

Articulating Race and Nation in Brazilian Popular Song

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Abstract: This article presents a cultural history of Brazilian popular song (*canção popular*) and the many musical genres that fall under its umbrella. From the early days of samba to contemporary popular styles, popular song in Brazil has long represented a site for negotiating complex questions of race, nation, and politics.

Keywords: activism, nationalism, politics, popular music, race, Latin America, South America

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Part 1

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the dominant musical form in the Brazilian cultural sphere has been popular song, or *canção popular* (often shortened to *canção*, or “song”). The term encompasses a range of song-based musical genres, from the poignant midcentury ballads of *samba-canção* to widely circulating contemporary styles such as *sertanejo*.¹ Studies of Brazilian popular song typically focus on the work of individual singer-songwriters, or *cancionistas*, on whom literature on the subject is predominantly concentrated.² In addition to shaping the invention of new song-based genres over time, these figures also acted as cultural commentators throughout periods of social and political crisis, whether in opposition to the 1964-85 military dictatorship or speaking out against racial inequality. Through their recordings, they also acted as ambassadors for creating notions of a common Brazilian musical language as well as a sense of unity across the country’s diverse panorama of cultures and communities, from the interior towns of the arid Northeastern *sertão* to the hillside neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro. As this chapter will show, even as popular song has maintained certain core structural qualities, it has long

¹For a discussion of the nuances of the Portuguese language term *canção* and how it differs from the more general English language term “song,” see McNally 2021, 128.

²See, e.g., Napolitano 2001; Tatit 1996; 2002; 2004. The term *cancionista* was most prominently introduced and pioneered by Luiz Tatit.

acted as a site for political contestation, social commentary, creative transformation, and the construction of national identity. To examine popular song and its various constituent genres is to gain a window into Brazilian cultural politics over time and the creative strategies musicians have employed to participate in these societal shifts.

The Early Years

Brazilian popular song first appeared in national media in the late 1910s and 1920s with the introduction of early recording technology. Samba, along with related genres such as *maxixe*, constituted an early stylistic template for the form.³ Scholar and songwriter Luiz Tatit identifies the “encounter between *sambistas* and the gramophone” in the late 1910s as a starting point for “what we know today as popular song” (Tatit 2004:35). These developments took place during the ascendance of musical nationalist sentiments that began to look toward local folk and popular practices as sources for musical representations of the Brazilian nation (see, e.g., Arinos 1917, 891). It is worth noting that in Brazil, the Portuguese term *popular* has historically encompassed folk and traditional musics as well as those circulated in mass media. Journalist Afonso Arinos, for instance, writing in 1917, argued that a “great anonymous power—almost subterranean, so to speak, like the action of the water table in the formation of the riverbank—configures the cultural fabric of our nationality, with its common legends and traditions, flying from South to North and from North to South on the shimmering wings of popular song” (891).

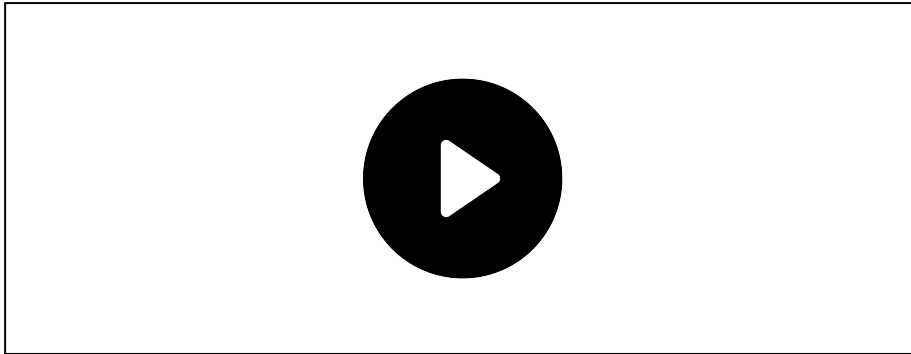
Ernesto “Donga” dos Santos’s “Pelo Telefone” (1917; “On the Telephone,” considered to be the first recorded samba song) and José “Sinhô” Barbosa da Silva’s “Quem São Eles?” (“Who Are They?”) provide characteristic instances of early popular songs during this period.⁴ Although songwriters typically did not include overtly political content, subtle social commentary was common. “Pelo Telefone,” for instance, obliquely satirized police corruption, although the explicit nature of the critique became less overt as the song was adapted into its recorded version (Hertzman 2013, 100).

Nationalist Narratives

Popular song became an increasingly central medium for social discourse in the 1930s and early 1940s, during which President Getúlio Vargas’s Estado Novo (New State) regime incentivized the production of popular songs with

³Early samba drew heavily from creolized urban dance genres circulating in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Rio de Janeiro such as *maxixe*, *tango brasileiro*, and the instrumental genre of *choro*, all of which mixed Afro-Brazilian practices with genres circulating in the broader international sphere, both within and beyond Latin America.

⁴As was common during this period, the specific generic configuration of early popular songs was often ambiguous; Marc Hertzman, for instance, notes that in the case of “Pelo Telefone,” “a broad range of terms were originally used to describe the song, including samba, samba carnavalesco, tango, tango-samba carnavalesco, modinha, and canção” (2013, 96).



Video Example 1. 1948 Rio de Janeiro Carnival. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

nationalistic themes. Genres of samba remained key stylistic sites for this project. In Carnival, *samba-enredo* (theme samba) acted as a vehicle for songs that celebrated the Brazilian nation. This phenomenon was particularly concentrated in the then-capital city of Rio de Janeiro, where iconic samba schools such as Portela and Mangueira debuted songs with themes that circulated on a national level (Video 1). Many of the most prominent songs of the era, which overlapped with Brazil's participation in World War II, were highly nationalistic in nature. Portela, for instance, won seven consecutive awards for their mid-1940s themes, "Dez Anos de Glória" ("Ten Years of Glory"), "A Vida do Samba" ("The Life of Samba"), "Brasil, Terra de Liberdade" ("Brazil, Land of Freedom"), "Motivos Patrióticos" ("Patriotic Motives"), "Brasil Glorioso" ("Glorious Brazil"), "Alvorada do Novo Mundo" ("Dawn of the New World"), and "Honra ao Mérito" ("Honor to Merit").⁵ Popular songs also played a major role in disseminating ideologies of *mestiçagem* (mixture), which celebrated cultural mixture and presented Brazil as a fundamentally mixed-race nation. To this end, popular song also forwarded the notion of racial democracy, or the idea that Brazil enjoyed harmony between its various racial and ethnic groups—an ideal that would later come under fire during the Brazilian Black Consciousness movement.

As radio and television became more integrated into Brazilian daily life, recorded genres of samba such as *samba-canção* (song samba) and *samba-exaltação* (exaltation samba) brought nationalist narratives into the Brazilian home. Certain popular songs of this period, such as Ary Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil" ("Watercolor of Brazil") and Dorival Caymmi's "Samba da Minha Terra" ("Samba of My Land") have since become iconic examples of both the Brazilian popular songbook and the broader cultural project of nation-building that took place

⁵ Araújo 2012, 114. Jackson Raymundo identifies the Rio Carnival as a key site for the dissemination of songs that solidified certain universalizing themes about *brasilidade* (Brazilianness), having to do with "culture, history, geography, ethnic formation, cuisine, [...] the different regions of the country, and 'national heroes'" (2019, 124).

during and after the Vargas regime. Like their counterparts in samba schools, these songwriters often extolled the cultural diversity of Brazil and propagated narratives of racial harmony. By celebrating Brazil as a mixed-race nation, popular songs of the era formed a marked contrast to early twentieth-century Eurocentric conceptions of nationhood; at the same time, many predominantly white composers and musicians adopted an objectifying gaze towards Black people, music, and culture. The introduction to “Aquarela do Brasil,” for instance, declared, “Brazil, my Brazilian Brazil / My intriguing *mulata* / I shall sing of you in my verses.” This formed part of a broader pattern in which many of the samba songwriters who celebrated Black Brazilian cultural practices did not hail from the Afro-Brazilian communities from which samba came. This reflected the unequal access Afro-descendent musicians in Brazil had to full participation in the culture industry when compared to their white counterparts.

Regionalist Narratives and the Brazilian Northeast

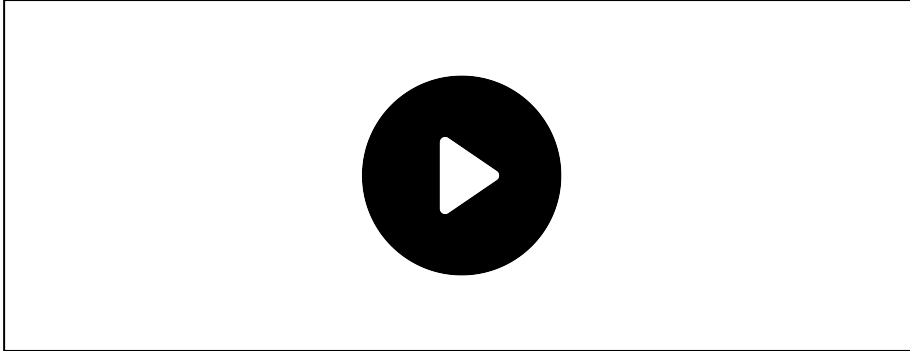
Central to the emerging midcentury narratives of *brasilidade* (Brazilianness) was the lyrical celebration of Brazil’s diverse geographic regions and their distinct cultural practices. In this endeavor, none stood out as iconically as the Brazilian Northeast. The majority Afro-descendent state of Bahia was a frequent subject for songwriters’ odes, as in Barroso’s “Na Baixa do Sapateiro” (“On the Shoemaker’s Street;” also known as “Bahia”) and Caymmi’s “O Que É Que A Baiana Tem?” (“What Is It About the *Baiana*?”). Caymmi, who was born and raised in Bahia, became known as a musical ambassador for the state’s rich Afro-Brazilian culture, and included references to Afro-Brazilian cuisine (as in the song “Vatapá”) and religion (including the song “Canto de Nanã”) throughout his repertoire (Video 2).⁶

These songs emerged at the same time as regional genres such as *baião*, whose singers portrayed the experiences of Northeastern migrants from the arid interior *sertão* region. Luiz Gonzaga, known as the “King of *Baião*,” spoke directly to these narratives of migration (Figure 1). His songs, such as “Asa Branca” and “Juazeiro,” are accompanied by the genre’s distinctive accordion-*zabumba*-triangle trio. Gonzaga’s songs testified to the marginalizing experiences of those who were forced to leave their homes due to poverty and environmental devastation caused by drought. “Asa Branca,” which narrates the experience of a man forced to leave home as he looks for work elsewhere in the country, became a national hit and played a major role in solidifying the *sertão* as a distinct area in the broader Brazilian cultural imaginary.⁷

By the 1950s, due in large part to the works of these singer-songwriters, themes of *brasilidade* centered on notions of Brazil as a diverse, mixed-race na-

⁶“Vatapá” refers to a popular Afro-Bahian dish and “Canto de Nanã” refers to the *orixá* Nanã, a deity of the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé.

⁷As Megwen Loveless notes, “Gonzaga’s music told such a compelling story about the *sertão* that Brazilians—and *nordestinos* [Northeasterners] especially—began to believe in the images as replicas of an ancient and unbroken past” (2012, 282).



Video Example 2. Dorival Caymmi performing “O Mar” in 1978. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.



Figure 1: Figure 1. Luiz Gonzaga, 1957. From the Arquivo Nacional, public domain, [link](#)

tion had become commonplace in the Brazilian culture industry. For some, this was a welcome development. Songs such as “Asa Branca” were celebrated for bringing the experiences of Brazil’s marginalized groups to national prominence in new and powerful ways. Similarly, Caymmi’s rich lyrical depictions of Afro-Brazilian cultural life from the perspective of an insider ensured that Black Brazilian narratives would not be left out of the national cultural conversation. At the same time, many of the country’s enduring fault lines of inequality remained unaddressed, both in the cultural and political realms. These themes would emerge as central issues in the ensuing decades.

Part 2

The mid-1950s saw the first of a series of seismic social and political shifts that would transform Brazilian musical culture on a foundational level. From 1956 to 1960, as part of national modernization efforts, President Juscelino Kubitschek led a successful push to build a planned city called Brasília to serve as Brazil’s capital, moving the political center from Rio de Janeiro. Then, in 1964, in response to progressive economic reforms by democratically-elected left-wing President João Goulart, the Brazilian military enacted a *coup d’état* and installed a military dictatorship that would last for twenty-one years. Despite the restrictions of the military regime, the dictatorship saw the emergence of a powerful network of Black activists, writers, and artists that would become known as the Brazilian Black Consciousness Movement. Across each of these moments, Brazilian popular song acted as a key site for political activism and social commentary. The latter half of the twentieth century also saw the emergence of new musical genres from artists who were reconfiguring existing Brazilian musical practices in new and transformative ways. This engagement with international styles reflected the country’s lasting dialogue with cultural producers in the broader global sphere.

Bossa Nova

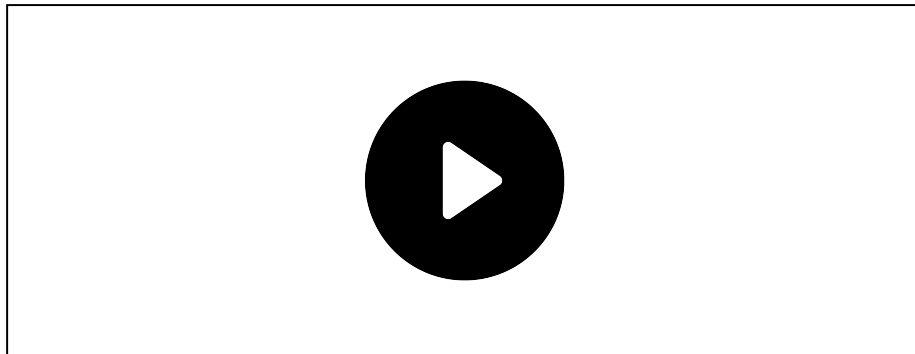
In the late 1950s, the Brazilian popular music sphere was upended by the emergence of bossa nova. Based in Rio de Janeiro and led by figures such as composer Antonio Carlos “Tom” Jobim, lyricist Vinicius de Moraes, and guitarist and vocalist João Gilberto, bossa nova reinvented the profile of Brazilian popular song. Certain core elements of the genre maintained stylistic elements from samba: Gilberto famously incorporated characteristic *tamborim* patterns from parading samba groups into the iconic “stuttering” pattern of his guitar—a motif that is apparent in the first recorded bossa nova song, “Chega de Saudade” (“No More Longing”; see Reily 1996, 4-5). Other elements departed in more marked ways. Gilberto’s soft, nasal vocal timbre represented a sharp contrast with the belting style of Carnival and the rich delivery common

in *samba-canção*.⁸ Jobim incorporated complex melodic and harmonic qualities that drew from modernist composition and jazz—a combination that inspired Jobim, Gilberto, and de Moraes’s ironic song “Desafinado” (“Out of Tune”). Bossa nova songs often digressed from the overtly nationalist lyrical subject matter of previous eras, opting instead for low-key portraits of upper-middle class life in Rio’s cosmopolitan Zona Sul (South Zone). These themes were perhaps best encapsulated in Jobim, de Moraes, and Gilberto’s “Garôta de Ipanema” (“The Girl from Ipanema”), performed by Gilberto in collaboration with singer Astrud Gilberto and US saxophonist Stan Getz, which painted a portrait of love and longing in Rio’s iconic Ipanema neighborhood. “Garôta de Ipanema” became the basis for a worldwide explosion of the genre, which became internationally popular in the early 1960s due in large part to collaborations between musicians such as Gilberto and Getz.

MPB and the Festival Era

The subdued cosmopolitanism of bossa nova gave way to a markedly different tone in the wake of the 1964 Brazilian *coup d’état*. These events provoked a pronounced reaction among songwriters. Nowhere was this shift more pronounced than in the Festivals of Popular Song, a series of contests hosted in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in which the country’s leading musicians wrote and performed songs that were broadcast nationally. As part of an emergent reaction against international styles of popular music such as rock ‘n’ roll, songwriters intentionally foregrounded genres native to Brazil, including samba, bossa nova, and folkloric regional genres like *baião*. Many of their works have since become conceptualized under the broad generic designation of MPB (Música Popular Brasileira, or Brazilian Popular Music), an umbrella term that characterizes the stylistically diverse popular songs that first emerged during the festival era (Moehn 2012, 17; Napolitano 1998; Reily 2000). Several songs became lasting national favorites. Elis Regina’s performance of “Arrastão” (“Trawler”), for instance, in the 1965 Festival da Música Popular Brasileira, turned Regina into a national icon for her powerful and arresting vocal delivery that contrasted with the softer profile of bossa nova (Video 3). Others foregrounded implicit political messages. At the 1967 TV Record Festival, Edu Lobo and Marília Medalha’s *baião*-inspired “Ponteio” (“Strumming”), declared, “I won’t leave behind my guitar / I’ll see the times change / and a new place to sing,” while Chico Buarque’s “Roda Viva” (“Wheel of Life”) proclaimed “We want to have an active voice / To lead in our destiny” (Dunn 2001, 63-64).

⁸Tatit ties these developments to a reaction against “a certain stylistic excess” present in *samba-canção*, and likens bossa nova to a mode of “re-establishing equilibrium” in that regard (2002, 49).



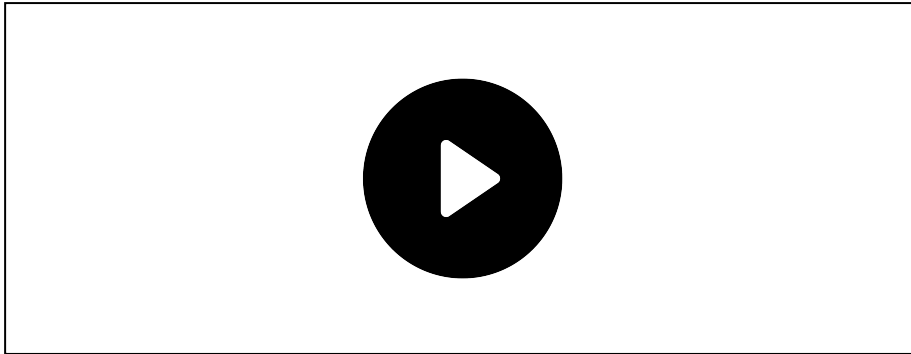
Video Example 3. Elis Regina performing “Arrastão” during the 1965 Primeiro Festival de Música Popular Brasileira. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

Tropicália

The nationalist bent of the festival era was disrupted in 1967 with the advent of Tropicália (alternately, Tropicalismo), a countercultural project that critiqued Brazilian popular culture and rejected the dictates of both the right- and left-wing (Dunn 2001; Napolitano 1998). The figures associated with Tropicália included visual artists, poets, and musicians, but the project found its most resonant and lasting effects in the realm of popular song. Its storied debut took place in the São Paulo-based 1967 TV Record festival, during which Gilberto Gil and rock trio Os Mutantes (also from São Paulo) performed “Domingo No Parque” (“Sunday In the Park”), which mixed capoeira and rock, and Caetano Veloso performed “Alegria, Alegria” (“Joy, Joy”), which fused Brazilian *marcha* and rock (see Video 4). Over the next year and a half, Gil and Veloso, along with an ensemble of musicians that became known as the “Bahian Group,” released a series of landmark songs (Figure 2). Some incorporated formal experimentation. Gil and Veloso’s song “Batmacumba,” for instance, drew lyrical inspiration from the ideograms of Brazilian concrete poetry (Perrone 1985, 62). Others introduced various forms of social commentary, such as Veloso and Gal Costa’s ironic critique of consumer culture in “Baby” or Veloso’s chaotic performance of “É Proibido Proibir” (“It is Forbidden to Forbid”) at the 1968 Festival Internacional de Canção in defiance of the event’s prohibition of electric instruments. The Tropicálist project came to an abrupt end in December 1968 with the Fifth Institutional Act (AI-5), which cracked down on open speech and forced musicians such as Gil and Veloso into exile.

Black Soul and the Brazilian Black Consciousness Movement

Despite the military regime’s restrictions on political speech, popular song continued to serve as a vehicle for social expression in the wake of AI-5. Dur-



Video Example 4. Gilberto Gil performing “Domingo no Parque” at the 1967 Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

ing this time, the Brazilian Black Consciousness Movement emerged as a nationwide network of activists and initiatives that called attention to endemic racism in Brazilian society and emphasized the presence of a distinctly Black Brazilian identity.⁹ Activist musicians sought in particular to challenge the prevailing Brazilian ideology of racial democracy, which denied the existence of racism in Brazil—a challenging task given the frequent suppression of anti-racist movements by the military dictatorship, which viewed them as subversive. One 1970s-era musical iteration of this was the Rio de Janeiro-based cultural movement known as Black Soul, in which artists such as Tim Maia and groups such as Banda Black Rio and Abolição adapted US genres such as soul and funk (Video 5 and Figure 3). This served as part of a broader reaction against samba, which many Black musicians saw as de-politicized and co-opted by white musicians. Many songs of the era were explicitly political, such as Maia’s “Rodésia” (“Rhodesia”), which addressed decolonization in Africa. They formed part of a wider phenomenon in which Black popular musicians celebrated the previously marginalized figures of Black Brazilian political history. Jorge Ben’s 1974 song “Zumbi,” for instance, along with his later funk-inspired remake “Zumbi (África Brasil),” celebrated the seventeenth-century anti-slavery *quilombo* (maroon) leader Zumbi dos Palmares.

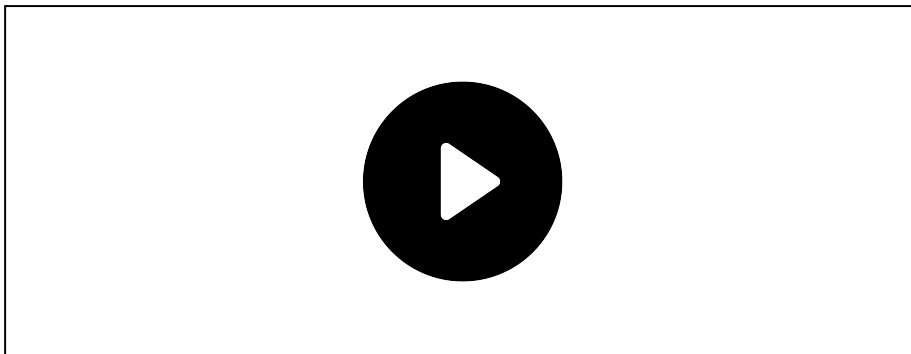
Popular Song and the Northeastern Black Brazilian Carnival

In the Brazilian Northeast, Black popular song often drew from Afro-Brazilian Carnival practices circulating in the region. Perhaps the most iconic instance of this phenomenon came from the *blocos afros* movement, in which African-themed parading Carnival groups promoted a “re-Africanized” form of samba

⁹Alberto 2009, 19–20. As in many countries in Latin America, not all individuals of African heritage in Brazil have historically self-identified as Black. For this reason, when referring to all people of African descent, I follow the Brazilian norm and employ the term “Afro-descendent,” while reserving the term “Black” solely for those who self-identify as such.



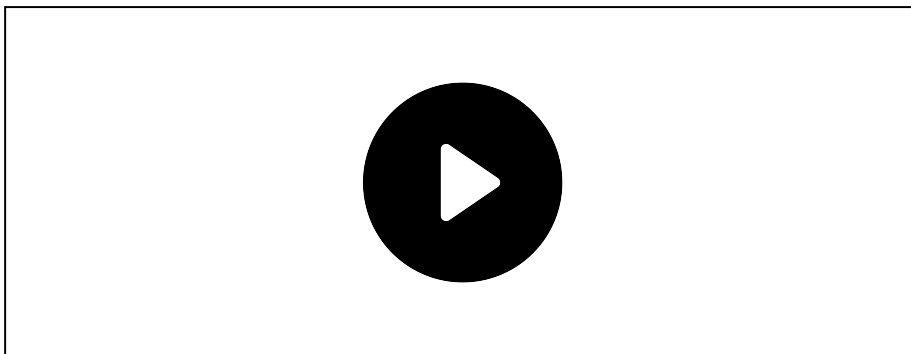
Figure 2: The “Bahian Group” on the cover of the 1968 album *Tropicália ou panis et circencis*. Clockwise from top right: Tom Zé, Torquato Neto, Gal Costa, Gilberto Gil, Rogério Duprat, Arnaldo Baptista, Caetano Veloso, Rita Lee, and Sérgio Dias, fair use.



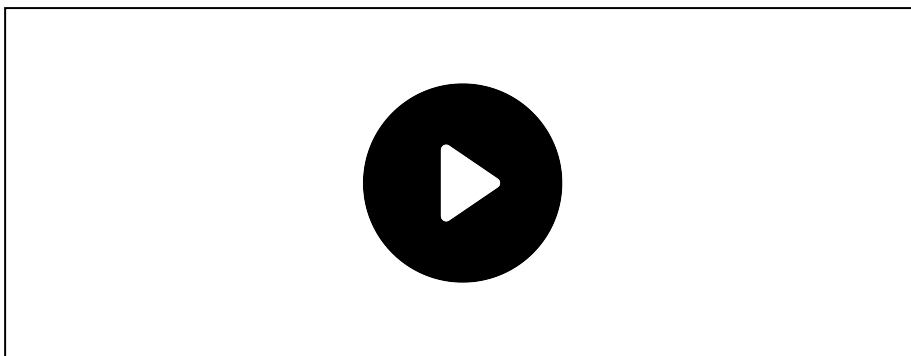
Video Example 5. Tim Maia performing “Gostava Tanto de Você” in 1989. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.



Figure 3: The cover of Banda Black Rio's 1977 album *Maria Fumaça*, fair use.



Video Example 6. Ilê Aiyê in the 2016 Carnival in Salvador da Bahia. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

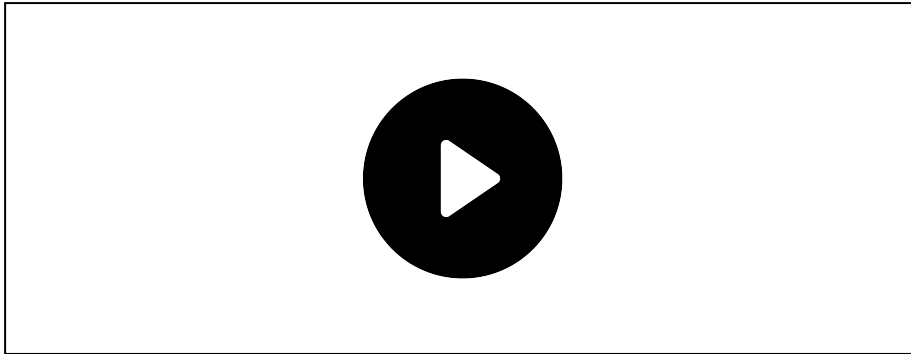


Video Example 7. Olodum performing *samba-reggae* in Salvador da Bahia, 2011. Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

and openly confronted racism (Risério 1981). Gilberto Gil's 1977 album *Refavela*, for instance, featured a cover of the song "Que Bloco É Esse" ("What Bloco Is That?"), written by the first *bloco afro*, Ilê Aiyê (Video 6).

In 1986, the *bloco afro* Olodum pioneered the genre of *samba-reggae* with the nationally popular hit Carnival song "Faraó, Divinidade do Égito" ("Pharaoh, Divinity of Egypt," Video 7). The national popularity of *samba-reggae* inspired the Bahian genre of *axé*, which integrated the sounds of the Bahian Carnival and other popular styles with lyrics that celebrated Afro-Brazilian cultural practices and heritage. *Axé* songs such as Margareth Menezes's "Faraó" (a cover of Olodum's hit) and Daniela Mercury's "Swing da Cor" ("Swing of Color") helped to foreground the cultural landscape of Bahia in the Brazilian culture industry to an unprecedented degree, including its racial politics.

These figures formed part of a broader spectrum of groups that drew from the distinct Carnival practices of the Brazilian Northeast, including other regional Carnival genres from Pernambuco such as *frevo* and *maracatu*. Perhaps



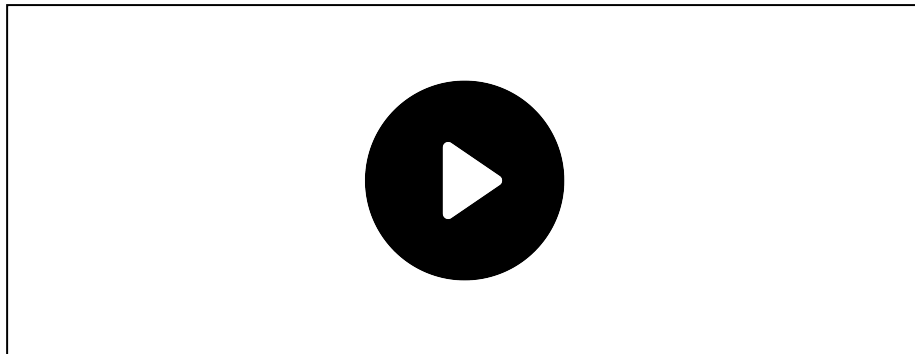
Video Example 8. Music video of Chico Science and Nação Zumbi's song "Maracatu Atômico". Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

most iconically, the Recife-based group Chico Science and Nação Zumbi led the 1990s-era musical movement of *manguebeat*, which situated critiques of local social issues within music that drew from *maracatu* along with rock, funk, and hip hop, as in the songs "Rios, Pontes, e Overdrives" ("Rivers, Bridges, and Overdrives") and "Maracatu Atômico" ("Atomic Maracatu," Video 8).

Experimentations

Popular song has long offered a site for more radical forms of invention as well. In the wake of AI-5, the 1970s saw an unprecedented period of formal experimentation by popular songwriters such as Veloso, Tom Zé, and Walter Franco. Veloso's *Araça Azul* (1972), for instance, famously became the most returned album in the history of Brazilian popular music due to its rejection of the structural elements of popular song in favor of experimental textures such as collage and unintelligible lyrics. In *Estudando o Samba* (1976), Zé incorporated ironic lyrical narratives within stripped-down pastiche-like takes on samba and non-lyrical material such as samples of screams and recorded noise. In the late 1970s and early 80s, São Paulo became a hub for departures from the conventional profile of popular song with a series of productions by artists affiliated with the independent publishing house and concert venue Lira Paulistana. Arrigo Barnabé, in his album *Clara Crocodilo* (1980), famously wrote songs that integrated rock and jazz with 12-tone composition, while Itamar Assumpção's LP *Beleleu, Leleu, Eu* (1980) mixed straightforward fare with elements of collage and pastiche. Throughout these moments, Zé remained a central figure. His 1998 album *Com Defeito de Fabricação* (*Fabrication Defect*), for instance, introduced the notion of the "aesthetics of plagiarism," in which each song on the album appropriated external artistic material and recontextualized them into a new "plagiarized" context.¹⁰

¹⁰Zé's songs on *Com Defeito de Fabricação* incorporated a wide and eclectic range of sources, from 1950s-era concrete poetry (in the track "O Olho do Lago") to Rimsky Korsakov (in the track "Po-



Video Example 9. Music video of Daniela Mercury and Caetano Veloso's 2019 song "Proibido o Carnaval". Visit [the website](#) to view video examples.

Contemporary Popular Song

Popular song remains a pillar of the Brazilian culture industry. Song-based genres such as *sertanejo*, *axé*, and *pagode* dominate the proverbial airwaves, along with songs drawing from internationally circulating popular genres. In the political arena, songs such as Caetano Veloso and Daniela Mercury's "Proibido o Carnaval" ("Forbidden Carnival," Video 9) and Luedji Luna's "Um Corpo no Mundo" ("A Body in the World") offer a site for confronting the country's reactionary turn under Jair Bolsonaro, who has celebrated authoritarianism and disparaged the country's nonwhite and LGBTQ+ populations.

Building on the Brazilian Black Consciousness Movement's legacy of activism, many songwriters have tapped into antiracist themes circulating in the international sphere—a phenomenon that was embodied in 2020 when Gabriel Moura collaborated with Banda Black Rio to produce the song "Vidas Negras Sim Importam" ("Black Lives Do Matter"). The landscape in which contemporary popular musicians operate also affords space for departures from the form. The trio Metá Metá's album *MM3*, for instance, integrates genres such as samba and rock with free jazz-inflected improvisations and traditional material from the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé, while Cadu Tenório and Márcio Bulk's LP *Banquete* situates songs in the style of midcentury *samba-canção* within harsher textures drawing from industrial rock and harsh noise.

Today, Brazilian popular song continues as a form in flux, grounded in a rich yet complex history of lyrical and melodic expressivity, experimentation, and social engagement. Despite the profound shifts Brazilian society has undergone over the past century, the issues that shaped popular song since the

liticar"). J. Griffith Rollefson has characterized this as a model for strategic appropriation of First World material by oppressed Third World subjects in order to articulate a new, empowered hybrid subjectivity in today's postmodern and postcolonial era (Rollefson 2007, 310). Zé characterized each of the songs in *Com Defeito de Fabricação* as different kind of *arrastão* (dragnet) of external artistic material, and argued that this heralded the end of the "composer's era" and inaugurated the "plagi-combinator era."

beginning of the twentieth century remain front-and-center. Racial and socioeconomic inequality continues to impede social progress. Differing ideas about Brazilian national identity remain hotly contested. And with the rise of neo-authoritarian politics, the country's political circumstances are the most uncertain they have been since the fall of the dictatorship. As these concerns are negotiated, one outcome seems certain: popular song will persist at the center of Brazilian cultural discourse, whether in negotiating disagreement, expressing resistance, or capturing moments of shared joy.

Discussion Questions

1. How has music been used as a vehicle for antiracist activism in Brazil? What parallels do you see between antiracist popular songs in Brazil and similar movements in the international sphere?
2. What kind of image of the nation of Brazil did nationalist popular songs seek to create? How has this changed over time? Is this image similar to how you think about your country?
3. Brazilian songwriters have often faced suppression and censorship from authoritarian government figures. How have Brazilian popular songwriters enacted social critiques in their songs despite these restrictions?
4. What are some of the ways that Brazilian popular song was influenced by international genres of popular music? What are some of the ways in which Brazilian popular song sounded back out into the international sphere in turn?
5. Watch a video of *maracatu* in the Recife Carnival, then watch the music video of Chico Science and Nação Zumbi's song "Maracatu Atômico." Can you see or hear any similarities? How are the videos different?
6. Compare the music of the Bahian Carnival to its adaptations in the popular sphere. First, listen to Ilê Aiyê's 1975 song "Que Bloco É Esse?" (an example of *samba-afro*) and Gilberto Gil's 1977 cover of that same song, "Ilê Aiyê." Then, listen to Olodum's 1986 song "Faraó, Divinidade do Égito" (an example of *samba-reggae*) and Margareth Menezes's 2004 cover of that same song, "Faraó." How did the songs change as they were adapted into the popular sphere via the recording industry?
7. Listen to "Chega de Saudade" and "Garôta de Ipanema," then listen to Eydie Gormé's "Blame it on the Bossa Nova" and Elvis Presley's "Bossa Nova Baby," both of which were written during the period in which bossa nova became globally popular. If you were a bossa nova musician, what would you think of these adaptations?

8. Watch a video of Elis Regina's "Arrastão," Chico Buarque's "Roda Viva," Gilberto Gil's "Domingo no Parque," or Caetano Veloso's "Alegria, Alegria," all of which took place during the era of the 1960s Festivals of Popular Song. Describe the scene: the energy of the space, the theatricality of the performances, the sonic qualities of the performance, the interactions between musicians and audience. What do these qualities say about the place of popular song in Brazilian culture during this time period?

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