Wonders of the sea

First wing Baianas
Waters of Life

Women's Group - Tripod
(over-sized figure)
Sea horses

Second wing – Sambart
The tides

Third wing - Wing of Peace 01
Coral reefs

Fourth wing – Wing of Peace 02
Equinodermos

03 Tripod (over-sized figure)
Sea horses

Fifth wing – Star of Portela
Predators of the dark zone

Sixth wing – Wing of peace 03
The Beauty of peixe-leao

Seventh wing – Community

School of fish

Second carnival float
Splendors of the oceans

Sector 3 – Wonders of Earth

...

Sector 4 – Live our Nature

....

Sector 5 – Renovating Energies

Wing 20 – The Lillies Flower 01
Ethanol

Performer on ground
Ana Paula Evangelista
Recycled Energy

Tripod
Green and Yellow Energy

Performer on ground
Luciana Pittigliani
Recycled Energy

Wing 21 – The Lillies Flower 02
Biodiesel

Wing 22 – Dancers
Energy Waves

Wing 23 – Bateria (Drum Orchestra) Energy from Waves

Wing 24 – Community
Solar Energy

Wing 25 – Ambassadors
Wind Energy

Wing 26 – Community
A new beginning of life

Carnival Float 05
Long live life!

Sector 6 – Creating hope	Wing 36 – Together by chance Seals
Sector 7 - Reconstructing nature, re-creating life	Performer on ground Patrícia Nery A dream coming true
<i>Wing 32 – Velha-Guarda (elder members)</i> A new era	Carnival Float 07 The dream comes true
Wing 33 – Fill with joy, my heart Brazilian albatroz	<i>Wing 37 – Children</i> Walking for Life (Baby Pinguins)
Wing 34 – Leave me alone Eskimos	Wing 38 – Community Walking for Life (Adult Pinguins)
Wing 35 – Eagle in the parade Hope in the ice	Tripod My heart: join us!

7.3.1.2 Performance Protocol of the Escolas' Parades

7.3.1.2.1 Preparation Events

During my second trip to Rio, in January and February 2008, I assisted a number of the escolas' preparations for the parade:

Date	Event
20.01.2008 in the afternoon	Street Rehearsal of Beija Flor de Nilópolis escola in Copacabana. This rehearsal was on the Avenida Atlântica in front of Copacana beach.
20.01.2008 In the evening	Portela rehearsal in the <i>Sambodrome</i> .
23.01.2008	Visit to Portela and Império Serrano <i>quadra</i> in Madureira.
27.01.2008	Street Rehearsals of Portela and Império Serrano in

	Madureira.
02.02.2008	<i>Feijoada</i> in Portela <i>quadra</i> in Madureira and Group A escola parade in the <i>Sambodrome</i> .
03.02.2008	Preparation of the escolas immediately before the parade in the <i>Sambodrome</i> . That was the night of Portela parade.
04.02.2008 In the afternoon	Império Serrano street performance on the "Avenida Atlântica" in Copacabana.
04.02.2008 In the evening	Preparation of the parade at the entrance of the <i>Sambodrome</i> .

7.3.1.2.2 Rehearsals in the quadras

- **Visit of Portela and Império Serrano court in Madureira (23. 1. 2008)**

<i>Madureira, terra de bamba e de tradição</i>	<i>Madureira land of good living and tradition</i>
<i>De casas coloridas e meninas bonitas</i>	<i>Land of colorful houses and beautiful girls</i>
<i>Do jogo do bicho, do comércio e do mistério</i>	<i>Of street lottery, shops and mystery</i>
<i>Terra de samba da Portela e do Império</i>	<i>Land of samba, Portela and Império</i> ²⁰¹

My first research contacts with the special group's escolas were quite complicated, because some escola members asked for money even for a simple conversation.

Therefore I decided to simply go to Portela and Império Serrano *quadras* as a tourist. I went by train from downtown to the north part of the town. Going by motorway is quite complicated, because Madureira is far away from downtown, about 20 km. In addition, in the north part down of Rio, there are areas where the risk of car thefts or car jackings is high. Therefore, I took the train in central station, in Rio downtown. It took about half an hour to get to Madureira, much less than by car.

²⁰¹ "A Cegonha me deixou em Madureira" - A Stork dropped me in Madureira, song composed by Jorge Benjor and Antônio de Agost. CD "Grandes Sucessos de Jorge Ben", 1999.

The train station in Madureira is exactly in the center of Madureira which used to be a sort of shopping capital of the north part of Rio. From there to the “Império Serrano” *quadra* it is only about five minutes walking.

The Império Serrano *quadra* is a very simple construction. Inside there is a little shop to sell products with Império Serrano labels, t-shirts and other souvenirs. However, the CD with the Império Serrano samba-*enredo* was not available there. In 2008 Império paraded in group A and therefore it could not record its samba-*enredo* with the special group on the “main” samba-*enredo* CD. However, there was another CD produced by the *Associação das Escolas de Samba* in Méier and I had to go there to buy it²⁰².



Stage in the Império Serrano *quadra*
Adriana Ribeiro January 2008

There is a stage where the escola organizes also other kinds of events, such as concerts or parties or the internal contest to choose the samba-*enredo* and also *feijoadas*²⁰³. *Feijoadas* is the moment when the escola members meet the visitors. In Império Serrano there is a *feijoada* once a month. There is a bar opposite the stage and on both sides of the dancing floor there were tables to sit down.

²⁰² Associação das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro – Association of Rio de Janeiro Samba Schools in Méier, a district in the northern part of Rio. This association aggregates the samba schools from group A to group E, but not the special group.

²⁰³ A Brazilian dish prepared with pork and black beans.

I talked with a member about the preparation of the escola for the parade. He told me that Império was having financial problems. In addition, as Império had lost its place in the special group the year before, it could not use the *Cidade do Samba* anymore as a location where to produce its costumes and the carnival floats. Only the special group²⁰⁴ escolas have their place guaranteed there. For this reason Império had to rent the former Vila Isabel escola's *barracão* that was not a long way from the *Sambodrome*. Impérios own *barracão* could not be used because of leaks.

Another Império Serrano member told me that it was not easy to get to the *Sambodrome*, as the train would not run the whole night and Império could not afford to offer a bus or other transport facilities.

Afterwards I went to Portela *quadra*, which is about twenty minutes walking, in the same area. Leaving Império after a couple of meters on Av. Edgar Romero you turn into a major street called “Estrada da Portela” towards the end of which the *quadra* is located.

The close living together of both escolas in the same district is good. The center of Império Serrano is “Serrinha”. Many members of Império come from this “community”. In “Serrinha” there is another important musical group of African origins *Jongo da Serrinha*. *Jongo* is an African music style from Angola. It is played with drums and the people will sing verses to rival each other and dance together, the “*rodas de jongo*”.

²⁰⁴ Rules Samba School Special Group - Liesa

Source: XV Administrative Madureira Region



The Portela *quadra* is on the street named after it, “Estrada da Portela”, in the corner with “Clara Nunes” street. Clara Nunes (1943-1983)²⁰⁵ was a samba singer whose favorite escola was Portela. She recorded a famous samba for Portela “Portela na avenida” – “Portela Parading” in 1981 on her LP “Clara”.

*Salve o samba, salve a santa, salve ela
Salve o manto azul e branco da portela
Desfilando triunfal sobre o altar do
carnaval²⁰⁶*

*Hail to samba, hail to the saint, hail to her
Hail to the coat, blue and white, of Portela
Parading in a triumph on Samba’s altar*

A year later, answering to friends from the other part of Madureira, she recorded in “Nação” a song for “Império Serrano” – “Serrinha”.

*Sobre as cores verde e branco
Repousa a coroa do Império sobre o carnaval
Mesmo quando perde, o povo grita
É vencedor*

*On the colors green and white
Rests Império’s crown of Carnival
Even if she loses, our people shout
You are the winner*

These two songs show the good living together of both escolas in Madureira and that people there usually fond of the two.

The Portela *quadra* is bigger than Império’s. The lay-out is similar however: In front, there is a stage where the samba school organizes its events, and a big dancing floor for the rehearsals. In the corner, there is a bar to sell drinks and a shop to sell shirts and other souvenirs with the Portela label.



Stage in the Portela *quadra*
(Adriana Ribeiro January 2008)

²⁰⁵ www.cliquemusique.uol.com.br/artistas/clara-nunes.asp

²⁰⁶ “Portela na Avenida” composed by Mauro Duarte and Paulo César Pinheiro recorded by Clara Nunes.

Portela has a homepage providing information about upcoming events and in particular the preparations for the parade. Here I found the information on the street rehearsal on 27 January and the *feijoada* on 2 February.

- **“Feijoada” in the Portela quadra on Carnival Saturday (2 . 2. 2008)**

It was the first day of carnival which this year was very early, from 2 to 5 February 2008. This was a day of lots of carnival events: after the *feijoada* at the Portela *quadra* in Madureira, there was the group A parade in the *Sambodrome*.

Feijoada is a typical Afro-Brazilian dish made with black beans and pork. It is good to drink *caipirinha*²⁰⁷ together with *feijoada*. It helps to digest this heavy dish, formerly served to slaves, on a typically hot summer day in Rio.

Feijoada is a typical event for an *escola*. That is the moment when *escola* members meet the people from the district, in this case, Madureira, and people from outside such as other *escolas*' members, tourists or researchers etc. Normally, the *escolas* organize a *feijoada* once a month. On this day there was the presentation of the *Velha Guarda* of Portela.

The *velha guarda* are the elder members of an *escola*. They are former, now “retired” members of one of the wings, including the *bateria*. Each *escola* has a *velha guarda*. Their task is to pass on the tradition of the *escola* from one generation to the next.

²⁰⁷ Brazilian national drink made with rum, lemon and sugar from sugar cane.



Show of the “*Velha Guarda*” of Portela at its “*Feijoada*”
(Adriana Ribeiro, January 2008)

Even though a small entrance fee was levied, there were numerous people attending, mostly in groups or families. There seemed to be quite a number of visitors from the richer south part of town where Portela also has a lot of supporters.

During the *feijoada*, there was singing and dancing and the coordinators of harmony of Portela informed the members about the time they should be in the *Sambodrome* area and the localization of Portela’s formation before the parade.

Portela’s parade was foreseen to take place between fifteen past midnight and one o’ clock in the morning. The members should be there at least three hours before the parade to dress-up and organize themselves in wings according to the sequence of parade.

The show of Portela’s *velha guarda* and invited singers was very good, mainly old Portela samba songs. However, due to their late beginning I had to leave before the middle of it, to get to the *Sambodrome* to watch the group A escolas’ parade.

7.3.1.2.3 Street Rehearsals

- **Rehearsal of Beija Flor de Nilópolis in Copacabana (20. 1. 2008)**

The rehearsal of Beija Flor on the “Avenida Atlântica” in Copacabana was a surprise for me. I heard about it on the radio. This rehearsal was a sort of parade but without costumes. The samba school wings came one after the other performing their respective choreography. It was interesting to see a “bare” rehearsal without the costumes. There are various reasons for these parades in the touristic areas of town: to make publicity with tourists and richer Cariocas, to get on TV, but also for prestige reasons.



Beija Flor wing performing choreography
(Adriana Ribeiro, January 2008)

- **Rehearsals of Portela and Império Serrano on the streets of Madureira (27. 1. 2008)**

Portela's rehearsal

I went from Rio downtown to Madureira once more by train. In Madureira, the “Estrada da Portela” was closed to traffic. An Império Serrano member had told me that in the past both samba schools made the rehearsal on the street at the same time. They met each other in “Estrada da Portela”. Both samba schools welcome each other with the flag. It was a beautiful moment but there used to

be a huge traffic jam with all the thousands of participants and the audience. That is the reason why they now make the street rehearsals at different times.

On this day, the first rehearsal was that of Portela at 4 p.m. Outside the *quadra* there were many people, many Portela fans with t-shirts and flags. It was the last street rehearsal before the parade.

Inside the *quadra*, there were the Portela members. They started to organize themselves per wing like on a chess board. On the stage, the coordinator of *harmonia* was calling each Portela member to come to his wing over a loud-speaker.



Portela children wing in the *quadra*
before the a street rehearsal
(A. R., January 2008)

In the center of the *quadra*, the *bateria* members began to put their instruments in position. We can compare the position of the instruments with the position of the instruments of a classic orchestra.



Position of Instruments
(A. R., January 2008)

Outside the Portela *quadra*, in the corner between “Rua Clara Nunes” and “Estrada da Portela” (see map above), there was a loud-speaker truck. On the top of it, there is a stage where the singers - interpretes – stay together with musicians who play three kinds of guitars – cavaco, banjo e violão. The “interpretes” depend on a harmonic combination between these three kinds of guitars and the drums – *bateria* - to form the base for their singing of the samba-*enredo*.

After a while, the members of the *bateria* began to play and they left the *quadra*. They came to “Rua Clara Nunes” in the corner with “Estrada da Portela” in front of the loud speaker’s truck.



Loud speakers truck
(A. R., January 2008)

The escola first sang the old samba-*enredo*, a sort of warm-up for the rehearsal. Afterwards, they began to sing the samba-*enredo* of the 2008 carnival - *Rebuilding the nature, recreating the life: the dream became true*²⁰⁸. At this moment, the Portela members were completely enthusiastic to sing the refrain of the samba-plot:

*“Eu sou a águia, sou a terra, sou o ar
Sou Portela
Um sonho real, um grito de alerta
A natureza que encanta a passarela”.*

*“I am an eagle, the earth, I am the air
I am Portela
A dream come true, an alerting shout
The nature that delights on the avenue”*²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ “Reconstruindo a natureza, recriando a vida: O sonho virou realidade”: Portela Samba-Enredo 2008.

²⁰⁹ Refrain of the Portela 2008 Samba-Enredo



Street Rehearsal of Portela in Madureira
(A. R. , January 2008)

Then the *bateria* began to play and the members of Portela were singing and dancing according to the choreography of each wing. They started to move down the street. They turned the “Rua Clara Nunes” into the “Estrada da Portela” going to “Oswaldo Cruz” (see map) the district next to Madureira. It was around 6 p.m. and the rehearsal of Império Serrano would begin at 7 p.m.

Império Serrano street rehearsal

I took the “Estrada da Portela” to get back to the Império Serrano *quadra*. The “Estrada da Portela” was still closed to traffic. There were big crowds, both Portela and Império Serrano fans. (I had seen many Imperio fans at the Portela rehearsal). The street was crowded with street vendors the so-called *camelôs*. All kinds of products are sold such as escola t-shirts, illegally copied CDs, DVDs and food such as hot-dogs, beer, soft drinks etc.

There were already many people inside the Império *quadra*. Compared to Portela’s rehearsal, the Império members were not very organized. The instruments of the *bateria* were already there, but it took a long time to get the wings organized inside the *quadra*.



Instruments of Império Serrano in the *quadra*
(A. R., January 2008)

The major problem for Império's street rehearsal was the mobile commerce in front of the *quadra*. Many of them even had loud-speakers and it was not possible to hear the *diretores de harmonia* give directions for the rehearsal.



Commerce in front of the Imperio court
(A. R., January 2008)

After about two hours the *bateria* of Império finally left the *quadra*. It was not possible to see clearly the wings, because of the commerce in front of the *quadra* that also disturbed the exit of the Império members. There was the loud-speaker truck, but it was competing with speakers of the surrounding commerce.

It was not even possible to see which direction that Imperio would take for its rehearsal. Only experienced members could orientate the crowd that it would go down the "Estrada da Portela" and then come back to the *quadra*.

It was around 9 p.m. I noticed that a couple of people were watching me and my camera. For security reasons, I took a normal and small camera. Despite of the security problems, I remained there about another hour to see the beginning of Império's rehearsal, before I had to leave for lack of transport at a later hour.



Imperio Serrano rehearsal in Madureira
(A. R., January 2008)

All in all there was a big difference between the professionalism of Portela's rehearsal and that of Império which was preparing to make its way back to the special group.

- **Império Serrano Performace on the “Avenida Atlântica” in Copacabana (4. 2. 2008)**

I heard on the radio that “Império Serrano” would perform on the “Avenida Atlântica” in Copacabana, in front of the beach. Copabacana is a touristic district in Rio. There is the famous “Praia de Copacabana” where many hotels concentrate.

The Imperio Serrano came with a couple of members of the *bateria*, about fifty, and four *baianas* for dancing. They sang old songs of Imperio and other escolas. Many tourists came to take pictures. For me, it was interesting to hear the “agogôs” of the *bateria* the Imperio and see a director of *bateria* in action.



Império *Mestre de bateria*
and agogôs
(A. R., January 2008)

7.3.1.2.4 Portela rehearsal in the Sambodrome

I went by metro because I wanted to see the access for the audience to the *Sambodrome* with public transport. In fact, it was quite simple and relatively safe to get to the *Sambodrome*. There were many people, mostly Portela fans to come to see their escola, but also others to see some parading for free.

An important point to consider when seeing a parade in the *Sambodrome* is the position of the audience. The *Sambodrome* is divided into sectors on two sides of a long avenue, even and odd. The best sectors to see the parade are sectors 9 and 11. In this position, almost in the middle of the *Sambodrome*, it is possible to see the whole samba school on the avenue.²¹⁰

For the rehearsal I went to sector 11. The side is important because of the metro station to get off. The odd side is best reached via the Central do Brasil metro station, whereas the even side via Praça Onze station.

²¹⁰ See chapter 7.2.5 for a scheme of the Sambodrome.

I arrived there shortly before the beginning of the rehearsal and the stalls were already crowded. Unlike the rehearsals before, this one in the *Sambodrome* began on time and it followed the full sequence of the “real” parade.

It was like the Beija-Flor rehearsal in Copacabana, a sort of a full parade but without costumes and carnival floats. I could witness the *diretores de harmonia* orchestrating their wings, the distances and timing and correcting the choreography.



Portela wings performing
(A. R., January 2008)

7.3.1.2.5 Group A parade - Formation and Dissolution

I decided to see the group A parade for many reasons. When I was living in Brazil, in 2000, I had seen the special group’s parade. The tickets then – even though bought on the spot and well in advance – were relatively expensive, about 80 reais, then almost 50 euros. This sector – a more “popular” one – was extremely crowded and I could only move with everybody else. Visibility was poor as well.

Good tickets to see the special group’s parade are very difficult to come by. Normally they are sold-out on the first day of selling, usually at the beginning of

December. The cheapest ticket for the special group's parade was at a hundred and ten reais,²¹¹ about forty euros, in sector four.

There is another way to get tickets, but it is very expensive. You can buy them through agencies or on the black market with *cambistas*, resellers. Here, the same ticket for sector four can cost up to five hundred reais or about two hundred euros.

However it was not only for economic reasons that I decided to see the parade of group A. The idea was to analyze another group to see the differences from the main parade. The special group's parade is broadcast live on Brazilian TV. After the carnival, the "Rede Globo" will prepare a DVD with the parade's best moments.

The group A parade was broadcast by CNT – Central Nacional de Televisão, a minor TV station. I saw a little bit of it before I went to the *Sambodrome*. The broadcasting cannot be compared to "Rede Globo's" where there are numerous cameras everywhere in the *Sambodrome* and even helicopters to show each and every movement from all possible angles.

Another reason was to see Império Serrano's parade. Compared to Portela, Império was always a sort of a poor cousin. Over time with the commercialization of the parade, Império was increasingly having problems to remain in the special group.

Chart nr. 4

Sequence of group A parade in 2008

Source: Associação das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro

01	Estácio de Sá
02	União da Ilha do Governador
03	Acadêmicos do Cubango
04	Lins Imperial
05	Império da Tijuca

²¹¹ Magazine from Liesa "Ensaio Geral" Ano XII, Nº19, September 2007, page 10.

06	Caprichosos de Pilares
07	Acadêmicos de Santa Cruz
08	Renascer de Jacarépaguá
09	Acadêmicos da Rocinha
10	Império Serrano

The parade began at 8 p.m. I arrived in the *Sambodrome* at around 10 p.m. In the metro I met some sambaschool members of “Lins Imperial” going to *sambodrome* already with their costumes – this is not an exceptional sight.



Sambaschool members going to *Sambodrome* by metro
(A. R., February 2008)



Sambaschool wing seen in the metro
(A. R., February 2008)

I had tickets in the sector 9 on the odd side of the *Sambodrome*. Because of that I took the “Central do Brasil” metro station. For the sectors on the even side of the *Sambodrome* “Praça Onze” is the closest station (see map page 52). When I arrived in my sector, it was already crowded. Compared to the special group’s parade entrances were quite cheap – at least when bought well ahead of the event. I paid thirty reais, about ten euros for the ticket. The audience seemed to be more middle class, but also some people apparently from the poorer neighborhoods were present.

The audience’s conditions to see the parade are not good, even though “seats” are numbered and the *Sambodrome* is brightly lit by flash-lights. In fact the seats are simply a concrete wall on which to sit and there is no space between the seats. However, most people remain on foot, and they dance when the *escolas* pass. For this reason it is sometimes difficult to see the parade.

Carnival takes place in the austral summer and in Rio this is the season of heavy rainfalls. That particular night, the weather did not collaborate. Unfortunately it was raining all night long and many people had umbrellas to protect themselves from the rain which made it even more difficult to watch the parade.



Umbrellas and people on foot on the stalls
(A. R., February 2008)

Also for the *escolas* this creates additional problems. With the rain the costumes get wet and heavy and the ground becomes slippery. This makes it

more difficult for the escola members to perform the choreographies. However, the parade is never cancelled or postponed because of the weather.

I had expected to see more mistakes and technical problems in the group A parade. However, I was surprised by the high professionalism and a show that was in all but the rich costumes and carnival floats not very different from that of the special group.

In this group, there were a number of traditional escolas such as “União da Ilha do Governador”, “Caprichosos de Pilares” and “Estácio de Sá”. The latter was in fact the first escola ever, founded in 1929.

Unlike the rules of the special group, the rules of the group A were not published on the homepage of the *Associação das Escolas de Samba*, where there was only the sequence of the parade. The group A parades are shorter with a maximum of sixty minutes time. “Lins Imperial” could not respect the time and therefore got minus points in the contest.

Império Serrano was the last escola to parade on that night. It entered at around 4 30hrs. in the morning, by which time due to the heavy rain about half of the audience had already left.



Beginning of the Império Serrano parade under heavy rain
(A. R. February 2008)

Despite of the continuing rain, the Império Serrano members were enthusiastic. They were obviously performing to get one of the first places in the contest and to make their return to the special group:

Taí...eu fiz tudo para você gostar de mim
*There you see... I did everything for you to like me*²¹².

<i>Meu Império outra vez</i>	<i>My Imperio, once more</i>
<i>Vem no balanço do meu coração</i>	<i>Come with your hear singing</i>
<i>Eu sou verde-e-branco com muito orgulho</i>	<i>I'm green and white, in all pride</i>
<i>Sou emoção</i>	<i>I'm emotion</i> ²¹³

I was surprised to see Império's parade. The rehearsal in Madureira on 27 January had not been well organized, but the escola on the avenue did very well, with very few visible mistakes, even though a couple of dancers were having problems to perform with their costumes totally wet and heavy.

Compared to the escola before Império, the "Acadêmicos da Rocinha", the costumes were quite simple. According to the "Commercial Newspaper of Madureira"²¹⁴, Imperio had two hundred eighty thousand reais, a little more than a hundred thousand euros, for the parade. That is a relatively small budget to prepare a parade.

The parade of Imperio finished its parade around 5 30hrs with the sun almost coming up. Surprisingly the whole parade had been done almost on schedule.

²¹² "Taí...eu fiz tudo para você gostar de mim". Samba-enredo Império Serrano 2008; Enredo based on Carmem Miranda's life; green and white are Império's colours.

²¹³ CD Samba de Enredo grupo de acesso A e B Carnaval 2008.

²¹⁴ "Império Serrano, no peito e na raça", Jornal da Associação Comercial de Madureira Ano IV nº 37 Janeiro 2008, page 6 article.



End of Imperio Serrano parade
(A. R., February 2008)

- **Formation of Portela before the parade in the Sambodrome
(3. 2.2008)**

Chart nr. 5

Sequence of Sunday's special group parade
Source: Homepage of Liesa – Liga das Escolas de Samba

01	São Clemente
02	Porto da Pedra
03	Salgueiro
04	Portela
05	Mangueira
06	Viradouro

Portela was the fourth escola to parade. The formation of Portela was on the odd side of the *Sambodrome*, on the “Av. Presidente Vargas”, close to the Post building. “Av. Presidente Vargas” is closed to traffic for the parades in the *Sambodrome*.

The escolas organize their wings and floats on the “Av. Presidente Vargas” according to their sequence of parade, so that they enter alternately from both sides. The escolas use buildings close to the “Av. Presidente Vargas” as a meeting point for its members. On the even side this is usually the building “Balança mas não cai” which is one of the oldest buildings in Rio downtown. On the opposite side it is the building of the post office.

The escola members dress up either on the street or in caravans parked nearby. Many of them receive the costume on the spot, just a couple of hours before the parade. When I was in the *feijoada* of Portela, on 2 February, they were giving orientation to the members for the parade. They should be there about three hours before the parade to get the costumes and organize themselves in wings. The time for Portela to enter into the *Sambodrome* was around mid-night, but at around 9 p.m. a lot of the participants were already there to get dressed.

The sambaschools transport the costumes to the formation area by truck as on the picture below.



Portela Sambaschool members
receiving their costumes
(A. R., February 2008)

The escolas' carnival floats will be on the "Av. Presidente Vargas" already in a row. They were transported there during the day from the "Cidade do Samba", where they are usually built, on the "Rivadavia Correia" (see map).



Sambaschool members dressing-up on the street
(A. R., February 2008)

The escolas enter into the *Sambodrome* according to its position on the “Av. Presidente Vargas”, a sambaschool from the even side, the next from the odd side until the last escola.



“Diretores de Harmonia” organizing
wings for the parade
(A. R., February 2008)

The entrance for the *sambodrome* is in the corner between “Av. Presidente Vargas” with “Rua Marquês de Sapucaí” (see map). About five hundred meters from this point, there is a checkpoint where only participants in costumes are allowed to enter.

- **Dissolution of escolas after the parade in the Sambodrome (4. 2. 2008)**

Chart nr. 6

List of Carnival Monday special group parade
Source: Homepage of Liesa – Liga das Escolas de Samba

01	Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel
02	Unidos da Tijuca
03	Imperatriz Leopoldinense
04	Unidos de Vila Isabel
05	Grande Rio
06	Beija-Flor de Nilópolis

On the second night of the special group's parades, I followed the dissolution of the sambaschools at the end of *Sambodrome* which is a complex operation in itself and sometimes leads to problems for the following parade.

I took the "Central do Brasil" station. It is inside of "D.Pedro II" train station. I saw many sambaschools members with costumes. There was big crowd of people going the same direction. From the train station to the *Sambodrome* it is about one and half km.

Coming close to the *sambodrome*, on the other side of "Av.Presidente Vargas", there were many street vendors making the access sometimes difficult. They were selling all kinds of products such as drinks (mostly beer), sambaschool t-shirts, food etc.



Street vendors close to the *Sambodrome*
(A. R., February 2008)

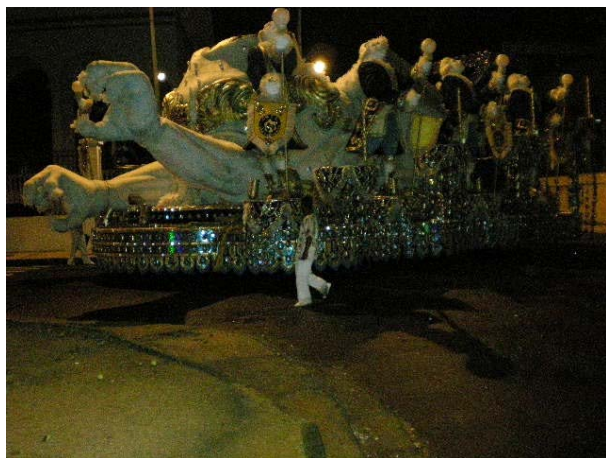
I went to the end of *Sambodrome* which is called “Praça da Apoteose”. “Praça da Apoteose” is a square at the end of the avenue with a stage. For the parades this stage is not used. Outside carnival shows are organized in this square.²¹⁵

There are two exits for the parade: on the left side for participants and on the right side for the carnival floats.



“Praça da Apoteose” end of the parade
(A. R., February 2008)

The carnival floats are not returned immediately to “Av. Presidente Vargas”. They are usually parked in the “Cidade Nova” about one kilometer from the *sambodrome* on the right side (see map). This is a sort of financial center only with commercial buildings such as big banks and for the weekend and the holidays it is usually empty.



Carnival float after the parade in “Cidade Nova”
(A. R., February 2008)

²¹⁵ Jociclay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, conversation in Jan. 2008

All around the *Sambodrome* for the parade there are big crowds of people, some in costumes others not, people participating, people from the audience, simple on-lookers, carnival floats, and vendors on the streets.

Amazingly, all of this was very well organized with lots of people for orientation and policing. Everyone knows very well what role to play in this. The role of the *escola* members is to be in the formation area, about three hours before the parade, to dress up in their costume, warm up singing and dancing - and then parade for eighty minutes from one end of the *Sambodrome* to the other.

The role of the street vendors is to sell anything people might want – some even sell access to toilets in private houses. Many of them are selling cans of chilled beer. Close to the building “*Balança mas não cai*”, on the left side of the *Sambodrome*, there even were a couple of shops that sold beer and soft drinks in bulk to the street vendors.

Others were selling parade tickets, the *cambistas*. They were in front of each *Sambodrome* entrance – there are special entrances to each stall. Normally buying tickets with *cambistas* is quite expensive, usually about twice the normal price or more (for more details on prices see appendix).



Parade shown on TV in *Sambodrome* area
(A. R., February 2008)

The picture above was one of the best organized street vendors in the *Sambodrome* area. He combined selling drinks, food and showing the parade on TV. In Rio in the poorer areas, many people make illegal electric connections to get free electricity like on the photo. Of course, this is forbidden and from time to time, the electricity company cuts off these illegal connections, only for them to be reconnected again later. It is interesting to note that neither the city administration nor *Liesa* organize screens to watch the parades for those who do not have tickets.

7.4 Social and Economic Aspects of the Escolas for Rio

<i>Abram espaço nessa pista E por favor não insistam em saber quem vem aí o mestre-sala foi parar em outra escola</i>	<i>Make way on this avenue And please do not insist To find out who comes there The master of ceremony ended up in another escola Taken away by another director</i>
<i>carregado por cartolas do poder de quem dá mais e o puxador vendeu seu passe novamente quem diria, minha gente, vejam o que o dinheiro faz.</i>	<i>By the power of whom offers more And the singer sold his pass again Who 'd expect this, my people, Look here what money does.</i>
<i>... Mas o show tem que continuar E muita gente faturar "Rambo-Sitores", mente artificial Hoje o samb é dirigido Com sabor comercial Carnavalescos e destaques vaidosos Dirigentes poderosos criam tanta confusão E o samba vai perdendo tradição Que saudade²¹⁶</i>	<i>... But the show must go on And a lot of people make their profit "Rambo-Sitores", artificial intelligence, Today our Samba is guided With a commercial flavour Carnival designers and futile VIPs Directors powerful and creating lots of confusion And our samba losing its tradition Oh! what nostalgia</i>

There can be no doubt that the bigger escolas have left the former traditional economic and organizational scheme of samba playing, where a certain community sustained its Carnival participation mostly with its own contributions,

²¹⁶ „E o Samba sambou“, samba-enredo, São Clemente, 1990

both artistic and in resources.²¹⁷ The escolas have entered the area of showbusiness and that they copy – deliberately or not – the structure and behaviour of companies. The mere size of the main events, its complex organisation and the financial means involved make it impossible not to rely on professionals for its administration, but also for the central artistic tasks. This obviously includes an increasing role and growing weight for middle-class people outside the escolas' respective community.²¹⁸

The escolas are notoriously reluctant to make public details about their finances. Most information on this topic is therefore the result either of informal conversations, with all the dangers of misinformation, or of the analysis of official employment data. As people do not have a great interest in paying taxes the world over and the employment with the escolas is seasonal, these data tend to give only part of the real picture.

According to the estimates of the Rio city administration the total wages paid by all special group escolas (these are obviously the ones that pay most) could have been at least 18 million Reais (about 7 mio. Euros) in 2008 with each escola spending an average of 1,5 million Reais (about 600 000 Euros) on wages.²¹⁹ Obviously these amounts do not include possible “black” money contributions. Alternative sources, such as Liesa, calculate that a special group escola needs to spend about 4 Mio Reais (about 1,6 mio Euros) to stand a chance to win the competition.²²⁰ This would leave a typical escola with a financial need of about 2 mio. Reais after receiving its share of “Liesa money”. This missing part has to be covered by sponsors and other sources.

The income is almost exclusively channelled through Liesa that in 2007 divided the ticket fees for the big parades according to the following percentages:²²¹

²¹⁷ Conversation with Hiram Araújo, Liesa artistic director, Sept. 2007

²¹⁸ Sodré Muniz: *Samba, o dono do corpo*, p. 52

²¹⁹ Gonçalves Jorge: Rio Labour Market Observatory, quoted in „O Globo“ Newspaper, 3 Febr. 2008

²²⁰ Hiram Araujo, Artistic Director of Liesa, Conversation in Feb. 2008

²²¹ idem

- 50,35 % to the Special group's escolas, with more money going to higher ranked escolas
- 30 % for Liesa to organise the parades
- 6 % for Riotur that administers part of the *Sambodrome's* infrastructure
- 2,65 % to Liesa
- 1 % for social projects by the Rio administration
- 10 % for the music editor

According to a study conducted by the Rio Labor Market Observatory²²² the total amount is divided among the collaborators more or less on the following lines:²²³

Directors:

President	no data
Vice President and other directors	no data
Carnival Director	5 000 to 10 000 Reais
"Fund raiser"	up to 20 % of sponsor contracts

Technicians:

Director of harmony	2000 to 5000 Reais
Director of orchestra	2000 to 5000
Head of barracão (construction site)	2000 to 5000
Head of <i>quadra</i>	2000 to 5000
Main Singers	2000 to 8000
Choreografer/ <i>Carnavalesco</i>	10 000 to 25 000
Composers (the whole wing)	110 000
Queen of the orchestra	no remuneration
Master of Cerimony and Standard Bearer (each)	2 500
Members of the orchestra, dancers, <i>baianas</i>	no remuneration
Presidents of the wings	no remuneration, but percentage of costume sales

²²² idem

²²³ Most salaries paid per season, but presented on a monthly basis here; all data in Reais, exchange rate during Carnival 2008: 1 Euro about 2,6 Reais or 1 Real about 0,38 Euro

Barracão workers (mostly for the few months before Carnival only)

Sculpture designer	from 1 500 to 10 000
Carpenter, metal worker, construction aid,	
Float mover, lace maker	1 100
Float driver, sewer	760 Reais

For comparison: the Brazilian minimum wage was 447 Reais (about 180 Euros) during Carnival 2008.

Even though these figures might not always be precise, two conclusions seem plausible:

First, like in other sectors of the Brazilian economy, salaries vary enormously between leading activities and the simpler jobs, with a few well-paying jobs for the top administrative and artistic figures. The better-paid professionals normally do not live in the poorer neighbourhood or due to the lack of infrastructure and security problems move out when their salaries rise.

Second, the jobs that are more likely to be done by somebody with little education and living in the community are obviously among the less well-paid. These are often filled according to a complex recommendation system and most contracts are oral, even though the authorities lately seem to increase the pressure for contracts to be registered (and subject to tax payments). However, the average salary still seems to be roughly double the state's minimum wage and therefore an important source of income for those employed and their families.

As can be seen in the list above, a number of the escola's members have become professionals and in some cases receive comparatively high salaries. However, the great majority of participants do not receive remuneration and most of them have to pay for their right to participate by buying ever more expensive costumes. This fact has the potential for a lot of friction within the

escolas and increases the distance between the escola's elite and its community base.

Carnival is one of the segments that creates most jobs in Brazil, about one million per year²²⁴ (most of them seasonal however). For Rio de Janeiro alone some estimates indicate about 470 000 workers involved, mostly in gastronomy, shops and hotels.²²⁵ The *Sambodrome* is also a big businesses center with many Brazilian big enterprises such as Bradesco, Unibanco²²⁶, Brama²²⁷ and others renting expensive boxes to entertain guests and do business.

As detailed above, traditionally most of the income generated by carnival went to the Carnival elites. The people who actually defend their escola on the avenue in the *Sambodrome* benefited very little from the income generated by their parade.

There are, however, efforts by the Rio city administration and by NGOs such as AMEBRAS (Association of Business Women of Brazil)²²⁸, SEBRAE (the Service for Support to Micro and Small Enterprises) or the CAT (Center for Support to Workers) to use Carnival to create more lasting improvements in the labour market, in particular for people with little formation from poorer neighbourhoods. The target of AMEBRAS which was founded in 1995 is to qualify people from the *favelas* by making them work in the special group escolas' preparation. AMEBRAS organizes professionalizing classes both in the Cidade do Samba and in the escolas' *quadras* in different Carnival related areas such as make-up, sewing, laces, construction of carnival floats, call centers and others.²²⁹ These classes that are usually for free last about four months and include about three hours of training per day.²³⁰ They are meant to prepare participants not only for jobs within the escolas, but also in the wider labour market.

²²⁴ Célia Domingues, president of the Association of Business Women of Brazil, in a lecture given during the third international workshop on Samba and Carnival, 28 to 30 jan. 2008

²²⁵ Study by the Central de Apoio ao Trabalhador and the Social Democrat Trade Union (SDS), quoted by Hiram Araújo, Study material on Carnival, University Estácio de Sá

²²⁶ Brazilian banks

²²⁷ Main Brazilian beer brewer

²²⁸ AMEBRAS – Associação das Mulheres Empreendedoras do Brasil

²²⁹ Newspaper, Jornal G.R.E.S Unidos pela Cidadania, Ano 1, N. 3, Outubro 2007

²³⁰ Newspaper, Jornal G.R.E.S Unidos pela Cidadania, Ano 1, N. 2, August 2007

AMEBRAS also orders handcraft products from the communities to put them on sale at tourist points in Rio, including the *Sambodrome*. The tourists who buy these souvenirs can take a little piece from Rio carnival home and, at same time, they contribute with many families from the poor communities.

A special focus is on integrating women with children into the labour market. To achieve this, the association proposes working at home. As many of the collaborators live far away from Rio downtown, for them it is much easier to come to town only to bring the finished products and receive the money for their work.

There are also attempts to expand into similar activities outside the traditional Carnival preparation. When Rio hosted the XV Panamerican Games and the Parapan in 2007 the escolas organized the opening and the closing ceremonies and AMEBRAS was charged with producing figures, costumes etc. for the events. There are also first attempts by other towns outside Rio to use Carnival for tourism and social integration in a similar way: Cabo Frio, about 100 km to the North of Rio, is to install a similar system to Cidade do Samba, and also to copy the professionalizing classes.

According to Célia Domingues all of this activity is meant to help the poorer escola members sustain themselves and thus give back to them the feeling of being a full citizen of the Brazilian society, and at the same time, prevent them from losing their identity.²³¹

The main Carnival parade is also Rio de Janeiro's main touristic attraction. It shapes Rio's touristic image even outside the Carnival period and is used to attract tourists to Rio all year round. Carnival takes place in the austral summer, the high season for tourism in Rio and hotel occupancy rates are close to a hundred percent in this period and hotels increase prices substantially and

²³¹ Célia Domingues, president of the Association of Business Women of Brazil, in a lecture given during the third international workshop on Samba and Carnival, 28 to 30 jan. 2008

refuse guests wanting to stay for short periods only.²³² In addition, numerous people in the areas closer to the beaches rent out their apartments for this period, sometimes for astronomic prices.

Unsurprisingly, studies show that Carnival activities are the main reasons for foreign tourists to come to Rio during this period (for 65 %) and the great majority (70 %) attends the special group's parade in the *Sambodrome*. Tourists rate the show high (70 % think it's excellent, only 2 % did not like it), but complain about the high entrance fees (35 %). A third of them mention Carnival activities in the street as the high point of their stay.²³³

Riotur estimates that during the Carnival days in 2007 almost 700 000 tourists stayed in Rio generating about 500 mio US \$ in revenue for the town.²³⁴ Obviously, most of the tourists stayed in the southern, more touristic parts of town (Copacabana mostly), and it is difficult to estimate their impact on the revenue of people dwelling in the northern part of town, where most *escolas* are located.

The economic success of Rio's Carnival is such that numerous other towns in Brazil attempt to copy it, both during Carnival season, but also during other periods of the year, where the competition is smaller. These so-called *micaretas* are Carnival-like shows and festivities that are organized any time of the year. There are now dozens of such *micaretas* that mostly copy Carnivals show-business part taking place year-round all over Brazil.

The big *escolas de samba*, thus, are not only organizations for the preparation of the parades, but they undoubtedly play an important role in bringing income and jobs to their respective community and Rio as a whole. However, in addition they also constitute a social and entertainment center in areas where there is typically hardly any other similar infrastructure. As Martinho da Vila put

²³² Riotur Homepage, www.rio.rj.gov.br/riotur, "armazém de dados", hotel occupancy during Carnival

²³³ Study by IPDT („Institute for Fostering Tourism") and others carried out in 2007; published on: clippingurbano.wordpress.com (estudos-estatisticas)

²³⁴ Riotur Homepage, www.rio.rj.gov.br/riotur, "armazém de dados"

it once: “Carnival – that is a spectacular thing - more for the tourists. However, the real value of the escolas lies in the time before the Carnival.”²³⁵ For outside the Carnival periods, the escolas function like a community center offering entertainment (including *baile funk*), professionalizing classes, youth projects etc. To a certain extent in these areas they substitute for the mostly absent public administration.

The integration of the younger generation into the escolas not only gives them a much-needed additional opportunity for past-time and social interaction. Normally, for a child to participate in the escola mirim parents have to meet certain criteria, such as presenting a certificate for school enrolment and even vaccination certificates. In this way the escolas can influence parents’ towards a more responsible behaviour.²³⁶

One of the results of the commercialization of the escolas – some of my contacts even used the term “carnival industry”²³⁷ – is that the year’s plot is chosen not according to its importance for the community, but rather according to the facility to organize sponsors and financing for the parade.

²³⁵ „Der Carnaval – das ist eine spektakuläre Angelegenheit – mehr für die Touristen. Der eigentliche Wert der Sambaschulen aber liegt in der Zeit vor dem Carnaval.“ Quoted in: *Musica Popular Brasileira*, Klaus Schreiner, Verlag Tropical Music, 1977, 1985 p. 254

²³⁶ Conversation with Sílvia Helena, September 2007

²³⁷ For instance conversation with Geisa Ketty, Feb. 2008

8. Funk Carioca

8.1 Origins

Funk has its origins in the US. Most credit the north-American piano-player Herace Silver with creating this music style during the 1960ies. James Brown is widely credited with having invented a particular dancing style for funk.

Funk arrived in Rio in the mid of the 1970ies. A group of Brazilian singers, called “the Rio Black Movement”, is widely believed to have brought with them funk music from a tournee through the US.²³⁸ Funk became more and more popular and it slowly replaced the then dominant Rio Afro-Brazilian culture, the Black Rio.²³⁹

Funk could also build on a culture of organizing big dancing parties that had developed already with the Black Rio style. These parties were very popular in the 1970ies. As a result, when funk started to become successful, there were already about 300 so-called sound systems in place that could be re-converted for organising baile funk. These sound teams provided the necessary sound equipment, in the beginning with long plays directly from the US. As a result, funk groups such as “Furacão 2000” or “Soul Grand Prix” started to organise big commercial funk parties in Rio. These became particularly popular and frequent in the poorer areas of Rio and with a younger audience.

During the 1980ies Carioca Funk adopted the “Miami Bass”. This music style has a much faster rhythm (batida) and the lyrics are different, usually more violent than before and more sexually explicit. This assimilation became so strong that a number of musicologists consider the Carioca Funk a variety of Miami Bass. However, local musicians mixed it with Brazilian music, with

²³⁸ See for example Roberto Maxwell “Rio Black Rio”, www.memoriamusical.com.br, (23.5.2007) or conversation with DJ TR in January 2008 or Big Richard quoted in D.J. TR, *Accorda Hip-Hop! – Hip-hop, wake up!*, 2007, p.247

²³⁹ Lena Frias, quoted in Silvio Essinger, *Batidão, História do Funk*, 2005, p. 31

macumba and candomble (music played during Afro-Brazilian rituals) and samba.²⁴⁰ In addition they later introduced the so-called *tamborão*, a strong beat produced by a big drum. This, in the words of the famous funk artist, Fernanda Abreu, “produced a link between Africa and Brazil that brazilianized funk even more.”²⁴¹ It was relatively easy to combine these music styles, as they – like their precursors, soul and Black Rio - all have strong African roots.

In the 1990ies the *baile funk* became very popular, especially in the northern parts Rio and in the *favelas*. There are many reasons why these events are so loved and appreciated by the poorer inhabitants of Rio:

- A growing distance between the formerly dominant *escolas de samba* from the inhabitants in their respective communities due to their commercialization.
- Events all year round.
- Little preparation, spontaneous organization, small financial needs and accordingly low entrance fees.
- *Funk carioca* music is relatively simple, its lyrics are in Rio slang and reflect the reality in the *favelas* and suburbs.

At the beginning of the 1990ies Carioca Funk started to surge for the general public for the first time. However, due to the violence associated with the *bailes funk* the way from the suburbs and the *favelas* into the main media and the richer parts of town was a difficult one. According to Dudu Nobre, nowadays one of the biggest names in Samba, “funk was always very violent”. In the 1990ies the *bailes* were seen by many suburban youth groups as an occasion where dancing funk and fighting with other groups went hand in hand.²⁴²

In 1992 the *arrastão*, the street fighting between rivalling youth groups that started to be the result of many *bailes*, for the first time appeared in an upper class area, on the famous Ipanema and Copacabana beaches. In the same

²⁴⁰ DJ Edgar quoted in Schultze Georgia: *Baile Funk – Jugendprotest auf Brasilianisch*, radio report, 2006

²⁴¹ “... ele fez uma conexão Africa-Brasil que deu uma nacionalizada maior ainda para o funk.” Fernanda Abreu, quoted in Essinger Silvio, *Batidão, História do Funk*, p. 260

²⁴² Dudu Nobre, quoted in Essinger Silvio, *Batidão*, p. 116 f

year a big concert in a downtown stadium ended in a huge fight among the audience and serious damages to the building. As a result the city administration prohibited *baile funk* for some time, practically eliminating it from the center of town, but without succeeding to stop its success in the poorer neighbourhoods, where law-enforcement is virtually inexistent in daily life. *Baile funk* thus was re-confined to the *favelas* for some time.

Diversão hoje em dia, não podemos nem pensar.

Pois até lá nos bailes, eles vem nos humilhar.

*Fica lá na praça que era tudo tão normal,
Agora virou moda a violência no local.*²⁴³

Entertainment these days, don't even think about it

For even there at the bailes, they come to humiliate us

It's there at the square where everything was completely normal

Nowadays, violence is the fashion there

Towards the end of the 1990ies both the lyrics and the behaviour on stage and in the audience became very violent with organised fights taking place during representations. The audience was simply divided in two, with a corridor of fighting in between. "The funkeiros keep themselves in attacking position, always jumping to the music. The violence increases according to the rhythm. The youngsters keep their eyes on each other to try to get hold of one of the funkeiros of the other side. When this happens, the *alemão*, the enemy, is attacked with beatings and kicks until he is rescued by the security people. It also counts to grab any object from the enemy and to throw it, as a trophy, up to the second floor."²⁴⁴

Due to these excesses and reports of under-age sex taking place at the *bailes*, the city administration and media increased their pressure on the organisers. Finally, in 1999, a parliamentary inquiry was launched into these abuses and into the links between *baile funk* and the local organised crime (s. also chapter "funk proibidão" below). As a result the lyrics and the main focus of the *bailes*

²⁴³ "Eu só quero é ser feliz" – I only want to be happy, Furacão 2000, for lyrics see www.vagalume.com.br

²⁴⁴ "Os funkeiros mantêm-se em posição de ataque, sempre pulando conforme a musica. A violência aumenta de acordo com o ritmo. Os adolescentes ficam com os olhos fixos para tentar agarrar um dos funkeiros do outro lado. Quando conseguem, o *alemão* é agredido a socos e pontapés até ser resgatado por seguranças. Vale também pegar do adversário qualquer objeto, que, como troféu, é jogado no segundo andar." Article in "o Globo" newspaper, quoted in Essinger Silvio: *Batidão*, p. 191

shifted more to erotism and the music became more melodic and “danceable”.²⁴⁵ This so-called “New Funk” was meant to return to the Black Rio parties’ main element of success, the dancing and ever new choreographies. The latter started to be copied from other popular Afro-Brazilian music styles, in particular from Axé music from Bahia.²⁴⁶

With these changes funk started to make inroads on the main media, in particular on TV (most youths in Brazil hardly ever read a newspaper). In fact, in 1994 DJ Marlboro participated as the first funk artist in the most popular children and youth programme of the time, o Xuxa Park. Due to his success he stayed on air for several years and other TV stations copied the format bringing funk to middle class homes. Also funk CD’s started to sell in official stores and towards the turn of the century funk became successful all over Brazil.

As the funk movement grew, the attitude of politicians who had initially reacted mostly to middle-class worries about the *bailes*’ abuses changed. A number of politicians in the suburbs started to seek the funk people’s electoral support and in 2000 a well-known funk artist, Verônica Costa, was elected to the city council with one of the election’s highest tallies.

8.2 Funk Carioca Music

The *funk carioca* movement is estimated to consist of between a million and a million and a half of mostly Afro-Brazilian youths that dance to *funk carioca* at the *bailes* every weekend.²⁴⁷ For a movement so big and with the agitated history described above, it is only natural that different sub-styles have developed with their respective stars over time: funk nowadays has its romantic, its pop and an “illuminated” version. In fact, as Mr. Catra puts it, “diversity is the

²⁴⁵ See for example the following homepages: www.atlantismusic.hpg.ig.com.br or www.terra.com.br/reporterterra or Martins Carlos Henrique dos Santos : Os Bailes de Charme: Espaços de Elaboração de Identidades Juvenis – Baile Charme: Spaces for the Creation of Juvenile Identities in Última Década, nr. 22, CIDPA Valparaíso, August 2005, pp. 39-62.

²⁴⁶ DJ Marlboro quoted in Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 207

²⁴⁷ See for instance, Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 127 and 131

reason for its long living”.²⁴⁸ However, the most successful funk styles remain the ones with violent or erotic lyrics and the slower, more danceable version, the so-called *charme*.

8.2.1 Charme

*Qual é a diferença
entre o charme e o funk
Um canta bonito,
E o outro elegante*²⁴⁹

*What's the difference
between charme and funk
One sings with beauty
The other with elegance*

Charme is mostly seen as a variant of funk; some however consider it a music style and cultural movement in its own right.²⁵⁰ In any case it differs mostly from the other funk varieties through its rhythm that is closer to Rhythm and Blues, through its focus on dancing, on inventing choreographies and new steps as well as through its lyrics that centre on the importance of personal friendships, on emotional links within the group, on love and sensuality.

The name *charme* is believed to have been invented by the well-known Rio D.J. Corello. *Charme* is a reference to the body movements and the sensuality that are according to D.J. Corello necessary for dancing this more melodic music style. It is also meant to give a positive connotation and promote the self-esteem of the mostly Afro-Brazilian dancers.²⁵¹

Charme is also starting to identify itself increasingly as a movement, with its own patterns of behaviour, more social and friendlier than that of funk people, and by its own dress code. In fact, perfect appearance as well as elegant

²⁴⁸ “A diversidade é a razão da longevidade.” Mr Catra quoted in Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 258

²⁴⁹ For instance: MC Dollores e Marquinhos, Rap da Diferença

²⁵⁰ For the latter opinion see for instance Martins Carlos Henrique dos Santos : Os Bailes de Charme: Espaços de Elaboração de Identidades Juvenis – Baile Charme: Spaces for the Creation of Juvenile Identities in Última Década, nr. 22, CIDPA Valparaíso, August 2005, pp. 39-62

²⁵¹ Martins Carlos Henrique dos Santos: Os Bailes de Charme: Espaços de Elaboração de Identidades Juvenis – Baile Charme: Spaces for the Creation of Juvenile Identities in Última Década, nr. 22, CIDPA Valparaíso, August 2005, p. 47

dressing and behaviour are essential parts of this style's attempt to create a positive ambiance and to improve its image.

Contrary to *baile funk* – where there are usually a number of *charme* songs to allow for dancing in couples - the *charme baile* try to be socialising events and to avoid violence among its audience. Maybe for this reason at *baile charme* there are more adults participating than at a typical *baile funk* where the audience tends to be mostly youths.

The *charme* community also participates in *baile hip-hop* and vice-versa without too much rivalry, which is a rare example of tolerance between Rio youth movements.²⁵² As the *charme* community creates mutual respect, members – usually identified by their clothing style and their behaviour – can attend bailes outside their own neighbourhood relatively easily and trust in the relative protection of their community. This way they can move around different areas more freely than other youths, free themselves partially from the usually strict limitation violence imposes on their free movement and create relationships between different neighbourhoods.

8.2.2 Proibição

²⁵² Martins Carlos Henrique dos Santos: Os Bailes de Charme: Espaços de Elaboração de Identidades Juvenis – Baile Charme: Spaces for the Creation of Juvenile Identities in Última Década, nr. 22, CIDPA Valparaíso, August 2005, p. 60

Acabaram com o baile funk
Tinha muito preto e branco
Acabaram com o baile funk
Porque tinha muita festa
Acabaram com o baile funk
Tinha muito pobre
Acabaram com o baile funk
Porque isso aqui não presta
"cabaram" com o baile funk
Pois havia alegria
E alegria não se compra
Nem se ganha da titia
"cabaram" com o baile funk
*Pois havia rebeldia*²⁵³

They finished it off, the baile funk
There were many blacks and many whites
They finished it off, the baile funk
Because of all the big partying
They finished it off, the baile funk
There were many poor people
They finished it off, the baile funk
Because all of this here is no good
They finished it off, the baile funk
Because there was happiness
And happiness you don't buy
Nor do you get it without effort
They finished it off, the baile funk
Because there was rebellion

The lyrics of carioca funk are mostly a reflection of the reality that the funk artists experience today – and this is violent, much more so than what samba artists experienced only twenty to thirty years ago.²⁵⁴ Mr Catra defends his lyrics with this fact: “Crime is part of the *favela* culture. I am not an accomplice of crime, I am an accomplice of the *favela*. I do not support crime, I simply tell reality...Funk was born in the *favela* and unfortunately drug trafficking is also part of a *favela*.”²⁵⁵ A *baile* organizer mentioned a more subtle reason for attempts to stop *baile funk*: “They want to finish off the bailes not because of the noise, but because the middle class youth mix with the people from the *favela*. And that they do not tolerate.”²⁵⁶

Indeed over time, the lyrics and the *bailes* became ever more violent: in the 1990ies some of them started to include fighting in the dancing. The audience was divided in two groups, in the middle there was a so-called “corridor of death”. Then the groups to the two sides that normally represented a certain neighborhood started to kick and fight. This was part of the *baile*, with the

²⁵³ “Baile funk”, funk, Fernanda Abreu (Rodrigo Maranhão)

²⁵⁴ Conversation with Geisa Ketty, Feb. 2008

²⁵⁵ “Eu não sou cúmplice do crime, sou cúmplice da favela. Não estou fazendo apologia, esotú é relatando uma realidade...O funk nasceu na favela e infelizmente o tráfico também faz parte dela.” Mr Catra quoted in Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 235

²⁵⁶ “Querem acabar como baile não por causa do som, mas porque os jovens da classe media estão se misturando com o pessoal do morro. E isso eles não toleram.” Eudardo Alfredo Marques, head of Duda’s sound system, quoted in Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 135

beginning and sometimes the end of fighting orchestrated by the D.J., and afterwards sometimes dancing could continue, sometimes the fighting degenerated.

Another fact that finally led to a stricter control of *baile funk* was the role the local organised crime played in the *bailes*. Drug traffickers play an important economic role in most poor neighborhoods and in most of them it would be impossible to organize any event without their – at least tacit - consent. Usually, *baile funk* is organized by the local community association and financed through fixed contribution by the people allowed to sell drinks and food at the event. However, over time drug traffickers became also prominent in financing and participating in the *baile funks* there, simply because *baile funk* was the main entertainment option for the young people and most drug traffickers on the ground do not grow old.

Also the lyrics of the *bailes* started to be used by these criminal factions to muster support for themselves and to map the traffic in certain areas. Thus, raps similar to the American “Gangsta Rap” started to surge. Their lyrics sang the strength and importance of certain gangs, named their weapons to intimidate rivals and also spread their rules and the bosses’ fame. These funks started to be incorporated in certain criminal organisations’ “folklore” and were used to organize support against the police and rivaling factions.²⁵⁷ Also *bailes funk* were used to sell drugs to the participants, but also to drug addicts from outside the community that use the events mainly as a cover-up.

One of the darkest points in *baile funk*’s history was the killing in 2002 of Tim Lopes, a well-known TV reporter and specialist in funk who wanted to investigate reports about under-age sex and rapes at clandestine *bailes* organized by the local drug traffickers in a *favela* in Rio’s north zone. His hidden camera was discovered and he was tortured to death by the drug traffickers. Due to the huge media interest, the criminals involved were brought to justice, but funk’s image took another serious blow.

²⁵⁷ See for example the following homepages: www.atlantismusic.hpg.ig.com.br or www.terra.com.br/reporterterra

*Sai da frente la vem eles minha gente
 Agora o chumbo é quente e eles têm toda
 razão
 Não fique ai se não quiser virar defunto
 E ir pra cidade dos "pé junto" dentro de um
 lindo
 caixão
 Um perdeu o querido pai o outro perdeu o
 irmão
 Os dois querem os bandidos pra levarmos a
 prisão
 Se os bandidos resistirem e atirarem de
 repente
 Se salve quem puder porque dai é chumbo
 quente²⁵⁸*

*Out of the way, here they come, folks
 Now the lead is hot and they are full of reason
 Don't stay out there if you don't won't turn
 into a cadaver
 And go directly to the city of the death in a
 beautiful coffin
 One lost his beloved father the other his
 brother
 Both want the criminals to take them to prison
 If the criminals show resistance and start to
 shoot
 Run for cover for then the lead is hot*

8.2.3 Erotic funk

E onde tem mulher, homem está!

Where there are women, men will follow! ²⁵⁹

Funk, in order to get out of the dead-end of ever more violent *bailes*, re-focused on dance and on sensuality. This was also a commercial decision, for contrary to the US in Brazil crime, and not sexuality, is the main middle-class taboo. Therefore, funk with very violent contents are difficult to sell on TV or DVD. For commercial success a new formula of *baile* with more danceable music, sometimes for dancing in couples, erotic lyrics and a sensual clothing style was created in the last decade.

However, these *bailes*, sometimes called *baile erótico*, soon started to degenerate in their choreographies that became all too explicit, and above all, in their lyrics. Funk lyrics have a long history of describing women as sexual objects. However, they have become pornographic to a point where sexual intercourse is described in all details.

ela mama meu ganso 3x

she licks my prick 3x

²⁵⁸ "Chumbo Quente" – Hot lead, funkt, DJ Marlboro (Luh Paulah)

²⁵⁹ Rômulo, funk artist, quoted in Essinger Silvio: Batidão, p. 122

*aí eu gostei ela mamô diferente
ela uso o dente e ã me arranho
q boca mais linda mamô na disciplina
e foi desse jeito que o negão gamo*

...
*ela só pensa em mama,mama,mama,mama
e vem comigo goza,goza,goza,goza²⁶⁰*

*that's what I liked she licks different
she uses her teeth and she does not scratch
a beautiful mouth a good lick
and this way the big black came*

...
*She only thinks in licking, licking, licking
And she comes with me, comes, comes, comes*

One song famously even justified violence towards women (“a tap in love does not hurt”) which was then applied by dancers during the *bailes* – and probably outside. Eventually it was banned by the Brazilian authorities fearing an increase in domestic violence.

*Um tapinha eu vou te dar porque
Dói, um tapinha não doi, um tapinha de amor
não doi
Um tapinha não doi
Só um tapinha*

*A tap I'll give you because
It hurts, a tap hurts not, a tap in love
hurts not
A tap does not hurt
Just a tap*

*Ai eu quero namoro
Quero compromisso
Quero casamento
Só se você rebolar
Haha! Com tudo dentro
Então...
Ha ha ha! Vem, vem, vem nhanha
Vem, vem, vem
Podi vir...²⁶¹*

*Then I want a relationship
I want something stable
I want marriage
Only if you dance
Haha! with all of it inside you
Then...
Ha ha ha! Come, come ,come, make love
...*

Erotic funk lyrics are almost inevitably macho in the sense that they praise male sexual power and that (male) homosexuality remains the ultimate taboo: most texts either belittle homosexuals or even call for marginalizing and for violence against them.

A relatively new phenomenon is the increase in female funk artists, most of them promoting funk erótico, with texts as explicit as those of their male colleagues. Some feminist authors are more lenient towards these artists,

²⁶⁰ “Ela mama meu ganço”, funk, MC Catra:

²⁶¹ “Um tapinha não dói”, funk, Furacão 2000

claiming that their frequent use of taboo words and pornographic expressions could result in a more self-conscious sex-life of women.²⁶²

*Eu fiquei 3 meses sem quebrar o barraco,
Sou feia, mas tô na moda,
tô podendo pagar hotel pros homens
isso é que é mais importante.*

*I remained three months without making love
I am ugly, but I am in fashion
Now I can pay a hotel for the men
That's most important*

*Quebra meu meu barraco*²⁶³ 4x

Make love to me 4 x

As a rule, hip-hop artists seem to be more conscious of this problem. DJ TR for instance states with some auto-criticism that the hip-hop movement fights the taboos of Brazilian society (against blacks and afro-Brazilians), but that at the same time it has not succeeded in overcoming its macho attitude.²⁶⁴ Indeed according to other artists this tendency is increased by MTV video clips that as a rule show sensual thinly dressed women as a sort of trophies for the successful rap artist.²⁶⁵ However, the very fact that there are discussion events on the role of women in the movement seems to point to a much higher level of awareness of the problem.

8.3 Performative Aspects of Carioca Baile Funk

Baile Funk is basically an event to dance. On stage there are the MC's and normally also dancers singing and dancing for hours during the whole *baile*. The audience either follows the choreographies of the dancers on stage or the indications of the MC's. Sometimes the songs explicitly give instructions what movements to make when, to produce a certain uniform choreography accompanying the lyrics. This is an element common also in other Afro-Brazilian music styles, particularly in today's Axé-music from Bahia state. Cook's maxime that "musical works exist to give performers something to

²⁶² See for instance Lyra Kate: O fenômeno do funk feminino e feminista, 25 April 2007, on www.memoriamusical.com.br

²⁶³ "Tô feia, mas tô na moda", funk, Tati Quebra-Barraco

²⁶⁴ D.J. TR: Accorda Hip-Hop! – Hip-hop, wake up!, p. 289 and in a conversation in January 2008

²⁶⁵ Big Richard quoted in D.J. TR, Accorda Hip-Hop! – Hip-hop, wake up!, p. 299

perform”²⁶⁶ becomes a particular meaning with these lyrics: they are a sort of a recipe explaining step by step how to dance to the music and enact its contents.

However, the audience often create their own choreographies, either on the spot or practicing at home. Indeed, certain choreographies can indicate one’s belonging to a certain group or residential area. These are sometimes even more elaborate and daring than the dancers’ on stage. At the Carioca *baile funk* the audience itself is an essential part of the „performance“.

Georgia Schultze, an Austrian journalist, 2006 made a radio report on „*Baile Funk* in Rio“ that won a prize on the first Austrian radio programme “Ö 1”. She participated in a *Baile Funk* in a remote Rio suburb – in the so-called Baixada Fluminense – organised by and at the invitation of D.J Catra (civic name: Wagner Domingos Costa). For Schultze the event was quite a surprise: „When I arrived, I was a bit frightened that something dangerous could take place there... I had never seen such a big crowd of mostly black people. However, when the *baile funk* began, it was really a big experience: everybody started to dance and sing together.”²⁶⁷

Baile funk thus is an event basically made for dancing *funk carioca* music. Like most Afro-Brazilian music, normally the dancing centers on hip movements. *Funk carioca* can be danced alone or as a couple. This depends on the song in question and its rhythm. If the song is fast, people will dance alone; if it is a slower one, people will dance in par. There is a slow version of *funk carioca*, called *charme*, normally with more romantic lyrics. There is also an increasingly popular version that focuses on erotic texts, with corresponding results for the audience’s dress code and dancing. (For more details see chapter *Funk carioca* music above).

²⁶⁶ Martin Robert L.: Musical Works in the Words of Performers and Listeners, in Michael Krausz, ed.: The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993 quoted in Cook p. 3

²⁶⁷ „Als ich angekommen bin, hatte ich Angst, es könnte etwas Gefährliches passieren. Ich habe noch nie so viele Schwarze gesehen. Als der „Baile Funk“ begonnen hat, das war ein Erlebnis: all haben gesungen und zusammen getanzt“. „Baile Funk in Rio“, radio report by Georgia Schultze, 2006

Baile Funk, contrary to the *escola de samba* parades, are usually very simple events and with low costs. There is nevertheless one major common point – apart from a similar audience: the funk events are based on dancing and black body movement like samba, with the difference that the choreography is usually less elaborate and more spontaneous. This also recuperates the “*dizer no pé*”, the expressing oneself through dancing.

Silvio Essinger, in his book, „O Batidão do Funk“ – „The rhythm of funk“, states on this point and on the body movement at funk parties: “And at that moment the audience shows that it is as much of a show as the artists. Incredible choreographies (as daring as those on stage) that leave no room for imagination are performed as if it were the most natural thing in the world.”²⁶⁸

The African hip movement is at the core also of dancing *funk carioca*. In the DVD “Funkteen” by DJ Malboro²⁶⁹, there is part to learn how the dance Funk (for the mostly middle-class audience who buy such DVD’s): two steps right, two steps left and twist. Every body movement – presented by a *mulata* - puts the female behind in evidence. The men make similar movements, but usually leave the more daring dancing and the centre of the dancing area to women.

At *baile funk* there are no official dress codes and obviously no costumes needed. However, certain groups have their own style and sometimes colours, and the fact that *baile funk* is an event for flirting imposes its own outfits. Also certain groups dance particular steps that identify members. In this respect *baile funk* respects Huizinga’s definition of play²⁷⁰: it is certainly an activity outside “ordinary life”, it is unproductive in material terms and it promotes the formation of social groupings that stress their difference from others. However, its boundaries in time and space are not very strict, nor are the rules or its proceedings that are hardly in an orderly manner.

²⁶⁸ “È aí que público mostra ser tão *show* quanto aos artistas. Coreografia inacreditáveis (tanto quanto as do palco), que não deixam muito para a imaginação complementar, são realizadas com a maior naturalidade do mundo”, Essinger Silvio: *Batidão*, p. 13

²⁶⁹ DVD “DJ Malboro apresenta funkteen” This DVD includes many funk carioca songs from different masters of ceremony.

²⁷⁰ Huizinga Johan: *Homo Ludens*, p. 13

Baile funk is a performance based on the close interaction between the D.J., M.C. and dancers on stage and the audience. The latter not only demands certain songs. It constantly reacts and shows its approval/disapproval to the performers on stage verbally, through mimics and gestic in a particularly visible “feedback-loop”.²⁷¹ Funk venues are usually designed to allow close interaction and enhance the feeling of physical co-presence of artists and audience/dancers. At some *bailes* spontaneous participation of members of the audience in the performance on stage is allowed, both as M.C. or as dancer, inverting most naturally the respective roles.

Clearly, *baile funk* follows a certain dance tradition in the Afro-Brazilian communities. Barbara Browning points out this aspect: “Dance technique is understood by these dancers as an integral part of the lives of bodies in the communities that have produced dance traditions. Their exercises draw on Afro-Brazilian postures and gestures, from the quotidian to the highly ritual.”²⁷²

“In the esthetics of the performative the areas art, social living world and politics can hardly be separated one from the other in a precise way.”²⁷³ This certainly holds true for *baile funk* that reflects, in lyrics and in form, the harsh social reality of its participants.

8.3.1 The dramaturgy of Baile Funk

Every weekend numerous *Bailes Funk* are organised in Rio and elsewhere in Brazil. These are commercially organised events that are open to the public. The venues are made known through radio, outdoors and on the homepage of the principal funk stars and the big organisers.

²⁷¹ Fischer-Lichte Erika: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, chapter 3, p. 58 ff

²⁷² Browning Barbara: *Samba resistance in Motion*, 1995, page xii.

²⁷³ „dass sich in einer Ästhetik des Performativen die Bereiche Kunst, soziale Lebenswelt und Politik kaum sauberlich voneinander trennen lassen.“ Fischer-Lichte Erika: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, chapter 3, p. 82

The event itself is simple compared to the sophistication of the parades of the *escolas de samba*, yet there are a number of preconditions to organise a *baile funk*:

- **Stage:** a bare stage in front of the dancing square; this is where the funk artists perform.
- **D.J:** The Disc Jockey who is located on stage makes the music on a music board or a computer.
- **M.C:** The Master of Ceremony does the singing.
- **Bonde:** That's how a group of MCs, usually 3 or 4 who perform one after the other are called (*bonde* in Brazilian literally means tramway).
- **Dancers:** usually girls who dance on stage, sometimes together with the DJ and the MC. There are some MCs who perform without dancers.
- **Venue:** In a hall, in a disco or simply on the street, as the tropical weather allows outdoor events practically all year round.

A funk band including its dancers usually tours the suburbs of Rio in a Minivan, from Thursday to Sunday night. They make their performance for an hour or so at a *baile*, then get their pay, cash on hand, and move on to another *baile*. According to estimates, about 300 *bailes* take place in Rio on a weekend with up to a total of a million attendants.²⁷⁴

8.3.2 Performance Protocol Baile Funk

In my first research trip to Rio in September in 2007, I went a two *baile funk* to analyze the performative aspects of these events. These were two *bailes* of a very different kind, the first one in a popular district in an eastern suburb, in Curicica, and the second one, the rich one, in a disco in downtown Rio, the “Nuth’s”.

²⁷⁴ Tim Lopes, quoted in Essinger Silvio, Batidão, p. 131

Baile funk today is the most common entertainment of the younger generation in Rio.²⁷⁵

Description of the Baile Funk

Both *bailes funk* I visited were organized by one of the two main *funk carioca* sound teams called “Big Mix é o Mané”. This sound team belongs to the *funk carioca* star “DJ Malboro”. I had a conversation with him before the second *baile funk* in the disco “Nuth’s”.

As a studying method I used the “participant observation”²⁷⁶ combined with the “performance protocol”. The latter, a sort of a performance protocol, proposes to consider in particular the following aspects of the events:

- Venue
- The musicians and participants
- Instruments and voice
- Music and sounds
- Language²⁷⁷

I have used this scheme to describe both *bailes funk* in which I participated.

8.3.2.1 Baile Funk in Suburb

On 15 September 2007, a Saturday evening, I went to *baile funk* in Curicica, an eastern Rio suburb. Curicica has both middle and lower class inhabitants including numerous *favela* dwellers. I had found this *baile* on the homepage of the *funk carioca* team “Big Mix é o Mané” from DJ Malboro where one can find a calendar of the *bailes funk* organized by his team in Rio.

²⁷⁵ D.J. Edgar quoted in „Baile Funk in Rio“, radio report by Georgia Schultze, 2006

²⁷⁶ Girtler Roland: Methoden der Feldforschung, p. 61

²⁷⁷ For more details on the performance protocol see chapter “Performance and Performative Aspects” above.

The place where this *baile funk* was organized is called “Formula do Gol”. I went by motorway as it is very far away from Rio downtown. Normally a *baile* starts around mid-night and lasts until about six o’clock in the morning.

To be able to park the car close to the venue, one has to pay someone who asks money to watch the car. This person is called *flanelinha* (“small cloth”) and it is recommend to give some money to avoid problems. However, even then there is no guaranty that your car will be there, when you come back.

At the entrance, there was a strict control to check for arms, similar to controls at airports. There were different entrances for men and women, but both were checked for arms. The entrance price was different for man – about seven reais or about three euros - and for women who did not need to pay. This contrasts with the prices asked for “european type entertainment” like going to the theatre or the cinema that are much more expensive and usually unavailable in the suburbs.

The “Formula do Gol” does not only organize *baile funk*. It is sort of a very simple concert hall, and there are other kinds of performances with other music style.

I went with my camera to try to take some pictures according to the “participant observation” method, but it is forbidden to enter with a camera. We can compare this fact with a piece of theater where it is usually forbidden to take pictures. Also some participants might not want to be recorded.

Venue

Formula do Gol is a very simple concert hall, a construction without windows made of bricks. Inside there was a little stage where the disc jockey stays with his sound table together with the respective Master of Ceremonies who sings the *funk carioca*. Often a couple of dancers, normally women, will accompany the music and show the suggested choreography to the audience that normally imitates the dancing on stage.

Opposite the stage there was a bar where the drinks were sold, mostly beer. Between the stage and the bar, there was the dancing floor where the audience stays and dances. This is in close vicinity to the stage to allow interaction between the audience dancing and the funk artists on stage. There was very little illumination, mostly for the stage (see also Chart nr. 8 below).

Participants

There were women and men of all ages and both couples and singles. *Baile funk* is a place to meet people, to flirt and to dance. That is the social factor, meet people and put people close together. People often go to a *baile funk* in groups, usually from the same neighborhood. As a rule, there are so many *bailes* happening in the weekends that people tend to attend the one in their own neighborhood.

Music

The music is almost exclusively *funk carioca*. It is essentially electronic music, produced with a sound table or notebook. Almost anybody can become a DJ. The lyrics are sung in Brazilian dialect by the Master of Ceremony. The lyrics had both sexually explicit and violent contents, reflecting the reality in the *favelas*. Another point is that the *funk carioca* is basically for dancing. Here the quality of the loudspeakers and the acoustics were not good, and it was sometimes difficult to understand what was sung. However, the volume was extremely loud, and people sung the refrains of the better known songs that tend to be part of most of the *bailes*.

The musicians

In this case, there were only the disc jockeys to make the music with a sound table or notebook. Until I left, about in the middle of the show, no MC'S – Master of Ceremonies who do the singing had appeared.

Contrary to samba to become a *funk carioca* artist one does not necessarily need special abilities such as knowing how to play an instrument, to sing or to compose a song with lyrics. It is a relatively simple activity that requires inspiration and a good feeling for the audience's taste and mood.

The dancing

In "Formula do Gol" there were *Funk carioca* of both kinds, fast and slow. Most people were dancing, making movements with their hips. A couple of women were dancing in a very sensual way, dressed in miniskirts and generous décolletés. There was obviously a lot of flirting going on.

8.3.2.2 Baile Funk in Rio downtown

This *baile funk* was in a disco in Rio downtown, a week after the baile funk in the "Formula do Gol" in Curicica. It was on a Tuesday. There I talked with D.J Malboro. I organised this conversation through the homepage of his sound team "Big Mix é Mané". I was invited to come to see this *baile* starring DJ Malboro. This time I presented myself as a University researcher to get the opportunity for the conversation. DJ Malboro is one of the major funk stars in Rio.

Venue

It is a disco with a very sophisticated entrance with two floors. Exactly like in the "Formula do Gol", there were two entrance fees, one for men that cost 40 reais (or about 16 Euros) and this time women had to pay as well, this time 20 reais (8 Euros). The main show was a performance by DJ Malboro. I got a sort of credit card to buy drinks or food and then pay upon leaving.

The ambience was very sophisticated. I had the impression that it was quite newly renovated. After the entrance, there were stairs to get to the first floor. I arrived around 7 p.m. There were not a lot of people, but already on the first floor there was a DJ making music with a notebook.

The configuration of the place was not so different from the “Formula do Gol” concert hall. There was a stage opposite the bar and in the middle a dancing floor. Unlike at “Gol” on the first floor of the “Nuth’s” there were tables in the corner and one could sit down. There we could order something to eat and watch the others dance.

There was a second floor, with the same structure. It was there that DJ Malboro performed. He came around 9 P.M. and I had a conversation with him before his show. When he started his performance in the second floor, everybody came and there was not enough space to dance.

Audience

It was a relatively young audience. They were all very well dressed and part of them came after work in one of the nearby offices at the centre. It was clear that this was an event for the middle and upper class.

Music

It was *funk carioca*, but with different lyrics. There were a couple of *funk carioca* songs with sexual contents. However, while I was there, there were almost no very violent lyrics. Another very important point is the loudspeakers. They were very loud in order to produce the effect of *baile funk* and the speakers had a good sound quality.

The musicians

On the first floor, there was an unknown D.J. with a notebook. On the second floor, there was the performance of D.J. Malboro. He had a very sophisticated sound table, but he did not sing anything. He is a D.J., not a M.C.

The *funk carioca* dancing

Also in this case, this was an event mainly to dance *funk carioca* music. People were very well dressed. Women were dressed in a sensual outfit, but not provocatively like in “Formula do Gol”. There were more couples.

Chart nr. 7

Comparison between “Formula do Gol” and “Nuth’s”

	Formula do Gol	Nuth’s
entrance	7 reais for Men Free for Women	40 reais for Men 20 reais for Women
Social class	Lower and middle class	Middle and upper class
DJ’S	Unknown DJ’s with a simple sound table and speaker. Quality of sound not good.	On the first floor, an unknown DJ with a notebook and on the second floors the performance of DJ Malboro with a sophisticated sound table.
Infra-structure	Very simple one. A court built with bricks	A disco with two floors

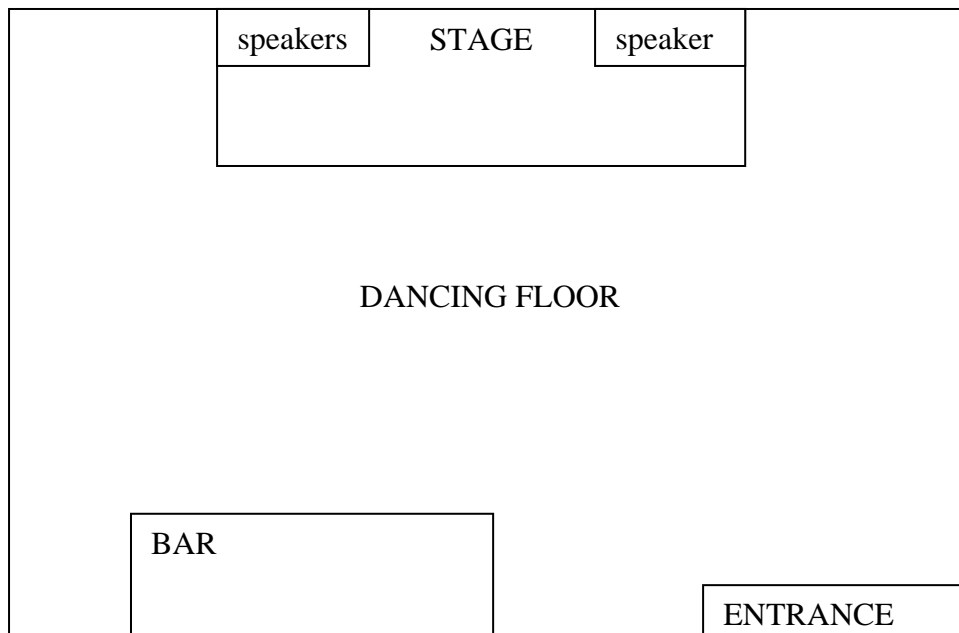
In this chart, we can see that there is *baile funk* according to the social class. The first difference is the price that separates classes. Another point is the D.J.’s. The sound carioca team “Big Mix é Mané” organizes *baile funk* in many places in Rio. However, the famous artist, such as D.J. Malboro tend to perform less often in the popular areas of Rio, but rather in the more fancy areas of town, where infrastructure is better and higher fees.

The second chart shows the configuration of space of indoors *baile funk*. Indoors means in one show house, a disco or an escola de samba’s court. In Madureira for example there is the famous “Baile Funk debaixo do Viaduto”²⁷⁸ – *Baile Funk* under the bridge. Whatever place it is, *baile funk* obeys always the same outline: stage with speakers + dancing floor + bar.

²⁷⁸ I could not go to this baile funk because of problems with violence in Madureira.

Chart nr. 8

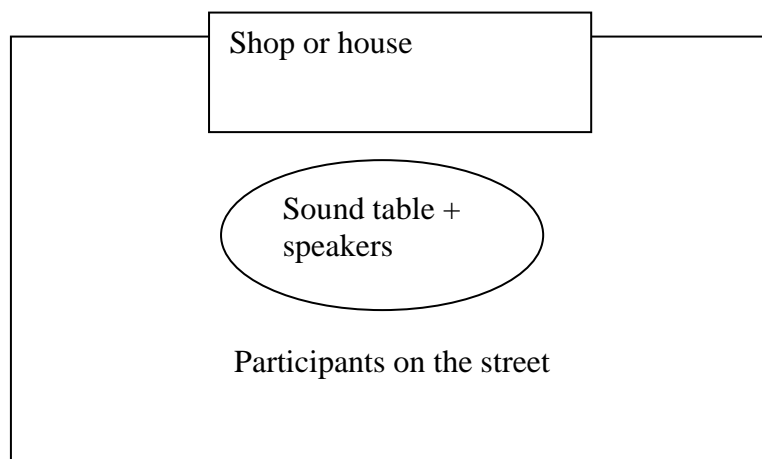
Configuration of baile funk indoors space



Another version of *Baile Funk* is outdoors. Maybe that is the big advantage of *baile funk* compared to escola's parades and other activities. In this case, one needs only a sound table for the D.J. to produce the music, microphones for the M.C.'s to sing and loudspeakers. In a *Baile* on the street it is very important to have powerful loudspeakers to produce the necessary impact on the audience. The *Baile Funk* outdoors is a little different though, because there is usually no stage. However, for the rest even this kind of *Baile* follows the same rudimentary pattern.

Chart Nr. 9

Baile funk on the street



Normally this kind of *baile funk* happens in poor districts in Rio. The sound table with the loudspeakers is placed in front of one house or shop. The participants are always in front of the sound table and speakers to dance. There are numerous ambulant vendors of beer and drinks to cater for the dancers' needs.

8. 4 The Rio Hip hop movement

During the 1980ies rap firmly installed itself in Brazil, in particular in São Paulo. From there it also came to Rio, here, however, funk became the dominant youth culture. The reason for this might be the different cultural mix of the two Brazilian mega-cities: Sao Paulo has much more European and mixed North-East Brazilian population, whereas Rio has a stronger Afro-Brazilian influence. In any case, there is a lot of musical exchange between the two. Some even believe that the musical base of the earlier Rap and Hip-Hop was the heavy and electronic drumming of funk. D.J. TR even calls funk the father of Hip-hop.²⁷⁹

Therefore, for the hip hop movement in Rio funk is the main music style to compete with in the poorer neighbourhoods. To this day, hip hop has remained the "smaller brother" of funk in Rio and, contrary to what has happened to hip hop in the US, it tries to distance itself from funk by a more intellectual approach. Most hip-hopers thus see their lyrics that are typically much more critical and politicised than Funk lyrics as a main point differentiating the two. D.J. TR for instance believes that part of the *funk carioca* M.C.'s lack social and political conscience and therefore simply do not have a message for their audience. The reason why they become funk M.C.'s simply is a lack of other opportunities to earn money for a *favela* dweller.²⁸⁰

According to DJ TR the starting point for "aware" hip-hop lyrics must be the discrimination against black and mixed people in Rio: "Everybody in Rio meets

²⁷⁹ DJ TR alias Sérgio José de Machado Leal, conversation in January 2008

²⁸⁰ idem

one another in the *Sambodrome* and on the beach, but when it comes to meeting one another at the University or on the job market, then the openness is over.”²⁸¹

As DJ TR states in his book “Acorda Hip Hop!” (Wake Up Hip Hop!), even though sometimes both music styles are performed at one *baile*, there was lots of rivalry between the two movements in the past. However, in his view, hip hop should become a sort of an intellectual frame for both styles: “In Rio the Janeiro to be a *favela* dweller and aware of this situation is a privilege of the few who had the opportunity to get to know movements such as hip-hop. The funk-people are black and live in the *favelas* like almost all of us of the hip-hop movement. They therefore suffer from the same racial and social injustice. They only lack the search for information – unlike a lot of us hip-hoppers -, and thus become vulnerable to manipulation by music managers.”²⁸²

He sees funk as a sort of a youth movement that – contrary to hip hop – reduces funk to a music style and leaves aside its qualities as a social movement. According to him funk-people, like all other youths, feel a necessity for self-affirmation and self-esteem. However, funk-people typically have little access to quality education and consequently little knowledge about society and their role in it. Therefore they are easily manipulated and turned into an instrument for those who lead in the cultural field, like politicians, managers and business people. He pleads in favour of integrating the funk-people that share the same background and rely on funk as their only past-time in the *favela*: “Brazilian hip-hop’s war should not be against the manipulated, but rather against the manipulator. ... It is our task to walk together with these brothers so

²⁸¹ “No Rio todo mundo se encontra na praia e no Sambódromo, mas na hora de encontrar na Universidade ou no mercado de trabalho, a conversa é outra.” DJ TR alias Sérgio José de Machado Leal, conversation in January 2008

²⁸² “Ser favelado consciente no Rio de Janeiro é privilégio de poucos que tiveram a chance de conhecer movimentos como o hip-hop. Os funkeiros são pretos e vivem nas favelas como quase todos nós do hip-hop, sofrendo as mesmas injustiças sociais e raciais. Só não há busca pela informação – como ocorre entre muitos de nós hip-hoppers -, tornando-se assim, vulneráveis à manipulação dos empresários do segmento.” D.J. TR: *Accorda Hip-Hop! – Hip-hop, wake up!*, p.246

that we can learn to live with our differences in order to create a more equal society for all.”²⁸³

Or as Claysoul puts it: “The *Funk Carioca* people aren’t aware of what they are doing...Our culture is in the hands of white people.”²⁸⁴

For D.J. TR hip hop is an integral part of the Afro-Brazilian movement for citizen’s rights, for social and racial integration and in particular for the self-affirmation of Afro-Brazilians. For him “being aware” means consciousness of racial discrimination against black and mixed people. Therefore, hip-hop should be an equal rights movement strongly based on culture and music.

However, hip-hop is a minority culture in Rio today. This is partly due to its intellectualized approach in a community that lacks education and witnesses extreme social problems and violence on a daily basis. Another reason is that the movement itself is split about how to deal with commercialisation. A number of artists are very critical about media and TV exposure, quoting numerous examples of artists being “lured” to change their style and message to become more mainstream and sell better. On the other hand, the number of artists trying to reach a bigger audience through the media seems to be growing. As Claysoul puts it: “There are those hip-hop artists who change to a more funky style to become commercial successful – and who could blame somebody coming from a poor neighbourhood and badly in need of some money to sustain himself.”²⁸⁵ However, both D.J. TR and Claysoul reject the recourse to the easy stereotype of the typical American hip-hopper in order to sell more.²⁸⁶

“In reality however, I believe that each of us fights in his area and in Brazil there are a lot of people that want and need to hear good ideas. There are different channels to spread these ideas, but unfortunately not all of them reach all areas. I am proud to have managed to bring this language to the interior, such

²⁸³ “A guerra do hip-hop nacional não deve ser contra o manipulado e sim contra o manipulador. ...Cabe a nós caminharmos junto a esses irmãos no sentido de aprendermos mutuamente a lidar com essas diferenças em prol de uma sociedade mais justa para todos.”
D.J. TR, *Accorda Hip-Hop! – Hip-hop, wake up!*, p.254

²⁸⁴ Conversation with Joci clay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, January 2008

²⁸⁵ idem

²⁸⁶ Conversation with Sérgio José de Machado Leal, alias D.J. TR, January 2008

as the Amazon region, to native tribes, where people only have a TV set to communicate with the world.”²⁸⁷

“A band that I find supercool (Public Enemy), they sell, but do not sell themselves, that is, they are commercial, but they still have a message and an extremely positive policy concerning the Afro-descendent community.”²⁸⁸

For Big Richard the equilibrium to be found between commercial and activist is “to work decently, to work with your heart and not with your pocket.”²⁸⁹

For Bonga the difference between commercial and activist can be overcome: “Rap as a music style has his words free, you speak of what you want and what you feel. The thing is to keep your essence when you speak and to be true to yourself when you speak.”²⁹⁰

The Rio hip-hop movement tries to bridge the social gap by promoting social activities in the poorer communities where most artists live. “If you put in question the system, then you have a political position. If hip-hop has a social obligation? If, apart from the culture, you want to change your daily life, then you hip-hop should have a social obligation, yes.”²⁹¹

It remains to be seen whether this movement can gather sufficient strength in Rio to seriously influence the social situation of the poorer cariocas. In any case, contrary to funk, the goal seems to be firmly rooted within the movement:

²⁸⁷ “Mas na verdade, eu acho que cada um tá batalhando por um lado e no Brasil tem muita gente querendo ouvir e precisando ouvir ideias boas. Tem vários canais para proporcionar isso, mas infelizmente nem todos chegam a todos os lugares. Eu me orgulho de ter conseguido levar essa linguagem pro interior, como a Amazônia, pras tribos indígenas, onde as pessoas só têm mesmo a TV pra se comunicar com o mundo.” Gabriel o Pensador quoted in D.J. TR, p. 214.

²⁸⁸ “Um grupo que eu acho bacana demais (Public Enemy), eles vendem e não se vendem, ou seja, é comercial, porém eles têm um discurso e uma política extremamente positivista em relação a comunidade afro-descendente.” Big Richard quoted in DJ TR, p. 215

²⁸⁹ “...fazer um trabalho bem feito, um trabalho com o coração, e não com o bolso”. DJ TR, p. 215

²⁹⁰ “O rap como música ele tem a sua rima livre, você fala do que você quiser e o que você sente. O importante é você manter a sua essência no ato de falar, e ser verdadeiro no que você fala.” DJ TR, p. 219

²⁹¹ “Se você contesta o sistema você tem uma posição política. O hip-hop se ele tem ou não uma obrigação social? Se você, além da cultura, quer uma transformação do cotidiano, deve ter uma obrigação social, sim.” Bonga in DJ TR, p. 350.

“I believe that we can use hip-hop to save people and bring good stuff to them. This is already a very serious social action, and hip-hop came for this, it was born from this situation that our people did not have any past-time. Politics today in the whole world is economics, it does not care for the people. Well, it is for this that hip-hop came! Bring back the self-esteem of our people and save a lot of people from drugs and entering criminality.”²⁹²

8.5 Baile funk versus Samba parades and rehearsals

Both the musicians of the samba *baterias* and those of the *baile funk* usually do not play according to notes and scores, but rather according to what they hear at a rehearsal or, in the case of funk, mostly what they recorded before, normally adapting the songs to the crowd before them. Members of a *bateria* need a lot of training and rehearsals to play their part well and create a coherent sound as an orchestra. Funk artists can start performing after a shorter period of rehearsing.

Funk artists and “ordinary” members of the *escolas*, i.e. other than the administrative and artistic elite, usually come from poor neighbourhoods and therefore had limited access to education. *Baile funk*, simply because of the much smaller number of artists, allow more space and give more chance for any single artist to make his way to the top than the established hierarchies of the *escolas* that are sometimes dominated by family clans.

Both performances allow and indeed motivate the audience to participate, both by singing and dancing. During her parade each *escola* will repeat her samba-*enredo* a dozen times, making it easy for the audience that usually knows their *escola*’s samba by heart to catch at least the refrain of the rival *escolas*’ samba.

²⁹² “Acho que a gente pode, sim, usar o hip-hop para salvar, resgatar e levar á coisas boas. Isso já é uma accao social muito seria, e o hip-hop veio para isso, nasceu dessa historia, de que as pessoas nao tinham entretenimento. A política, hoje em dia, no mundo inteiro é econômica, não pensa no povo. Então, o hip-hop veio pra isso! Resgatar a auto-estima da população, e salvar muita gente das drogas e da marginalidade.” Rooney in DJ TR, p. 351

The samba-*enredos* are usually in Brazilian slang with lots of puns and second meanings. They used to be rather simple in the past for people to sing along, but have become ever more sophisticated over time.

At a *Baile Funk* we can have two kinds of performers: First, of course, the people who perform on stage, the M.C.'s, D.J.'s and dancers. However, the audience here is both performing dancer and singer as well as spectator – both of the performances on stage and on the dancing floor. The difference with the parades is that in *Baile Funk* the audience dance, watch and interact more among themselves.

Funk lyrics are usually sung in a very colloquial style and easy to grasp and sing along. A number of them give their audience instructions of how to dance and behave during the song.

The step dance of *funk carioca* is based on the hip movement. Every step puts in evidence the behind, especially with women. Men dance the same *funk carioca* steps, shaking their hips, but they will not put their behind in evidence like women.

The women's outfit to go to a *baile funk* usually puts their behind in evidence. Normally they wear tight trousers to show their body. Men wear jeans, shorts or they try to imitate American rappers' clothing, as they see on MTV video clips.

D.J. Marlboro (civic name: Fernando Luís Mattos da Matta) one of the first funkstars in Rio explains part of funk's success with the elitism of *escolas de samba*: as costumes became ever more sophisticated, some of the people in the poorer neighbourhoods could not afford to buy them any more and participate in the local school's parade.²⁹³ However, this does not happen in the same way with the smaller *escolas* that perform their own more traditional and less sophisticated parade on a street in Madureira, the Intendente Magalhães.

²⁹³ Conversation with Fernando Luís Mattos da Mata, alias D.J. Marlboro, September 2008

These manage better to keep their traditional strong presence in their respective community.²⁹⁴

Another reason for this increasing distance is that the industrially produced samba and the parades do not allow interaction, spontaneous participation and modification, as earlier forms of samba still did. Indeed, these earlier sambas used to define only their first part, the rest was open for the artist and the audience to compose together during the performance.²⁹⁵

With the installation of the stalls, the distance between the people parading and those watching increased and the perspective changed: now people see the parade from top to bottom. At the same time the escolas produced ever more sophisticated parades. Carnival floats were no longer made from cheap or scrap wood, but rather with metal etc. The costumes also used more noble and expensive materials, such as feathers and jewellery. This meant an end to self-made costumes, as people could not produce them any more at home with the required quality. This means that nowadays each wing of a escola de samba orders costumes according to its theme. The prices for such a costume range from about 100 € to 1000 € (and are much higher for the principal artists' costumes).

Sílvia Helena, president of the Cauã wing of Mangueira escola de samba, explained that a typical escola gives away about 20 costumes per wing (of a total of about 150 to 200) for free to people of their neighbourhood who are particularly engaged in the school.²⁹⁶ In exchange these people have to participate in all or virtually all rehearsals and play a sort of a peer role for the other participants. If they miss more than a couple of rehearsals their costume will be re-allocated to somebody else.²⁹⁷ In this case they can buy a costume or else are not allowed to participate in the year's parade.

²⁹⁴ Conversation with Joci clay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, January 2008

²⁹⁵ Sodré Muniz: Samba, o dono do corpo, p. 56 ff

²⁹⁶ Conversation with Sílvia Helena, Sept. 2007

²⁹⁷ Conversation with Geisa Ketty, Febr. 2008

Of course, the criteria for allocating free costumes are not always clear or transparent. The fact that some people in a neighbourhood get it free and others do not can create a lot of friction among locals. This is of course not a problem with *baile funk*: Whoever can pay the relatively low entrance fees, can enter and dance. Moreover, *baile funk* can take place almost anywhere, even on the street, with a minimum of organization.²⁹⁸

However, the relationship between samba and funk cannot be seen as one of rivalry: In 1997, for the first time, Viradouro escola put a funk beat in its samba time-line in its official samba *enredo* that was played during its parade.²⁹⁹ Funk and samba obviously not only live side by side, but also influence one another, at all levels.³⁰⁰

Most of the people in Rio do not see a chance of funk substituting Samba as the main music style. They rather see them as different music styles that will continue to exist side by side.³⁰¹ Known artists, such as Ivo Meirelles, can participate in both music styles, in his case both as a successful funk artist and as the director of the *bateria* of Mangueira escola. For him, “samba and funk always go together, there is no way of separating them.”³⁰²

At least partially the audience of carioca funk is different: even though there are *bailes funk* for all kinds of audience, most of them cater for a younger and poorer crowd with simple lyrics that can be very violent and sometimes pornographic.³⁰³

In any case, both samba and funk were originally products of the Afro-Brazilian lower class and therefore developed in poorer neighbourhoods and spread from there to the Brazilian society. Part of *baile funk*’s success is the absence of other entertainment options: Indeed for most youth in these areas, no theatre,

²⁹⁸ Conversation with Fernando Luís Mattos da Mata, alias D.J. Marlboro, September 2008

²⁹⁹ “Trevas! Luzes! A explosão do Univero!” – Darkness! Lights! The Explosion of the Universe!, samba-enredo, Viradouro, 1997

³⁰⁰ Conversation with Joci clay de Souza e Silva, alias Claysoul, Jan. 2008

³⁰¹ Conversation with Geisa Ketty and Onésio Meirelles, Febr. 2008

³⁰² “O samba e o funk estão sempre colado; não tem como separar”, Ivo Meirelles on DVD “Moro no Brasil”, produced by Mika Kausimäki, 2003

³⁰³ Conversation with Geisa Ketty and Onésio Meirelles, Febr. 2008

no opera, no cinema is available³⁰⁴ and in the center of town prices are prohibitive and participants in their normal dresses could face social discrimination. It is interesting to note that authorities prefer to spend huge sums of public money on the main Carnival parades, rather than on providing more entertainment in the poorer neighborhoods.

8. 6 Social and Economic Aspects of Baile Funk

<i>Eu só quero é ser feliz, Andar tranquilamente na favela onde eu nasci, é. E poder me orgulhar, E ter a consciência que o pobre tem seu lugar.³⁰⁵ [Fé em Deus, DJ]</i>	<i>All I want is to be happy To walk in peace in the favela where I was born, yes. And to be able to be proud, And be reassured that the poor have their place. (Trust in Good, DJ)</i>
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While the finances of any single *baile funk* in a poorer neighbourhood typically may not seem very important, the fact that the event takes place in the community itself, means that most of the money generated remains with its wider membership. This is an untypically positive situation, as most of the rest of the money spent goes invariably to the better organised parts of town. The obvious exceptions are the sound systems and some of the better known artists that tour the venues each weekend, playing at numerous events on each night.

Given that there are dozens of *bailes* taking place each weekend night, on the whole they manage to generate significant revenue. Apart from the funk artists, the sound systems and the dancers, there are numerous people profiting from this: from security staff on the spot to others preparing the flyers and the numerous people selling food and drinks at or near the venue.³⁰⁶ D.J. Marlboro in 2003 calculated that at an average to big *baile* about 200 people selling drinks participate and that they pay an average of 30 Reais (or 12 Euros) each

³⁰⁴ Georgia Schultze: Baile Funk – Jugendprotest auf Brasilianisch, radio report

³⁰⁵ “Eu Só Quero é Ser Feliz” - I only want to be happy, funk, Furacão 2000:

³⁰⁶ DJ Edgar quoted by Schultze Georgia: Baile Funk – Jugendprotest auf Brasilianisch, radio report 2006

to finance the sound system that would usually charge about a thousand Euros and the artists' pay.³⁰⁷

The career as a funk artist is also one of the few positive role models in a poor neighbourhood or a *favela*. Due to poor education and very little social mobility very few job opportunities are available for people living there and those who are offered very low wages. The only exceptions are illegal activities, in particular drug trafficking. With funk "there is one more way to look for better days, apart from trying one's luck in football, in Samba or on TV".³⁰⁸

The big sound systems when touring the *bailés* in fact also try to find new talents and hits by giving locals a chance to perform one or two funks on stage to see the audience's reaction. When successful, the performance is taped and played at other *bailés* that the system organises to test its potential. This way on the CDs launched by the sound systems numerous artists and funks are presented that are already successful at the *bailés* and heard on radio to ensure the CD's – and with it the artist's – success.

However, this is obviously only a realistic option for the lucky few and most artists are not able to make a living from their music.³⁰⁹

Also most funk artists give a somewhat dubious example as a role model, both by their own personal history and by their texts. One of the best known funk stars, Mr. Catra, certainly is an Afro-Brazilian who managed to become successful through his music after, as he himself puts it, a short career on the other side of the law. However, his lyrics are violent, they typically portray women as sexual objects only, and he lives his macho lyrics in real life: he has several women and about a dozen children.

Another problem that is true for most successful people from the poorer neighbourhoods is that they tend to move out of these places as soon as they

³⁰⁷ DJ Marlboro quoted in Essinger Silvio: *Batidão*, p. 243

³⁰⁸ "...há uma forma a mais de se buscar dias melhores além de tentar a sorte no futebol, no samba e na TV", Essinger Silvio, *Batidão*, p. 14

³⁰⁹ Conversation with Sérgio José de Machado Leal, alias D.J. TR, Jan. 2008

gain enough money to do so. Given the living conditions there, this is understandable. However, it leaves the youth there without positive role models.

9. Interpretation

9.1 Performance Theory applied to Samba and Funk Performances

As described in the chapters above, I participated in several Samba and Funk events, following the method of Participant Observation³¹⁰ and making performance protocols. The concepts of Performance theory, briefly introduced in chapter 4, provide a helpful and rich theoretic frame for analyzing and interpreting the above described events. – Interestingly, these Afro-Brazilian events can also be helpful to re-evaluate certain concepts of traditional performance theory. For Afro-Brazilian performances firmly center on what European-inspired theory has long neglected: interaction between all present, authenticity and spontaneity, the “process-character” rather than the “product-character” and the body and its movements rather than language.

9.1.1 The Parade of Império Serrano in the Sambodrome³¹¹

The *sambodrome* is one of the biggest “performance spaces” in the world. A whole street was closed off in the center of town, in the middle between the poor and the rich areas, to host the main Samba parades that take place on a couple of nights per year only. The high stalls, the lightening,³¹² the stadium’s sheer size ... everything contributes to make a ceremonial space of this pure performance space in the sense of Richard Schechner.³¹³

The *sambodrome* as a venue also modified the parades because of the change in perspective: The audience is farther away from the action and judges the performance from a viewpoint high above the “avenue”.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ See Chapter 5.

³¹¹ See Chapter 7.3.1.2.5

³¹² The parades take place at night, both to enhance the visual effects and to avoid the day’s heat.

³¹³ Schechner Richard, p. XViii

³¹⁴ Hiram Araújo, conversation Sept. 2008; see also chapter 7.2.1

Nevertheless, the audience remains a main ingredient of the performance. The interaction between the numerous participants is not enough to guarantee an enthusiastic show. It is the interaction between the *escola* and its audience, in this case at half past four in the morning and in pouring rain, that is the fuel of a successful performance. Império Serrano had markedly simpler costumes and carnival floats than the richer *escolas* before (e.g. Unidos do Jacarezinho). However, Império Serrano³¹⁵ due to its support from the audience with shouts of “victory, victory!” and permanent mimicry dancing on the stalls managed to stage an enthusiastic performance.

The Rio press – and to a certain extent the judges - evaluate an *escola*'s performance mostly according to this interaction between *escola* members and the audience in the *sambodrome*. Império won the championship and in 2009 it will parade in the special group.

The *sambodrome* parades stage all the main ingredients Huizinga enumerates for catching an audience's attention:³¹⁶ the competition between *escolas* is fierce, their supporters normally come from one distinct area, the prestige to be achieved by winning is huge (and can result also in economic success), the parades are esthetically extremely well done, individual dancers show outstanding proficiency.

The *sambodrome* parades are an extremely sophisticated performance based on a central plot, the *enredo*. This *enredo* gives the dominant theme (in this case the life of Carmen Miranda, a world-famous samba singer and actress) and inspires the costumes and the carnival floats. Moreover, it also serves as the basis for each wing's dancing and acting. A samba *enredo* therefore is more than a piece of music: it is in the terms of Cook the central script that “gives performers something to perform”³¹⁷ - in this case thousands of them.

³¹⁵ see chapter 7.3.1.2.5

³¹⁶ Huizinga Johan, p.53

³¹⁷ Martin Robert L. quoted in Cook Nicholas, p.3

Surprisingly, a samba *enredo* typically consists of a comparatively short text (for people to remember easily). It cannot therefore describe a parade in detail, nor sketch out the wings' scenes and acting. Due to its distanced relation with "correct" Portuguese and its African roots, Brazilian culture is more based on theatrical and performative expression than on language. It is bodily acting and choreography that develops the theme in the *sambodrome* parades. Thus, Império Serrano presented hundreds of participants in Carmen Miranda's best known Hollywood costumes, rather than singing her Hollywood successes in words.

Rules are essential in the big *sambodrome* parades in various respects: above all they create a counter-world with its own values in the sense of Schechner.³¹⁸ This includes a special value of time. A group *A escola* must reach the end of the *avenida* within 60 minutes, otherwise it loses valuable points in the competition. This often leads to hastened ends and "holes" in the parades, as some wings rush ahead, leaving others behind.

In addition, certain elements of the parades are mandatory, such as the standard bearer and the master of ceremony or the *Baiana*³¹⁹ dancers that were part of the earliest performances. Tradition has it also that each *escola* stage its symbol (in this case a royal crown) on one of the first Carnival floats.

Rules, as Schechner stated,³²⁰ also serve to protect the *escolas* from encroachment from others. In last year's competition only one of the twelve main *escolas* had to cede its place to the best *escola* of the Accession Group.

Rules have always been essential to play to create a counter-world, something quite apart from everyday life, where players can experiment new behavior and reflect about their current life. They permit the creation of a special world where people can make their own rules, re-interpret time and objects and their relationships and behavior. A participant using the costume of a queen will feel

³¹⁸ Schechner Richard, 2003, page 13

³¹⁹ That is a samba school wing.

³²⁰ Schechner Richard, 2003, page 13

herself a queen during the parade. She dances together with the others in her wing and share this experience in the counter-world with them.

However, rules in the *sambodrome* parades also serve to create a predictable show with rich visual effects for TV and the *sambodrome* audience and a high standard quality. This is important to create a predictable success and revenue for the huge investment such a parade is financially. For while these parades are unproductive in themselves, they do have enormous financial implications associated with them. In fact, money has moved much more to the center-stage than Turner witnessed in his 1970-analysis.³²¹

Rules are also intended to create a uniform predictable performance, uniform movements according to a fixed and often rehearsed choreography. Moreover, the main message of most of the parades is to celebrate an imagined common Rio de Janeiro identity, with rich and poor, black and white and above all *mulatos*, participating – mostly - on the same footing.

To achieve this goal of uniformity and common identity, the parades' ever stricter rules sacrifice the *escola* members' individuality, creativity and spontaneity. As Huizinga predicted for social play, they also increasingly limit the play element and start being seen as something serious, both in themselves and for the financial consequences of success or failure in the competition.³²² The competition and the winning, the gains in prestige and status, take center-stage over the play element. Seriousness – ensured by sometimes professional directors who supervise, but do not dance – starts to dominate. This effect is enhanced by the fact that the main parades are staged increasingly for millions of TV spectators with the consequent loss of "liveness" in the sense of co-presence and authenticity in the terms of Fischer-Lichte.³²³

During the Samba parades a certain story is enacted by the participants, mostly through their normally well visible body and its movements. The body itself is

³²¹ Turner Victor: *The Anthropology of Performance*, 1982

³²² Huizinga Johan, 1955, p. 187f

³²³ Fischer-Lichte Erika, 2004, p. 58ff

the means to convey a message. A beautiful body is a powerful and ever visible status symbol in a tropical climate. The change in perspective from the body's message to the body as message, the "perceptive multi-stability" as Fischer-Lichte calls it,³²⁴ is thus both ever present and sometimes overcome. "Fronting the body" of a well-known top-model is a message in itself, as it adds to the *escola's* prestige to count with such supporters.

The basic element of the choreographies is the typical Afro-Brazilian hip-movement that the powerful *bateria* drums cause not only among participants, but also among the audience. As the wings pass, the audience reacts. Body movement and interaction between participants and audience is thus rhythmized by the *bateria*. Curiously, only very few exceptional dancers or exceptionally beautiful participants are allowed to dance Samba freely and to tell their feelings by foot, *dizer no pé*. They are less restrained by the choreography, for here the – traditionally *mulato* - body and its beauty is the main message.

9.1.2 Rehearsals

The big *escola* parades have become so sophisticated that they demand months of preparation and rehearsals, in the *escola quadras*, on the streets and in the *sambodrome*. In fact, these numerous events create a special calendar for participants, giving a rhythm to their year's activities.³²⁵ They constitute a text-book example for what Schechner called "deep structures", probably one of the most elaborate found anywhere.³²⁶

As seen in chapter 7.2.4 these highly institutionalized preparations leave little room for chance and improvisation: they start with choosing the theme and above all the samba *enredo*, a sort of a script for the whole parade. Up to this moment, rehearsals tend to be more festive and free, which can be seen by

³²⁴ Fischer-Lichte Erika, 2004, p. 255 ff

³²⁵ For a timetable and a more detailed discussions of rehearsals etc. see chapter 7.2.4

³²⁶ Schechner Richard, 2003, p. XViii

typically very flexible starting hours and individual dancing prowesses. All in all they still give room to individual play.

Once the *enredo*, the plot, is chosen, however, the *quadra* rehearsals³²⁷ gradually change in the way Huizinga predicted for social play. More and more rules achieving an ever stricter choreography are introduced to stage an ever more professional parade.³²⁸ In the concepts of Turner, there is a marked shift from the play to the ritual character as the rehearsals approach the parades in the *sambodrome*.³²⁹ It is important to note, however, that normally no entrance fee is charged for rehearsals and even non-members may assist.

The rehearsals on the street³³⁰ introduce a main new element: it has the participation of the area's inhabitants. These rehearsals are important to present the *escola*, its importance for the neighborhood, to give participants the opportunity to show their identity, presenting the choreography or their individual samba dancing prowesses. In the rehearsals, even with the choreography already in place, the *escola* members still have a chance to dance more spontaneously and give to their bodies the freedom to dance samba.

Here, the interaction between audience and the *escola* members through dancing is decisive for the performative aspect. Both of them, audience and members, interact and inspire one another by their dancing and body movements. These "feedback loops"³³¹, in the words of Fischer-Lichte, are active not only between performers and audience. As the performers are particularly numerous, the interaction between them during the performance is equally important.

³²⁷ See chapter 7.3.2.2

³²⁸ Huizinga Johan, 1955, p. 187 f

³²⁹ Turner Victor, 1982, p. 124

³³⁰ See chapter 7.3.1.2.3

³³¹ Fischer-Lichte Erika, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, 2004, p. 59.

The rehearsals in the *sambodrome*³³² are important for *escola* members to get accustomed to the space and the timing of the parade, as well as to the combination of singing and dancing. Also, participants already perform divided in *alas*, wings, and present strictly the choreography rehearsed in the *escola* halls and on the streets.

Another very interesting point is that these rehearsals already have the participation of the audience in the *sambodrome*. Contrary to the “real” parades, entrance is free for rehearsals that otherwise have all the ingredients of the “real” parades, apart from the costumes and the carnival floats. Thus, *escola* members get a sort of “pre-feeling” of the big night.

9.1.3 Traditional Samba parades on the Intendente Magalhaes Avenue

The smaller *escolas* of the groups C to E stage their yearly parades on a major suburban avenue between Madureira e Campinho³³³. Whilst the *escolas* and the parades are by and large modeled on their big “cousins”, they still follow a more traditional style:

The parades take place on the street with few stalls and entrance is free. The venue therefore inspires little ceremonial feeling.

Also, the parades are much smaller and less spectacular than the *sambodrome* shows. However, they seem to have remained closer to Schechner’s play-model. Here, rules still ensure that a counter-world is created in which costumes and dance enable participants to escape their everyday roles. The rules are more flexible, though, and allow for enough space for individual creativity and spontaneous dancing and expression of one’s feelings.

Flexible rules and less competition reduce the parades’ value for great audiences and TV. At the same time, however, they permit free entrance and

³³² See chapter 7.3.1.2.4

³³³ Two suburbs in Rio. See map in appendix page 29

allow the (smaller) audience to interact much closer with the participants, sometimes by entering the parades on the spot. Closeness, liveness with bodily co-presence, a permanent feed-back loop between all present, ensure authenticity in Fischer-Lichte's sense. The parades give *escola* members an occasion to perform, but also an occasion to interact with the audience.

As these parades cater less for a remote audience and more for the individual playfulness of participants, there is more Samba-dancing and individual “*dizer no pé*” than pre-established uniform choreographies. Obviously, this puts the participants' body and Afro-Brazilian body-movements firmly at the center of the performance.

9.1.4 Baile Funk

Like the Samba parades, *Baile funk* is an event to dance, to put the body in movement. *Funk carioca* as a dancing style is similar to samba in the sense that it is based on the typical Afro-Brazilian style hip movement. The main difference is the way the feet will move. In *Baile Funk* dancing, the feet movements are generally freer and more flexible.³³⁴

Partly due to the commercialization of the big *escolas* as from the 1970ies, *Baile funk* became increasingly popular in the Afro-Brazilian population³³⁵ and today shares the entertainment space with the *escolas* in many Rio districts. In Madureira downtown, there is the “Baile funk debaixo do viaduto”, the *Baile funk* under the bridge, which happens every weekend, at the same time as samba school events such as “*Feijoadas*” or rehearsals.³³⁶

Baile Funk constitutes – like the Samba events – a counter-world³³⁷ where the normally younger and poorer participants can flee reality and its problems.

³³⁴ see also chapter 8.3.2

³³⁵ see chapter 8.2

³³⁶ see chapter 7.3.1.2

³³⁷ Schechner Richard, 2003, p. 13

However, here there is no role-exchange between rich and poor, no costumes, normally no coming-together of different classes.³³⁸ Rather freedom of expression through dancing, singing and flirting is at the core of the event. Contrary to the big samba events, there are few spectators – almost everybody joins in the dancing – and no financial implications. Rules are therefore not very strict, apart from a certain simple, but sexy outfit, leaving room for individual style and improvisation. For this reason and as the feed-back loop contains numerous random elements, *Baile funk* performances are more unique than the rule-based and somewhat predictable samba parades and cannot be repeated.³³⁹

Baile Funk is a year-round affordable entertainment where to express feelings. The means for this escape from the constraints of everyday life are not costumes, but the body, its beauty, and its movements. By following certain steps, a special choreography, a dancer can document his belonging to a group; through dancing prowess, he can gain prestige within his group.

In the 1990ies a competition element in the sense of Huizinga³⁴⁰ was introduced in most *bailes*, where participants were divided in two sides. However, this “dancing against each other” soon degenerated in groups from a certain neighborhood fighting rival groups and even resulted in *Baile funk* being prohibited for some time. It is mostly absent from today’s *Bailes*.

Due to this lack of a competitive element and of rules ensuring interesting visible effects etc., there is normally a very limited audience at the *Bailes*. Almost all people come there to participate and dance. Obviously, this means that local prestige can be gained in such an event, but hardly community- or city-wide respect. The lack of deep-structures, of detailed preparation, that is one of the *Bailes* advantage over the Samba performances becomes a disadvantage in this respect.

³³⁸ See chapter 8.3.2

³³⁹ Fischer-Lichte Erika, 2004, p. 58 ff

³⁴⁰ Huizinga Johan, 1955, p. 52 ff

In *Baile funk* interaction between participants and funk artists is essential³⁴¹. Therefore the normally simple locations foresee little separation between artists and participants, in the case of simple street performances none at all. The funk artists on the stage make the electronic music – based a lot on drums, like Samba – they dance and sing. The audience replies by dancing and singing. Contrary to the Samba events, here participants can and do create their own choreographies that are then sometimes adopted by the artists on stage. Without this interaction between them, we cannot even consider a *Baile funk* a performance, exactly like Nicholas Cook says about music as process, not as product.³⁴²

In the *Baile funk* in Curicica³⁴³, at the beginning there was only the DJ on stage and hardly anybody danced with music only. A little bit later, with the dancers, the scene changed radically. In the *Baile funk* downtown, the funk star DJ Malboro entered scene with dancers and the audience responded immediately by dancing and singing.

Most Funk lyrics, similar to a samba *enredo*, direct the dancers' movements, both on stage and in the audience. They either explicitly tell participants what steps to take ("now go down, now jump") or they provide the main theme of the dancing, e.g. the dance of the Hawaiian girls or that of Bob Marley. Most funk lyrics therefore are surprisingly non-politic and uncritical. They are more meant to provide participants with something to perform in the sense of Cook³⁴⁴, rather than to convey intellectual messages. Like in Samba, the main means to perform is not singing or theater acting. Rather, body movements convey messages (lately mostly erotic ones).

Erika Fischer-Lichte emphasizes the bodily co-presence of artists and audience, and the resulting feedback-Schleife. The body, normally dressed in tight clothes to show its silhouette, is used as a means to convey a message through the typical Afro-Brazilian body movement. Like in the samba events, the body takes

³⁴¹ See chapter 8.3 Performative Aspects of Carioca Baile Funk

³⁴² Cook Nicholas, 2001, p. 3

³⁴³ See chapter 8.3.2.1 Baile Funk in a Suburb

³⁴⁴ Cook Nicholas, 2001, p. 3 and p. 10

center stage. Interpreted in the sense of “perceptive multi-stability” the body in itself, its beauty and erotism, mostly takes first place over the expression of the dancers’ feelings and identity.

9.2 Samba and Funk contributing to Rio’s cultural identity

O maior espetáculo da terra! – The biggest show on earth!

Cariocas, in a somewhat characteristic lack of modesty, often point to one of the most striking features of the Samba parades: their sheer size. It is certainly worth asking how a Carnival parade could grow to a point where a whole area of town had to be reserved for the tens of thousands of participants, and the parades divided into several categories, taking turns on different nights.

The success of *Baile Funk* is less visible, as it takes place mostly in the suburbs and *favelas*, far from the media limelight. The numbers estimated by funk promoters and artists are nevertheless impressive: there are probably hundreds of Bailes taking place in Rio every weekend with hundreds of thousands of participants. The funk community – remember the carioca attitude to modesty? – even prefers to speak of millions.

Both the *escola* events (there is much more than the big parades in the *sambodrome*, of course) and the *Baile funk* are typical Rio performances. Their recipe consists of a number of ingredients common to both: To start with, both rely heavily on their Afro-Brazilian roots, in their music and in their dancing. To this both added with “*jeitinho*”, in a typically Brazilian way, some spice from European or North-American music styles. At the center of both performances lies an African body movement, some even say, the legendary beauty of the *mulata* or *mulato* body itself, in movement. A beautiful body is a powerful and ever visible status symbol in a tropical climate, and one of the few the middle-class cannot buy – not even at Rio’s renowned plastic surgery clinics. Add to

this an involving rhythm based on a typical syncopation performed by strong drum beats that calls everybody to join a community of dancers.

The resulting mix manages to gather most of Rio's audience, be it white, mixed or black, and make them dance together. For once, an otherwise divided society plays as a multicolor, but unified city; everybody can consider himself *carioca da gema*, a full-scale Rio citizen, at these events.

The big *escola* de Samba parades in the *sambodrome* with all their impressive size and glamour are the best known events of Rio's Carnival. However, they are only the loudest *grito* in a whole concert of activities. The suburbs host their own, more modest and more spontaneous parades, and the streets in the center of town witness the revival of the more anarchical *bloco* Carnival. Nevertheless, the *sambodrome* parades managed to get Rio's and the world's attention and to stage enormously expensive shows with tens of thousands of participants. How did this happen?

The easy answer is that Rio de Janeiro grew and with it the number of Carnival components and the money at their disposal. However, in addition the big *escolas* have managed to concentrate not only society's attention to their show, but they also command the efforts of thousands of their ordinary members for months for the parades' preparations. Obviously, they offer something valuable both for the member participating and for the wider audience. Entertainment, of course. However, this alone cannot explain their success.

Carnival is certainly not exclusive to Rio de Janeiro. Its secret of success, everywhere, is the opportunity for participants to play, to create a counter-world in which to express feelings and attitudes hidden and oppressed in every-day life and confront society with it.

This is one of the main functions of Rio Carnival: let people express their identity in an open and playful manner. In an ethnically diverse and socially divided society this is certainly a cherished offer for the individual, above all for those far from society's commanding positions.

For a society with multiple identities, Rio's Carnival had more to offer, however: the big parades are the result of a huge common effort involving most of society. They are performed by Afro-Brazilians mostly from poorer neighborhoods, but they are increasingly open to the middle- and upper classes. They have become a presentation of how Rio would like to see its society: unified show of beauty and harmony. The big parades thus have taken on a strong additional function: that of forging and presenting a common carioca identity. So successful are they in this respect that the Carnival parade has become a dominant symbol for Rio, and even Brazil, and a powerful motor for its tourism industry.

It is interesting to note that the transformation of relatively free Carnival playing into a more institutionalized, even ritualized and thus repetitive show-event went hand in hand with the *escolas* taking over, "invading", areas of town from which their members used to be socially banned. In fact, they were invited to the center of town in the 1930ies, at a time when the *estado novo* authoritarian government was reorganizing society around a new common identity. This was, probably not by chance, the time when *antropofagia*, "cultural syncretism" between Brazilian's ethnical groups, miscigenation and the resulting mostly *mulato* population became a center-piece of Brazilian identity.

After invading the noble areas of the time, the next step towards commercialization and the big show came in 1962, with the construction of stalls for the audience. This resulted in entrance fees and also in a growing separation of participants and audience. The room for the traditionally close interaction and the frequent change in role between them started to disappear. Also it created a different perspective, from up on the stalls to down on the avenue. This new perspective, and money, laid the ground for the parades' esthetic revolution in the 1970ies, when the famous *carnavalesco* *Joãosinho Trinta* introduced a new luxurious costume-style that could not be achieved any more by home-made production by the communities themselves.

Yet, the real water-shed was the construction of the Sambódromo, a stadium dedicated exclusively to the main parades, in 1984. With the mostly publicly financed Sambódromo in place, the parades changed drastically: The division of the parades in two nights helped the *escolas* plan their parades better, and it increased their income. In addition, more of the money could now be spent on preparing the parade, rather than on organizing a temporary venue. The stadium also increased the show-vision of the parades and the competition between *escolas*.

In financial and in prestige terms it became ever more important to rank highly in the competition to avoid an economically disastrous demotion from the *grupo especial*. For this special group dispose of the exclusive right to the *Sambódromo* on the big nights and consequently to national TV coverage and big money, including most of the public subsidies.

Important competitions are based on detailed rules, *Liesa's* current rules contain no less than 50 articles. These mainly ensure that the *escolas'* parades are adapted to the show-perspective for the audience in the *sambodrome* and, more importantly, in front of the TV-sets. Big visual effects demand uniform rich costumes and uniform choreographies, not individual dancing prowess. The financial means necessary to sustain the big *escolas* require a predictable return from an increasingly standardized show.

Rules have of course always been part of Carnival and play, mostly to ensure that a counter-world be constituted. An excess of rules however sacrifices spontaneity and the individual's chance to express his feelings and identity, in favor of the group's common uniform identity.

In the case of the big *escolas* de samba rules lately serve increasingly to protect the "elected" few members of the special group from encroachment by newcomers: in the last year only one *escola* in twelve was demoted. Also, the ever more detailed rules and financial means involved require ever more sophisticated organization, something that obviously privileges the better educated middle-class members of the *escolas* and their increasingly powerful

administration. Thus, real world needs draw the counter-world back into its realm, taking the *escolas* out of their communities hands.

It is revealing that with the inauguration of the *sambodrome* the association of the currently 72 *escolas* split: the Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba was created to cater exclusively to the now different needs of the twelve top *escolas* that stage the main parades in the *sambodrome*. The “rest” – the far bigger part – remained in the Associação das *Escolas* de Samba.

Almost hidden by the big parades in the Sambódromo, the majority of *escolas* de samba stage their parading on a suburban main street, Intendente Magalhães, in Madureira. These parades and the Carnival playing there retained the more original format. Thus, in a certain way they show what the big *escolas* have left behind on their way to a big uniform show: on the Intendente Magalhães costumes are less spectacular, but they are mostly made in the community; the dancing is less uniform, creating fewer visual effects, but privileging the individual, his samba dancing, spontaneity and “dizer no pé”, his “speaking his personality by foot”. The way people play here is still revealing their heart’s values. Also, there is no clear line between the participants and the audience. Spontaneous participation and interaction, rather than the competitive mimicry on the stalls, are the spice of the event. Here private fantasies prevail over public ones. The presentation of individual identities is the main show, rather than the show of a common identity.

With commercialization and institutionalization increasingly distancing the big *escolas* from their “ordinary” members, the Intendente Magalhães parades might stage a come-back: It is easier to maintain a group feeling in a smaller *escola* where preparations and costumes are mostly home-grown and participation a matter of personal effort and not finances.

In any case, there is a close interaction between the different *escolas* that goes beyond the formalized demotion and promotion from one group to the other. The smaller more spontaneous *escola* and the more anarchical bloco parades in the streets form a reservoir of creativity, talent and ideas for all Carnival,

including the main sambodromo parades. They are also an alternative for those members of the big *escolas* that look for a freer way of playing Carnival and expressing themselves.

Interestingly, in the last years the big *escolas* tend to re-focus more on their communities of origin and their “ordinary” members. Fierce competition has shown that the strong support of community members is a precondition for success. For community members are more reliable participants of rehearsals and better dancers than middle-class tourists for whom playing is the parade’s main interest. Thus the *escolas* offer more costumes free to those attending the numerous rehearsals regularly. This is also meant help those poorer community members for whom the price of a costume might be a prohibitive entrance fee.

As the big *escolas* turned more towards show-business in the 1970ies and 1980ies, funk and organised Funk parties arrived in Rio. To a certain extent, they filled in voids left by the *escolas*: A growing distance between the dominant *escolas* and their respective communities, when the *escola* administrations became ever more powerful and the ordinary member’s freedom and influence ever smaller.

Escola events, the parades and the rehearsals, focus on the carnival time and the months before. *Baile Funk*, however, due to the little preparation and financial means required, can be staged all year round. Thus they fill in a void in the Rio suburbs and *favelas*, where there are hardly any other means of entertainment.

Funk carioca music still is a relatively young music style that used “syncretism” from its birth and still allows relatively free sharing, copying and modifying of tracks. It is also relatively simple compared with today’s samba. Even the singing is “democratic”: you do not necessarily need lots of experience.

The traditional interaction between all present is enhanced in *Baile Funk*: musicians and dancers on stage react to the audiences’ wishes and dancing and vice versa. Also members of the audience can “invade” the stage relatively

easily to perform there. All present are considered part of the performance that centers on the typical Afro-Brazilian hip movement. Interestingly, this is reflected in pricing: the musicians gain a small fee, women are considered part of the performance and usually go in free, men have to pay the moderate entrance fees.

Most *funk carioca* lyrics are sung in Brazilian dialect and Rio slang. As did earlier sambas and samba-*enredos*, the lyrics reflect the reality in the suburbs and *favelas*. Of course, today's harsh reality results in more sexually explicit and violent contents and sometimes funk artists, mostly for commercial reasons, try to imitate American gangsta rap as seen on MTV. To a certain extent, the lyrics also reflect a generally low level of education. Interestingly the so-called "aware" funks that call for a change in society and the locals' place in it are still rare.

Funk is a young music style with a mostly young audience. For these youngsters, who in their majority live in the poorer suburbs or *favelas*, *Baile Funk* constitutes an important social event, almost the only one apart from meeting at the football ground. Here they can reclaim public space, here they can create and show their identity and their belonging to a certain group.

Younger people in Rio tend to resort more to cultural than to political movements as a behavioral reference. They create their own visual and musical language in *Baile Funk*. Sometimes the way certain steps are performed shows one's belonging to a certain group. In fact, *Baile Funk* is often organized in certain neighborhoods, creating a strong feeling of belonging there, but not with the neighboring areas. Thus, visiting a "rival" *Baile* outside one's own residential area is not without risk in the suburbs. As a result, *Baile Funk* has been more successful at promoting self-affirmation and creating role models for its participants than at integrating different groups of Rio's society.

The violence associated with *Baile Funk* is one of the main reasons it has not yet been able to overcome class-barriers completely. However, most people from the funk community see this violence not associated to *Baile Funk*, but

rather with the youth gangs existing where the Bailes take place. Also, a certain emergency valve for the enormous social tensions in a Rio suburb is probably inevitable, either at the football ground, at *baile funk* or elsewhere. Curiously, reports on violence between rivaling groups in Rio's Carnival are known from as early as the beginning of the last century. Performance, as a social activity, apparently cannot but reflect social reality.

As funk is maturing, it emulates samba and other music styles in creating different strands to try to accommodate different audiences and tastes. A *Baile Funk* in a richer neighborhood is both in music and lyrics different from one in a *favela*. Funk has achieved a certain success in the media and in the middle-class. However, contrary to samba, it is still restraint to a mostly younger audience. It provides these youngsters with some prestige for their cultural expressions and a number of role models for moving up the social ladder, other than in football or even a usually short-lived career in drug-trafficking.

Given the huge number of followers it mobilizes, it is curious to see that the Funk movement, contrary to the *escolas*, has not yet been able to organize itself politically and exert influence commensurate to its size. Maybe it has not yet found a showcase big event capable to unite more of Rio's society in a common experience?

9.3 Examples: Analysis of the lyrics of a samba-enredo and a *funk carioca*

9.3.1 Bum, Bum, Paticumbum – Samba-enredo Império Serrano 1982

*Enfeitei meu coração
De confete e serpentina
Minha mente se fez menina
Num mundo de recordação
Abracei a Coroa Imperial
Fiz meu Carnaval
Extravasando toda minha emoção*

*I decorated my heart
With confetti and serpentina³⁴⁵
My mind is a child again
In a World of Memories
I held the Royal crown
I did my Carnival
Out of my self*

³⁴⁵ Carnival decoration

*Oh! Praça Onze, tu és imortal
Teus braços embalaram o samba
A tua apoteose é triunfal*

*Oh! Praça Onze!³⁴⁶ You are immortal
In your arms moves the samba
Your climax is triumphant*

*De uma barrica se fez uma cuíca
De outra barrica um surdo de
marcação
Com reco-reco, pandeiro e tamborim
E lindas baianas
O samba ficou assim (bis)*

*Ouf of a barrica³⁴⁷ was made a cuíca³⁴⁸
Another barrica was made
a deaf markup
With reco-reco³⁴⁹, tambourine and tamborim
And beautiful baianas³⁵⁰
The samba was well-done (refrain)*

*E passo a passo no compasso
O samba cresceu
Na Candelária construiu seu apogeu
As burrinhas que imagem, para os
olhos um prazer
Pedem passagem pros Moleques de
Debret
"As Africanas", que quadro original
Yemanjá, Yemanjá enriquecendo o
visual
(Vem meu amor...)*

*And step by step, everybody in line
The samba grew
In Candelaria³⁵¹ built its temple
Look at the burrinhas³⁵², what
spectacle, What pleasure for the eyes
Asking for the way for
the Moleques of Debrer³⁵³
"African women", what an original picture
Yemanjá, Yemanjá³⁵⁴ enriching
the visual
(Come my love)*

*Vem meu amor
Manda a tristeza embora
É carnaval, é folia
Neste dia ninguém chora (bis)*

*Come my love
Send away the sadness
It is carnival, it is fun
Today nobody cries (aa)*

*Super Escolas de Samba S/A
Super-alegorias
Escondendo gente bamba
Que covardia!*

*Super Schools of Samba S/A
Super-costumes
Hiding people bamba³⁵⁵
What cowardice!*

*Bum, bum paticumbum prugurundum
O nosso samba minha gente é isso aí*

*Bum, bum, paticumbum prugurundum
Our samba, my people, it's like this*

The title that is also the *enredo*'s refrain is a reference both to the Afro-Brazilian body movement performed mostly with the hips – and also the beat of the drums that rhythm these movements.

³⁴⁶ A square in Rio downtown where it begins the Carnival parade

³⁴⁷ A jug where it can transport or keep liquids

³⁴⁸ Carnival Instrument

³⁴⁹ Carnival Instrument

³⁵⁰ Obligatory Group for the Samba School

³⁵¹ Beginning of the luxury parade

³⁵² Carnival Character from Bahia. Like Baianas

³⁵³ Jean Batiste Debret (1768-1848) was an artist who painted the Africans in Rio during your stay there, in Brazil from 1816-1831.

³⁵⁴ African Saint

³⁵⁵ Traditional sambista

The *enredo* counts the history of samba parades, starting with a reference to the times of confetti parades in open cars. It hails the mythical first venue of the main Afro-Brazilian parading, Praça Onze, in downtown Rio that was also the center of the so-called little Africa. (There were at the beginning of the XXth century different venues for middle- and lower-class parades.). Candélaría is also mentioned, as the moving of the escola de samba parade to this “noblest” venue meant the start of them becoming the main Carnival event in Rio. As the *Sambodrome* was constructed in 1984, it is not yet mentioned.

Império also makes a reference to its own symbol, the royal crown, and three times to the African roots. The *enredo* asks for space for the “youths of Debret – os moleques de Debret”. Jean Baptiste Debret was a French painter that became famous in Brazil for painting Africans of different “nationalities” in Rio. The lyrics also refer to two important figures of Carnival parades that have remained from a time long before the escola parade: the *Baianas*, in traditional Bahia-state style dressed Afro-Brazilian women and the *Burrinhas*, another Carnival character from Bahia. Yemanjá, the Afro-Brazilian goddess of the sea, is also hailed.

The conclusion is an obvious criticism of the commercialisation of the escolas. Whereas formerly the escolas even produced their own instruments, out of a barril a drum was made, the escolas are in the end called “Super Escolas de Samba S/A”, super escolas, super companies organised like stock exchange traded companies. These are accused of hiding important samba artists, que covardia! What a shame!

9.3.2 Guerreiros da Paz – Funk Carioca, D.J. Marlboro, Marcio Cacuia

Guerreiros da Paz

Ô Ô Ô o Cacuia chegou
Guerreiros da Paz Ilha do Governador
Alô DJ solta o Guerreiro da Paz

Vamô lá! Quero ouvir!
Espinho que machuca espeta quando dói.
Cacuia só tem playboy

BIS

Esse Baile manero
Eu quero me acabar
Pois a onda do momento, é curtir e namorar
Põe uma roupa esperta e vêm no sapatinho
Com seu charme sensual, você cola no
brotinho
Pois os bailes de hoje em dia, já virou ponto
de encontro
E eu digo que esse baile está no ponto
Não quero saber de briga, meu negócio é só
zoar
Quem têm boca agora cante e deixe o corpo
balançar
Vêm...

BIS

Nesse mundo cruel em que estamos vivendo
O Funk está lutando e sobrevivendo
Porque a imprensa, ela quer nos arrasar
Acabar com os nossos bailes e fazer o Funk
parar
Se os bailes pararem, só tem baile social
E funkeiro nesse baile é tratado que nem
animal

Mando um alô para os amigos que a gente
não esquece
Morro do Buque ûque Aracuia PS
Parada de Lucas e Morro do Meião
Galera da Nova Holanda, Dênde e também
aos amigos
que zoam na moral e o bonde dos funkeiros
que faz o pantanal

Warriors of Peace

Ô Ô Ô Cacuia³⁵⁶ has arrived...the warriors of
peace – Ilha do Governador
Hello! DJ Hit it!

Let's go! I want to hear you! Thorn that sticks
till it hurts. Cacuia,
there is only Playboy³⁵⁷

This baile is really cool
I want to dance till the end
This is the time to enjoy and find my girl

With a nice clothes,

With your charm, you conquer a nice girl

For baile funk today are meeting points

And I say this baile is really cool
I don't want to know of fighting, I only want
to enjoy
If you have a mouth, sing with me now, and
let your body swing,
come on

Refrain
In this cruel world we are living in

Funk is fighting and surviving
Because the Medias, they want to destroy us
And end our baile funk and stop our funk
If baile funk finish, there are only social balls
And there, us "funk boys", we are treated like
animals

I say hello to my friends: from the morros of
buque ûque³⁵⁸, Aracuia, PS
Parada de Lucas and the slam from Meião,
Nova Holanda

Of course, all my cool friends that make this
funk the best

³⁵⁶ Name of the M.C.

³⁵⁷ Ilha do Governador – Governor's Island. This is a poor district in Rio and home to the International Airport.

³⁵⁸ Slums in Rio de Janeiro

Vêm...

BIS

*Eu sou o MC Mário e mandei o meu alô
Guerreiros da Paz Ilha do Governador*

Refrain

*I'm MC Mario and I gave my message
Warriors of Peace, Ilha do Governador*

The funk song “warriors of peace” follows the common scheme, introducing the MC, Marcio Cacuia, and greeting the local community, in this case the Ilha do Governador, a northern suburban island, where the international airport and a number of more modest residential areas and *favelas* are located. He also compliments the local men, by calling them playboy which is slang expression for handsome, desirable man.

The lyrics introduce the motto of the *baile*: the thing is to enjoy life and flirt, to come well-dressed and cool, to find a new love. It also asks the dancers to avoid fights and to sing along and dance to the music.

Funk makes a reference to the bad press funk was – and still is – receiving and the danger of it being prohibited by the authorities. This would leave the people participating without entertainment. For at the usual *bailes funk* people are treated “like animals”. Also other sorts of entertainment are unaffordable for the suburban youth.

The MC in the end sends his greetings to funk people from other mostly northern areas of town, including a number of *favelas*, for it is in these poorer neighbourhoods that *baile funk* is most popular.

10. Conclusions

Richard Schechner divides the public performance activities of humans in seven concepts: ritual, play, dance, music, games, sports and theatre.³⁵⁹ Rightly, he sees neither hierarchy, nor clear boundaries among them. Indeed, it would be difficult to subsume a *Baile Funk* in only one of these categories and it is impossible to limit Carnival parades and all the activities associated to it to any one of these categories. However, it is interesting to see that Rio's main public performances contain more elements of ritual (where Samba events originated), play, dance, music and game (in the form of competition), than of theatre. This can be attributed in part to a lack of a wide-spread European theatre-tradition. The most important factor, however, is the distanced relationship between most Brazilians, and certainly most of Afro-Brazilian descent, and standard Portuguese. As a result, the expression of one's identity and feelings in public tends to be more through body movements in dancing and performing than through language.

It is also revealing to analyse the shift in the weight between the above concepts: Over time, the big *escola* parades in the *Sambodrome* have increasingly put emphasis on a uniform show-perspective. This demanded ever more deep structures, with rehearsals of elaborate choreographies for each of the numerous wings taking months. Rules, always a central element to create an unproductive counter-world, where to express individual feelings and identities, have taken a different meaning: to ensure a predictable uniform and sometimes repetitive outcome of a huge investment in time and money. Thus, play and music increasingly cede their place to ritual and choreography.

Also rules increasingly protect the main players from encroachment from others: only one in twelve *escolas* had to cede its place in the main special group last year. In addition, they have become so sophisticated and the financial means so important that new administrations had to be put in place to manage the

³⁵⁹ Schechner Richard, 2003, page xvii

parades' preparations. Obviously, this resulted in the real world with all its economic and social constraints invading the counter-world of the big parades.

For similar reasons, Victor Turner already described the big Carnival parades as the industrialization of the counter-world in 1970.³⁶⁰ However, curiously much of his analysis today seems closer to the smaller parades on Intendente Magalhães avenue rather than the big *Sambodrome* parades that obviously have progressed much in this direction since then.

The basic ingredient of both Samba and Funk performances remains certainly a “sincretized” rhythm based on mostly African, but also European elements and corresponding Afro-Brazilian body movements, with hip-movements taking center-stage. Rather than language, the body is the main means to act and convey messages, sometimes the body itself and its beauty – a strong and ever visible status symbol in a tropical climate – becomes the message. In a sense, the change in perspective between the acting body's message to the body as a message that Erika Fischer-Lichte predicts in a “perceptive multi-stability” is thus both ever present - and sometimes overcome.

Fischer-Lichte's “liveness” in the sense of a bodily co-presence of performers and audience is the rule both in *Baile Funk* and in all Samba events - apart from the big *Sambodrome* parades that are increasingly directed towards a television audience. Constant interaction between participants and audience, interaction in the form of dancing together and invading each other's turf traditionally ensure constant and strong “feed-back loops” between all present at these performances.

However, the commercialization of the main *escola* parades after the building of the huge *Sambodrome* stadium has made them shift to a show-perspective for an ever remoter audience. This obviously more limited interaction both through physical separation of participants and audience, but also because an audience-centred show needed organized uniform visual effects. The hour of

³⁶⁰ Turner Victor, 1982, page 137.

long-rehearsed sophisticated choreographies had come and with it the end of most individual play and speaking by foot in the *Sambodrome*.

Both *Baile Funk* and the Samba events are clearly performance based musical events. Both can much better be understood by seeing them as a process, rather than a product in the sense of Nicolas Cook. What better example than a Samba *enredo*, which is the basic plot for an almost opera-style enactment of a theme, for a musical work that “exists in order to give performers something to perform”?³⁶¹ Similarly, most *Baile Funk* lyrics contain either the main theme of the participants dancing or, indeed, direct the dancing by singing what movements to perform when.

Like Schechner, Johan Huizinga sees play as a variety of culture, as community life is valued through its expression in the form of play. However, Huizinga's focus is more on common social play, for here he sees the strongest link between play and culture. It is therefore better suited to analyze the main *escola* parades and their emphasis on a uniform choreographed display of a community's identity.

Huizinga rightly predicts that one main element of such a social play is competition among rivaling groups, such as the yearly *escola* competition in the *Sambodrome*. Competition adds various important ingredients to social play: it motivates participants through rivalry, in this case with neighbouring *escolas*; it creates the opportunity of one group winning and thus gaining prestige over others and increasing its self-esteem in society; and finally, it creates additional interest in the audience, as it adds uncertainty and supportership of one's own group to the play.

Huizinga, who wrote in the 1930ies - incidentally the “birth-period” of modern samba schools, predicted a general tendency of social play to become ever more organized and rule-based. In fact, over time this tendency threatens the

³⁶¹ Cook Nicholas, 20001, page 3.

very play character of the performances which tend to become ever more serious in the eyes both of participants and audience.

This development is fuelled by the growing importance of the audience in “successful” social plays and by the fact that “a community expresses its interpretation of life and the world”³⁶² in an ever more sophisticated way. For *Sambodrome* parades this means that the performances are directed more and more towards a show-like audience perspective with choreographed and rehearsed uniform dancing and acting in groups. For the participant it means being part of a community experience, of the community’s representation of its real or imagined identity. Obviously, on the other side the focus on social rather than individual play limits his room for spontaneity and creativity.

This shift in perspective is evidenced in the importance of “deep structures” in the sense of Schechner and the changing character of rehearsals that move, as Carnival draw closer, from relatively free parties and dancing to “serious” rehearsing of choreographies. It is also interesting to compare Turner’s 1970 description of the big *escola* parades to today’s situation. In fact, his analysis remains by and large valid for the smaller more traditional parades on the Intendente Magalhaes avenue, whereas the big *Sambodrome* parades have moved on to a different performance in the meantime.

Much of the recent criticism of the major *escolas* therefore seems at least in part a result of their success: they have become the icons of Rio Carnival, and people tend to concentrate all their expectations on them. However, no one institution can possibly cover all the different needs that Carnival fulfils in a socially and ethnically divided society, no one event can be both spontaneous and individualistic as well as a show of unity and common identity.

Luckily, for the individual play and a freer counter-world, the *blocos de rua* offer a huge stage. Also, the smaller and more traditional *escolas* on *Intendente Magalhães*, which still outnumber the big *escolas* by far, continue to offer the

³⁶² Huizinga Johan, 1955, page 51.

traditional spirit of community and belonging, in addition to a chance to “dizer no pé”, speaking one’s identity by foot, and gain prestige in one’s neighbourhood.

Thus, Rio Carnival is so important for its society that it has produced different strands to cater for all its needs. The big *escolas* have different functions from a *bloco de rua*. Therefore, it is not fair to compare one to the other on the same criteria.

It would be interesting – maybe in another analysis – to look further into where the respective strengths of these different strands lie and how they interact and influence one another.

It is no surprise that most of the private money goes to the main parades and the *escolas* staging it. However, that most of the public subsidies goes the same way is less understandable. True, the big *Sambódromo* shows stage Rio’s common identity – and are ideal for “appearing”, socially and politically. However, the other events cater, often more successfully, for different needs: entertainment, play, personal prestige. They do this in areas where there is hardly any other event taking place. Certainly, it would be worth giving some water to the numerous smaller seedlings rather than directing the whole river towards the big trunks.

Carioca Funk and *Baile Funk* are certainly less prominent in the media and outside Rio than the Carnival events. Their power to mobilize however is equally impressive, with tens or even hundreds of thousands of people dancing at numerous *Baile Funk* each week-end. *Baile Funk* also shares the main ingredients with the Carnival events: a music style that mixed several influences and a focus on dancing that is firmly rooted in the Afro-Brazilian body movement.

Baile Funk however has not united the different straits of Rio’s society yet for a number of reasons: First, even though the *Bailes* make a certain neighbourhood join, they are an event mainly for playing and expressing one’s individual identity, or at most, one’s belonging to a smaller group. *Baile Funk*’s main

advantage over the *escolas*, easy and cheap organisation of events all year round, is a disadvantage in this respect. It does not provide people with the experience of joint preparation of a common performance in a group. Moreover, *Baile Funk* is still concentrated in the poorer neighbourhoods. Normally people from similar backgrounds meet at these *Bailes*, but hardly ever the poorer with the better-off. Also, *Baile Funk* has remained mostly the domain of the youth. As a result, rather than becoming a real competition for samba and samba events, it has by and large remained a style for a niche audience.

For funk to achieve a similar role to samba, it probably needed to diversify more, both in styles and in lyrics, and to create real community events. Why should it be impossible to play Carnival not to the sounds of Samba, but to that of Funk? Maybe a sort of a “Fun-k-arnaval” might take the funk community closer to the centre of society and funk *trio elétricos*, funk loud-speaker vans and *blocos* to the center of town?

11. Zusammenfassung

Ausgangspunkt dieser Arbeit sind zwei Fragen: Wie ist es möglich, in einer multi-ethnischen und sozial stark fragmentierten Gesellschaft ein Mindestmaß an Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl und gemeinsamer Identität zu schaffen? Warum spielen in Rio de Janeiro dabei gerade Samba und Funk, Samba-Umzüge und *Baile Funk*, Funk-Feste, eine so überragende Rolle?

In den Mittelpunkt meiner Analyse habe ich die performativen Aspekte der zwei zentralen afro-brasilianischen Veranstaltungen in Rio gestellt: den Karnevalsumzug und die vielen Vorbereitungen dafür einerseits, und den *Baile Funk* andererseits. Denn diese mobilisieren zehntausende *Cariocas*, wie sich die Einwohner Rios selbst nennen. Sie spielen damit eine besonders wichtige Rolle bei der Integration der ärmeren ausgegrenzten Bevölkerung, meist afro-brasilianischen Ursprungs, in den Vorstädten und Armenvierteln, den *Favelas*.

Den Hintergrund bilden die offensichtlichen Identitätsprobleme einer Gesellschaft, die aus verschiedenen Ethnien mit unterschiedlichen Kulturen besteht. Eine Gesellschaft, die erst vor sechs bis sieben Generationen die Sklaverei eines bedeutenden Teils ihrer Mitglieder überwunden hat - und die bis heute von extremen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Gegensätzen geprägt ist. Eine Gesellschaft aber auch, die mit ihren *Mulatos*, der Misch-Bevölkerung mit zugleich afrikanischen und europäischen Wurzeln, etwas ganz Besonderes hervorgebracht und aus der erfolgreichen Vermischung von kulturellen Elementen ihre Spezialität gemacht hat.

Rio de Janeiro zeigt, aufgrund seiner Geschichte als langjährige Hauptstadt Brasiliens und aufgrund seiner Topographie diese Gegensätze wie in einem Brennglas – hier wohnen reich und arm „Auge in Auge“, die einen in meist bewachten Straßenzügen, die anderen in den *Favelas* auf dem Hügel nebenan.

Die geringe soziale Mobilität zwischen Bevölkerungsschichten ist offensichtlich, besondere für die afro-brasilianische Bevölkerung. Schuld ist einerseits wohl hauptsächlich die „fremde“ portugiesische (Hoch)Sprache, die zu einem

wichtigen sozialen Auslesefaktor geworden ist. Halb im Ernst sprechen einige *Cariocas* davon, dass es in Brasilien in Wahrheit zwei Sprachen gibt: das gesprochene Brasilianisch und das geschriebene Portugiesisch; ersteres für die Mehrheit der armen Bevölkerung, zweites für die Minderheit der besser Gebildeten. Geringe Bildungschancen für sozial Schwächere tun ein Übriges.

Kultur, die auf der portugiesischen Hoch-Sprache basiert, ist daher üblicherweise den Eliten vorbehalten und teuer. Zur Schaffung einer gemeinsamen Identität können daher Theater oder Literatur wenig beitragen. Diese Rolle müssen die verbleibenden Kulturaktivitäten, hauptsächlich Musik und Tanz, aber auch Sport oder die berühmten *Telenovelas* übernehmen. Denn an diesen können alle Brasilianer Anteil nehmen, hier herrscht weitgehend soziale „Waffengleichheit“. Vielleicht sind die Umzüge der Sambaschulen zu einem riesigen Schauspiel geworden, weil sie diese übergroße Lücke füllen? Ist der *Baile Funk* ein modernes Gegenstück, vor allem für die Jüngeren in den Vorstädten, wo kaum ein Kultur- und Unterhaltungsangebot besteht?

Es gibt wenige Wege für die afro-brasilianische Bevölkerung, sich in die Gesellschaft Rios zu integrieren und Prestige zu erlangen. Daher sind die *Escola de Samba* Veranstaltungen ein zentraler Sozialfaktor in Rio. Beim *Baile Funk* ist das teilweise ebenso, aber dieser konnte bisher nicht wirklich dauerhaft aus seinem Nischenpublikum, der jüngeren und ärmeren Bevölkerung, ausbrechen.

Bei beiden Veranstaltungen steht die körperliche Bewegung in der Gruppe zu einer „gemischten“ Musikrichtung mit starken afro-brasilianischen Elementen im Zentrum: beim Tanzen gibt es keine Diskrimination nach Bildung und Portugiesischkenntnissen. Dies steht im Zentrum meiner Analyse mit Hilfe von Performance Protokollen von Karneval und Samba Veranstaltungen in Kapitel 7, die versucht den unglaublichen Aufstieg der *Escolas* und ihrer Umzüge nachzuzeichnen, die unter anderem zum Bau eines über 600 Meter langen Stadiums für nur einige wenige Umzugsnächte und einer eigenen „Stadt des Samba“ für deren Vorbereitungen geführt hat. Die Vielzahl an weiteren Veranstaltungen, die inzwischen fast das ganze Jahr in Anspruch nehmen, ihre

interessanten performativen Aspekte, und die zahlreichen sehr realen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Auswirkungen der mehrere tausend Mitglieder zählenden großen Sambaschulen und ihrer millionenteuren Umzüge sind ein weiterer Schwerpunkt.

Besonders interessant ist die Rolle der kleineren Sambaschulen, die weiterhin auf der Straße, in den Vorstädten, ihre traditionellen Umzüge abhalten. Diese sind weniger spektakulär, dafür bieten sie den Teilnehmern und Zuschauern mehr Freiraum für Spontaneität und Eigendarstellung in der Gemeinschaft.

Der *Baile Funk*, Hauptdarsteller im Kapitel 8, ist zwar mit etwa vierzig Jahren wesentlich jünger als die Sambaveranstaltungen. Er hat aber bereits hunderttausende, meist jugendliche Anhänger und auch eine belebte Geschichte, die von Zeiten des Verbots bis zu Funk als Modeerscheinung auch für die Mittelklasse reicht. Auch hier wurden Performance Protokolle zur Analyse der Teilnahme an *Bailes Funk* eingesetzt.

Baile Funk und Sambaveranstaltungen sollten nicht als Rivalen gesehen werden. Es gibt vielmehr zahlreiche Gemeinsamkeiten: beide sind afro-brasilianische Stilrichtungen, die in Musik und Tanz auch europäische Elemente integriert haben und damit die typische gemischte brasilianische Gesellschaft widerspiegeln. Beide bauen traditionell auf „Ko-Präsenz“ aller Beteiligten vor Ort auf und die Wechselwirkung mit dem Publikum im Sinne von Erika Fischer-Lichte.³⁶³ *Baile Funk* geht hier aber weiter: Das Publikum ist Teil der Performance, es kann ebenso Tanzelemente vorgeben wie die Tänzer auf der Bühne oder die *mestres de cerimonia*, die oft Bewegungsanleitungen für eine bestimmte Choreografie vorsingen. Insgesamt stehen der Tanz, der Körper und eine typisch afro-brasilianische Betonung der Hüftbewegungen im Mittelpunkt der Performance. (Ganz besonders die Hüftbewegungen der Frauen, die deswegen auch meist - als Teil der Performance - freien oder zumindest ermäßigten Eintritt haben.) Auf Grund dieser Gemeinsamkeiten sind nicht selten Sambakünstler auch im Funk tätig und umgekehrt.

³⁶³ Fischer-Lichte Erika, 2004

Eine zentrale Herausforderung dieser Analyse war es, gute Kontakte zu maßgeblichen Leuten aus der Samba- und der Funkgemeinschaft herzustellen. Um diese Kulturen soweit wie möglich von innen zu beschreiben, wählte ich die Methoden der „teilnehmenden Beobachtung“ für die Veranstaltungen bzw. des „ero-epischen Gesprächs“ für die Kontakte vor Ort (diese Methoden sind in Kapitel 5 kurz beschrieben). Beides sollte – gemeinsam mit einem Forschungstagebuch – ein hierarchisches Verhältnis zwischen Forscher und Gesprächspartner vermeiden, das gerade in Rio, etwa bei unterschiedlicher Hautfarbe oder Verwendung der Hochsprache, zu unerwünschter Distanz und verzerrter Darstellung der Realität führen kann.

Der konzeptionelle Rahmen dieser Reise in Rios Großveranstaltungen bildeten die Performance Studies. Besonders nützlich Wegbegleiter waren dabei Richard Schechners Überlegungen zu Spiel, Ritual und ihren Regeln; Victor Turners Kommentare zum Ritualcharakter des Karnevals, seine Verbindungen zu afro-brasilianischen Kulturen, und die Schaffung einer Gegenwelt durch Instrumente wie Kostüme oder besondere Räume und Regeln. Nicholas Cooks Darstellung zur Neuinterpretation von Musik nicht als Text, sondern als Performance, mit Musikstücken, die dazu dienen, den Performern etwas „zum Performen“ zu geben, ist auf Samba und ganz besonders auf *Baile Funk* besonders zutreffend. Die afro-brasilianische Kultur, die stark durch Mündlichkeit geprägt ist, legt eindeutig mehr Wert auf die Performance als auf den zugrundeliegenden Text. Dass Musik und Tanz dabei soziale Bedeutung schaffen, wurde im Lauf der Analyse offensichtlich. Johan Huizingas Überlegungen zum sozialen Spiel als Kulturform treffen besonders auf die großen Umzüge zu. Erika Fischer-Lichters Hinweise auf die Interaktion aller Teilnehmer und auf die Bedeutung der Liveness im Sinne der körperlichen Ko-Präsenz, und des Körpers als solchem, boten in Kapitel 4 weitere wichtige Ansatzpunkte.

Diese Konzepte der Performance Theorie haben sich als reicher und hilfreicher theoretischer Analyserahmen erwiesen. Gleichzeitig werfen diese afro-brasilianischen Veranstaltungen ein neues Licht auf die Performance Theorie,

indem sie in den Mittelpunkt stellen, was im traditionellen europäischen Ansatz lange vernachlässigt wurde: die Interaktion zwischen allen Anwesenden, Spontaneität, den „Prozess-“ statt des „Produkt-Charakters“ oder die zentrale Rolle des Körpers, seiner Bewegungen und Botschaften statt die der Sprache.

Richard Schechner³⁶⁴ unterteilt die öffentlichen Performance Aktivitäten in sieben Kategorien: Ritual, Spiel, Tanz, Musik, (Gesellschafts)Spiele, Sport und Theater. Sowohl bei *Baile Funk* als auch bei den Karnevalsveranstaltungen sind die meisten gleichzeitig präsent. Allerdings treten (hoch-)sprachgebundene Aktivitäten wie Theater in Rio gegenüber Musik, Tanz und Spiel in den Hintergrund.

Es ist interessant, dass sich der Schwerpunkt bei den Karnevalsveranstaltungen über die Zeit verschoben hat: Durch die zunehmende Ausrichtung auf eine einheitliche „Show“ traten – wie Victor Turner³⁶⁵ bereits 1970 beobachtete - Musik- und Spielelemente gegenüber Ritual und Choreografien mehr und mehr in den Hintergrund. Diese Verschiebung zeigt sich auch im Laufe der monatelangen Vorbereitungen: während zu Beginn noch ungebundener Tanz und individuelle Spontaneität im Mittelpunkt steht, werden zu den Karnevalstagen hin Regeln und Choreografien für die *escola* Untergruppen immer strikter. Interessanterweise treffen Turners Beschreibungen der großen *escola* Umzüge von 1970 heute eher auf die (kleineren) Umzüge auf der *Intendente Magalhães* Strasse zu als auf diejenigen im *Sambodrom*.

Das zentrale Element sowohl der Samba- als auch der Funk-Veranstaltungen ist in jedem Fall ein „synkretistischer“, aber im Wesentlichen afro-brasilianischer Rhythmus mit dazugehörigen Bewegungen des Körpers, vor allem der Hüften. Statt Sprache dient hier der Körper als Mittel zum Ausdruck, manchmal wird der Körper selbst und dessen Schönheit – in tropischem Klima ein wichtiges und ständig sichtbares Statussymbol – zur Botschaft. Der Wechsel in der Perspektive des Betrachters von der Botschaft des (schau)spielenden Körpers

³⁶⁴ Schechner Richard, 2003

³⁶⁵ Turner Richard, 1982

und seiner Rolle zum Körper als Botschaft, den Erika Fischer-Lichte³⁶⁶ beschreibt, ist daher durch die zentrale Rolle des Körpers immer präsent und wird manchmal sogar überwunden – dort wo der Körper an sich die Botschaft ist.

„Liveness“ im Sinne einer physischen Ko-Präsenz von Performern und Publikum ist die Regel sowohl bei *Baile Funk* als auch bei den Karnevalsveranstaltungen. Ständige Interaktion zwischen den meist sehr zahlreichen Performern und dem Publikum, das meist Teilnehmer und nicht Zuschauer ist sowie gemeinsames Tanzen, auch des „Publikums“ auf der Bühne, sichert ständige und starke „feed-back“-Schleifen im Sinne von Fischer-Lichte zwischen allen Anwesenden.

Eine bemerkenswerte Abweichung von diesem Prinzip sind die Umzüge der großen Sambaschulen im *Sambodrom*, die immer stärker auf streng choreografierte visuelle Show-Effekte für ein im Stadium abgetrenntes Publikum und das zahlreiche TV-Publikum abzielen. Die physische Trennung von Performern und Publikum, die hohen Eintrittsgelder, die eingeübten Choreografien beschränken dieses Feed-back und die individuelle Ausdrucksfreiheit stark.

Sowohl *Baile Funk* als auch die Karnevalsveranstaltungen sind besser zu verstehen, wenn man sie als Prozess im Sinne von Nicolas Cook³⁶⁷ und nicht als Produkt sieht: Es gibt wohl kaum ein besseres Beispiel als einen *samba-enredo* für ein Musikstück, das „Performern etwas zu performen gibt“. Bei *Baile Funk* Texten verhält es sich ähnlich: die meisten geben den Teilnehmern entweder das Thema des Tanzes oder sogar die einzelnen Tanzschritte im Text vor.

Wie Schechner sieht Johan Huizinga³⁶⁸ Spiel als eine Kulturform, da es Gemeinschaftsleben durch Spiel darstellt und aufwertet. Huizinga sieht

³⁶⁶ Fischer-Lichte Erika, 2004

³⁶⁷ Cook Nicolas, 2001

³⁶⁸ Huizinga Johan, 1955

allerdings im gemeinsamen sozialen Spiel die engste Beziehung von Spiel und Kultur. Daher sind seine Konzepte besser für die Analyse der großen Sambaschulen-Umzüge mit ihrer einheitlichen choreografierten Darstellung einer Gemeinschaftsidentität geeignet.

Huizinga sagt voraus, dass soziales Spiel stark auf Wettbewerb zwischen lokalen Gruppen aufbaut, so wie der jährliche *escola*-Wettbewerb im *Sambodrom*: die Teilnehmer sind motivierter durch die Rivalität mit anderen Gruppen; eine Gruppe kann „gewinnen“ und damit Prestige und Selbstachtung erreichen; schließlich macht es das Spiel für das Publikum interessanter, durch Unsicherheit über den Ausgang und Unterstützung einer der Gruppen im Wettbewerb.

Huizinga sah bereits in den 1930er Jahren – der Zeit der ersten *escolas* – vorher, dass dem sozialen Spiel eine Tendenz zu mehr Organisation und Ver-Regelung innewohnt. Mit der Zeit kann diese Tendenz so stark werden, dass sie den Spiel-Charakter verdrängt und das Spiel in den Augen der Teilnehmer und des Publikums immer ernster wird.

Diese Tendenz wird einerseits von der wachsenden Bedeutung des Publikums bei „erfolgreichen“ sozialen Spielen genährt und andererseits dadurch, dass eine Gemeinschaft „ihre Interpretation des Lebens und der Welt“ immer aufwendiger darstellt. Die großen *Sambodrom*-Umzüge sind auf diesem Weg bereits weit fortgeschritten, indem sie eine vielfach durchgeprobte Show aufführen, die sich stark an das Publikum richtet. Der Einzelne wird damit Teil eines Gemeinschaftserlebnisses, der gemeinsamen Darstellung einer Gemeinschaftsidentität. Der Schwerpunkt liegt hier auf der gemeinsamen sozialen Identität, was naturgemäß den individuellen Spielraum stark einschränkt.

Insgesamt ist Rios Karneval aber weiter frisch und lebendig und geht auch weit über die großen Karnevalsshows im *Sambódromo* hinaus. Die Sambaschulen der Spezialgruppe selbst bieten weit mehr: fast übers ganze Jahr verteilt

Proben, Shows und Feste wie die typischen *feijoadas*, wo zu Bohneneintopf aufgespielt wird.

Daneben erlebt Rio ein Wiedererstarken anderer Arten, Karneval zu spielen: die dutzenden kleineren Sambaschulen, die auf der Strasse in der Vorstadt Umzüge veranstalten und die Samba-*blocos*, anarchische Karnevalsgruppen, die Tausende auf die Strassen im Stadtzentrum bringen.

Rios Karneval bleibt tief verwurzelt in einer Gesellschaft auf der Suche nach Gemeinsamkeit, im Wunsch vieler *Cariocas* nach Spiel und einem Freiraum, wo eine im Alltagsleben unterdrückte Identität gelebt und der Gemeinschaft prestigeträchtig präsentiert werden kann. Rios Karneval erfüllt eine entscheidende Funktion in einer sozial und ethnisch fragmentierten Gesellschaft: einmal im Jahr können die *Cariocas* hier zusammenkommen, eine Gemeinschaft bilden und eine gemeinsame vielfarbige, aber vereinte Identität darbieten.

Viel von der Kritik an den großen Sambaschulen scheint aus dieser Sicht eine Konsequenz ihres enormen Erfolgs: als Symbole für den gesamten Karneval sollen sie oft alle Erwartungen zugleich erfüllen. Diese sind aber zu zahlreich und oft auch zu widersprüchlich: keine Veranstaltung kann zugleich spontan und individualistisch sein, und dabei die Einheit und die gemeinsame Identität aller Teilnehmer darstellen.

Glücklicherweise gibt es für diese Lücken den Straßenkarneval im Zentrum, der in den letzten Jahren wieder zunimmt. Zudem bieten die zahlreichen kleineren *Escolas* in der Vorstadt einen Umzug, der stärker in der Tradition verwurzelt ist. Hier spürt man sowohl das Gefühl der gemeinsamen Vorbereitung und Anstrengung, aber auch die Chance für den einzelnen Sambatänzer, „sich mit dem Fuß auszudrücken“. Die großen Paraden geben dagegen den Vortritt einer einheitlichen Show, einer beinahe ritualisierten und regelhaften Präsentation einer gemeinsamen Rio de Janeiro Identität.

Rios Karneval ist so wichtig für seine Gesellschaft, dass er verschiedene Spielformen, je nach Bedürfnis, hervorgebracht hat. Die Funktion eines Straßen-*blocos* ist anders als die einer großen *Escola*. Es ist daher nicht sinnvoll und wohl auch nicht gerecht, beide nach den gleichen Kriterien zu beurteilen. Diese Vielzahl an Spielformen ist auch der wahre Reichtum von Rios Karneval, aus dem auch die großen Sambaschulen Nachwuchs und Ideen schöpfen können.

Die großen *Escolas* sind inzwischen auch zu bedeutenden Wirtschaftsunternehmen geworden, die Millionen umsetzen und Tausende beschäftigen. Dies bringt große Vorteile für ihre Gemeinschaften. Es erzeugt aber auch einen bleibenden Interessenskonflikt zwischen Geldgebern, zu denen der Staat und wohl auch die organisierte Kriminalität gehören, und der immer stärkeren Verwaltung auf der einen Seite und den einfachen Mitgliedern auf der anderen. Die Gegenwelt des Karnevals wird immer stärker in der realen Welt verankert, die mehr die der hauptsächlich weißen Mittelklasse als der meist gemischten ärmeren Menschen aus den Vorstädten ist.

Natürlich ist diese Einbeziehung auch der Mittelklasse auch ein Verdienst der großen *Escolas*, die so die gesamte Gesellschaft – einmal abseits von Strand und Fußballstadion – zusammenführen. Schließlich zählen diese *Escolas* auch immer noch auf ihren einfachen Mitgliedern, tausenden Mitgliedern, denen sie weiter Wertvolles bieten: Unterhaltung, Spiel, Prestige, Gemeinschaft und Identität.

Interessant ist, dass die großen Sambaschulen in den letzten Jahren wieder vermehrt Gratiskostüme an ihre ärmeren Mitglieder verteilen, die dafür regelmäßig an den Proben teilnehmen müssen. Dies aber weniger aus sozialen Überlegungen. Vielmehr hat sich gezeigt, dass motivierte Mitglieder besser mittanzen und –singen als Touristen, für die verständlicherweise das eigene Karnevalsvergnügen im Mittelpunkt steht. Die *Escolas* sind daher weiter auf ihre Mitglieder angewiesen, um sich im elitären Kreis der Spezialgruppe zu halten.

Es ist verständlich, dass der Großteil der Gelder privater Sponsoren an die großen Sambaschulen geht, mit ihren landsweiten Live-Übertragungen und zahlungskräftigeren Fans. Weniger verständlich ist dagegen, dass das meiste öffentliche Geld ebenfalls diesen Weg geht. Zwar geht es hier um die gemeinsame Identität. Aber die anderen Spielformen erfüllen eben zahlreiche weitere Bedürfnisse erfolgreicher, und sie tun dies in Stadtvierteln, wo es wenig andere Unterhaltung gibt.

Carioca Funk und *Baile Funk* spielen zwar in den Medien und außerhalb Rios im Vergleich zu den Karnevalsveranstaltungen eine Nebenrolle. Ihre Fähigkeit, Anhänger zu mobilisieren, ist aber gleich beeindruckend: Jedes Wochenende tanzen und singen Zehn-, ja Hunderttausende auf den zahllosen *Baile Funk* in Rios Vorstädten und *Favelas*.

Der Aufstieg von *Baile Funk* wird oft mit der fortschreitenden Kommerzialisierung der großen Sambaschulen erklärt und damit einer größer werdenden Kluft zu den Gemeinschaften, aus denen sie hervorgegangen sind. Tatsächlich bietet *Baile Funk* einige Vorteile gegenüber den Sambaveranstaltungen: Er benötigt weder lange Vorbereitungen noch große finanzielle Mittel; er konzentriert sich nicht auf die Wochen und Monate vor der Karnevalszeit; er erlaubt das Kopieren und Teilen von Musikstücken und erleichtert damit Neulingen den Einstieg; schließlich bietet er den Teilnehmern mehr individuelle Freiheit zum Ausleben ihrer Spontaneität als die choreografierten Umzüge.

Funk kommt auch der Alltagssprache seiner Anhänger stärker entgegen: die meisten Texte sind kurz, einfach und in *Rio slang* gehalten. Damit sind sie Einladung zum Mitsingen und meist auch Anleitung und Inspiration für das Tanzen. So wie Sambas und *Samba-Enredos* in früheren Tagen, spiegeln sie oft die raue Realität in den Vorstädten und *Favelas* wieder, mit viel Darstellung von Gewalt- und Sex. Sozialkritische Texte und politische Forderungen bleiben die Ausnahme.

Funk ist immer noch ein junger Musikstil mit einem meist jungen Publikum. Für diese Vorstadtjugend ist *Baile Funk* eine wichtige soziale Veranstaltung, beinahe die einzige außerhalb der Fußballfelder. Im *Baile Funk* können sie in den öffentlichen Raum treten, ihre Identität, aber auch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gruppe, finden und vor allem auch zeigen.

Rios Jugendliche finden ihre sozialen Anhaltspunkte mehr in Musik und Tanz als in der Politik. Sie schaffen ihre eigene visuelle und musikalische Sprache für und durch den *Baile Funk*. So können etwa bestimmte Schrittfolgen die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gruppe dokumentieren. Tatsächlich werden *Bailes Funk* oft von und für bestimmte Gemeinschaften veranstaltet. Dadurch schaffen sie ein starkes lokales Zugehörigkeitsgefühl. Dieses baut aber meist auch auf Rivalität mit anderen Gemeinschaften auf, und es ist daher nicht ohne Gefahr, an „anderen“ *Bailes* teilzunehmen. Aus diesem Grund war *Baile Funk* bisher erfolgreicher darin, das Selbstwertgefühl und Vorbilder zu stärken, als Rios verschiedene Gemeinschaften zu einigen.

Carioca Funk hat sich, wie Samba vor ihm, angepasst und in verschiedene Stilrichtungen aufgespaltet, um ein größeres Publikum zu gewinnen und die Jugendkultur nachhaltig zu beherrschen. Der Großteil der Funklieder hat zwar bis heute Texte, die Gewalt beschreiben und oft auch verherrlichen oder recht deutlich zu sexuellen Handlungen anleiten. Es gibt aber inzwischen auch eine langsamere, romantischer Spielart, den sogenannten *Charme*, der auch als Paar getanzt wird. *Baile Funk* verändert sein Gesicht auch je nach Aufführungsort: in Mittelklassegegenden sind Musik und Text meist weniger extrem. Zudem versucht die Hip-Hop-Bewegung in Rio sozialkritische und erzieherische Texte einzubringen.

Dennoch behindert die Gewalt, in Texten und im Verhalten, die von der Mittelschicht mit den *Bailes* in Verbindung gebracht wird, immer noch dessen Ausbreitung. Die Funk-Szene sieht diese Gewalt allerdings weniger in Verbindung mit *Baile Funk*, als mit den zahlreichen Jugendbanden in den Vorstädten, die sich angesichts der enormen sozialen Spannungen und der täglich erlebten Gewalt eben einen Anlass suchten: in den Fußballstadien, beim

Baile Funk oder sonst wo. Interessanterweise gab es Berichte über rivalisierende Gruppen auch schon aus der Frühzeit des Samba und des Karnevals, vor mehr als hundert Jahren. Performance, als soziale Aktivität, kommt nicht umhin, die soziale Realität wiederzuspiegeln.

Angesichts der großen Zahl an Anhängern ist es überraschend, dass *Carioca Funk*, im Gegensatz zu den *Escolas*, es bisher mit wenigen Ausnahmen kaum geschafft oder auch nur versucht hat, sich zu organisieren und politischen Einfluss für seine Anhänger auszuüben. Hier fehlen offenbar noch die Verankerung in weiteren Gesellschaftsschichten und auch eine Veranstaltung, die eine größere organisierte Gemeinschaft schaffen könnte.

12. Resumo

Será que é possível definir, em uma sociedade multi-étnica, como a carioca, uma identidade comum? Porque estilos musicais como o samba e funk carioca conseguem juntar essa sociedade? Como isso acontece? Essas são perguntas que essa tese procura responder através dos aspectos performativos desses dois ritmos musicais e suas respectivas performances.

É difícil reconhecer uma identidade conjunta brasileira, mais ainda em uma cidade como o Rio de Janeiro. Andando pelas ruas da cidade, percebe-se pessoas de pele branca e escura e ao mesmo tempo ricos e pobres que dividem o mesmo espaço físico.

Em muitos países, a língua serve como elemento integrador da sociedade. No caso do Brasil, só uma pequena parcela da população consegue dominar bem o idioma oficial. Além disso, o acesso à escola continua reservado à uma camada da população mais favorecida, normalmente branca.

Segundo as estatísticas do IBGE, os afro-brasileiros são os mais atingidos por este problema. Depois da abolição da escravidão, em 1888, milhares de africanos vieram para a cidade do Rio, para tentar uma nova vida. Muitos deles se concentraram na área portuária, buscando trabalhos que não dependessem da língua portuguesa. Foi exatamente na zona portuária do Rio, onde começou-se o samba.

O samba e o funk carioca através de seus eventos, o desfile das escolas de samba e o baile funk, ultrapassaram seus limites e se transformaram em elementos identificadores para toda a população carioca: brancos, negros e mestiços, ricos e pobres, todos dançam samba e funk carioca. Como isso é possível?

O Rio de Janeiro é uma cidade segregada socialmente, onde pode se perceber claramente a diferença entre o português escrito, domínio especialmente da população branca e, o *brasileiro falado*, língua da população afro-brasileira. A chamada cultura européia, como teatro e cinema, é baseada na língua escrita. Isto exclui parte da população, que está mais acostumada com as tradições orais, sem contar com o elevado preço das entradas de teatro e cinema.

As duas performances cariocas, o desfile das escolas de samba e o baile funk são eventos cujo objetivo principal é dançar, ou seja, a linguagem do corpo. Tanto o samba, como o funk carioca, apesar de serem ritmos diferentes na sua forma de apresentação, um com instrumentos de percussão e outro com som eletrônico, possuem como característica principal a dança, o movimento dos quadris afro-brasileiro.

Para analisar a criação dessa identidade através destes dois eventos cariocas, foram utilizados para essa dissertação os conceitos de performance, aliado ao método de pesquisa de campo, conhecido como *Participant Observation*, ou Observação Participativa, combinado ao Etno-Epico Conversação.

Conceitos e Métodos Utilizados:

Performance é um campo de estudo que tem como objetivo estudar a atividade humana. Este campo de estudo alia-se as ciências sociais como sociologia, antropologia, música e etc. Nomes como Richard Schechner e Victor Turner são conhecidos por relacionar as teorias de teatro e antropologia com as teorias de performance.

Os principais conceitos desta análise vêm das teorias de performance: Richard Shechner e suas ideias sobre o ritual e suas regras; Victor Turner e seus conceitos de Carnaval como jogo, as relações com os cultos afro-brasileiros e a criação de um mundo inverso através de costumes etc. Johan Huizinga descreve a importância dos jogos e competições para atrair a atenção do público, exatamente como acontece com o desfile das escolas de samba.

Com o título de campeã do ano, a escola de samba ganha prestígio para seus participantes e patrocinadores para o desfile do próximo ano.

O novo paradigma da musicologia que vê a música como performance, mas não como texto foi emprestado a Nicolas Cook e aplicado ao desfile das escolas de samba e ao baile funk. A cultura afro-brasileira é mais oral e prioriza a performance, bem mais que a cultura europeia, com a sua valorização do texto. A ênfase de Erika Fischer-Lichte sobre a interação de todos os presentes e a importância da “co-presença” física, assim como o papel do corpo em si, foi outro instrumento empregado.

Neste caso, a performance obedeceria a uma série de critérios para se concretizar, dentre os quais a preparação por parte dos participantes, artistas (*ensaio*, workshops) e espectadores (decidir de assistir a um espetáculo, chegando ao local, esperando, etc.).

O desfile das escolas de samba e o baile funk são duas performances por excelência. Ambos eventos exigem preparação de seus participantes. O desfile das escolas de samba exige um preparo detalhado, envolvendo meses antes do Carnaval, desde a escolha do enredo até o desfile no sambódromo. Já o baile funk exige uma preparação menos “volumosa”. Mesmo assim, cumprem-se certos requisitos: o público decidindo a qual baile funk ir, chegando ao local e esperando. Para os artistas, seja MCs ou DJs, seriam os *ensaios* para fazer suas performances – memorizar as letras das músicas e coreografias.

É importante também salientar as formas de interação público-artistas nos dois eventos: escolas de samba com o público no Sambódromo e MC’s e DJ’s público. As escolas de sambas através de seus membros vão interagir com o público através da dança e do ritmo. O público vai sempre torcer para sua escola de samba cantando e dançando. Já no baile funk o próprio público acaba sendo a performance: ou segue as coreografias dos MC’s ou então inventa as suas próprias.

Para a pesquisa de campo, utilizou-se o método da Observação Participativa. Este método consiste da participação do pesquisador, na ação do grupo em estudo, sem alterar a situação analisada. No caso desta dissertação, fui aos eventos que deveriam ser analisados, baile funk em Curicica e Boite Nut's, *ensaios* da Portela e do Império Serrano, em Madureira, e desfile das escolas de samba do grupo A. Participei, até mesmo dançando, para observar essas performances em vários aspectos, como organização do evento em si, a participação e interação dos envolvidos, incluindo a dança e a música.

Para o contato com as pessoas da área das escolas de samba e do funk carioca, foi utilizado o método *ero-epic* de conversação. Este método é sugerido pelo Professor Roland Girtler do Departamento de Sociologia da Universidade de Viena, e consiste em uma conversa com as pessoas relacionadas com o grupo ou a atividade de estudo. Segundo Girtler, a utilização de questionários ou gravadores, pode gerar um mal-estar nessas pessoas e um distanciamento do pesquisador. É importante que o próprio pesquisador se coloque na conversa, também se apresentando e permitindo que seu interlocutor lhe faça perguntas. Com o objetivo de focar o objeto de estudo, é importante a elaboração de um catálogo de perguntas e a utilização de um diário de pesquisa onde deverão ser anotados todas as ideias, situações ou problemas envolvendo o tema.

Hipótese:

A hipótese apresentada pela dissertação é o aspecto performativo das duas principais performances cariocas, o desfile das escolas de samba e o baile funk, como elemento formador de identidade no Rio de Janeiro.

O aspecto performativo significa, em especial, a dança dos dois estilos musicais envolvidos. É interessante salientar que os dois possuem raízes afro-brasileiras, mas com elementos da música europeia.

O Funk proveniente dos Estados Unidos chegou ao Brasil, na década de setenta. Esse ritmo se incorporou com a “performatividade” do carioca por sua

capacidade dançante. Com o tempo, o baile funk entrou na preferência dos cariocas, por sua fácil organização, ou seja, pode ser realizado em qualquer lugar, além do ritmo e da dança.

Na década de 60 construíram-se arquibancadas para o público assistir as escolas de samba e assim mudou-se a perspectiva de se ver um desfile: de cima para baixo criando uma necessidade estética das escolas de samba de melhorar suas apresentações. Alia-se também o fato dos chamados “patronos” das escolas de samba, envolvidos com o jogo do bicho também começaram a investir mais em suas escolas.

O interessante notar é que exatamente na década de setenta as escolas de samba começam a se comercializar, se afastando dos membros das suas comunidades: as fantasias, elemento obrigatório para participação no desfile, tornam-se muito caras.

Do ponto de vista de dança, o samba tem seus predecessores no lundu e maxixe com um ponto comum: o movimento dos quadris. Podemos observar que o funk carioca também possui um movimento de quadris bastante semelhante.

Pesquisa de campo:

Para essa dissertação foram realizadas duas viagens de pesquisa: Setembro 2007 e Fevereiro 2008. Para ambas viagens, elaborei os chamados protocolos de performance para avaliar o desfile das escolas de samba e o baile funk. Nesses protocolos avaliei o espaço físico onde as performances ocorrem, o público presente, os artistas e, principalmente a interação entre público e artistas.

Na primeira viagem eu me concentrei mais no mundo funk carioca. Fui a dois bailes funks organizados pela equipe de som “Big Mix é o Mané”, coordenada pelo DJ Malboro. O primeiro baile foi em Curicica, na zona oeste da cidade, e o segundo no centro.

O objetivo foi comparar os dois bailes funks, nos aspectos sociais, econômico e performático. Naturalmente os ambientes e frequentadores, em ambos os bailes foram diferentes. A “Fórmula do Gol” em Curicica é uma construção simples, de tijolos, com um salão bem grande e um palco ao fundo. Lá, não havia nenhum DJ ou MC conhecido. Eles utilizaram uma mesa de som simples e caixas de som, embora com muita potência, mas com pouca qualidade de som.

Por parte de público, havia gente de classe média, mas a maioria de classe baixa. Alguns chegavam sozinhos, mas muitos em grupos ou pares. Quando a música começou, formaram-se grupos para dançar na frente do palco, executando coreografias. Mais para o fundo, eram casais dançando juntos e havia também grupos de homens e mulheres que dançavam sozinhos, mas que visivelmente, estavam “paquerando” entre si. Esses dançavam, no rebolado dos quadris, movimento típico do funk carioca, numa espécie de jogo de sedução.

Na boite Nuth’s, no centro da cidade, o ambiente era puramente sofisticado, com três andares, cada um com um bar. No segundo andar, havia um DJ que fazia música com um lep-top. No terceiro andar aconteceu a apresentação do DJ Malboro.

O público era visivelmente de classe média e alguns de classe alta. A maioria era grupos, tanto de homens e mulheres, muito bem vestidos. No momento em que o DJ Malboro começou a sua apresentação, todos se concentraram no terceiro andar. Semelhante com o baile funk, na “Fórmula do Gol”, os grupos se concentraram logo na frente do palco, dançando coreografias e para o fundo, grupos que dançavam isoladamente, suas próprias coreografias.

O ponto em comum desses bailes funk foi a disposição espacial do evento: a configuração palco+público vai sempre obedecer ao mesmo esquema. Outro ponto é que mesmo sendo, bailes funk por camada social, os participantes de ambos os eventos dançaram, um típico remelexo dos quadris. A diferença foi

mais na qualidade do som e na sofisticação do ambiente, além dos textos diferentes e dos preços da entrada.

Na segunda viagem, eu me concentrei no mundo do Carnaval. Participei de muitos eventos diferentes. O que mais chamou a atenção nos ensaios técnicos, foi que os participantes de ambas as escolas, não “diziam no pé” o samba. A maioria deles executava coreografias, os chamados “passos marcados”.

Para essa dissertação, resolvi ver o desfile das escolas de samba do grupo A, pelo fato da Império Serrano estar neste grupo e, também, para comparar com o desfile das escolas de samba do grupo especial. Eu me surpreendi com o luxo destas escolas. No passado, eu já havia assistido ao desfile das escolas de samba do grupo especial, e não vi quase diferença do ponto de vista de apresentação, em relação ao Grupo A.

Depois, acompanhei a concentração e dispersão do desfile do grupo especial. A quantidade de gente envolvida é incalculável: espectadores para assistir o desfile, componentes das escolas, todo o pessoal das escolas para organizar o desfile, vendedores ambulantes, barraquinhas, gente que só circulava pelo local. Uma verdadeira performance por parte da cidade do Rio!

Com essa dissertação chegou-se as seguintes conclusões:

- Richard Schechner fala sobre a ritualização das atividades humanas, como ritual, jogos, dança, música, esporte e teatro. Podemos considerar que o baile funk reúne várias destas categorias, assim como o desfile das escolas de samba. É interessante observar que essas duas performances cariocas, podem ser muito ritualizadas e possuem regras para uma competição, como o desfile das escolas de samba do grupo especial e são mais fortes e enraizadas que o teatro. Isto acontece, porque há uma distância entre a população brasileira, em especial a afro-brasileira, e a língua portuguesa erudita. Isso faz com que as pessoas se expressem melhor através do movimento do corpo, ou seja a linguagem do corpo.

- O desfile das escolas do grupo especial transformou-se no chamado “maior espetáculo da terra”. Esse espetáculo envolve um desfile luxuoso, com fantasias caras e carros alegóricos sofisticados. A evolução comercial das escolas de samba, começou na década de sessenta, com a construção das arquibancadas, com o público vendo o desfile de cima para baixo, criou-se uma necessidade das escolas de samba se apresentarem melhor esteticamente. Na década de setenta, os chamados patronos começaram a investir mais em suas escolas. As fantasias tornaram-se caras para a população da comunidade. Foi nessa época também que chegou no Rio, o funk. No começo, eram festas para se dançar essa música. Com o tempo, o funk carioca, através de seu evento baile funk, ganhou a preferência da população carioca. Os dois eventos convivem pacificamente na mesma cidade por possuírem um denominador comum, são eventos para dançar, com o movimento dos quadris em destaque.

- Outro ponto importante é a interação imediata entre participantes em ambos eventos. Essa interação se dá através do movimento de quadris afro-brasileiro, com seus corpos, na chamada laços de interação ou “feed-back loops” de acordo com Erika Ficher-Lichte.

- Tanto o baile funk como o desfile das escolas de samba são performances musicais, ou sejam são um processo e não um produto, como diz Nicolas Cook. Segundo ele, os trabalhos musicais podem ser vistos como um meio para se “dar” uma performance. Tanto o samba-enredo como o funk carioca propõem temas para o público apresentar através da dança e inspirar suas performances.

- Johan Huizinga fala que os jogos sociais são uma variedade cultural, como expressão e valorização da vida da comunidade. Ele fala também que esses jogos muitas vezes são jogos entre grupos rivais. Isso acontece com as escolas de samba competindo no sambódromo. Com o título de campeã do Carnaval, uma escola de samba ganha prestígio, interesse da sociedade e patrocínio para o desfile do próximo ano.

- Ao lado dos desfiles das escolas de samba no sambódromo, ainda existe a possibilidade de se brincar o Carnaval, mais livremente, sem coreografias, e dizer a sua identidade “no pé”, como nos blocos de rua e nos desfiles na Intendente Magalhães.

- De todas as maneiras, não pode-se afirmar que o baile funk pode tomar o lugar do desfile das escolas de samba. No baile funk, os participantes exprimem suas identidades individuais, especialmente dos grupos juvenis na periferia. Com o desfile das escolas e todos os seus eventos de preparação, existe uma identidade coletiva, uma identidade da escola e do bairro. Cria-se uma experiência coletiva, onde oitenta minutos de desfile, todos estão juntos vivendo esse momento. Mesmo assim, se o funk carioca conseguir se diversificar, criando finalmente uma identidade coletiva, quem sabe não teremos no centro do Rio, ao lado do Sambódromo, um Funkódromo?

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Fernando Luís Mattos da Mata, alias D.J. Marlboro, September 2007

Helena Sílvia, September 2007

Ketty Geisa, February 2008

Meirelles Onésio, February 2008

Third international workshop on Samba and Carnival, 28 to 30 jan. 2008:

Martins Jair, organizer

Mello Amarildo, *carnavalesco*

Mestre Odilon, *mestre de bateria*/orchestra director

Nogueira Nicelmar, Presidente do Centro Cultural Cartola

Domingues Célia, Presidente da Associação das Mulheres Empreendedoras do Brasil

DVDs:

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G.R.E.S Império Serrano

BUM, BUM PATICUMBUM PRUGURUNDUM

Autores: Beto sem Braço e Aluísio Machado

Interprete: Quinzinho

Carnival 1982

Album: O Essencial das Escolas de Samba

Funk Carioca:

Guerreiros da Paz

1996

Autor: MC Cacuía

Album: Big Mix é o Mané.

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1. A Cegonha me deixou em Madureia, composed by Jorge Ben Jor and Augusto de Agosto. Singer: Jorge Ben Jor. CD, Os Grandes Sucessos de Jorge Ben Jor.

2. A Lapa de Adão e Eva: Beija-Flor Samba School, Carnival 1985.
3. Abram alas que eu quero passar: Mangueira Samba School, Carnival 1985.
4. Reconstruindo a Natureza, Recriando a Vida: o Sonho vira realidade: Portela Samba School, Carnival 2008.
5. Bum Bum Paticumbum: Império Serrano Samba School, Carnival 1982.
6. Chumbo Quente: CD Proibidão, O Rio é Funk, o Som das Comunidades.
7. Dança Brasil: Unidos da Tijuca Sambaschool, Carnival 1983.
8. Dique, Um Mar de Amor: Vila Isabel Samba School, Carnival 1978.
9. Direito é direiro: Unidos de Vila Isabel Samba School, Carnival 1989.
10. E o Samba sambou: São Clemente Samba School, Carnival 1990.
11. Ela mama meu Ganso: composed and sung by MC Catra. Lyric from the homepage: Vagalume, [URL:http://www.vagalume.uol.com.br](http://www.vagalume.uol.com.br).
12. Eu num é doutô, composed by Pedro Monteiro. Cd-Book: Jongo da Serrinha, 2002.
13. Eu só quero ser feliz, funk carioca song, recorded by Furacão 2000. Lyric from the homepage: Vagamule, [URL:http://www.vagamule.uol.com.br](http://www.vagamule.uol.com.br).
14. O que há Portela, composed by Tiãozinho Poeta and sang by Luiz Ayrão, Luiz Ayrão Long Play, 1978.
15. Para tudo se acabar na Quarta-Feira: Vila Isabel Sambaschool, Carnival 1984.
16. Portela na Avenida, composed by Mauro Duarte and Paulo César Pinheiro. Singer: Clara Nunes, CD, Raízes do Samba.
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18. Rio, Samba, Amor e Tradição: Tradição Samba School, Carnival 1989.
19. Salamaleikum, Apopéia dos Insubmissos Malês: Unidos da Tijuca Samba School, Carnival, 1984.
20. Taí...eu fiz tudo para você gostar de mim: Império Serrano Samba School, Carnival 2008.
21. Serrinha, composed by Mauro Duarte and Paulo César Pinheiro. Singer Clara Nunes, CD, Raízes do Samba.

22. Sô feia, mas tô na moda, composed by Tati Quebra Barraco, Bruno Dj and Ricardo Gama. Singer: Tati Quebra Barraco, CD Tati Quebra Barraco, Boladona.
23. Trevas!Luzes! A Explosão do Universo: Viradouro Samba School, Carnival 1997.
24. Vapor na Paraíba, composed by Grandma Teresa. Cd-Book: Jongo da Serrinha, 2002.

14. Glossary

Abre-Alas – a detailed script of the parade including justification of the overall theme and of each wing's topic; it is mandatory to present this to the Samba Lige before the parade so that the judges can prepare themselves; also opening committee/comissão de frente

Alas de Escola de Samba - Wing of a escola de samba, i.e. a group of normally about 200 people representing one of the themes of the school's parade

Baianas – Normally elderly dancers originally from Bahia state, normally dark-skinned and with a wide skirt

Baile Funk – An organized Funk dancing party/show

Bamba – first-class samba singer and/or dancer

Bateria – the orchestra of a sambaschool; consists normally of about 150 to 200 *ritmistas*/percussionists

Batuque – Timeline of the percussionists, rhythm; formerly all African/Afro-Brazilian musical festivities

Bicheiro – lottery ticket seller, but also the businesspeople behind the illegal lottery

Carnavalesco – Carnival designer and script-writer

Charme – a more melodic and slower variety of funk, usually danced in couples

Concentração – the place of organisation of the sambaschool before entering into the Sabmodrome

Diretor de Harmonia – Director of Harmony responsible for coordination of timing and dancing of the wing members

Dispersão – at the end of the parade there is a wide exit area and two exits: one for the escola de samba members, the other for the Carnival floats

Do morro para o asfalto – from the favela to the city

Ensaio – dancing or orchestra rehearsal, sometimes in the form of a samba show

Escola de Samba - Sambaschool

Favela – slum/shanty-town

Funk Carioca – Rio's local variety of "funk" or Miami Bass

Instrumentos das Escolas de Samba – some instruments used during the parade:

- *Agogo* – a sort of a double, originally hunting-bell
- *Caixa* – sort of a tambourine
- *Pandeiro* - timbrel
- *Repique* – small tambourine
- *Surdo* – biggest drums made of leather

Jogo do Bicho – “animals’ lottery”, an illegal street lottery

Jongo – a dancing style both for religious and profane festivities that originally came to Brazil from the area of the Congos and Angola

Mestre de bateria – Director of the orchestra

Morro – „hill“, but also the neighborhoods on a hill, a synonym of favela/slum

Mulatos – people of mixed Afro-European origin

Negro/preto – black person (in Brazil “preto” is considered diminishing, whereas “negro” is a more neutral term).

Passista – stand-out dancer during the parades

Quadra – Sambaschool court

Samba-Enredo – the samba-plot at the base of the escola de samba’s parade; it introduces the overall topic and the themes represented by the *alas/wings*

Sambódromo – the parade’s stadium

Sapucaí or Marquês de Sapucaí – the avenue on which the parade takes place, synonym of the Sambodrom

Velha Guarda – (elderly) important figures in the cultural life of an Escola de Samba

Abstract in English

Key-words: Performance, Identity, Multi-ethnic society, Samba, Carnival, Baile Funk, Body movement

In Rio de Janeiro's multi-ethnic society with its colonial and slave-based past creating a common identity is a major problem. Standard Portuguese, as opposed to spoken "Brazilian", is remote to many Brazilians. Therefore, music and dance, the Carnival events and *Baile Funk*, substitute for language-based common performances. They have become extraordinarily big events based on a "sincretized" rhythm, on the body and mostly Afro-Brazilian body movements.

With the help of "participant observation" and "ero-epic conversation" I tried to participate as closely as possible in numerous events and describe them in performance protocols. These I analyzed according to the concepts of performance theory.

Richard Schechner's emphasis on deep structures (such as the *escola* rehearsals) and rules; Victor Turners shift from play to ritual; Nicholas Cook's "process-" rather than "product-character" of performances and the musical work, e.g. a samba-*enredo*, as giving performers something to perform; Erika Fischer-Lichte's emphasis on co-presence, interaction and feed-back as well as the body and its expressions; and finally Johan Huizinga's prediction of a shift in social play, through rules, competition and the audience to more seriousness. All these concepts of performance theory both proved useful tools, and at the same time were put to an interesting re-evaluation when applied to these mostly Afro-Brazilian events.

Rio's Carnival's counter-world has to fulfill so important and different needs in a divided society that it split to be able to present opportunities for spontaneous play of the individual, e.g. in the street *blocos* and the *Intendente Magalhães* parades, and to present a choreographed show of unity and common identity, in the main *sambodrome* parades. *Baile Funk* has so far catered for the first needs, i.e. entertainment and individual expression, as it has not involved all layers of *carioca* society through city-wide events.

Stichworte: Performance, Identität, Karneval, Samba, Baile Funk, Multi-ethnische Gesellschaft, Körperbewegung

Für Rio de Janeiros multi-ethnische Gesellschaft mit ihrer kolonialen und sklaverei-basierten Geschichte ist die Schaffung einer gemeinsamen Identität besonders schwierig. Auch wird die portugiesische Hochsprache von den meisten Brasilianern im Alltag wenig verwendet. Daher müssen gemeinsame Performances, die nicht auf Sprache beruhen, wie Musik und Tanz, Sambaveranstaltungen und *Baile Funk*, die identitätsschaffende Funktion übernehmen. Sie sind daher zu extrem grossen Veranstaltungen angewachsen, die auf einem „synkretischen“ Rhythmus und einer gemeinsamen Betonung des Körpers und meist afro-brasilianischer Körperbewegungen basieren.

Mithilfe der „teilnehmenden Beobachtung“ und des „ero-epischen Gesprächs“ versuchte ich, so intensiv wie möglich an den Veranstaltungen teilzunehmen, sie in Performance Protokollen wiederzugeben und mit den Konzepten der Performance Theorie zu beschreiben.

Richard Schechners Regelstruktur der Gegenwelt und ihre „deep structures“ (wie die Proben der Sambaschulen); Victor Turners Gegenüberstellung von Spiel und Ritual; Nicholas Cooks Betonung von Prozess- statt Produktcharakter und des musikalischen Werks als Performance-Grundlage; Erika Fischer-Lichte's Betonung der Ko-Präsenz, der Interaktion, des Körpers und seines Ausdrucks; schliesslich Johan Huizingas zutreffenden Vorhersagen zur „Verregulierungstendenz“ des zunehmend ernster werdenden sozialen Spiels: Die Performance Theorie war einerseits wertvolles Analyseinstrument und wurde andererseits durch die Schwerpunkte dieser afro-brasilianischen Veranstaltungen neu interpretiert.

Die Gegenwelt von Rios Karneval muss in einer gespaltenen Gesellschaft so wichtige und unterschiedliche Aufgaben erfüllen, dass sie sich aufgespalten hat, um sowohl dem spontanen Ausdruck des Individuums Raum zu geben - in den Strassengruppen, den *blocos*, und den kleineren Umzügen auf der „Intendente Magalhães - als auch einer choreografierten Show der Einheit und der gemeinsamen Identität, den grossen *Sambodrom*-Umzügen. *Baile Funk* hat sich bisher dem ersten Bedürfnis gewidmet, der Unterhaltung und dem individuellen Ausdruck, und weder alle Gesellschaftsschichten erreicht, noch gemeinsame Performances für ganz Rio geschaffen.

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 - **Pressebetreuung**
 - **Mitarbeit beim elektronischen Nachrichtenblatt**
- Feb. 1998 – Juni 1998: WWF World Wildlife Fund, Brasilia:
 - **Produktion**
 - **Reportagegestaltung**
 - **Präsentation des Radioprogramms “Natureza Viva”**
- Sept. 1997 – Feb. 1998: NTU Nationaler Verband der städtischen Transportunternehmen, Brasilia:
 - **Pressebetreuung.**
- Juni 1995 – Sept. 1995: Brasilianische Zentralpost, Brasilia:
 - **Redaktion der Filatelistischen Zeitschrift**
 - **Ausarbeitung von Briefmarkenkampagnen**
- Aug. 1994 - Juni 1995: TCI-Brasília (Architektur- und Consultingbüro), Brasilia:
 - **Projektausarbeitung**
 - **Projektkorrektur**

Sonstige Fähigkeiten:

Sprachen: **Portugiesisch** (Muttersprache), **Deutsch**, **Englisch** und **Französisch** (jeweils Auslandsstudium); **Spanisch**
 Alle Sprachkenntnisse sind dolmetscherfähig, fließend in Wort und Schrift.

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Questionnaire

(Original Version in Portuguese)

Samba

- How many steps does a Sambaschool make until the Parade? How does it choose the subject?
- The Samba-Enredo: How is it chosen? By whom?
- The rules of the Parade: How are these Criteria established? By whom? Liesa or Associação?
- Does a Samba School have to pay a tax to be a member of one Association (Liesa or Association)?
- When do the rehearsals for the parade start? How many months before the Carnival?
- Members of the “Bateria”: How many are there? How do they organize themselves?
- Mestre de Bateria: The recognition of each instrument. The Bateria position in the Sambódromo. How to avoid get out of the samba rhythm in the Sambódromo?
- Bateria Members: How do they know the “batidas” of a Sambaschool and how do they learn it?
- Which Sambaschool has one different “Batida”? Why?
- How many Samba instruments does a Sambaschool need? How often the Bateria needs to make rehearsals?
- The relationship between “Mestre de Bateria” and “Mestre de Harmonia”?
- Do you know where the Body Movement comes from?
- How many members does one Samba School have? How many members does one “Ala” have? From Special Group to Group E.
- The colors of a Sambaschool’s flag. What does it mean? Portela and Império Serrano.
- How is the living together between Império Serrano and Portela in the same district?
- How do the residents of Madureira feel about both Sambaschools?
- What is different financially? Are they firms? How did it happen?

- Choosing the subject. Is there espionage? Which criteria are there to choose one subject?
- How do you feel about your own School?
- Distribution of the costumes. How many members of the Community do not need to pay?
- Price: How much costs one costume?
- Material of the costumes. Light costumes to move better in the Parade.
- Choreography: Who is responsible for that?
- Economic Aspect: Who and how the main parades are financed?
- Performative Aspects: How many people from outside of the community participate, only for fun? How can I control this situation and not lose points for the competition?

Funk

- Where does the body movement come from? From Sambaschool or “Baile Funk”?
- Baile Funk: event with low costs
- What is the role of “Baile Funk” for the Community?
- Where does the Choreography come from? The Audience or the Performers?
- What is the difference between Funk, Hip Hop and Rap?
- With funk carioca, does the young population lose their interest in Samba?
- How do you finance the Baile funk?
- Where does it normally take place?
- Do some artists cater more for the middle class?
- What are the links between baile funk and drug trafficking? How to ensure security?
- Are there artists who perform both samba and funk?

Conversation Protocols – “Gesprächsprotokolle”

Object: Performance and Identity in Rio de Janeiro

Method: Participant Observation and Qualitative Interview – Method Ero-Epic Conversation.

I had 9 more detailed conversations in my two research trips to Rio de Janeiro, in September 2007 and January 2008. As a method to conduct the conversations I used the Ero-Epic conversation with a questionnaire for my own orientation. According to Professor Roland Girtler in his book “Methoden der Feldforschung”, Ero-Epic conversation is “a conversation that is about counts and histories that can relate to almost anything in a culture or a group”.³⁶⁹

To give an easy overview, I divided my conversations into three categories:

- **Scientific contacts:** In this category I aggregated people who gave me orientation about my research and mostly work scientifically in the area.
- **Samba Scene:** people/artists who work with sambaschools.
- **Funk carioca Scene:** people/artists who work with Funk Carioca.

Overview of contacts/conversations:

Name	Category	Profession	Main Subject
Luís Antônio	Scientific contacts	Musicologist in Museum of Sound and Music in Rio de Janeiro	Books about Samba History
Sílvia Helena	Samba Scene	Employee in Museum of Sound and Music in Rio de Janeiro	Sambaschools Rehearsals
Hiram Araújo	Samba Scene and Scientific contacts	Art Director of Liesa – Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba – Independent Sambaschool Association	History of carnival and sambaschools in Rio and sambaschool parade as a spectacle
Fernando Luís Mattos – Artistic name DJ Malboro	Funk Carioca Scene	Disc Jockey and Funk carioca businessman from Funk carioca sound team “Big	Funk Carioca as the Rio’s main rhythm

³⁶⁹ „Es ist ein Gespräch, bei dem es um Erzählungen und Geschichten geht, die sich so ziemlich auf alles einer Kultur oder Gruppe beziehen können“. page 147

		Mix é o Mané”	
Carla Lopes	Scientific contacts	Responsible for the Old Documents in National Archive Rio de Janeiro	Sambaschool – Study Group on History and Social Memory
Jociclay de Souza e Silva – Artistic name Claysoul	Samba and Funk Carioca Scene	Manager of Carnival graduated in Estácio de Sá University and member of Unidos do Jacarezinho sambaschool	Discrimination against black population in Rio and sambaschools’ second parade in Intentente Magalhães.
Sérgio Machado Leal – Artistic name DJ TR	Hip Hop Movement and Funk carioca scene	Social educator from Rio de Janeiro administration, writer on hip-hop and DJ	Hip Hop Movement and discrimination against black population in Rio.
Onésio Meirelles	Samba Scene	Former Director of Harmony of Mangueira sambaschool	Commercialization of sambaschool and its factor of social integration for the black population
Geisa Ketty	Samba Scene	Former Director of Harmony of Mangueira sambaschool	Commercialization of sambaschool and rehearsals

First Conversation

Name: Luís Antonio

Place of the Interview: Museum of Sound and Music in Rio de Janeiro.

Profession: Musicologist

Field: Samba

Main Subject: History of Samba in Rio

Tape recorder: No

Category: Scientific contact

Date: September 2007

Luís Antônio is responsible for the Research Department in the Museum of Sound and Music in Rio de Janeiro. We discussed about my subject. The major point of this conversation was the History of Samba in Rio. Samba as a music style began in Rio downtown where in the past there was a concentration of

Afro-Brazilian population. After the abolition of Slavery in 1889, many Afro-Brazilians came to Rio to try to get a job.

Even before the abolition of the slavery, a couple of Afro-Brazilians went to Rio to try a new life. Contrary to the Afro-Brazilians who came after the abolition, these were already free. They had fought as soldiers during the war against Paraguay, about 1860, and they did not want to go back to Bahia, a Brazilian State in Northeast, after they received their liberation. They concentrated themselves in the port area, because many of them found work as a docker.

They had a tradition to meet each other to celebrate their African religion “Camdoblé” and play their music, the samba. Originally, samba comes from Bahia state. These Afro-Brazilians kept this music from Africa. These meeting happened in the “tias africanas” houses, with the African Aunts. One of the bestknown African aunts was “Tia Ciata”. It was from the meetings at her house that Samba as a music style began to spread through the town.

This Museum concentrates all kinds of Brazilian music, including Brazilian Classical music and testimonies of Brazilian artists. There I found material about the History of Samba with the testimony from the fathers of samba: Donga, Pixinguinha e João da Bahiana and some old samba music.

Second Conversation

Name: Sílvia Helena

Place of Interview: Museum of Image and Sound in Rio.

Profession: Civil Servant in this Museum and President of the Group “Cauã” of Mangueira Sambaschool

Field: Samba

Category: Samba Scene

Main Subject: Costumes to participate in the parade, rehearsals and Children’s Sambaschool

Tape recorder: no. A tape recorder would have made the conversation less open and frank.

I talked to Luís Antônio, the head of the center of research about my subject and he presented me to Silvia. She is a member of Mangueira and she could give me a lot of inside information about sambaschools.

The major point of this interview were the rehearsals of Mangueira. Mangueira belongs to the Special Group, she is a quite rich Sambaschool. To participate in the Samba parade, it is necessary to buy a costume which for the residents from the poorer districts in Rio is almost impossible. She explained that about 20 costumes per wing are given for free to locals who do not have money to afford one costume. She said that a couple of wings from Mangueira only consist of members who live in the Mangueira district.

It is important to check people who will get a free costume. She told me that in her group, she has a list of names. When they have a rehearsal, she checks if everybody is there. When the people do not come three times, she or he loses the costume. That person is not allowed to participate in the Mangueira parade – unless the person buys a costume at full price.

The rehearsals are very important for the Sambaschools. They can take place in the Sambaschool Hall, on the street in the district where the Sambaschool comes from or in the sambodrome. The rehearsal in the sambodrome is about a month before the Carnival. It is the moment when the members of Sambaschool learn to dance and sing the lyrics of Samba-Enredo together, the “bateria”, the drums and the whole components practice to perform together.

Over time, the competition among Sambaschools from the Special Group became very intense and very commercial. The rules are strict, both to win the title of the year and for the Sambaschool to maintain herself in this Group. One Sambaschool cannot make any mistake during the parade or else lose precious points. By staging numerous rehearsals, the Sambaschools try to avoid the most common mistakes such as one part of the school singing the first part of the lyrics, and the rest the end of it – this is called “atravessar o samba” – mess up with the samba. The participants have to dance the choreography of the group who they belong to and of course, they have to know the lyrics to sing during the parade.

She told me that the rehearsal begins once the Samba- Enredo is chosen, normally in October. There will be rehearsals at least once week to prepare for the parade, especially for the “bateria”, the orchestra.

Children: normally one Sambaschool has a children’s group. This is not only to pass on the tradition from one generation to the next, there is also a social function: To participate, a child must have a vaccination certificate and a school inscription.

Third Conversation

Name: Dr. Hiram Araújo

Place of the Interview: Seat of Liesa – Liga das Escolas de Samba Rio de Janeiro/Association of Special Group of sambaschools of Rio de Janeiro.

Profession: Art Director of Liesa – Liga das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro. He is one of the major collaborators of the graduation course about Carnival in one of the well-known Universities in Rio de Janeiro, Estácio de Sá. This graduation consists of the preparation of professionals who want to work in Sambaschool field as manager, designer etc.

Field: Samba

Category: Samba Scene and scientific contact

Main subject: Commercial aspect of Sambaschools, Parade of Sambaschools as a Spectacle and the sambodrome.

Tape recorder: No. The conversation happened by chance; I did not have any appointment. In Rio, sometimes it is better to go personally to talk with people instead of contacts over the phone.

I went to “Liga” only to get some Information. The “Liga” Headquarter is in the huge building in downtown Rio, not far away from “Sambódromo” or “Cidade do Samba”. Mr. Araújo was there, when I came, he had time and we talked for two hours about the history of Carnival in the world and in Rio. He has published a book on this topic called: “Carnaval Seis Milênios de História”. Unfortunately, it is currently sold out.

For me, the most interesting part of this conversation was about the sambodrome. In the past there was only the “Associação das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro” – “Association of Sambaschools Rio de Janeiro”. Over time, the parade of Sambaschool became ever more commercial. In the 1960ies the population started to pay the entrance fees to see the parade.

For twenty years, the “Associação” and the Rio city fought about the construction of a fixed place, reserved for the sambaschool parade. According to him, it was a big waste of money and time to mount and dismount every year the stalls for the parade.

In 1984 the sambodrome was opened and the “Associação” divided in two, the Liga and the other one that kept the name “Associação”. This point is very important because it has great influence on the financial situation of the sambaschools in Rio.

The rich sambaschools belong to “Liga” and the other sambaschools to the “Associação das Escolas de Samba”.

At end of this conversation, he sent to me by e-mail, many articles, and parts of his book. These were particularly helpful for the historic parts of my dissertation and for the economic and social aspects of the sambaschool parade.

However, I believe the best part of this interview were his explanation on the sambaschool parade as a spectacle and his justification of the construction of the sambodrome. He tried to convince me that the sambaschool “Beija Flor de Nilópolis”, obviously his favourite, is the best sambaschool in Rio.

Fourth Conversation

Name: Fernando Luís Mattos da Mata, artistic name, D.J Malboro.

Place of the Interview: Nuth’s, one disco, in Rio downtown, very sophisticated. I was invited, but the entrance was expensive, 40 reais for Man and 20 reais for Women.

Profession: Disc Jockey and Funk businessman

Field: Funk Carioca

Category: Funk Carioca Scene

Main Subject: Funk Carioca as main rhythm in Rio

Tape recorder: No. We made an appointment by e-mail, in this disco. It was Tuesday evening. It was too noisy to use a Tape Recorder.

D.J. Malboro is well-known in Brazil, as a Funk Carioca star. He has a sound team – “equipe de som” – “Big Mix é o Mané”. This sound team organizes numerous “Baile Funk” everywhere in Rio. I went to one “baile funk” in Curicica, in a western suburb, not so far away from “Cidade de Deus”. This part of town is quite dangerous. However, it was very interesting to compare one rich “baile funk” with a Funk Star such D.J. Malboro and one poor “baile funk” with unknown funk carioca artists.

This conversation did not last long. We talked about a half hour and then he gave a concert in this disco.

The major point in this conversation was the “baile funk” as entertainment of “favelas” and suburbs in Rio. He told me a little bit about the history of Funk in Rio and he indicated a book, the only one that I have found about Funk Carioca: “O Batidão, Uma História do Funk”. He had worked together with the author Silvio Essinger.

He said too, that Funk carioca is popular movement coming nowadays from the “favelas”. The sambaschools moved away from their districts, from the moment that residents had to pay a costume to participate in the parade (formerly these were produced at home).

Going to one “Baile Funk”, you do not need to pay a costume, which is quite expensive. You pay a small entrance fee that costs 5 reais or 7 reais. I see in the poor “baile funk” that these are usually free for women. This contrasts with “European-style cultural events” such as going to a theater or even the cinema that is almost unavailable in the suburbs and in the center and richer areas too expensive for the poorer population to afford.

Another point is the cost of “Baile Funk” compared to the sambaschool parade. You do not need a long preparation time for the baile, only a stage, sound table – mesa de som, notebook. I can have a “Baile Funk” anywhere in the town, indoors and, as the weather normally allows this, also outdoors in the streets.

Fifth Conversation

Name: Carla Lopes

Place of the Interview: Archive National Rio de Janeiro and one restaurant in Rio downtown.

Profession: Responsible for the Old Documents Department in Rio de Janeiro National Archive and teacher in one School in North part of the Rio, Piedade. She has one Project: “Guardiões da Memórias” – Guardian of the Memories. This Project intends to show to the students, in the school where Carla is teaching, how important the Sambaschools are for their Identity, in collaboration

with the “Associação das Velhas Guardas das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro” - Association Old Group of Samba school Rio de Janeiro. This Association groups together, the “Velha Guardas” or elder members of each Samba school in Rio. She is also responsible for the project: “Núcleo de Pesquisa de História Social” – Center of Research of Social History”.

Field: Samba

Category: Scientific Contact

Tape recorder: First time during my first trip to Rio, no. By the second time, during my second trip, I used a Tape recorder. However, the tape recorder made the conversation less open.

This was a very interesting conversation for my dissertation. During my first trip to Rio, in September, I visited many institutions such as the National Library, the Museum of Image and Sound and others. The major problem was that we cannot make copies from any articles in Rio, because of a relatively recent law that tries to protect the writers from plagiarism. However, this makes the consultation of books very complicated in a land like Brazil where education is very expensive, including buying books.

Already before my first trip to Rio we made contact by e-mail through one homepage: www.overmundo.com.br . This homepage is a forum to discuss the popular culture in Brazil and Mrs. Lopes put her project there.

After a couple of contacts by telephone, we met in National Archive in Rio. I had to go there to search old pictures for the dissertation, which is very important to compare the Carnival today with the Carnival in the old times.

She offered to present me to a couple of people, whom I could talk to about my dissertation through this “Núcleo de Pesquisa de História Social” for my second research trip to Rio. The “Núcleo” indicated me another four people to talk to (see below for more details):

- Joci clay de Souza e Silva, artistic name Claysoul. He is Disc Jockey and Manager of Carnival, graduated in the Carnival Department from Estácio de Sá University, one University in Rio de Janeiro.
- Sérgio José de Machado Leal, artistic name DT TR. Disc Jockey, writer, and follower of the Hip Hop Movement in Rio de Janeiro. He is functionary from Rio city in charge as a social educator for the poor communities.
- Onésio Meirelles, former artistic director of Mangueira Samba school.
- Geisa Ketty, former artistic director of Mangueira Samba school and daughter of one famous samba composer.

Sixth Conversation

Name: Joci clay de Souza e Silva, artistic name Claysoul

Place of Interview: one bar in Rio downtown

Field: Samba and Funk Carioca

Category: Samba and Funk Carioca Scene

Time of School: he graduated in the University, as a manager of Carnival events.

Tape recorder: Yes

Main subject: discrimination against the black population in Rio, samba as music and the sambaschool parade, commercialization of samba as well as the history of Carioca Funk and “baile funk”.

Quotations:

In Brazilian: “A galera do Funk Carioca não tem consciência do que estão fazendo”

In English: “The people Funk Carioca don’t have any conscience of what they are doing”

In Brazilian: “A música que sae da favela para o asfalto”

In English: “The music that left the favelas to come to town”

In Brazilian: “Nós somos os reis do batuque no mundo inteiro”

In English: “We are the kings of percussion worldwide”

In Brazilian: “Nossa cultura está nas mãos dos brancos”

In English: “Our culture is in the hands of white people”

This interview was together with DJ TR. Claysoul explained the main points of the history of Carioca Funk according to his experience as Disc Jockey, organizing “baile funk”. He also knows the Carnival side well, because of “his” sambaschool “Unidos do Jacarezinho”.

“Unidos do Jacarezinho” is a quite old Sambaschool. In the past, “Unidos do Jacarezinho” won the contest best Sambaschool of the Year together with Império Serrano. Today “Unidos do Jacarezinho” belongs to Group B. “Unidos do Jacarezinho” has won the Carnival 2008 and therefore next year it parades in Group A.

That is a very important point because the “Unidos do Jacarezinho” will then parade in the sambodrome, not anymore on “Intentente Magalhães” street. The venue of the parade in Rio de Janeiro is according to a school’s classification. From Special Group to Group B the sambaschools parade in the sambodrome. From Group C to E they parade at “Intentente Magalhães” street in Madureira suburb.

The sambodrome is in downtown Rio, close to the port area. Its localization is interesting, because this is close to where samba as a music began, in the African Aunts’ houses. In the past, this area was called little Africa in Rio.

The parade at “Intentente Magalhães” is completely different. It consists of smaller sambaschools that cannot boast the sophisticated costumes seen at the sambodrome. “Intentente Magalhães” is far way from downtown. It is in Madureira about 30 km from the downtown. There is no advertisement of this

supposed second “sambodrome” and there are numerous Cariocas from the richer areas who do not even know about these parades. Claysoul explains that it is quite simple compared to the sambodrome. Intentente Magalhães has very simple stalls and the entrance is free.

We talked about how the sambaschools got distanced from their communities. He told me that “his” sambaschool has a strong presence at Jacarezinho Community. At this point, we have discussed about the commercialization of sambaschool in Rio. Mostly, it is a huge investment by the city of Rio together with Channel TV Rede Globo.

He told me that Rede Globo deposits two million reais, about eight hundred thousand euros, in each Special Group sambaschool's account. Rede Globo will also broadcast the parade of the sambaschool Special Group on TV to many countries and will prepare a DVD, with the best moment of the parade to sell after the Carnival. Many tourists who come to Rio every year buy this DVD as souvenirs.

Then we talked about stereotypes, and of the moment when white people started to appropriate the sambaschool parade. This stereotype tries to sell a perfect image of Rio de Janeiro, the “perfect integration” between afro-Brazilians and white-Brazilians etc.

Then we returned to Funk Carioca. Claysoul has both sides: Funk Carioca and Sambaschool. He said the beginning of Funk as Music was in the seventies in Rio. People started to organize parties to dance this music. There was a moment that this organized parties to dance American funk began to invade the Slams. At same time, sons of rich family came in the “favelas” to consume cocaine.

In the eighties “baile funk” needed a moment to dance slowly. Claysoul said there was a very famous disc jockey, DJ Corello. This DJ introduced the “Charme” a rhythm with R’ and B’ influences that gives another dancing touch to “baile funk”.

We sing together: “Qual a diferença entre o charme e o funk. Um canta bonito e outro elegante”. – “What is the difference between charm and funk. One sings beautiful, the other elegant”. This little music shows that DJ Corello gives to the “baile funk” in the Rio suburbs another meaning.

Claysoul explains that “baile funk” also became stronger because of Hip Hop movement as a philosophy of life.

We returned to Samba. Claysoul said that he does not believe that people from samba “Sambistas” were completely marginalized. A long time ago, there was the figure of the vagabond, a guy who never works. He explained about the kind of jobs that there were for the black community: many of them worked in Rio's port.

He explained that sambaschools today are used for the celebrities to make their publicity in the Medias. He gave one example, “rainha de bateria” – queen of the orchestra. During the parade this queen comes in front of the bateria. Many of these queens finance the costume for the whole bateria, only to get the chance to appear on TV.

He explained that some sambaschools like Mangueira have big sponsors such as Petrobras, the huge state-owned oil exploitation monopoly. Also Mangueira is one showcase community, for tourists to visit. He gave another example of a different sambaschool: Beija Flor de Nilópolis. This sambaschool gives about 80% of the fantasies free to the community. This obviously helps to integrate locals. The big question is: Where comes the money to produce the costumes come from? One costume for a member of a sambaschool costs about 350 reais or 400 reais, 150 or 250 euro. For the tourists, they are going to buy such a kit that includes the CD of Special Samba Group. Rio de Janeiro is one touristic town.

Here begins one important performative aspect: dancing and singing samba as a tourist to have a fun is very different from participating as a member of the sambaschool who will dance to win the contest. Claysoul said that is the reason why many sambaschools such as Portela have not won the carnival contest for 22 years. Last year (2007), Portela had the Pan-American Games and the Rio city co-financed and used this parade for the marketing of the event.

We then talked about Portela’s history and the sambaschool “Tradição” that formerly was part of Portela. A couple of members of Portela, not satisfied with the sambaschool, just left the sambaschool and founded another one named “Tradição”. The name Tradition shows that Portela sambaschool was far away of its members, very commercial. The “Tradição” sambaschool today belongs to group B, whereas Portela continues in the highest group.

Then we turned to the question: Where does the money to finance the costumes come from? We returned to talk about the Beija Flor. Claysoul said that it would be interesting that others sambaschools try to follow this example, but that there are many problems behind this situation. Part of this money comes from corruption, drug trafficking or the illegal street lottery “jogo do bicho” – animal’s lottery. In 1978 this sambaschool won the carnival contest with one subject that explains that the money comes from “jogo do bicho”.

The sambodrome has a final square “Praça da Apoteose”. In this square, throughout the year there are many events, in particular music concerts.

In 1997, the sambaschool Viradouro put in its “samba” the Funk carioca time-line. In this moment Funk Carioca is officially integrated in Samba. To conclude this interview: Samba and Funk Carioca live side by side in the “favelas” and suburbs of Rio.

The seventh Conversation

Name: Sérgio José de Machado Leal, artistic name DT TR.

Profession: social educator in Rio de Janeiro, writer and D.J.

Place of Interview: one bar in Rio downtown

Field: Hip Hop Movement and Funk Carioca

Category: Funk Carioca Scene

Tape recorder: Yes

Main subject: Hip Hop movement, discrimination against the black population in Rio and Funk Carioca.

Date: 2008

The best quotations:

In Brazilian: “Os caras eram marginais, porque eles eram marginalizados”

In English: “The guys were marginal why they were marginalized”

In Brazilian: “O funk carioca é o filho bastardo do Hip Hop”

In English: “The funk carioca is the bastard son of Hip Hop”

This interview was together with Claysoul. He started this interview with the discrimination point: Everybody in Rio meets each other in sambodrome, or on the beach, but when we are supposed to meet each other at University or in the job market, it is over. He told me about the racial quotas in Brazil. There is quite a new law that concerns afro-Brazilians. Part of the studying places at Brazilian state run universities should be reserved for Afro-Brazilians, about 20% of the places.

After that he explains the origin of Hip Hop Movement and its father: DJ Afrika Bambaataa. In 1973 Afrika Bambaataa founded one ONG, the Zulu Nation. The idea was to bring together all talents from the ghetto in Bronx, DJ's, dancers, MC's and others. There was a lot of problems with drugs and violence in his neighbourhood. TR explains that the Hip Hop Movement is not a movement of criminals, but rather it was born in the middle of a chaotic social situation.

There was one moment that we discussed the character of MCs in the funk carioca scene. About this point, Claysoul together with DJ TR said that MCs from Funk Carioca try to maintain the stereotype of the north-american ghetto rapper, with the outfit, hair and behaviour. TR says that these MCs of Funk carioca will remain with this image, because it sells very good on TV.

We then talked about Mr. Catra. He is a famous funk carioca MC. TR says that Catra does not obey to the normal rules of Rio de Janeiro funk. He is an afro-Brazilian that studied in one of best high schools in Rio, D.Pedro II.

TR explains that Catra became one funk carioca MC for financial reasons. Before Mr. Catra was a rapper who sang political and critical rap. We compare DJ Malboro with Mr. Catra. Malboro makes music with a sort of sound table, typical for disc jockeys. Mr. Catra sings and he brought that from the Hip Hop movement.

TR thinks that a part of funk carioca MCs do not have anything to say, they do not have social or political conscience. He gives one example: In the “favela” if I don’t become a drug dealer, I will try to become “funkeiro” –funk carioca MC. And women, I do not want to become the wife of one vagabond, I will dance on the stage as a funk carioca dancer.

We talked about sound teams and sound carioca team such as “Furacão 2000” or “Big Mix é o Mané”. Furacão 2000 is a franchise organization that organizes 50 “baile funk” per night in Rio de Janeiro city or state. Something similar is the “Big Mix é o Mané” sound team organized by DJ Malboro.

We returned to talk about DJ Afrika Bambaataa, the father of the Hip Hop movement. TR explains that the musical base of Bambaataa was the drums of funk.

According to DJ TR the Hip Hop movement is a bit lost at the moment. The lyrics remain political or protesting, compared to funk carioca lyrics with its sexual or violent content. The rap music for the Hip Hop Movement is a visiting card. Music is a very important thing for whatever kind of movement. You don’t need to stop to hear it and even if you don’t want listen to it you are going to hear it from your neighbor.

To conclude this conversation he said that he cannot live as a DJ only or from the Hip Hop movement. In the past TR was living in “Cidade de Deus”, one dangerous and known “favela” in Rio. There is the movie “City of God” from Fernando Meirelles that shows this reality. TR told me that he has left “Cidade de Deus” because of the violence. He has a little daughter and it is not good to live where there are almost every day shootings between the police and drug dealers.

Eighth Conversation

Name: Onésio Meirelles. Married with Geisa Ketty

Profession: Diretor de Harmonia of the sambaschool Mangueira

Place of Interview: in his house in Engenho da Rainha, in north part of the Rio town, in the so-called conjunto dos músicos – the musicians’ area.

Field: Samba

Category: Samba Scene

Tape recorder: Yes

Main subject: the original Samba, the history of parade of sambaschool, commercialization of samba, Intendente Magalhães

Date: February 2008

The best quotations:

In portuguese: “Samba é uma interação natural”

In English: “Samba is a natural interaction”

In the past, there was no fixed place for the escolas to hold their parade in Rio de Janeiro. They depended on the Rio town hall to organize the carnival. After the foundation of Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba in 1984, the special group escolas had enough money to organize their parade independently. It was the “Liga” that co-sponsored the sambodrome.

When the sambodrome was built, in the middle of the 1980ies, special group escolas were dominated by the lottery bosses. There is in Rio de Janeiro a sort of non-official lottery on the streets. In Brazilian this illegal street lottery is called “jogo do bicho” – animals’ lottery - and the person who sells this game is called “bicheiro” the lottery seller. However, the lottery’s bosses are called like this as well.

The lottery bosses then financed the costumes and carnival floats with money from this illegal street lottery. Onésio said that the special group escolas did not want to depend on the public administration of Rio city. He gave an example, the rights of the parades’ broadcasting. The “liga” could not negotiate if it had remained dependent on the public administration. Also acting indeendently was a way to avoid bureaucracy.

Before the construction of the sambodrome, there was only the “Associação das Escolas de Samba” that continues to exist. The problem was that this association was dominated by smaller escolas, as each escola, small or big, rich or poor, had the same power of vote. In this situation and as the differences between the escolas became ever more important, it was complicated to deal with all the interests in one association. That was another reason to create the “liga” that caters for the biggest escolas in the special group.

At this point of the conversation, we turned to the the commercialization of the escolas. They became enterprise and by doing so, they distanced themselves from the district that they belonged to, or in other words from their members and population.

According to him Mangueira, his escola is an example for this. 70% of this sambaschool does not belong anymore to its community. He said too that the poor people there, they do not have chance anymore in the escola.

I asked if the “baile funk” had a chance to take over the escolas place in the communities, in the “favelas”. His wife Geisa did not agree. For her Funk carioca is another kind of music and its fans different from the Samba community.

However, Onésio said that many people who like “baile funk” like to parade in the escolas. He said that both music styles live together in the communities. He mentioned his nephew, Ivo Meirelles, who is both a Funk carioca artist and a Samba artist and at the time the director of Mangueira’s orchestra. Funk carioca and samba have both African roots.

According to Onésio, funk carioca is appreciated mostly by the lower level of the population. This population does not usually have a good education. That is the reason why the lyrics of funk carioca are normally limited to sexual and violent contents. All levels of the population like to go in “baile funk”, be they poor or rich, but “baile funk” is more popular with the younger poorer population.

Samba is different in the sense that it brings a message with it and usually expresses one’s behavior. He said that is the reason why “Intentente Magalhães” is better. There is the original and traditional carnival, like in the 1970ties. The true carnival from the suburb where people do not need to pay a costume or an entrance fee to participate.

After the parade, the population watching the parade comes on the “Intentente Magalhães” street to play their own carnival. There is a king of carnival, and it is less commercial compared to the carnival in sambodrome. The parade in “Intentente Magalhães” has no advertising in the Brazilian Medias and is only broadcast on a less assisted local TV channel.

The economic point of view: Beija Flor usually stages a very fancy parade. This escola won the contest in 2008 and the year before. Império Serrano had only 250 thousand reais, about 100 thousand euros for the parade.

I asked both, Geisa and Onésio, about why they had left Mangueira sambaschool. They said that they were very disappointed with this commercial thing in Mangueira.

We then started to talk about samba as music. Samba comes from Africa. The Africans came to Brazil during the colonization to work as slaves. In Africa there are many kinds of African tribes with their culture and language. In Brazil they had to mix with each other.

Onésio explained that afro-Brazilians from the northern part of town originally come mostly from the Angola area. These people, the Bantus, came from the “Vale do Paraíba”, in the north of Rio de Janeiro state to the town. In Vale do Paraíba there were many coffee plantations and after the abolition of the slavery, the workers there came to Rio to start a new life. According to him these afro-Brazilians who have Angola-area descendents are more humble and submissive. Despite of this, they managed to keep their culture.

The Africans who moved to Rio downtown were different. They came to Rio about 30 years before the abolition of the slavery, already as free people. Most of them had fought as soldiers during the Paraguay war and they do not want to go back to their home state of Bahia. They were mostly Sudanese, and physically a bit taller than the Bantus.

The big difference between them was that the Sudanese were better educated, and some of them could speak and write Portuguese. They were the people who began with samba as music, “Tia Ciata” and other African aunts.

Following this thought, we started to discuss the Portela sambaschool in Madureira. The founder of Portela, Paulo da Portela, was of Sudanese origin. He came to Madureira and there he mixed with the Bantus. He taught the people of Portela that they have to be proud of their escola. It is interesting to see that even though Portela has not managed to win a carnival contest for 22 years, its members remain very proud of their school. This is completely different from Império Serrano that was originally part of another escola that does not exist anymore “Prazer da Serrinha”.

We started to talk about Cartola. He was one of the greatest samba composers in Rio. In 2008 is the centenary of his birth and I asked why Mangureira escola did not choose him as a theme. Onésio explained that this kind of subject for the escola does not bring enough sponsor money to stage the parade. Mangureira had as a subject “The Carnival from Recife”, because the Pernambuco state was the sponsor.

The Rio city offers to each special group escola about two million reais, about eight hundred thousand euros, for the parade. Onésio said that one special group escola needs at least this amount of money to prepare a competitive parade. That is why the escolas became very commercial over time.

Because of the carnival contest many people think that there is a strong rivalry among escolas. In reality there is a huge exchange among them. They organize parties and invite members from other escolas to meet, sing, dance. These parties are organized by the “Associação das Velhas Guardas das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro” – the association of the escolas’ elder members.

The “velhas guardas” are the roots of samba. At the beginning of the parades and for a long time, it was this group that opened the parade. Today they come towards the end of the parade. In 1983 this association was created with the idea to bring these groups of elders together more often.

At these parties, there is not only samba. People are going to meet each other, talk, dance, sing, exchange ideas. At these parties, the elders will bring their families, too. Samba as music is thus transmitted from one generation to the next. This is a sort of a resistance movement.

For the future, the sambaschools have the children’s escolas or escolas mirins. The idea is to prepare the younger generation for the contest “the best sambaschool of the year”. Onésio says that it was Império Serrano that began with it, creating the Império of the Future. Portela has the “Filhos da Águia” – Sons of the Eagle, and it started to invest in the people from Madureira. Onésio believes that this is creating a chance for his escola to win the contest after over twenty years.

Nineth Conversation

Name: Geisa Ketty. Married to Onésio Meirelles

Profession: Diretora da Harmonia of Mangureira escola

Place of Interview: in her house in Engenho da Rainha

Field: Samba

Category: Samba Scene

Tape recorder: Yes

Main subject: the original Samba, commercialization of samba, rehearsals and sambaschool parade

Quotations:

In Portuguese: “As escolas de samba se transformaram em uma grande ópera, perdendo a essência do carnaval carioca”

In English: “The sambaschools became a hege opera losing their essence of carioca carnival”.

In Portuguese: “ Daqui a pouco vai vir tudo de ouro na avenida”

In English: “Very soon everything for the parade will be made with gold”

This interview was together with her husband Onésio. She talked about the living together of samba and funk carioca in the suburbs and “favelas”. Funk carioca is influenced by the area where the population is living and it changes according to the social level of the population. In Rio, in the richer parts of town, the “baile funk” do not have so much funk carioca songs with sexual or violent lyrics. There funk carioca gets more sophisticated.

Geisa said that “funkeiros”, funk carioca artists, live in another reality compared to the samba composers twenty years ago, samba composers like her father, Zé Ketty, Carlos Cachaca, Cartola and others. Funk carioca shows with its lyrics that this world became more violent.

The special group escolas’ parade in her view became a sort of an opera. Joãzinho Trinta, a very famous “carnavalesco”, a samba costume designer, was the father of revolutionarily fancy costumes and choreographies for the parade. The escolas’ members are not allowed to dance samba during the parade; they more and more have to follow choreographies. According to her husband Onésio Império Serrano was the escola to introduce the choreographies for the parade.

At this moment we started to talk about Império Serrano escola and its African roots. “Jongo” is a sort of dancing and singing with drums. During the colonial time the slaves from the Angola regions used to meet each other to practice “jongo”.

At beginning of the history of the escolas in Rio, many members danced and sang “jongo”. Unfortunately this tradition disappeared when the old people died. The problem was that only old people were allowed to participate in “jongo”. The people from Império Serrano had the idea to make an effort to teach this tradition to the younger generation. It was “Darcy do Jongo” together with her mother “Dona Maria” who decided to do everything to maintain this tradition. Geisa and Onésio were invited to participate in one “jongo” parade in the house of “Darcy do Jongo”.

Geisa is the daughter of one very famous samba composer, Zé Ketty. This composer was a Portela member. It is important to say that there is a sort of exchange among the escolas. She said that she worked with Mangueira, but she also liked Portela.

Geisa explains that the founder of Portela sambaschool, Paulo da Portela, began in Madureira to bring to the afro-Brazilian community the conscience that they are Africans and they should be proud of it.

Paulo da Portela put the black community of Madureira to work for the escola in many sectors such as kitchen, battery and others. This was important for the community. For example, a woman who works in Portela in the kitchen, after a while she could get a job as a cook.

This social factor of the escolas for the afro-Brazilian population in Rio was very important, despite of the commercialization of the special group. Geisa told me that it was not possible any more for one escola to choose a historical subject to develop a parade. The sambaschools need subjects that bring sponsors and money.

Her husband explains about the extra subsidy from the Rio city to escolas who develop the subject “200 years the Portuguese in Rio”. Only two sambaschools took this subject, São Clemente and Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel. This is because other kinds of subjects could bring more money to an escola.

Geisa said that is not good. They should have as subjects something in related to the culture from Rio. She said that it is interesting for the people who prepare the carnival, a sort of challenge to get to money to organize a parade. She uses the term “Carnival Industry”.

The parade in Intendente Magalhães is different, it is more spontaneous. Geisa remembers that already in the 1990ies in Mangueira escola, she and Onésio were missing the freedom to dance samba, to be more performative and innovative.

At this point, we started to discuss the rules for the sambaschools special group. For one sambaschool to be good with such rules, it needs a lot of money. Geisa said that the escolas are losing the main idea of carnival in Rio. She gave the example of the Viradouro escola. The costume designer Paulo Barros brought to the avenue snow and people on a carnival float skiing. Geisa thinks that this is not a carnival costume or carnival float anymore. The special group escolas are transforming the parade into a sort of a theater or an opera.

Following this thought, she told me her experience as “diretora de harmonia” – director of harmony in Mangueira sambaschool. We can compare a “Diretor de Harmonia” with a theater director. His job is to coordinate the wings of an escola during the parade by dancing and singing with them. At the same time, this director will control the time of the sambaschool on the avenue. It is about 85 minutes.

That is one of the reasons for the long rehearsals, to get the perfect combination between timing and performing in the parade. When the escola's song is chosen, the school begins with the rehearsals. First of all, it is rehearsals in the escola's hall and about two months before the carnival, it is rehearsals in the sambodrome.

We then talked about the costumes. I remembered my conversation with Sílvia Helena about this point. A part of the costumes per wing is given for free to the community and Geisa's task was to control the members in each rehearsal. If someone does not come often to the rehearsals, that person can lose the right to the costume and to participate in the parade.

Geisa told me one amazing story about this. A couple of years ago, there was an African wing in Mangueira. Every member should be black to participate in it. At the time of the parade, when the wing was organized to enter on the avenue, there comes one US tourist for this wing. He was a "white point" in this African wing. Someone had sold the costume to get the money and he obviously did not explain to this American tourist anything about the wing.

She said that it was embarrassing for both side. For the sambaschool could lose points for the contest. Before the parade, every sambaschool needs to give a sort of a script for the jury to analyze the parade. According to the Mangueira script, every member in this wing was to be black, as it was an African wing.

After a conversation with the tourist, she decided that he would come in the middle of the wing, to try to hide him from the jury. Geisa said that this was a very complicated situation. For the tourist, he is there to play carnival. She as a theater director, she needs to control the members of the wing, to make them come to rehearsals, to dance according to the groups rules etc.

The costumes are another complex point. Mangueira is a sambaschool that has many sponsors. The people from the Mangueira know that and they do not want to pay anything for the costumes. In the past, the escolas organized parties to get money to partly finance the costumes.

To conclude this interview, she mentions Beija Flor de Nilópolis. Geisa was invited to see a rehearsal in Beija Flor hall. There, the members of sambaschool are in the hall, the wings are organized like a chess game and they are performing two hours without stopping.

At the moment, Beija Flor is the best escola in Rio. This escolas gets financial support from the Nilópolis county. The president of "Beija Flor" is the brother of the mayor. Part of the members of this sambaschool are civil servants of the county. The people are living for the sambaschool, they identify themselves with it.

Summary of the Third International Samba Meeting realized in Rio de Janeiro, from 28 January to 30 January 2008, in “cidade do samba” – the city of samba.

Opening

Mr. Jair Martins begins the meeting welcoming the participants, the students of the University classes on Carnival organization and a number of international participants, including German and Japanese students. He explains that the goal of this meeting is to observe and analyse the behind of the scene of the preparations of special group's sambaschools for the parade in an academic way and as a means of production of culture.

First lecturer:

Mr. Amarildo Mello

Carnavalesco – Carnival Costume Designer

He starts this lecture saying that for him carnival 2008 is already over (the classes took place a week before the Carnival weekend). Starting on Ash Wednesday, after the parade, the contest, and then the Champions parade on the weekend after Carnival, the analyses of the last year's parade and the elaboration of next year's parade begin. The first thing is to dismount and the carnival floats and prepare them for recycling. Many of them are made of old trucks.

The first step to a new parade is to invent and chose a plot. The idea is tell a story or a situation that is important to Brazilians' lives. The plot is what the samba school will present for the parade. An important point is to chose a plot that motivates a sponsor to co-finance the parade – sometimes it is a sponsor who proposes the plot and its financing to a sambaschool. This was the case for example when the Rio city administration co-financed Portela's parade on the panamerican games in Rio or the Recife city administration co-financed a plot on this North-eastern cities typical dance, the frevo.

Normally it is the costume designer together with the samba school management who decide about the best plot. The carnival costume designer is responsible for developing the plot through the costumes and carnival floats.

After the plot comes the synopsis. A synopsis is a leaflet summarizing the important elements of the plot. This usually includes a description of the theme's relevance and historical aspects, but also a first sketch of the different scenes and wings that will represent the plot.

On the basis of the synopsis the composers' wing of the samba school will be invited to compose many samba-plots. This starts a contest in the samba school hall to choose the best samba-plot for the year's carnival. This contest can last between 8 to 12 weeks. It usually takes place in the beginning of the austral spring, i.e. August to October.

When the samba-plot is chosen, the rehearsals in the samba school hall start. These are important to adapt the samba-plot to the bacteria, the drums orchestra. About two months before the carnival, the rehearsals in the sambodrome start. This is the moment the sambaschool's members sing the samba-plot together with the drums to test the timing for the parade. For the special group the parading through the Sambodrome lasts 85 minutes.

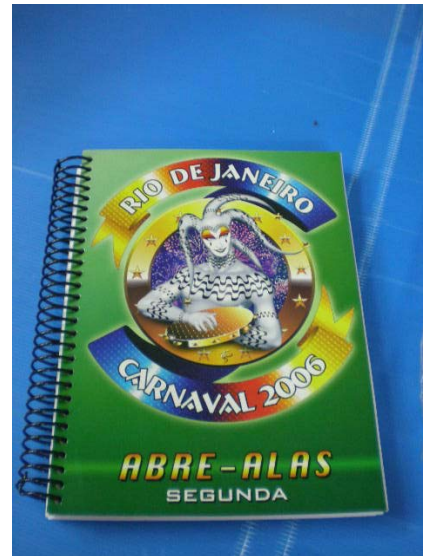
At the same time, the carnival costume designer draws the costumes. When the sketches are ready, prototypes of the costumes will be made. The idea is to create the best balance between the visual effects, the mobility of the participants and the cost for each costume.

In the past the carnival floats were constructed in the “barracões”, a big and simple hangar. These “barracões” were far away from the sambodrome and many carnival floats were damaged before the parade on the way there. Today the carnival floats are built in the “cidade do samba” – the so-called city of samba - where each sambaschool of the special group has its hangar. This place is relatively close to the sambodrome.

For the preparation of the costumes, there are two different sewing studios, one for luxury costumes and another for “ordinary” wings costumes. The luxury costumes are very expensive and produced in small numbers, for the for “Comissão de frente” – Opening Committee, “Mestre-Sala e Porta-Bandeira” – Master of Ceremony and Standard-Bearer and “destaques” – special performer. The wings costumes are much simpler and cheaper and made by the hundreds.

Each sambaschool of the special group is obliged to present a script to the “Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba”³⁷⁰ before the parade. It is the “Liga” that organises the contest “The Best Samba School of the year”. This script is a detailed description of the plot that the samba school will present in the sambodrome. It contains the costumes of each sambaschool wing, a description of the carnival floats themes and the sequence of the parade. On the basis of this script and more importantly the sambaschool's performance in the sambodrome, the jury will evaluate and give scores.

³⁷⁰ Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba – Independent Association Samba School



Script: Workshop of Samba
Adriana Ribeiro
January 2008 Rio de Janeiro

The jury that consists of a total of forty members (four for each criterion) will evaluate according to the following main criteria:

- Bateria - Drums
- Harmonia - Movement on the avenue
- Evolução - Performance of each wing
- Enredo - Plot
- Conjunto - The whole samba school on the avenue and its global impression
- Adereços e Alegorias - Carnival Float
- Fantasias - Costumes
- Comissão de Frente - Opening Committee
- Mestre de Ceremônia - Master of Ceremony and Standard Bearer

On Ash Wednesday, the best samba school of the year will be publicly chosen. The scores from each jury member are announced and summed up to the final score. The samba school with the highest score – in practice the fewest minus points - is declared the year's winner. On Saturday after carnival the champions parade with the six first placed samba schools from the special group. With this parade the year's carnival officially finishes – and next year's starts.

Mestre Odilon – Mr.Odilon Costa
Mestre de bateria – drums conductor

He started his lecture stressing how important the rehearsals are for the samba school. The rehearsals in the sambaschool hangar are one opportunity to get money for the parade's preparation. The rehearsals on the streets are useful for the samba school wings to discover their space when performing on the avenue

and for training the samba-plot singing and the dancing while moving along. These rehearsals start about 6 or 7 months before the parade.

The plot will be developed per sector during the parade according to the script. A very important character is the “director de harmonia” – theater or performance director. He is going to coordinate the samba wings on the avenue, by showing the correct choreography and controlling timing the samba school.

The tradition of the sambaschools is passed from generation to generation with the so-called childrens’ sambaschool. Império Serrano has “Império for the future” and Portela has “sons of the eagle” (the eagle is its animal symbol).

Mestre Odilon believes that samba schools in order to improve their performance in the parade need to give costumes for free to members of the samba school community. He said that many sambaschools of the special group already do that, in particular the last years’ dominating school such as “Beija-Flor de Nilópolis”.

Bateria – Drums

The “bateria” is the heart of samba school, its “orchestra”, and marks its progress on the avenue. In this wing there are many different kinds of drums or percussion instruments. The most important instrument is the “surdo”, a sort of a big drum. There are three kinds of “surdos”. There are all sorts of other percussion instruments, some created for the parades, with names such as “caixa” or “repique”.



Surdo: Workshop des Sambas
Adriana Ribeiro
January 2008 Rio de Janeiro

The bateria usually starts out about in the middle of the school. However, after about two thirds of the avenue the drum wing performs an important movement. At this moment they need to enter into the so-called “recuo” in the sambodrome where they continue playing while waiting the rest of school to pass. This “Recuo da bateria” is between sectors 9 and 11 of the sambadrome. This is a

difficult moment for the parade, as wings will enter there, the wings before and after the drums comes together on the avenue, to avoid the “buracos” – holes in the samba school. The drums wing will come out to close the parade.

After the lecture, the participants had the opportunity to exercise with the percussion instruments of the samba school. The “surdo” number one will give the sequence for the other instruments. It should have stronger and darker sound compared to the other “surdos”. The first “surdo” calls the second one. The second calls the third one. After that come the “repique” and the other percussion instrument. The normal sequence therefore is the following: Surdo 1^a + Surdo 2^a + Surdo 3^a + Repique + other percussions instruments...

Mrs. Nicelma Nogueira
Presidente do Centro Cultural Cartola
President of the Cartola Culture Center

She is the grand-child of one of the most famous sambaschool composers, Cartola. She presides over this association that has as its main goal to maintain the roots of samba music. This association prepared a project to declare “Samba as immaterial heritage of Brazil”. This initiative won the support a lot of researchers that collaborated on it.

The idea is to formally recognize the roots of samba and the characteristics of this culture. Samba is a free and popular culture manifestation in Rio.

Over time, this music that begins in the “favelas” entered all areas of the town³⁷¹. It became a link among the different parts of Rio society, an instrument of social integration. At the same time, samba became a national symbol for the whole of Brazil.

In 1935 the sambaschools parade began. From this moment, samba as music style began to overcome marginalization. This process was of course positive for samba artists as it offered new opportunities to them. On the other side this was the first step towards commercialization and negative effects it brings with it.

From the 1970ies, the samba schools became enterprises. In the past, the sambaschool parade was prepared in the community of the each sambaschool³⁷². With industrialization the feeling group was getting lost. Also samba songs now had to respect a lot of rules and were not composed spontaneously anymore.

³⁷¹ “Do morro para o asfalto”. There is a Brazilian expression that means from the slams on the hills down to the town. “Morro” is another word for “favela” that means “favela” on the hill. “Asfalto” means asphalt and used as another expression for “normal” city areas.

³⁷² One samba schools belongs to one district, normally poor ones. We call the poor districts “favelas”, but this is not considered politically correct any more. Instead of “favela”, nowadays the expression “comunidade” or community is used.

The “sambista”, the samba composer and the musician are distanced from their musical creation. Samba used to be created in a very spontaneous and free way. With the samba school industrial process, the samba-plot has to be composed in a way and in due time to be recorded and sold in the market. This has changed the way to make samba songs.

Today a samba school is also used as a means to create touristic potential. There are so many interests involved in a school’s parade that it is not possible to know anymore what is a spontaneous popular manifestation and what is carnival industry.

That is the reason why this association intends to reestablish the roots of samba within the process of preparing samba school parade.

Mrs. Célia Domingues

Presidente da AMEBRAS – Associação das Mulheres Empreendedoras do Brasil

President of AMEBRAS – Association of Business Women of Brazil

This association exists since 1995. The target of “AMEBRAS” is to qualify people from the “favelas” by making them work by the preparation of the special group sambaschools in many fields such as sewing, preparing the make-up, in the construction of carnival floats etc. This is meant to help them sustain themselves and thus give back to them the feeling of being a full citizen of the Brazilian society, and at the same time, prevent them from losing their identity.

This association has many partnerships, with the “Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba”, “Associação das Escolas de Samba”³⁷³ and others together with Rio de Janeiro Government. These partnerships are very important to make proposal to the poor communities that are currently outside the labor market for various reasons; social ones, lack of a good education, missing of culture level and others.

Because of carnival, these people get a job and an opportunity to live a normal live. It is a way of social inclusion in the Brazilian society. In the past, the income of carnival was used for artists or people from universities. People from the poor communities were out of this process. The very people that actually defend their samba school on the avenue in the sambodrome did not benefit from the income generated by the parade.

The carnival in Rio is the biggest open air Carnival in the world. According to her this is the segment that creates most jobs in Brazil, about one million jobs. The sambodrome is also a big businesses center with many Brazilian big enterprises such as Bradesco, Unibanco³⁷⁴, Brama³⁷⁵ and others renting expensive boxes to entertain guests and do bussines.

³⁷³ There two kinds of association of samba school in Rio. “Liga Independente das Escolas de Samba” is for rich samba schools that parade in sambodrome. “Associação das Escolas de Samba” aggregates the rest of samba schools, about 70.

³⁷⁴ Brazilian bank

Our association thinks how we can include these people from “favelas” in the carnival procedure. Through the qualification process bring to the communities the techniques of carnival production. AMEBRAS develops handcraft products to sell in many tourists point in Rio. The tourists who buy these souvenirs can take a little piece from Rio carnival home and, at same time, they contribute with many families from the poor communities.

Mrs. Domingues believes that there is change in the people who start work in these projects. Especially from the moment that they are recognized as citizens, get an opportunity to learn a qualification to get a job, not only perform in their school.

Also the association proposes working at home to allow the participation of women who have to take care of their children. In addition, many of the collaborators live far away from Rio downtown. For them it is much easier to come downtown, only to bring the finished products and receive the money for their work.

The idea is to give back to these people their identity as citizen, giving them the opportunity to work and promote their culture.

According to Mrs. Domingues to get this positive result, it was a long and hard way. Many poor communities are penalized without hope or perspective to get a proper life. When arriving with the projects at these communities, in the beginning there is a big resistance. The first thing therefore is to convince families from these communities that we are serious, that they deserve this chance and they need to participate.

To conclude this lecture, Mrs. Domingues said that: “when you wear a carnival costume, everybody is equal, especially to the people from the poor communities, when they are in sambodrome just to play carnival.”

Mrs. Domingues brought a little newspaper with her the “Jornal G.R.E.S Unidos da Cidadania” where she explains the project of AMEBRAS. In the newspaper number 02 from august 2007, there is an article details the classes that will take place in the learning center in the sambaschool halls and in the city of samba. There are professionalizing classes in such different Carnival related areas such as make-up, sewing, laces, construction of carnival floats, call centers and others. These classes last about 4 months and include about three hours of training per day.

³⁷⁵ Brazilian beer



Rio de Janeiro Town Map



Photo 1: City of Samba - Cidade do Samba
Adriana Ribeiro/September 2007



Photo 2: The empty Sambódromo
Adriana Ribeiro/September 2007



Photo 3: Distribution of Costumes before the Portela Parade
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 4: Dressing and Preparations before the Parades
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 5: Império Serrano Parade in the Sambodrome
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 6: Império Serrano parade
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008

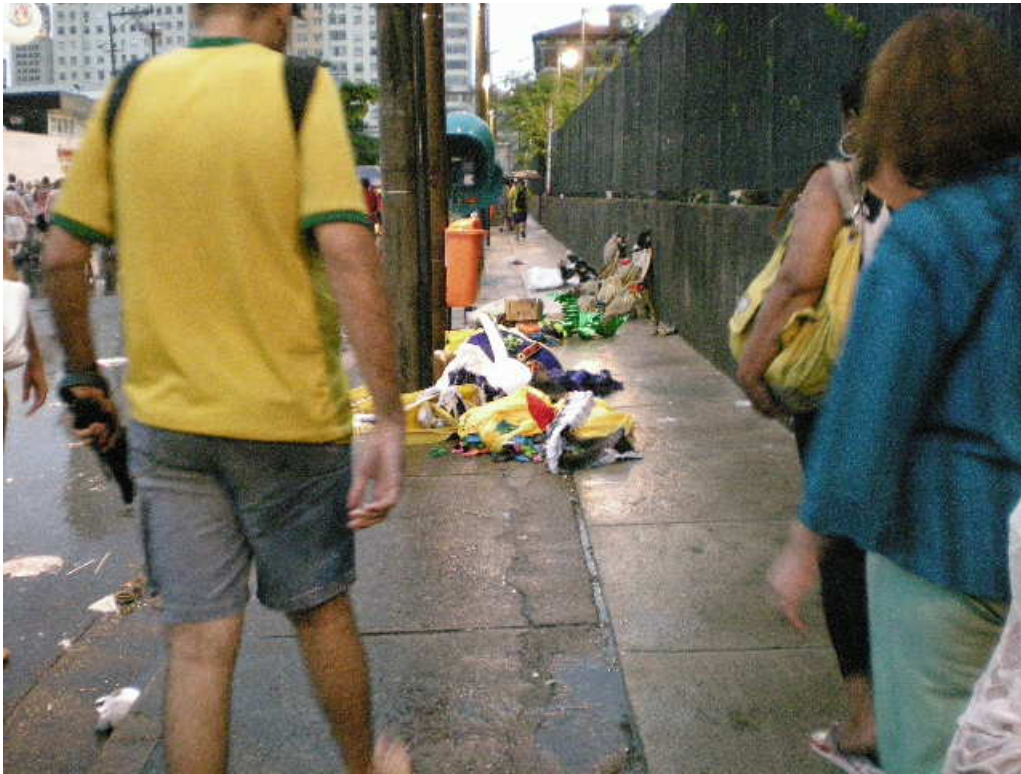


Photo 7: After the parade: costumes left behind on the street
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 8: Audience on the stalls
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 9: Império Serrano Quadra in Madureira
Adriana Ribeiro /January 2008



Photo 10: Império Serrano street rehearsal
Adriana Ribeiro/January 2008



Photo 11: Portela street rehearsal
Adriana Ribeiro/January 2008



Photo 12: Bateria instruments in Portela quadra
Adriana Ribeiro/January 2008



Photo 13: Portela technical rehearsal in Sambodrome
Adriana Ribeiro/January 2008



Photo 14: Bateria and Director of Império Serrano in Copacabana
Adriana Ribeiro/ February 2008



Photo 15: Império Serrano Baianas in Copacabana
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008



Photo 16: Improvised Baile Funk in a downtown street
Adriana Ribeiro/February 2008