

University of Massachusetts Dartmouth

Department of Portuguese

MASCULINITY IN CARIOCA CARNAVAL DRUMMING

A Thesis in

Portuguese Studies

by

Gregory M. Dillon

© 2013 Gregory M. Dillon

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

January 2013

I grant the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth the non-exclusive right to use the work for the purpose of making single copies of the work available to the public on a not-for-profit basis if the University's circulating copy is lost or destroyed.

Gregory M. Dillon

Date _____

We approve the thesis of Gregory M. Dillon

Date of Signature

Dário Borim
Associate Professor and Chairperson
Department of Portuguese
Thesis Advisor

Anna Klobucka
Professor of Portuguese
Thesis Committee

Christopher Larkosh
Assistant Professor of Portuguese
Thesis Committee

Victor Mendes
Graduate Program Director
Department of Portuguese

Jeannette E. Riley
Interim Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

Alex Fowler
Associate Provost for Graduate Studies and Research Development

Abstract

Masculinity in Carioca Carnival Drumming

by Gregory M. Dillon

Despite the considerable level of male participation in the Rio de Janeiro samba school parade, the majority of research regarding sexuality in carnival focuses on female dancers and femininity. The bateria, or percussion section, demonstrates how masculine constructions of sexuality are performed in the context of the Brazilian pre-Lenten festival. Sexist attitudes have remained prevalent in samba school baterias, and continue to prevent women from participating as drummers even in recent times. This is likely due to the essentialist gender roles preserved in Afro-Brazilian culture, which hold drumming as masculine and dancing as feminine. By comparing the samba school ritual to the spirit possession ritual, I trace the drummer/dancer gender roles to the African traditions preserved in Afro-Brazilian religion. In addition, by placing iconic Brazilian figures in a sexual context, I analyze the roles of and relationships between ritual participants in the context of their respective time period in order to clarify the implications of performing masculinity through drumming in Afro-Brazilian religion as opposed to carioca carnival.

During the colonial period, African descendants were pushed to the margins of society by a hegemonic masculinity that rejected their sexual identity. The *terreiro* of Afro-Brazilian religion provided them with a space to affirm a sexual identity in accordance with the obligatory gender roles of African tradition. In the spirit possession

ritual, drummers called upon African gods to “mount” dancers. This ceremony of gender role dramatization, which promoted popular conceptions of the powerful male drummer and submissive female dancer, constituted a healing process and return to African identity. While the ritual preserved inequitable gender roles, it allowed mixed-race women to escape the image of the promiscuous and beguiling *mulata* promoted in masculinist literature.

The rise of the Vargas administration in Brazil represented a shift in hegemonic masculinity, and as a result, a transformation in gender relations. The promotion of Afro-Brazilian culture as characteristic of national identity, as well as the state co-option of samba schools, resulted in a dramatization ritual with disparate implications for its participants. The samba school parade reinforces drummer/dancer gender roles, but in a fashion that promotes the values underpinning patriarchy and exploits mixed-race women by lionizing the *mulata* figure of masculinist literature. In this ritual, the rhythms of *bateria* drummers instigate scantily clad women to dance in a licentious manner embodying the *mulata*. While this ceremony also constitutes a reinvestment in essentialist roles, the results of affirming masculinity through drumming contrast to those of the spirit possession ritual. Serving as an instrument of hegemonic masculinity, the *bateria* forces masculinist discourse upon female dancers and promotes *brasilidade*.

An analysis and comparison of these two rituals, their participants and gender roles demonstrates that performing masculinity through drumming represents a significant manifestation of sexuality in Afro-Brazilian culture. More importantly, however, the research concludes that the unequivocally reciprocal relationship between the drummer and dancer makes gender equality impossible in the context of carnival. Only a

reinvention or dismantling of these essentialist gender roles will permit participants to enjoy the event without limitation.

Acknowledgements

Afro-Brazilian culture has been a driving force in every aspect of my life since I was sixteen years old. First and foremost, I thank the instructors of capoeira and samba that inspired my enthusiasm. Mestre Efraim Silva, for introducing me to capoeira and the world of Afro-Brazilian culture. My own capoeira mestre, Sânzio “Fuinha” Corrêa Nascimento, for always providing the advice I needed in capoeira and in life. My mestre de bateria, Philip Galinsky, for helping me to become a true samba ritmista. Mestrando Silas “Tigri” Pinto, for being an inspirational capoeirista, teacher and friend. To every capoeirista and sambista that has touched my life, you have my thanks.

My advisor Dário, not only for guiding me through the process of completing my thesis, but also for continuing to inspire my dedication to Brazilian culture and my love for the people of Minas Gerais.

My committee members, Anna and Chris, for their advice and model instruction throughout my time at UMass Dartmouth.

My close friends, “Coruja” and Serena, who have been at my side for good and bad times ever since my arrival in Massachusetts.

Sophie, for providing a constant source of encouragement and affection, and for preventing me from starving during long periods of research and writing.

My siblings Alena and Ryan, who always put a smile on my face and keep me optimistic. My brother-in-law, Phil. I’m so glad you became a part of my family.

Finally, my Mom and Dad, who have always given me love and support, even when pursuing my dream meant living a world away from them.

Table of Contents

Masculinity in Carioca Carnaval Drumming

Introduction	1
Origins of Samba and Carnaval	7
Afro-Brazilian Religion and Gender Roles	13
Shifting Masculinities and the Brazilian Icons of Sexuality	29
Carioca Carnaval and Gender Roles	52
Conclusion	92
Works Cited	97

Review of Literature 102

Introduction	102
Samba, Carnaval and Brazilian History	103
Gender Theory	109
Sociological/Anthropological Texts Regarding Brazil and Brazilian Culture	122
Works Cited	151

Introduction

The culturally vibrant pre-Lenten festival is celebrated in a variety of countries around the world, but none is so internationally renowned as the Brazilian carnival. Rio de Janeiro, in particular, receives considerable attention from tourists, the media and academics for its samba school competition, which draws a surge of spectators to the sambadrome stadium each year. Despite the manifold facets of this event, the focus of the carioca carnival generally falls upon the scantily clad and alluring female dancers known as *passistas*. The sexually charged image of the *passista* promotes a sexist historical discourse, which has resulted in a controversial conception of ideal femininity appropriated on a national level.

The fact that this topic has captivated the majority of gender study research concerning Rio's carnival would suggest that samba school performances are primarily manifestations of feminine sexuality. But could this be valid when so many of the performers are male? A more extensive examination of sexuality in the samba schools reveals an essential role that has been ignored by gender studies on carnival. The *ritmista*, or drummer, participates in a section of the samba school known as the *bateria*. The *bateria* is an essential component to the samba school because it produces the electrifying and powerful rhythms that drive the parade forward. Without the *bateria*, there would be no samba. If one were to examine this percussive wing, the most obvious observation would be that it is almost entirely composed of male participants. Such has been the case since the first samba school parade in 1929. This research aims to demonstrate how masculinity is performed in carioca carnival through the role of the *ritmista*. Furthermore, it will examine the origins of samba school gender roles in Afro-

Brazilian religion and the Vargas regime's officialization of carnival. Finally, by placing iconic Brazilian figures in a sexual context, the research will demonstrate the effects of a shift in hegemonic masculinity on the drummer and dancer power relations, as well as the implications of performing masculinity through drumming in the samba parade.

Today there are over one hundred samba schools in Rio de Janeiro, but when they became official in 1934 there were only twenty-five. Women were initially prohibited from participating in the *bateria*, thus restricting them to roles as dancers. In 1959, however, a small group of female *chocalho* (shaker) players performed in the *bateria* of the Salgueiro samba school. This marked the first ever carnival where women participated as percussionists (Gardel 33). Gradually other samba schools began to open their doors to women, but only allowed them to play smaller instruments such as the *chocalho* and the *tamborim*.

The abolishment of school policies preventing female participation was constantly delayed. Mangueira, the oldest and most renowned samba school, continued to prohibit women from entering the *bateria* until 2007 ("Quebrando Tabus"). Even today it continues to be known in Brazil as the domain of men; unfortunately, the male chauvinist ideology that pervades this institution has made female participation an unspoken taboo. Women currently constitute only 3-5% of modern day *baterias* in Rio de Janeiro, and they are still restricted to the same minor instruments that they were permitted to play fifty years ago (Duarte). The samba school performances in carioca carnival present a clear gender division between the roles of dancer and drummer. These gender roles have been preserved in carnival since the advent of the samba school, but their origins trace back to the colonial period.

The various cult descendants of African, polytheistic belief systems became agencies for the preservation of African tradition during the earliest periods of slavery in Brazil. Samba developed alongside such manifestations of African-derived culture, and thus came to share the same cultural inheritance. The roots of these two customs are still apparent in contemporary manifestations. The word *terreiro*, for instance, is used in Afro-Brazilian religion to describe the space where rituals such as the spirit possession ceremony are performed. However, *terreiro* also describes the space utilized by samba schools to rehearse for the carnival parade. This research will explore the connections between these two *terreiros*, specifically in relation to how the two aforementioned rituals of spirit possession and carioca carnival facilitate the affirmation of masculinity in drumming and incorporate gender roles. Essentialist notions of gender in Brazil mark drummers as masculine because of their power over women, while dancers are considered feminine as a result of their submissive role. This research will discuss Afro-Brazilian religion as the origin of these common conceptions, how they have changed in the context of a transforming society and how this is reflected in the samba school parade. Specifically, it will explore how such hegemonic conceptions of sexuality are preserved through ritual.

Gender systems are intrinsically tied to the power relations that pervade them. The roles assigned men and women in a given society are relative to that society's hierarchical structure, which in the case of Brazil has always been patriarchal. Roberto DaMatta emphasizes the correlation between ritual and the societal allocation of power. "There are intricate links and associations between the techniques of power and grandiose ceremonial displays" (DaMatta 16). He posits that they can be used to fortify structures

of authority as well expound the interplay of power within its hierarchy. Given the correlation between gender systems and power, rituals can be seen to shape and maintain societal notions of gender identity. This is accomplished through dramatization.

While structures of authority are ever-present in daily life, contrasting systems or influences may cause hegemonic social elements to submerge into the individual or collective conscience (DaMatta 55). Ritual is used to dramatize the social roles that support certain structures, thus causing all other conflicting positions and beliefs to disappear. Participants in a ceremony become symbols or embodiments of the values being promoted. “The distinctive feature of ritual, then, seems to be dramatization: i.e., the condensation of some aspect, element, or relationship which is spotlighted and set in relief” (DaMatta 20). Ritualization thus becomes capable of promoting specific roles and systems in a given society.

DaMatta’s discussion of rituals demonstrates that dramatization is a powerful tool for developing or enforcing identity and power relations, though the circumstances and means of doing so may vary. The following chapters discuss how two dramatization rituals, while similar in their conceptions of gender, became very different in nature. They examine how the gender ideology of the tribal-like spirit possession ritual passed to the modern individualistic ritual of the samba school parade. As a result of shifting hegemonic masculinity, the gender roles dramatized in a ritual of healing and African identity affirmation led to one rooted in the reinvestment of patriarchal values and *brasilidade* through female exploitation. While the traditional conception of drumming as masculine is contingent upon enforcing popular notions of the feminine dancer, the unequivocally reciprocal nature of their relationship in Rio de Janeiro carnival

makes gender equality in the pre-Lenten festival an impossibility. The research will conclude that performing masculinity through drumming in the contemporary social dramatization ritual of carnival, and thus maintaining traditional gender roles, only serves to preserve inequality between the sexes.

This paper utilizes a variety of perspectives and resources in order to approach the present topic, including history, gender theory and sociology. Historical resources provide factual evidence supporting theoretical claims in regards to the origins and progression of samba school gender relations. Gender theory is utilized in the analysis of the varying roles of each ritual. Judith Butler's theory of performativity, for example, illustrates how an African taboo turned into a seemingly real gender stereotype. Brazilian active/passive conceptions of sexuality are used to analyze the roles of ritual participants. Various theories of masculinity, specifically hegemonic and historically shifting masculinity, are included to analyze Brazilian icons of sexuality. Finally, a sociological approach provides a means of addressing Brazilian identity and how gender roles relate to larger society. Roberto DaMatta's work addressing the significance of ritual in regards to social identity is particularly important. In addition, his iconic Brazilian figures of the *caxias*, the *malandro* and the *renunciador* are discussed in the context of sexuality to address the relations between different levels of masculinity, specifically in relation to the drummer. The mythical figure of the *mulata* is also included in order to address how such masculinities affect notions of femininity. Given that masculinity only exists in contrast to femininity, this research addresses both female and male gender roles in the context of Afro-Brazilian religion and Rio de Janeiro carnival.

The first chapter, "Origins of Samba and Carnaval," outlines the history and cultural roots of these two Afro-Brazilian traditions. The development of carnaval reveals that elements of drumming and dancing are derived from an African influence. The origins of samba discuss the ideologies that this cultural form shares with Afro-Brazilian religion as a result of developing in the same space. This ties contemporary notions of gender roles in samba schools to the African traditions preserved in the syncretic Afro-Brazilian cults. The second chapter, "Afro-Brazilian Religion and Gender Roles," discusses the syncretic African belief system in Brazil, the spirit possession ritual and dance and drumming gender roles. The third chapter, "Shifting Masculinities and the Brazilian Icons of Sexuality," discusses four iconic Brazilian characters and places them within a hierarchy of sexuality, it discusses the rise of samba schools, the Vargas regime and how historically shifting masculinity affected the sexual icons. The fourth chapter, "Carioca Carnaval and Gender Roles," discusses carnaval in Rio de Janeiro, samba school performances, gender roles and power relations. The fifth and concluding chapter summarizes the research and emphasizes the implications of performing masculinity in carnaval by aligning the two Afro-Brazilian traditions discussed with tribal and modern individualistic rituals.

Origins of Carnival and Samba

Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade opens his *Manifesto Antropófago* by stating “só a Antropofagia nos une” (Andrade 13). This morbid declaration sets the pace for his iconic essay, which discusses Brazil’s historical propensity toward “cannibalizing” other cultures and reforming them as uniquely Brazilian. Andrade’s insight into the sociology of Brazil demonstrates the extent to which cultural miscegenation was pivotal in forming the country. With the rise of the Vargas regime, nationalist ideology recognized manifestations of this miscegenation as symbolic of the Brazilian identity. Two significant examples of these manifestations are carnival and samba. As products of European and African culture mixing, they became exemplary representations of the nation’s hybrid nature.

Carnaval

The contemporary celebration of carnival in Rio de Janeiro is the product of well over a century of change. Before its transformation as a result of African influence and state control, the pre-Lenten festivity was directly descended from the revelries of Portuguese *entrudo*. During this period, participants hurled wax balls filled with perfumed liquid at unsuspecting victims in the streets. The lower class was also permitted the opportunity to mock members of upper class society, which was accomplished by wearing the garb and imitating the gestures of old Europeans (Moraes 21). Many revelers resorted to throwing pails of water, sand, flour and rotten eggs. The violence caused by these acts transformed *entrudo* into an uncontrollable war among the lower class. It was eventually banned in 1853 but was celebrated through the turn of the century in a less violent fashion.

Around the middle of the 19th century, small groups began to roam the streets during the *entrudo* playing percussive instruments. This practice was inspired by a lower class Rio de Janeiro resident that marched through the city with a bass drum one night of the festival, who later came to be nicknamed Zé Pereira. The revelries of Zé Pereira and his imitators prompted the creation of other parading groups that continue to participate in contemporary carnivals. The first of these groups were called “Societies,” initially emerging in 1855. Society participants paraded in fanciful costumes alongside brass bands and allegorical floats. They also organized masked balls, which had become popular among the elite. The nineteenth century ushered in a variety of other parading groups, including the *cordão*, the *bloco* and the *rancho*.

Given the variety of cultures that are present in carnival, it is difficult to determine the origin of specific aspects and ideologies of the festival. Peter Burke approaches this issue by analyzing cultural interaction between different groups in his essay “The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds.” Specifically, he discusses the presence of African and European culture in the development of the Brazilian celebration. “The trajectory of carnivals in the New World... runs parallel to that of European carnivals between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries” (Burke 159). This is seen in the practice of Portuguese *entrudo*, which Burke finds similar to the carnivals of France, Spain and Italy. He associates the fancy dress and masks, parades and allegorical floats, and festive societies primarily with roots in European carnival (Burke 150). While the festival did not exist in Africa, Burke states that many aspects of African culture could be considered carnivalesque. This includes the use of masks, dance parades, allegorical floats and brotherhoods.

Although Brazilian carnival has its roots in the European celebration, Burke affirms that what separates the two is the African element (161). This is most clearly seen in the dance and music essential to the Brazilian festivity. “The dance,” Burke states, “was and may still be a more important art form in Africa than anywhere else” (155). In contrast, he finds dance to be a far less significant part of European carnivals (Burke 153). In regards to music, Burke associates the percussive influence in the Brazilian celebration with the importance of drumming in African and Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies (156). He explains that the objective of his essay is to argue “that these religious practices have made an important contribution to Afro-American carnivals,” and this is clearly seen in the African influence on music and dance in Rio de Janeiro’s samba school performances.

History reveals that Brazilian carnival owes much to its European roots. However, the influence of African culture is irrefutable. Burke’s essay demonstrates that carnival dance and music, crucial features of the celebration, are in all likelihood not inherited from European culture. Thus, any aspects or ideologies of dance and music in the event are rooted in African tradition. The contribution of Afro-Brazilian religion to contemporary carnival is also present in its centrality to the development of the samba, which began its rise to popularity in the early twentieth century.

Samba

It has been nearly a century since the first song designated as samba was recorded, and the genre has been firmly established as a cultural representation of Brazil. However, even in the early twentieth century, samba was an amorphous term used for anything associated with Afro-Brazilians or the lower class. The word first appeared in

printed material in 1838, and along with blanket terms like *tango* and *batuque*, was utilized to describe various percussive and religious practices of Afro-Brazilians throughout the nineteenth century (Hertzman 38). These terms were likely a result of authorities' being unable to distinguish between music and what they considered "witchcraft." Collective practices like the African healing ritual *calundu* incorporated drumming, dance and spirit possession, which confused those who regarded dance as separate from religion.

Calundu was also the origin of a musical style and circle dance known as *lundu*, which was the first Afro-Brazilian genre to become popular throughout Brazil (Hertzman 45). The *lundu* originated as a dance involving two participants within a circle. The participants would move their arms in the air while stamping their feet. They would commence and conclude the dance by touching bellies with *umbigadas* (Hertzman 43). Interestingly, the word *samba* is thought to have originated in the Kimbundu word *semba*, which translates to Portuguese as *umbigada* (Shaw 3). *Lundu* music was firmly rooted in a common rhythmic style of the time called *tresillo*. The syncopated rhythm of the *tresillo* came to be identified as characteristically Brazilian, and it dominated most popular forms of music until the development of *samba* (Hertzman 41).

Like many manifestations of Afro-Brazilian music, the popularized *lundu* moved away from the original form as a result of European influence or interpretation (Hertzman 46). Other musical styles were developed as blends of various cultures. *Maxixe*, the predecessor of *samba*, combined the "close embrace" of European *polka* with the syncopated rhythms and sensuality of the Afro-Brazilian *lundu*. While the *lundu* was considered a "window into rural slave life," the *maxixe* became associated with Rio de

Janeiro's urban underworld. Despite the highly sensual nature of these two styles, they both came to be recognized as national dances.

During the 1910's, *maxixe* was on the decline and samba was on the rise. At this point, however, the genre had still not been clearly defined. The release of "Pelo Telefone" helped to make the term more recognizable, but the *tresillo* rhythm it utilized did not make it distinctive from the *maxixe*. In fact, Marc Hertzman affirmed that the labels given to music were "as much an indication of audience taste as a representation of musical style" (167). Much of the music that had been previously labeled *polkas* and *waltzes* to cater to a European audience would have been considered sambas or *choros* decades later. Samba developed into a more distinct style, separate from the *tresillo* based genres, over the next decade.

Despite the influence of previous genres or European interpretation, samba is a dance and rhythmic form firmly rooted in African tradition. Its development occurred in Afro-Brazilian spaces and under the control of African descendants. Much like the *lundu*, the samba was closely associated with Afro-Brazilian religion because they shared a common space during a time of persecution. Whereas *lundu* developed in the *senzala*, samba developed in the small Afro-Brazilian communities that had been formed in the port area and other central districts of Rio de Janeiro during the second decade of the twentieth century (Shaw 4). Even during the rise of the samba schools, the closed societies of the hillside favelas permitted Afro-Brazilian traditions to be maintained, and the development of the samba to be controlled by its residents (Shaw 6). Given the size of these communities, it comes as no surprise that different forms of Brazilian culture were practiced in close proximity. In many cases, samba was developed by Afro-

Brazilian religion practitioners within the confines of the space used for worship, known as the *terreiro*. One such example is the house of Tia Ciata.

Hilária Batista de Almeida, or Tia Ciata, was one of the most influential Afro-Brazilian women in Rio de Janeiro. She was also a well-known *mãe-de-santo* (priestess) of Afro-Brazilian religion. Her home was located next to the Praça Onze, one of the most famous locations for samba in Rio. In addition to hosting religious gatherings she frequently organized meetings between musicians. Parties held at her house would include “appropriate” dance and music in the front rooms. Meanwhile, in the backrooms musicians played samba in the very same *terreiro* used for conducting cult ceremonies (Shaw 6).

These were the circumstances in which samba was permitted to develop in a society that persecuted Afro-Brazilian culture. The style’s percussive rhythms matured in the same rooms where drums called upon the *orixás* (gods) to descend among the living. The same men charged with leading the *terreiros* in worship beat out the cadences of samba at parties. In these closed communities where residents were barely a generation away from enslaved ancestors, the aspects and ideologies of one culture were shared and intermixed in another culture. The traditions of one practice were cannibalized, digested and regurgitated by another practice. In this way, the African heritage was not only passed down to human descendants, but cultural descendants. It is not mere coincidence that samba shares the traditions of Afro-Brazilian religion. Samba developed in Afro-Brazilian communities like a child. It developed an understanding of life based on its surroundings and experiences, and it gained knowledge from its elders. In the *senzala*, religion, dance and music were inextricably linked. In the favela it was no different.

Afro-Brazilian Religion & Gender Roles

Since the publication of Ruth Landes' *The City of Women*, the majority of academic research has regarded Afro-Brazilian religion as matriarchal. This is due to the focus on female participation and the high number of *mães-de-santo* (priestesses) that act as leaders of these groups. The bias toward emphasizing female empowerment, however, often causes researchers to overlook essential male positions. Further examination of the gender roles of the *terreiro* and the possession ritual demonstrates that Afro-Brazilian religion provides a means of affirming masculinity in the position of the drummer. In addition, these roles also encouraged sexist power relations that are rooted in African tradition.

Origins of Afro-Brazilian Religion

By the time Brazil had banned the Atlantic slave trade in 1850, over three million Africans had been sent across the Middle Passage to Brazilian shores. In spite of the oppressive existence of plantation life, enslaved Africans from a vast span of origins managed to transplant the roots of their native cultures in the New World. The African influence present in contemporary Brazil can be traced to a variety of sub-Saharan lands. While numerous African belief systems survived the Middle Passage, the majority of contemporary Afro-Brazilian religions are founded in the cosmology of Yoruba. This polytheistic religion is primarily based in West Africa, which was the predominant source of enslaved Africans during the last wave of the slave trade. Numerical superiority, then, could be one reason that other ethnic groups assimilated to Yoruba beliefs in Brazil. They also may have been attracted by the religion's complex ideologies and established social structure (Voeks 52).

Colonization and slavery were primarily justified by the Christian doctrines that advocated “redemption of the heathen.” Given this mission, plantation masters attempted to force Catholicism upon the Africans. The threat to the survival of African heritage was met with the cultural cannibalism that became so characteristic of Brazil. By integrating the Yoruba *orixá* deities with saints of the Catholic Church, enslaved Africans were able to continue practicing their religion while deceiving the authorities (Voeks 59). Practitioners maintained the possession rituals, divination and healing rites of the Yoruba by appropriating the names and images of the figures of Christianity. In conforming to the cultural hegemony, they simultaneously resisted it. By yielding to an oppressive power, they rebelled against it.

The syncretism that took place during this time resulted in a variety of contemporary Afro-Brazilian religions all based in the Yoruba ideology of West Africa. One of the more predominant sects (also one of the oldest and most researched) is called Candomblé, derived from the Kikongo word for “custom of the black people” (Taylor 327). Many of the Afro-Brazilian religion practitioners, including in Candomblé, have renounced the Christian elements that were forced upon their ancestors. The ideologies and practices that survived the Middle Passage, however, were preserved in these Yoruba derived religions. The African cultural inheritance survives in a variety of rituals, especially seen in the ceremony of spirit possession.

Spirit Possession Ritual

Practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions like Candomblé worship deities of nature known as *orixás*. In order to be granted health and prosperity, followers must establish a spiritual balance with the *orixás* through the maintenance and augment of *axé*, a spiritual

energy. One of the most important means of accomplishing this is the spirit possession ritual, which enables the *orixás* to descend among the living and briefly reincarnate in the bodies of their devotees (Voeks 81). While this ceremony provides a means for disenfranchised Afro-Brazilians to connect with their African ancestry, it clearly demonstrates the strict gender roles and power relations of the cult. There are three roles that are vital to this ceremony. Two are that of the dancer and the drummer, or the *iaô* and the *alabê*. Their acts are pure manifestations of sexuality. Participants understand the inextricable ties these roles have to their corresponding gender, but the power relations between the two provide added emphasis. The third role is that of the *pai* or *mãe-de-santo*, which will be referred to as “priest” for the sake of sexual ambiguity. The gender implications for male possession priests will be discussed later, but it is important to emphasize that this role can and is assumed by both women and men. Thus, the sex of the priest presiding over the ceremony is irrelevant.

Terreiros vary in size and appearance according to the level of patronage, but all possession ceremonies take place in a spacious meeting room typical of each *terreiro*, known as the *barracão*. In an earlier period, the floor of the *barracão* was made of hard red soil. Contemporary *terreiros* have cement floors, so leaves are generally spread on the floor of the *barracão* for public ceremonies. The rest of the room is decorated with palm fronds and colorful garlands (Voeks 82). Seats and benches surround the rectangular dancing space. The *alabê* occupies a focal point of the room on a decorated raised platform. Three male drummers sit beside three *atabaques* (drums) varying in size and decorated in the colors of *orixás* (Béhague 238). The *lê* (smallest drum) and the *rumpi* (medium sized drum) are responsible for maintaining the tempo with regular

rhythmic patterns. The master *alabê* plays the *rum* (largest drum), which is utilized for rhythmic variations and improvisation. There is also an *agogô* (double-headed metal bell), which may or may not be played by the priest. The *terreiro* hierarchy is signified by audience position in relation to the drum platform (Béhague 226). Honored guests are permitted to sit near the platform while visitors are seated near the entrance. In addition, audience members are separated by sex, men on one side of the *barracão* and women on the other. Prior to the ceremony, distinguished visitors salute the drummers by touching the three drumheads before greeting anyone present (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 480).

The *alabê* marks the commencement of the ceremony with a march-like rhythm, which signals the female *iaôs* to enter the *barracão* dressed in traditional white garments. The first section of the ritual is an offering and performance for *Exu*, the *orixá* of mischief and the crossroads, which is a necessary duty in order to interact with the other *orixás*. After *Exu* is appeased, the practitioners may continue by honoring all of the *orixás* with specific rhythms, songs and choreography. The priest, a veritable repository of musical knowledge, leads the dancers in call and response songs while accompanying them in choreography and the drummers with the *agogô* (Béhague 221). The first part of the ceremony is a “call to the gods,” which utilizes dance and music to provoke spirit possession. Three to seven songs are performed for each deity. Sometimes the songs follow a sequence and other times they vary in order (Béhague 239).

The lead *alabê* organizes the musical structure of the performance and determines when specific rhythms should be played. The *iaôs* begin by dancing in a circle in a clockwise direction as part of an introductory rite. Never turning away from the

drummers, the dancers spend the rest of the ceremony adjusting their choreography according to rhythms played by the *alabê* (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 480). Just as each *orixá* is honored by a certain rhythm, the *iaô* follows specific movements that correlate with a particular deity. This connection between the rhythm and the dance forms power relations between the drummer and the dancer, which forces both the *iaôs* and the priest to submit to the commands of the *alabê*. Despite the leading role of the priest, the drummer has significant control over the ritual. After leading the dancers in song for a lengthy period, the priest allows the master *alabê* to relieve him/her of the duty. This is a frequent occurrence, which makes it necessary for the drummer to have a complete percussive and lyrical knowledge (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 492). The *alabê* is thus left to beat out the appropriate rhythm while leading the *iaôs* in corresponding songs. His command of the ceremony is nearly absolute.

The tempo quickens, thus commanding a rapid pace in the *iaôs*’ dance. This forces the dancer to place her complete concentration on the movements, which allows the drummer to pressure her mental state. The *alabê* examines the dancers and searches for a sign that they are becoming susceptible to the *orixás*’ control. He perceives the influence of a deity in a *iaô* and immediately commands the god to descend with the stroke of a hand. The improvised variations of the *rum* drum direct the *iaôs* to a rapid execution of steps, which pushes the dazed dancer over the edge and coaxes the *orixá* to “mount” her (Béhague 232). The *iaô*’s muscles twitch and she nearly collapses, but a bystander comes to her aid. When she rises, she has taken on the qualities of the African deity. Her first duty is to salute the drums and then she may dance or wander around the *barracão*.

The presence of the gods commences the second half of the ceremony. The pace becomes frenetic as the *alabê* switches to an occasionally used rhythm called *adarrum*, which calls upon all the gods. The spirited and rapid pace of this rhythm provokes multiple possessions, including in the priest. Some of the deity manifestations are subtle while others are violent. The possessed dancers are assisted in exiting the *barracão* to a smaller room, never turning their backs on the drummers (Béhague 240). When they return, they are adorned in the clothing and carry the symbols of the *orixá* that has mounted them, all prepared to perform. The *alabê* plays each of the represented deities' rhythms. He chooses when each god is permitted to dance. The *iaôs* may remain possessed for hours and sometimes days. When the *orixá* finally relinquishes control, the *iaô* is left in a childlike state for a period of time before returning to normal (Voeks 88).

Terreiro Gender Roles

Before this ritual even begins, division and polarity of the sexes are emphasized in seating male and female spectators on opposite sides of the room. The antithetical gender roles portrayed in the *terreiro* performance mirror its sexually partitioned audience, echoing the Shakespearean “play within a play.” Seated on one side of the congregation, men look across to the other side and observe their inverse. Before even witnessing the contrasting roles of the drummer and the dancer, they are positioned so that they can make a distinction between what they should and should not be. Masculinity only exists in contrast to femininity, and apparent contrarities between the nature of men and women are the basic means for men to form their own identity. In designating women as a “lack” or “Other,” men establish what it means to be masculine by differentiating from femininity (Connell 68). This semiotic approach to masculinity promotes an essentialist

ideology in regards to what constitutes “the realm” of men or women. Such is the case in the development of drumming and dancing as manifestations of sexuality in Afro-Brazilian religion.

The Alabê

When it comes to African derived religion and culture, percussion is a fundamental feature. It is understandable then, that the *alabê* occupies one of the most prestigious positions in the *terreiro*. In addition to his ceremonial duties, he acts as a highly ranked official in the hierarchy of the group, has significant control over cult affairs and is a respected member of the religious community (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 480). The skills required of the title are extensive. Any *terreiro* drummer must be able to play rhythms for up to twenty-five deities, relieve the priest in singing and lead rituals. The abilities required of the position are equal to the respect afforded it (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 490). This is made clear by the extent to which the drummers are honored during the ritual as well as the enthusiasm of young men for acquiring the skills necessary to become an *alabê*.

Herskovits’ study on drummers in Afro-Brazilian religion states “wherever drums are played, a group of boys is invariably found standing close by, listening, watching, learning” (“Drums and Drummers” 489). Masculinity studies show that young men are often pressured to prove themselves as masculine, even at a very early age. Their fear of being seen as feminine prompts them to seek out ways to affirm their manhood (Kimmel 278). In the *terreiro*, drumming is associated with skill, competence, respect, leadership and power. As these attributes are valuable to masculine identity, young men are drawn to drumming as a means of affirming masculinity. Judith Butler’s concept of

performativity posits that “if there is no radical repudiation of a culturally constructed sexuality, what is left is the question of how to acknowledge and ‘do’ the construction one is invariably in” (31). Masculinity is not an inherent biological nature. It is a socially constructed state of being that adheres to the accepted criterion of a given culture. The gendered identity is an illusion, but in assuming a cultural configuration associated with manhood, like that of the drummer, men perform the role of masculinity. As an African tradition dating back centuries, the idea of drumming as masculine replaced “the real” through repetition and self-naturalization, thus transforming into a hegemonic ideology in Afro-Brazilian religion.

Drumming is understood to be a strictly masculine activity, thus women are not allowed to play drums. Herskovits’ study states “as in all African and African-derived cultures, drumming is for men” (“Drums and Drummers” 488). This tradition can be traced to West Africa, which is the origin of Yoruba based Afro-Brazilian culture.

“Many West African cultures assign chorus singing and dancing to be a female activity, and instrument playing to be a male activity” (Burns 52). The notion of drumming and dancing as traditionally gendered activities is supported by several studies on West African music and culture (Hampton 1982, Schmidt 1989, Monts 1992, Ampene 2005, Burns 2009).

A cultural prohibition against female participation would only encourage men to view drumming as a means of appearing masculine. This ideology is so well established that fathers encourage their sons to participate, much like an American father might motivate his son to play baseball. “Boys are encouraged to learn drum rhythms... Often their fathers... were drummers of repute. They are anxious that their own technique

should, in turn, be handed on to their sons; several drummers boasted of their sons' ability" (Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers" 489). In this fashion, the concept of drumming as a means of affirming masculinity is directly transmitted to the next generation.

Brazil has its own essentialist conception of sexuality that also contributes to notions of gender within the *terreiro*. Deriving originally from male and female roles during sexual intercourse, it is the "distinction between activity and passivity that most clearly structures Brazilian notions of masculinity and femininity and... a much wider world of sexual classifications in day-to-day Brazilian life" (Parker 46). Tied to these notions of activity and passivity are the sexist stereotypes that constitute patriarchal power relations. The vision of active masculinity is one of strength, power, action and virility. The contrasting vision of passive femininity is one of "inferiority and submission in the face of patriarchal authority" (Parker 39). Such conceptions of male and female sexuality promote a patriarchal ideology where masculinity is rewarded with power and femininity is deemed inferior and thus subject to oppression. These visions best characterize the relationship between the *alabê* and the *iaô* in the *terreiro*.

The Iaô

The gendered characteristics of the *iaô* are founded in a sexist conception of femininity that excludes women from the public sphere, demands submission to the *alabê* and sexualizes her body. The *terreiro* dancer, while a crucial presence in the spirit possession ceremony, is inherently characterized by powerlessness. In this sense, despite the level of skill and movement required her role, her sexuality is considered passive. This is apparent as early as the *iaô*'s initiation into the cult, which functions as a

“mechanism of social reintegration” into the secular world where the initiate engages in a number of symbolic acts that represent everyday activities in “the woman’s sphere of life” (Herskovits, “The Panan” 277). The nature of this initiation ceremony demonstrates how particular the *iaô* position is to women.

In the first part of the ceremony, initiates are symbolically whipped with a switch. This signifies that when “initiates do not obey those who rank them... they will be punished by Oshala... father of the gods” (Herskovits, “The Panan” 279). In the second part of the ritual, initiates are directed through thirty-one symbolic acts that allegedly represent the activities typical of women. These acts are clearly representative of a woman that is restricted to the private sphere. Examples include sweeping, ironing, sewing, getting married, sexual intercourse and lady-like conduct during a formal dinner (Herskovits, “The Panan” 282). There are obvious sexist connotations to this initiation. First, her entrance into the cult presupposes her willingness to act submissive on pain of chastisement by a divine patriarch. Second, the ceremony itself forces the initiate to acknowledge femininity, embodied in the *iaô*, as characterized by the passive role of the stereotypical housewife. Thus her identity is established as soon as she becomes a *iaô*. Her passivity is further demonstrated in her relation to the *alabê* in the possession ritual. This is seen in the respect demanded of the drummer and his complete power over the *iaô*.

In all aspects of the spirit possession ritual, the *alabê* is afforded tremendous respect. Guests are expected to greet them first, dancers may not turn their backs on the drumming platform and even the gods must salute the *alabê* before doing anything else. The *terreiro* dancer is not afforded the same respect. In fact, her role is predicated upon

complete and humble submission. When the *alabê* sings a song she is expected to respond with the appropriate chorus. When he plays a rhythm she must perform the appropriate footwork. Even when she incarnates a deity, he orchestrates her performance. Her relationship with the *alabê* is based on submission, while his relationship with her is based on power and domination.

The *alabê* is also responsible for the sexualization of the *iaô*'s body. This occurs through her interaction with the *orixá*. For the most part, only women can become *iaôs* because their feminine passivity (specifically in regards to the sexual role) makes them conducive to control by the deities (Keller 8695). The *iaô* (Yoruba for bride) is also called *exin orixá* (horse of the *orixá*) because she is "mounted" (translated from Yoruba word *gùn*) by the *orixá* (Béhague 227, Matory 211). The language further emphasizes a sexual connotation to the experience. Given the nature of the possession, it can be said that the *alabê* sexualizes the *iaô* by forcing her into a position where she is reduced to a sexually receptive feminine body.

The quintessential conception of masculinity is "a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power" (Kimmel 272). First and foremost, the *alabê* affirms his masculinity in power relations. The spirit possession ceremony puts him in a position of power and allows him to exert it over others, specifically women. He also demonstrates this in his command of the gods and his mental strength by avoiding possession by the gods. Most important of all, he is the mainspring of a crucial performance (Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers" 477). The success of the ritual, the survival of the *terreiro* and the balance with the gods depends entirely on him. Masculinity, in the case of the

drummer, entails complete power and control. This does not, however, lessen the significance of the female role.

Femininity in the case of the dancer demands attention and focus. Despite her passive role in comparison to the *alabê*, the *iaô* represents the *raison d'être* of the *terreiro*. She is the focal point of the ceremony because its objective is centered on her. An *alabê* may play well all night but if a *iaô* is not mounted the ritual is a failure. The *alabê* can never take on the dance role as the focus of the ritual, however, because to do so would endanger his masculinity. While all that prevents a woman from becoming a drummer is the taboo that “only men can play drums,” men cannot become dancers because this would require sexual passivity. For a man to take on the role of the *iaô* he must admit that he is feminine because the position is literally dependent on sexuality. In fact, even when a man shows signs of possession he is accused of homosexuality (Matory 214). This is problematic for the *alabê* because not only is drumming an important means of performing masculinity, but it is the only role available to him in the *terreiro*. A woman could hypothetically become an *alabê* without becoming masculine. However, men protect the cultural institutions that affirm their masculinity. A woman attempting to enter the realm of men could feminize the institution. Furthermore, in the case of the *alabê*, female participation means less opportunity for men in the only position available to them. The result is the exclusion and devaluation of women. In the attempt to further discourage women, men encourage the mythical claims that female participation in a masculine realm causes masculinization (Boutilier 107). One such myth explains that “a woman is inhibited from even simulating drum rhythms by the belief that, if she breaks

the rule, her breasts will lengthen until they drag on the ground” (Herskovits, “Drums and Drummers” 488).

The Adé

The contrasting gender roles of the *alabê* and the *iaô* in the spirit possession ritual represent unequitable power relations between the sexes, but there is another vital role in the ceremony that transcends the boundaries of gender. The *pai-de-santo*, or *adé*, is an interesting figure in that he occupies all roles in the *terreiro*, and thus defies societal gender rules. *Pai-de-santo* is a term that focuses upon his sex and his role as leader of the *terreiro*. The term *adé*, however, encompasses the significance of *pai-de-santo* and also focuses upon the passive sexuality that permits him to be mounted by an *orixá*, a necessary ability for a cult leader. J. Lorand Matory addresses the fact that Afro-Brazilian religions are widely considered matriarchal even though the number of *adé* leaders has always been equal to the number of *mães-de santo* (189). Ruth Landes dismissed the *adé* and denounced his legitimacy as a cult leader because of the homosexual connotations associated with his position.

No *upright* man will allow himself to be *ridden* by a god, unless he does not care about *losing his manhood*... Now here's the loophole. Some men do *let themselves be ridden*, and they become priests with the women; but they are known to be *homosexuals*. In the temple they *put on skirts and mannerisms of the women*. (Landes 37)

The sexual orientation of the *adé*, much like his gender, is ambiguous because of the Brazilian conception of sexuality and *terreiro* comportment. Even an openly heterosexual male priest will be subject to skepticism, because a man who is spiritually mountable seems likely to also be physically mountable. In this sense, feminine or

passive sexuality is equally determined by qualities as it is by “sexual penetrability.” Matory argues that despite popular opinion, the *adé*'s passive role in spirit possession is not directly tied to sexual orientation or general conceptions of femininity (212, 215). If the *adé* cross-dresses or acts feminine in the *terreiro*, it is because he is assuming a role as “bride of the *orixá*” and not woman or homosexual (Matory 210). Peter Fry, however, argues that the position of the *adé* directly correlates with passive homosexuality. Furthermore, his studies indicated that passive homosexuals are attracted to the role because of its association with passive sexuality (Fry 194). The *adé*'s disputed but indeterminable sexuality only enhances his androgynous image. Independent of sexual preference, Afro-Brazilian religion participants regard both *mães-de santo* and *adés* as normal possession priests (Matory 214).

The ambiguity of the *adé*'s passive sexuality, whether spiritual or also physical, mirrors the androgynous nature of his role in the possession ritual. In one sense, the *adé* assumes a masculine position in his control of the ceremony. While the *alabê* organizes the proceedings, he recognizes the *adé*'s position as the cult leader and respects his authority. The *adê* is the principal singer for the ritual, renowned for his lyrical knowledge as the *alabê* is for his percussive knowledge. He also accompanies the drummers on the *agogô* (double-headed bell), and in doing so he performs masculinity in his control of the ceremony through rhythm and call-and-response song. However, while his actions manifest a masculine sexuality he is simultaneously representing the “lack” or “negative” of masculinity in his role as a dancer. It is he who taught the *iaô* the *orixá* choreography, and he must accompany them in their dance to seduce the gods (Béhague 224). Assuming the role as “bride” of the deities, he adorns himself in a gown

and adopts feminine mannerisms. In this aspect of the ritual, he is literally performing the cultural construction of femininity. One moment he may devote himself to singing and playing, which allows him to exercise his power over the ceremony and its participants. In the next moment, he may relinquish all of his power to the *alabê* and traverse the boundaries of gender into utter femininity. He then submits to dominant forces “at the height of public ceremonial, when the *macho* drummers and singers induce the chief priest to lose self-control by ‘calling the saint’ into his head” (Matory 215). In doing so, he embodies a passive, feminine role in the ceremony

The *adé* marks a significant divergence from the antithetical gender roles portrayed in the *alabê* and the *iaô*. While the contrasting relationship of the drummer and dancer maintains a struggle for sexual identity and gender equality, the *adé* occupies a less problematic reality with an identity that lies between androgynous and genderless. While in one sense he is masculine as a male leader, he is also feminine as bride of the *orixás*. He enacts all roles in the *terreiro*, but in doing so denies their legitimacy as gender specific. His unique position allows him to transcend gender and avoid the unequitable power relations caused by defined societal identities.

African convention prohibited female participation in percussion, thus encouraging drumming as a means of performing masculinity. The masculine role the *alabê* assumes in the spirit possession ritual is directly related to the power he is afforded over the *iaô*. The *iaô*, while the *raison d’être* of the ceremony, embodies femininity in her submission to dominant forces and exclusion from a potentially rewarding social institution. This exclusion is founded on the fears and insecurities of men who wish to preserve an institution that affirms their masculinity. Every acknowledgment of

drumming as masculine asserted its false validity, just as dancers became the negative from which men could distinguish their own sexual identity. The repeated performance and recognition of drumming as a mechanism for the cultural reproduction of masculine identity caused its self-naturalization, which resulted in a false semblance of reality that was promoted for years to come.

Shifting Masculinities and the Brazilian Icons of Sexuality

The development of samba into a distinct rhythm and its implementation in the first samba school parade of carnaval in 1929 coincided with an emerging period of political upheaval that would make a significant impact on samba, carnaval and the nation. The rise of Getúlio Vargas ushered in a new age dedicated to supporting the working class and establishing a national identity based on a shared past. Samba was suddenly center stage and Afro-Brazilian musicians were faced with the new ideologies of a new era. The national appropriation of their culture afforded them the opportunity of empowerment, but perhaps at the cost of identity.

This chapter discusses how a shift in hegemonic masculinity affected Afro-Brazilian sexuality before the officialization of Brazilian carnaval. This is accomplished in a discussion of some of the “Brazilian icons of sexuality.” Three of these icons are borrowed from a study by Roberto DaMatta, and the fourth is the focus of a sexist colonial discourse. Discussing these figures in the context of a changing society demonstrates how the gender identity of the Afro-Brazilian percussionist transformed over time.

Brazilian Icons of Sexuality

In *Carnavais, Malandros e Heróis*, anthropologist Roberto DaMatta begins by examining three rituals and realms representative of Brazilian society and then personifies these rituals in a discussion of their iconic figures. He describes this “triangle of heroes” – the *caxias*, the *malandro* and the *renunciador* – as equally influential in the formation of national identity. This mixture of cultures and characteristics stemming from three different societal realms is intended to echo a racial

discourse originating in the works of Gilberto Freyre, which posits Brazil as the product of miscegenation between whites, blacks and Indians (DaMatta 207). DaMatta's discussion of these iconic figures offers a fascinating insight into the relationships between various realms of Brazilian society and the nature of the Brazilian psyche.

A discussion of his analysis of these characters in the context of sexuality reveals how notions of masculinity have transformed over time. Given the parallel between the three societal domains and Freyre's miscegenation discourse, however, it seems unusual to exclude the most prevalent symbol for miscegenation from a discussion on national icons. More so than the *caxias*, the *malandro* and the *renunciador*, the mulata has long been portrayed as an embodiment of *brasilidade*. An analysis of the mulata provides a contrast to the masculine figures, which is essential for a discussion on gender identity. These four icons portray contrasting but interrelated sexual identities that have formed the basis for commonly held notions of Brazilian sexual identity.

The Caxias

DaMatta explains that the *caxias* represents a formal domain that sets a standard for our social universe. He defends a patriarchal hierarchy in which "the clear and imposing presence of the totality is represented by rules and laws which stand in marked contrast to the individualized world" (DaMatta 210). Occupying a superior social position, he is likely white and in a position of power and authority (DaMatta 208). This enables him to impose order and assert his own dominance over those he feels subordinate. Given the active nature of this icon, Brazilian notions of sexuality would certainly mark him as masculine. Yet masculinity is by no means a comprehensive concept that encompasses the entirety of male social practices. There is, however, one

type of masculinity that is used as the standard to measure and evaluate disparate male gender identities (Kimmel 275).

This “hegemonic masculinity” is directly correlated to a claim to authority and generally entails cultural ideal and institutional power (Connell 77). Since the *caxias* is in a position of authority, determined to maintain the governing institution and occupies a social position in which he is considered superior, his manner of performing gender represents hegemonic masculinity. This sexuality is thus understood as an ideal, and other men set out to embody it. Hegemonic masculinity, however, is not a fixed set of practices or qualities. In definition, it is a “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell 77). The moment a superior means of defending patriarchy arises, or there is a change in the circumstances ensuring its defense, a new set of gender practices will become the ideal (Connell 77). The *caxias*, therefore, represents whatever form of masculinity that is occupying the hegemonic position.

During the colonial period, for instance, the *caxias* was personified in the plantation patriarch. As the authority in his domain, he wielded unlimited power and used it to oppress men and women around him. Being a white, male landowner he was able to pursue sexual relations with his wife, mistresses and concubines while their freedom was completely restricted (Parker 37). The power derived from that era’s definition of hegemonic masculinity gave the patriarch real power over other men, like enslaved Africans. Their “otherness” in relation to the ideal sexuality legitimized the cruelty he inflicted upon them. As one who benefited from and represented its definition,

the patriarch sought to reinforce the gender roles of hegemonic masculinity by chastising those who did not also personify it. DaMatta associates the *caxias* with rituals of social reinforcement, where societal values and structures are dramatized in order to clarify ambiguity in regards to social position and the established system (57).

The Malandro

Gender is a means of organizing general social practice, thus it unavoidably interacts with other social structures like race and class (Connell 77). The result of this exchange is an infinite number of varying potential masculinities. Provided that the *caxias* figure creates differential access to cultural resources that affirm masculine identity, it becomes an unrealizable process for different men to achieve his hegemonic model. Failing to embody this ideal is certainly a source of frustration, but men compensate by making personalized modifications to protect and achieve their manhood (Kimmel 272). Given the influence of hegemonic masculinity on society, class or race based marginalization can also be highly detrimental to shaping gender identity.

“Marginalization is always relative to the *authorization* of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group” (Connell 80). Thus, as will be seen in the case of the *malandro*, the extent to which a marginalized masculinity is integrated or excluded from society depends largely on the ideology of the hegemon.

The *malandro* is a classic example of a Brazilian icon that exudes male sexuality but has always been marginalized. He is the inverse masculinity of the *caxias*. Roberto DaMatta directly associates him with rituals of inversion, where instead of reinforcement of identities there is a “shift of elements from one domain into another” (56). “The *malandro* is a being out of place, dislocated from the formal rules that govern the social

structure” (DaMatta 211). Representing a marginalized sexuality, he falls short of the hegemonic model, but his personalized identity embodies a lower class masculinity in its seductive confidence and spontaneity. He is portrayed as a charming and stylish womanizer with a distaste for labor and a love for carousing and gambling (Shaw 7). His cunning and skill provide him with the renowned ability to “dar um jeito” despite his lack of power. DaMatta describes him as averse to order, and thus an inversion of the *caxias* (208). However, one can only wonder if this identification with chaos and vagabondage is the product of centuries of institutional racism and class oppression.

To the extent that the *malandro* represents a marginalized but distinctive Afro-Brazilian masculinity, it could be seen as manifested in the *alabê*. During the colonial period, *caxias* figures utilized their oppressive authority to stress the vast disparity between the hegemonic masculinity and that of the *alabê*. Racist behavior is often founded in a fear of being emasculated. This fear drives men to exaggerated masculine behaviors like suppressing the sexuality of the “other” in an effort to claim manhood. Afro-Brazilian men like the *alabê* became “screens against which contemporary conceptions of manhood were developed” (Kimmel 281). The *alabê*’s “malandro sexuality” was afforded no authorization by the hegemonic masculinity, thus driving him to the margins of society. Given the obvious disparities between the dominant gender identity and that of the *alabê*, he modified his own so that his masculinity might be affirmed in African influenced social practices like *terreiro* drumming. Yet even in drumming the influence of hegemonic masculinity is present in its social exclusion and control of women. It is even more present in the classic *malandro*’s chauvinistic

conception and treatment of women, which results from a sexist discourse pertaining to the mulata.

The Mulata

Despite the differences between the *caxias* and the *malandro*, as men they share one crucial commonality in sexuality formation. “Being a man means ‘not being like women’” (Kimmel 272). This core aspect of masculine gender practice emphasizes the idea of women as a “negative.” Masculinity is thus not a process of identification but renunciation. As the flight from femininity, appearing masculine entails devaluing women, all things considered feminine and asserting power over them as a means of exaggerating masculine qualities (Kimmel 274). For this reason masculinity is considered, on a fundamental level, to be linked to power and systemized for domination (Connell 42). It revolves around power relations and access to power, thus making the drive for power a central motivation in the lives of men. In contrast, women have extremely limited power in society because they live in a patriarchy, which in definition acts to exploit and exclude them (Kimmel 283).

The mulata is a prime example of how women have been exploited and subordinated by a patriarchal institution, which historically has had more power over her sexuality than she. This icon is not the mixed-race woman. She is the myth of the mixed-race woman, the projection of masculinist and nationalist fantasies on a sexualized body. In literature and lyrics, she has been portrayed as the epitome of feminine beauty and sexuality. Her demeanor is seductively charming, and she uses her voluptuous features and sultry nature to enchant and manipulate any men who cross her path. Her style and grace are exemplified in her ability to dance samba. She is known as being

lascivious and promiscuous, and has no desire for monogamy. The mulata is the aesthetic and erotic ideal in Brazil, and she embodies the heat and sensuality of the tropics (Parker 171, Pravaz, “Brazilian Mulatice” 123).

The mulata has been referred to as the malandra, or the female malandro. Given their similar marginal status and prominent sexual nature, the mulata seems to embody quintessential lower class femininity just as the correlating masculinity manifests in the malandro. Yet as previously mentioned, this mythical icon is the product of a sexist discourse dating back to the colonial period. Its origins are in the forced sexual relations between slaves and patriarchs, and its initial propagation lies in the masculinist interpretation of mixed-race women in Brazilian literature. “O homem, então, fala sobre a mulher, pensando falar por ela... Imprime, enfim, o seu discurso masculino... sobre o silêncio feminino” (Sant’Anna 11). Male writers and lyricists rewrote history in their portrayal of the slave experience, and modern day misconceptions of the mulata are the result of the ensuing sexist discourse.

“The most productive feature of slave property is the generative belly” (Parker 29). This quote speaks volumes about the circumstances of enslaved women during the colonial period. Whether motivated by the augmentation of slave holdings or pure sadism, plantation patriarchs raped their female slaves and literature trivialized these deplorable actions for over a century (Sant’Anna 44, Parker 29). Sant’Anna discusses, for example, the objectification of the mulata as a “mulher para ser comida” in the usage of suggestive culinary language. Such literature references her position working in the orchard as a *mulher-fruto*, and her position in the kitchen as a *mulher comível* (Sant’Anna 24).

Authors commonly wrote from the first person perspective of the mulata slave, fabricating a version of reality where slavery was enjoyable. The mulata was thus portrayed as happy in her oppressive circumstances, even as masochistic in her sexual encounters with the patriarch. “Escravidão, afinal, não é tão má... pois que a crioula, imagina o poeta... encontraria muito prazer nas trocas eróticas com seus senhores” (Sant’Anna 32). Sant’Anna also discusses the myth of the mulata as a bewitching seductress. This stems from the use of her body as the only means of social ascension. “O discurso masculino sedutor quer nos fazer crer ter ela a capacidade de manipular o desejo do outro... que a mulata sedutora conduz o homem para onde ela quer, de que nós não somos mais do que vítimas passivas ante seus trejeitos irresistíveis” (Sant’Anna 43). Colonial and post-colonial masculinist literature in Brazil trivialized the degrading and traumatic experiences of enslaved women, and thus created a discourse that continues to haunt mixed-race women centuries after publication.

The sexist discourse of the mulata culminated in the publication of a prominent work that reestablished many of the aforementioned myths. This fortified the iconic image of the mulata in Brazilian society. Gilberto Freyre’s work *Casa Grande e Senzala* was meant to address the problem of racial miscegenation by emphasizing the positive impact of culture mixing, thereby promoting hybridity as a strength rather than a weakness of the nation. Unfortunately, his glorification of the mulata as a symbol of Brazil perpetuated stereotypes and projected a highly sexual nationalist discourse on her body. Freyre makes several references to the shape of the mulata’s body, and describes her tan skin as aesthetically ideal (Pravaz, “The Tan from Ipanema” 88). He describes the sexual interactions between white men and mixed-race women in a romantic and

picturesque fashion, and emphasizes how Brazilian men "cannot ignore such provocations" as if the women had seduced them (Pravaz, "The Tan from Ipanema" 87). In addition to preserving previous stereotypes, Freyre encourages the concept of sexual interaction as symbolic of the nation's formation, which ties the tropical and sensual characteristics of the country to the alleged promiscuity and ideally erotic body of the mulata (Parker 29).

The mulata is an unfortunate Brazilian icon because she has an extensive history of being exploited and subordinated in a patriarchal society. As a "lack" or "other" to men in terms of gender, race and class, she has borne the brunt of sexual oppression for centuries. Her oppression is a mere means of stressing male sexuality through the exaggeration of masculine behavior, principally in degradation and violence. "Violence is often the single most evident marker of manhood," and this was especially true of the colonial period (Kimmel 278). The *iaô* lived within a masculine institution where she was subordinated by varying levels of masculinity. On the *fazenda*, she was subject to the violent and sadist sexual advances of the *caxias* patriarch. This cruel exhibition of power relations entailed the most deplorable means to claiming manhood. In the *terreiro*, she was excluded from an empowering social institution and was subject to the often violent divine manifestations as brought down upon her by the *alabê*. Like the *caxias*, his motives were based in power and the affirmation of masculinity and, to different degrees, his actions sexualized the *iaô*'s body. However, within the confines of the *terreiro*, the *iaô* escaped the colonial discourse imposed upon her by the *caxias* and sought to form her own identity.

The mulata's oppression occurs within a masculine institution and is thus trivialized by men. She has no voice to express her plight, and her lack of power has resulted in a lack of control over her own sexuality. Modern society demonstrates how the myths born centuries ago continue to systematically oppress mixed-race (perhaps all) Brazilian women through institutional racism and sexism. At this point, the myth of the mulata has moved far beyond misrepresenting and trivializing her traumatic experience. It has been deployed upon the body of the mixed-race woman so that she in herself has come to represent its perversion. The naturalization of this iconic illusion as an ideal femininity is not the result of Afro-Brazilian female identity; it engendered the formation of Afro-Brazilian female identity. In the case of the *mulata*, her oppression as a result of male power relations has become self-replicating.

The Renunciador

In a patriarchal institution, it is clear that the hegemonic masculinity of the *caxias* grants him power over all subordinate patterns of sexuality. However, while the *malandro* is clearly marginalized he is content to survive within a structure that oppresses him but grants him some level of power. Despite his position in society, he is not concerned with challenging the *caxias* or demanding more equitable power relations for the *mulata*. He is simply concerned with survival (DaMatta 210). Another icon, however, is not content to exist within a hierarchical system of sexuality predicated upon inequality and male domination. He moves instead to dismantle the gender order and embody the potential for change and social justice (Connell 224). Employing gender exit politics, he renounces the laws imposed upon him by hegemonic masculinity, and hopes

for a world without patriarchy. This sexually androgynous revolutionary is represented in the *renunciador*.

Robert DaMatta describes the *renunciador* as one who longs for another reality and moves toward the process of attaining it by ignoring the rules of the world in which he exists and creating a space where he can implement his own rules. He is constantly “in search of a promised land where human beings will finally be able to achieve their ideals of justice and social peace” (DaMatta 210). This falls directly in line with the aforementioned androgynous revolutionary who seeks to embody the potential for an equitable system of sexual identity. He “individualizes himself” in order to “make relative and unreal the world from which he came” (DaMatta 210). An essential part of this individuality is ceasing to complement other figures in society. What characterize the masculine institution are the differential power relations between groups, especially with men and women. The *caxias*, for example, complements the marginalized *malandro* in the polarity of their masculinities. The *malandro* complements the *mulata* in the polarity of their lower class sexuality. In his attempt to transcend gender roles, the *renunciador* emphasizes his individuality by ceasing to be complementary. He renounces the roles and rules of the world and shows those around him the futility of doing otherwise. Within his own social space, he demonstrates the possibility of a reinvention of society (DaMatta 210). DaMatta associates him with rituals of social neutralization: a process that embodies both reinforcement and inversion, that produces conjunction in disjunction.

An excellent example of the *renunciador* is the *adé*. During the colonial period, he formed an African social space within the very confines of Brazilian hegemony. The

terreiro of Afro-Brazilian religion existed in the slave quarters of plantations. It represented a haven for African descendants within the dominion that oppressed them. In this separate realm, the *adé* abandoned the rules of society and implemented his own. It allowed slaves to escape the horrors of bondage and affirm an African identity. In the *terreiro*, they could affirm the sexualities denied them under the power of hegemonic masculinity. Within the *caxias* space, the sexual violation of mixed-race women left them burdened with the trauma of their assault. Silenced by masculinist discourse, and stigmatized as the *mulata*, afflicted women lost power over their own identities. The spirit possession ritual reincorporated these women into the collective African identity through the dramatization of their crises.

The *adé* reinforced the gender roles associated with the crisis by reproducing the structures of patriarchy within the social space. Afro-Brazilian men denied all cultural resources denoting manhood by the *caxias* were raised to positions of dominance within the context of the ritual. The female dancers' submission to the *alabê* and *orixás* dramatized the circumstances of their affliction. The *adé* also changed the structure of authority within the *terreiro* by reversing certain roles. African *orixás* replaced the Brazilian patriarch as the authority, while the submissive *iaô* afflicted with the *mulata* sexuality represented a Brazilian victim. In this way, the *adé* inverted the roles of the *caxias*' realm. The African *orixás*, representing hegemonic masculinity within the *terreiro*, granted the *alabê* power over the *iaô*. The *alabê* would call down the *orixás* to mount the *iaô*, thus dramatizing her trauma through figurative sexualization.

In the colonial patriarch's sexual violation, the mythical Brazilian *mulata* identity is imposed upon the mixed-race woman. However, sexualization by the *orixás* reaffirms

her African identity and reincorporates her into the *terreiro*'s collective. The ceremony also permits the *alabê* to escape the marginalized *malandro* sexuality in his dominant role within an African space. The *adé*'s social space thus allows the *alabê* and the *iaô* to escape their repressed identities and revel in an African one. The restrictive *terreiro* gender roles, however, also reproduce the polarity of a masculinist institution. This exemplifies the ambiguous nature of the *renunciador*, whose rituals of neutralization reinforce and invert societal structures.

The chaos of this social space is only amplified by the *adé*'s refusal to adhere to its gender roles. Whereas the *iaô* and the *alabê* comply with patriarchal positions, the *adé* freely occupies all gendered realms. Whatever his sexual orientation he voluntarily assumes the passive position of the *iaô* in the act of spirit possession. "The moment of separation from hegemonic masculinity basically involves choosing passivity" (Connell 132). Thus while the *adé* provides a gendered space that validates African identity, his disregard for its patriarchal structure promotes the dismantling or reinvention of gender. As a *renunciador*, he refuses to accept a system based on differential access to power. Whereas the *caxias* lives and the *malandro* survives, the *renunciador* lives in the hope for a better life.

Samba Schools and the Vargas Regime

A little over a decade after the first samba song was recorded, a new distinctive version of the rhythm emerged from the Afro-Brazilian community Estácio de Sá. The samba had been accentuated, adapted for percussion and prepared for use in carnival processions (Shaw 45). Four sambistas in particular had developed the rhythm and established the first ever samba school in August of 1928. The name of the school was

Deixa Falar, and their first performance was in the Praça Onze during carnival of 1929. *Deixa Falar* brought together the best sambistas from Estácio and organized a parade group that combined elements from the *ranchos*, *cordões* and *sociedades* (Hertzman 94).

Many of the *alas* from modern day samba school parades were present in the first parade including the *comissão de frente*, *baianas*, *alegorias*, *mestre sala e porta bandeira* and of course the *bateria*. The samba and carnival style of the 1929 *Deixa Falar* performance has essentially been a standard ever since. Many of the members went on to become prominent musicians (Gardel 25). A number of new samba schools formed the following year and appeared at Praça Onze to join *Deixa Falar* for carnival. Among those schools included Mangueira and Portela, which remain some of the finest samba schools in Rio de Janeiro. The 1930 carnival marked the first competition between schools (Gardel 30). The competition was held again the next year, and it was the first carnival following the successful coup that brought Gétúlio Vargas to power.

During the Old Republic, Brazil was structured as a conglomerate of autonomous state oligarchies controlled by and principally benefiting the elite. These various regional entities were both economically and culturally reliant on Europe and North America (Fausto 177). After forty years of oligarchical rule, the Revolution of 1930 brought an end to the Old Republic. Getúlio Vargas' vision for Brazil manifested itself over the next fifteen years in a radical divergence from the politics of previous administrations. Nationalism was the guiding force of this vision, and it resulted in various reforms that would change the course of the country. Vargas employed a series of centralizing measures that limited state autonomy and consolidated power under the provisional government, both politically and economically (Fausto 199).

In an effort to strengthen the economy and develop national autonomy, he invested in industrialization programs that allowed the country to quickly recover from the depression. Industrial growth doubled from the decade preceding his rise to power, and the state's role was decisive (Fausto 217, 234). This allowed the industrial workers and middle class, limited and powerless during the Old Republic, to become the fastest growing divisions of the urban population. Vargas' labor reforms aimed to protect the rights of these urban workers, thus garnering lower class support and promoting his image as "o pai dos pobres" (Fausto 208, 223). These were but a few of the steps taken toward the vision for a united and autonomous Brazil. Perhaps the most significant measure taken, however, was the formation of a Brazilian national identity. This became possible through the appropriation of Afro-Brazilian culture.

During this time, samba was undergoing further development in the favela as an increasingly popular form of music. The figures that dominated its lyrical content were the *mulata* and the *malandro*, mythical heroes of the lower class and embodiments of its sexuality. In the majority of cases, portrayal of the *mulata* in samba music was an extension of the colonial discourse into popular culture. Sambista was a position solely assumed by men, and chauvinist interpretations of the *mulata* in music led to the perception of her as "the archetypal whore, an autonomous, sexually active deviant" (Shaw 15). "A cultura popular conserva estratificados preconceitos, dos quais a melhor literatura, de maneira geral, já se libertou" (Sant'Anna 31). Given the masculine voice of samba, it is no surprise that the *mulata* became an object to the sambista; the focus of erotic and romantic desires. This parallels the approach taken by authors of the sexist colonial discourse.

Samba, Malandragem and the Officialization of Carnaval

The true inspiration for the sambas of the 1920s and 30s, however, was *malandragem*. Sambistas identified with the *malandro*. They treated him as a subject rather than an object. By extolling his virtues in their music, sambistas drew upon the core of their identity and the socio-cultural identity of Afro-Brazilian communities (Shaw 8). They immortalized his image and made *malandragem* a central theme to the samba of that period. In this way, “the *malandro* and the sambista became synonymous” (Shaw 10). This was true to the point that the frequent and violent battles between samba schools in the streets of the favela led to stigmatization of the *malandro*’s image (Gardel 26, Shaw 10). Despite this interchangeability, only the sambista would survive. The advantageous opportunity provided by the Vargas regime’s quest for national identity would also force the sambista to divorce himself from the *malandro* identity.

The circumstances that facilitated the officialization and state sponsorship of samba schools were three-fold. First, samba school performances during carnaval had become increasingly popular since the initial appearance of *Deixa Falar*. In 1932, the parade was sponsored by a sports magazine called *Mundo Sportivo*. *O Globo* newspaper sponsored the event the following year and also appointed a committee to judge the samba school competition. This event was well organized, hosted twenty-five samba schools and attracted a large audience (Gardel 32). The samba school parades drew audiences from a variety of classes, which also helped to popularize samba in general (Shaw 11). The second circumstance was the publication of Gilberto Freyre’s *Casa Grande e Senzala* in 1933. As previously mentioned, this work was quite detrimental to the image of mixed-race women. However, Freyre’s primary intention was to challenge

the perception of Brazil's racial amalgam as a problem. He inverted it by highlighting racial and cultural hybridity as positive qualities that comprise Brazilian national identity (Vianna 43). He identified the products of "cultural cannibalism" as definitive of *brasilidade*. Despite the repercussions, Freyre's book was instrumental in creating an atmosphere conducive to the rise of samba schools (Vianna 114).

The third circumstance that enabled the federal sponsorship of samba schools was Vargas' ambition to unify the country and form a national identity. This was especially important given the instability following the coup, the vast size of the country and the deeply ingrained regional identities, which fueled rivalries between the states (Shaw 29). The main challenge was identifying national qualities and cultures that the largest number of citizens would deem exemplarily Brazilian (Vianna 113). The answer was found in the shared past emphasized in Freyre's book. The idea of racial and cultural hybridity as a means to unify Brazil became an essential aspect of Vargas' nationalism. Carnival and samba were both hybrid cultures, the samba school performances had become popular and drew a diverse crowd of Brazilians; sponsoring them was a logical decision.

The topic of government intervention in samba school competitions elicits skeptical responses. Robin Sheriff asserts that "recognition and funding came at considerable political and artistic cost" (Sheriff 14). Unfortunately, the government presence in carnival was as intrusive as it was in most other domains of society. The centralized government installed under Vargas enabled him to wield extensive power. The Press and Propaganda Department controlled all areas of the media, which allowed them to promote regime ideology and enhance the president's image (Shaw 34). Support of the samba schools was thus predicated on several assumptions and regulations. The

inclusion of an *ala das baianas* (Afro-Brazilian female wing) became mandatory; schools were not permitted to use wind instruments in parades and were required to base performances on a “national theme,” one which generally romanticized Brazilian history (Hertzman 106). In addition, authorities required that parade themes not be overtly political to the point of allusion or criticism of current events (Queiroz, “Domestication” 16).

The first two rules maintained an Afro-Brazilian sentiment in the parade, thus appealing to hybrid Brazilian identity. The second two rules promoted regime ideology while censoring topics that could damage the regime’s standing with the public. Regime ideology generally complemented the politics of the administration. Given the importance of nationalism, the administration encouraged patriotism and exemplifying Brazilian qualities. It also promoted a good work ethic, which accompanied the focus on industrialization and labor reform. Unfortunately this sharply contrasted with the key ideology of samba school members, which was epitomized in their anti-establishment “sambas malandros.” Indeed the *malandro*, with his vehemence toward manipulation by the state, or his apathy toward social ascension, directly opposed the values of Vargas’ administration (Shaw 8). Given the synonymy of the sambista and the *malandro*, it seemed the samba school had progressed to a point of impasse. What was the sambista if not the epitome of carioca, lower class masculinity? What sexual identity could he assume if not that of the *malandro*?

In 1934, all competing Rio de Janeiro samba schools were officially registered with the *União das Escolas de Samba*, which acted as an intermediary between the schools and the state. Government subsidies were provided by the City Council for the

1935 carnival at Praça Onze, and prize money was awarded the top four schools. Portela achieved its very first victory. (Gardel 33) This carnival marked the beginning of the samba school's dependence upon the government, and thus the government's control of the event. Praça Onze was widely renowned as the *malandro* stomping ground, but ironically, he was nowhere to be found at the immensely successful 1935 competition.

The *malandro* masculinity, like any configuration of gender practices, is socially constructed. While the sambista might have been considered synonymous with the *malandro*, *malandragem* is not an innate manifestation of his innermost essence. Roberto DaMatta describes the *malandro* as liminal or “um ser deslocado” (DaMatta 270). This is the essence of *malandro* masculinity. He is a dislocated being, always out of place, forced to occupy the margins of existence. This is because the *malandro* sexuality is the response of a man who had no place within a hegemonic model. It was the response to *caxias* the colonial patriarch, *caxias* the coronel oligarch, figures embodying a strict and oppressive hegemonic masculinity denying “the other” the cultural resources that denote manhood. All of the qualities that constitute the *malandro* sexuality resulted from a defense mechanism designed to preserve the masculinity of a marginalized man. It is the modified masculinity of the *alabê* or the hired hand trying to survive in a racist society. It is a liminal masculinity altered to the point of bearing only a faint semblance of the dominant masculine identity, existing on the margins of the hegemonic standard. It became an idealized masculinity that was completely irrelevant to the Vargas Era sambista.

Shifting Hegemonic Masculinity

During the colonial, imperial and oligarchical eras, Afro-Brazilians and their culture were utterly disenfranchised. The psychological and scientific ideologies of these periods promoted their exclusion as a means of reconstituting sexuality (Kimmel 271). Centuries of persecution developed an image of masculinity in the marginalized lower class that sambistas came to emulate and celebrate. This exemplifies how gender, as a social pattern, is not only produced by history but produces history (Connell 81). Sambistas, however, were celebrating a modified configuration of hegemonic masculinity that would become trivial to them when the standard for masculinity was replaced.

Out of the Revolution of 1930 emerged a new ideology to represent the dominant influence over sexuality. Vargas regime policies did not have the objective of directly benefiting the elite or specific regions. Instead, they aimed to promote job growth for the lower and middle class. They validated the culture of the marginalized. They sought to protect workers instead of exploiting them. This was a marked deviation from the oligarchical politics of the Old Republic, which made social mobility implausible. Vargas created a new image for the patriarch and a new vision for the lower class. He represented a redefined *caxias*, even more in line with DaMatta's figure, "who is obedient and respectful for the law, has bureaucratic competence and absolute loyalty, is honest and sincere in his credulous and uncritical patriotism, and has a desire to see Brazil change and improve" (DaMatta 214). In short, his rise to power represented a change in the hegemonic masculinity. The new standard for masculinity was more attainable, more lenient in its exclusion of "the other" and offered far more authorization of marginalized sexuality (Connell 80).

Vargas demanded that the sambista abandon the *malandro*, but in truth, the *malandro* had become obsolete. “Masculinities come into existence at particular times and places, and are always subject to change” (Connell 185). The samba schools’ support from and compliance with the Vargas administration signified such a change in the quintessential lower class masculinity. DaMatta regards the iconic figures as “poles toward which certain prevailing social principles of Brazilian society tend and around which they crystallize” (213). Given this, modified sexual identities may encompass “complexities and gradations even within the same social space” (DaMatta 213). Such is the case in the sambista’s shift away from the *malandro*, and toward a masculinity complicit with the hegemonic model.

The Malandro Regenerado and Complicit Masculinity

Very few men fully embody the dominant *caxias* persona, but “the majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women” (Connell 79). This shift away from the *malandro*, this complicit masculinity, characterizes quite well what Lisa Shaw refers to as the *malandro regenerado*, who appeared as a result of Vargas’ regulations and censorship. This “reformed malandro” espouses a more realistic vision of life in line with Vargas values, while subtly expressing *malandragem* (Shaw 12). The induction of this transformed marginalized identity in Brazilian society is portrayed in the lyrics of several samba songs of the period, including “Rapaz Folgado” by Noel Rosa.

Malandro é palavra derrotista – Malandro is a defeatist word

Que só serve pra tirar – Which only acts to rob

Todo o valor do sambista – All value from the sambista
Proponho ao povo civilizado – I propose to civilized people
Não te chamarem de malandro – Not to call you malandro
Mas sim de rapaz folgado – But an easy-going guy instead (Shaw 13)

Noel Rosa's song demonstrates the negative connotations associated with the *malandro* during the period it was recorded. He encourages the sambista to abandon the *malandro* image and instead adopt the more favorably received identity of the *rapaz folgado*, or *malandro regenerado*. An interesting observation is that while *malandro regenerado* means "reformed" or "regenerated malandro," literally it translates as "regendered malandro," which perfectly describes the complicit masculinity adopted by samba school drummers in their co-option by the state.

In espousing a configuration of gender practice that is complicit with hegemonic masculinity, that of the *malandro regenerado*, the sambista gains "a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honor, prestige and the right to command" (Connell 82). Thus his disunion from the *malandro* – a figure that formerly symbolized sambista identity – granted him more access to power and the cultural resources that denote manhood, especially in his increased proximity to the redefined *caxias*. However, as previously mentioned, this patriarchal dividend implies that power is gained through the exploitation of women (Connell 79). The influence of the *caxias*' reformation on marginalized lower class masculinity demonstrates that often "change is... generated from within gender relations" (Connell 82). If the *malandro regenerado* is further empowered in the subordination of women, how was *mulata* sexuality affected by the new hegemonic

masculinity? This is demonstrated in the carioca carnival ritual: the samba school parade.

Carioca Carnival and Gender Roles

Since the officialization of Carnival during the Vargas regime, samba school parades have undergone significant changes. Whereas men formerly occupied a central role, the focus of the event increasingly fell upon women. What was previously a ritual celebrating Afro-Brazilian culture became an internationally renowned spectacle. Studies analyzing carioca carnival have offered a variety of interpretations concerning the festival and its transformation. Roberto DaMatta portrays it as an inversion of Brazilian society, where the poor become the elite and vagabonds become heroes. Carnival then, as a ritual, annually reveals the potential for a more equitable Brazilian society. Other interpretations, like that of Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, discuss Carnival as an affirmation of inequality in Brazil and the Vargas regime's appropriation of samba schools as a means of "domesticating the urban mass" (Queiroz, "Domestication" 1).

In either case, residents of Rio de Janeiro spend much of the year preparing for this annual event, and many of them sacrifice more than they can afford to participate. Getúlio Vargas' nationalism transformed carnival into more than a festival. It is the one moment of the year when cariocas can represent their schools and their identity as Brazilians. Unfortunately, they are limited in their means of doing so. One of the longest surviving traditions in carnival has been that of gender roles, which forces participants to express themselves in positions specific to their sexuality. Men maintain their roles as drummers in the *bateria* while women dance so as to avoid a taboo. This allows men to dominate a ritual of power relations that ultimately subordinates women.

Carioca Carnival Ritual

Throughout the year, the samba school *terreiros* – or academies – of each respective Rio de Janeiro neighborhood hold rehearsals and host fund raising events to prepare for one performance. This steadfast dedication is the result of a driving force that continued to emphasize the importance of carnival since 1935. After the officialization of samba school parades, Afro-Brazilian culture became inextricably tied to national identity. For this reason, samba school participants are given one moment every year to affirm their identity in performance, and this opportunity has become a central aspect of their lives.

When carnival arrives, samba school participants descend from their hillside communities to make their way toward the imposing Sambadrome stadium. Schools congregate at one end of this half-mile avenue enclosed within two towering concrete structures for spectator seating. The stadium accommodates 90,000 Brazilians and visiting tourists, but television networks broadcast the competition worldwide. Over the course of the performance of one samba school, approximately four thousand performers in forty different *alas* (wings) parade down the avenue. Each participant is dressed in a vibrant, ornate costume corresponding to a particular *ala*, often performing the synchronized choreography of that wing. Many of these *alas* are similar to those that paraded in the first samba performance.

The first groups to erupt onto the Sambadrome avenue vary between the *comissão de frente*, the *abre-alas* allegorical float and the *mestre-sala* and *porta-bandeira*. The *comissão de frente*, composed of 12-15 participants performing specialized choreography, generally opens the parade. The *abre-alas* is the first of several allegorical

floats, a series of immense decorated platforms that exhibit the theme of the parade through mechanized sculptures and vivid artistry. Perhaps the most coveted position in the parade, however, is that of the *mestre-sala* and *porta-bandeira* solo performance couple. If any *ala* were to demonstrate gender equity in carnival it would be this one. Both the male and female dancers are elegantly dressed in majestic, Victorian attire. The pair displays a variety of dances ranging from samba to European influenced movements; embracing, separating and bowing. The female *porta-bandeira* gracefully whirls around the center of the dance space proudly bearing the samba school's flag, a symbol of their pride and identity. The male *mestre-sala* agilely pivots around his partner in a series of complicated steps and regal gestures, venerating both her and the flag. Yet perhaps this opening *ala* also subtly foreshadows the gender division of this ritual. The mixture of samba and classical dance emphasizes the hybridity explicitly linked with the *mulata* and national identity. In addition, all of the *mestre-sala*'s efforts demonstrate reverence for a symbol of allegiance and draw attention to the beauty of his partner. In doing so, his role highlights the synonymy between patriotic sentiment and a charming, female dancer. The fact that the *mestre-sala* used to wield a knife instead of a fan also emphasizes the violence in control over the feminine image.

These opening groups are followed by a series of parading revelers in elaborate and brightly colored garb, intermittently positioned between the awe-inspiring allegorical floats. One of the most celebrated sections is the *ala das baianas*, which remained an obligatory aspect of performances long after the competition regulations were originally defined. Eighty or more elderly women spin down the avenue in perfect unison. This performance pays homage to the *mães-de-santo* and samba's roots in Afro-Brazilian

religion. While younger females also participate, this *ala* is expressly restricted to women. Their ornately designed wide hoop skirts, swathed in an assortment of bijouterie, lend both color and culture to the event. The ostentatious luxury exhibited in most aspects of samba school parades since the 1960s was a direct contribution of *travesti* culture, which had developed in the fashion trends of Rio de Janeiro “drag balls” since the 1950s (Green 241). Nowhere is this more apparent than the lavish and dazzling costumes of the *figuras de destaque*. The sexually androgynous *travesti* is not only represented in the design of this attire as the *carnavalesco* (artistic director). He also displays his broad range of sexuality atop the allegorical floats as the *figura de destaque*, sumptuously attired for the world to see (Green 240). This is also a very coveted position, which demonstrates that the *travesti*'s contribution and presence in carnival is of the utmost importance (Gardel 58). Many samba schools, in fact, have entire *alas* dedicated to *travesti* culture. His ambiguous sexual politics make his role both unique and significant in a festival where gender boundaries are so defined.

Every year, however, one role proves to be the most crucial. Behind every *destaque*, allegorical float and dancer are the powerful rhythms of samba, the driving force behind carioca carnival. Unlike other *alas*, the *bateria* is active throughout the entirety of the performance. It begins when the *ritmistas* start to play and ends when they reach the end of the Sambadrome avenue. Their presence, while critical and commanding, is far subtler than other participants. Given carnival's gradual transformation into a visual spectacle, outright brazen imagery diverts attention from the drummers and creates an illusion of passivity. This deceptive conception is promoted by several factors. Since the advent of this parade, *ritmista* uniforms have been

comparatively less extravagant than the costumes of other participants. In addition, the *bateria* is far more collective and inanimate as compared to the individualistic and boisterous performance of other *alas* (DaMatta 99). Finally, despite their constant activity, the *bateria* generally enters the avenue one-third of the way through the parade only to leave in the middle and permit the rest of the parade to pass. They only return when the last *ala* has passed and the parade is coming to an end.

Nonetheless, the *bateria* is essential to the success of the school. It encompasses 250-350 *ritmistas* wielding a variety of drums that produce the resounding cadences of samba. The *agogô* (steel bell), *chocalho* (shaker) and *cuíca* are all African instruments used in samba for improvising phrases. The first two were adapted to samba from the music of Afro-Brazilian religion (Hertzman 328). The *surdo* is a large bass drum that was initially introduced in the *Deixa Falar* performance. Its deep pulse acts as the foundation of the *bateria*. The *caixa de guerra* (snare) carries the rhythm and swing of the samba, and it is this drum that produces the beat specific to the group. The *repinique* is the lead drum in the *bateria*. Its aluminum base and synthetic skins produce a high-pitched sound essential for improvisation and signaling the *bateria* for changes. In smaller *baterias*, the lead drummer generally plays the *repinique*. However, in large samba schools the *mestre de bateria* (lead drummer/band director) does not perform with a drum, and focuses instead on directing his immense group. He uses a whistle and hand gestures to signal *ritmistas* for rhythmic changes and variations. In addition, six to nine percussion directors work under him, taking command of each section of the *bateria* (Gonçalves and Costa 13). Aside from providing the music necessary for the parade, the rhythmic changes of the *bateria* act as cues for the rehearsed choreography of several

alas. Furthermore, several dancers base their movements around the cadences of specific drums, and their exuberance is linked to the energy produced by the drummers. This gives *ritmistas* significant power over aspects of the parade even outside the *bateria* wing. This is particularly relevant in the case of the *passista*.

The *passista* occupies a variety of spaces in carnival, and her position has changed over time. Much like the *bateria*, there is a certain hierarchy among *passistas* that is divided in terms of aesthetics and recognition instead of power. Individual *passistas* generally fill in space between *alas*, or even display themselves on allegorical floats. In doing so, they draw a significant level of attention. These *passistas de destaque* wear particularly opulent costumes and some are given titles of regality, thus emphasizing a semblance of hierarchical order. The *rainha de bateria* (queen of the drummers), for instance, acts as an inspirational muse to the *ritmistas* by dancing within the same section. Traditionally, however, the *ala de passistas* is composed of a number of female dancers positioned directly behind the *bateria*. When the *bateria* leaves the parade to wait in the *recuo* (drummer's box), their role is to fill in the space left by the drummers (Flores, "O Papel dos Passistas da Protegidos").

A pure manifestation of Brazilian femininity, the *passista* has become both a symbol and focal point of carnival in Rio de Janeiro. She personifies sensuality externally and internally when she steps onto the avenue of the Sambadrome. Her clinquant, sequined bikini accentuates exposed curves while an array of garish plumes contrasts with bronzed skin. The increasingly erotic nature of carnival has often eliminated her provocative garb entirely, bust and buttocks hardly concealed by glossy acrylics and shimmering gems. Thus she is reduced to a canvas on which the colors of

her nation are painted, literally and metaphorically. Stripped to bare flesh under the gaze of millions, she nonetheless strives to embody the essence of the *passista*: the “espírito carnavalesco.” It is this spirit of carnival that encompasses her sensual disposition. She represses painful inner emotion – from dancing half a mile in stilettos – and instead projects a contrasting image. The *passista* forces a charming smile that enchants her audience, while drawing their gaze and invoking desire with seductive motions. In a blur of footwork and the rapid gyration of hips, she embodies idealized sexuality and nationhood through the masterful execution of samba. Projecting this sensual persona amidst the strains and chaos of carnival is difficult, but it is a process alleviated and somewhat controlled by the *bateria*.

The *passistas* are directly bound to the *ritmistas*. They reciprocate the swing, pace, intensity and variation of their rhythms with the spontaneity and passion of their movements. The percussive clamor of the *bateria* not only rouses their emotion, but also commands their movement. Arms open in seductive invitation, the *passista* follows the *surdo*'s steady pulse with the calm sway of her hips. As frenzied steps follow the measured strike upon the *caixa*, she instinctively maintains a constant link with the tempo. A series of improvised beats from the *repinique* pierce through the air, prompting the *passista* to perform a sequence of spins, twists and strides. Suddenly the *mestre de bateria* raises his arms in the air and lets a shrill cry burst forth from his whistle. The *bateria* snaps to attention; he is calling for them to perform a *breque* variation. When the *mestre* swings his arms toward the ground, it is as if he had commanded a volcano to erupt. A rapid tremolo from the *repinique* is followed by a barrage of thunderous strikes upon the *surdo* that shakes the stadium to its foundation. The *passista*'s samba comes to

a halt and her whole body begins to tremble, almost appearing possessed. An alternating pattern of deafening claps and deep reverberation explodes from the *bateria*. Every crack of a drum causes the *passista* to snap her hips from side to side, her muscular legs tensing and relaxing, fingers outstretched toward the sky. Another whistle pierces the air as the *ritmistas* produce a rapid-fire burst of warbling tremolo. As the percussion modulates the *passista* bends her knees, arches her back and thrusts her buttocks in the air, then slowly rises with an alluring grin. After the *mestre de bateria* directs his drummers back to the original pace, she returns to the agile steps of her samba revitalized with the spirit of carnival. In this way, the *bateria* enables her to perform what has become the idealized feminine sexuality in Brazil. Every year on the avenue of the Sambadrome, *ritmistas* facilitate the reinvestment and reinforcement of the *mulata* identity.

Samba School Gender Roles

Stripped of our social roles... we are left simply with the truth that we are nothing more than men and women... we can instantly conclude that we are, above all, Brazilians.

(DaMatta 85)

This quote by Roberto DaMatta addresses the conception of carnival as an inversion of Brazilian society, and posits that the festival eliminates the social disparities between its participants and thus reveals the essence of *brasilidade*. Interestingly, the author chooses not to include the differences between men and women among the social roles stripped during carnival, nor does he suggest that dissolving gender difference would uncover a more fundamental national identity. This is because carnival is closely linked to both Brazilian sexuality and national identity. Since carnival's officialization in 1935, it has become a tremendous influence on the development and preservation of

masculine and feminine identities. Furthermore, *ritmistas* controlled samba schools during their rise to popularity, and their collaboration with the government transformed the samba school into a federal instrument for disseminating nationalist sentiment among the population. Strict regulations forced schools to base all performances on national motifs, especially Brazilian history (Queiroz, “Domestication” 17). Their compliance, along with state advocacy for Freyrian concepts, contributed to the development of *brasilidade*.

During this period, various forms of Afro-Brazilian culture were celebrated as iconic representations of the country (Vianna 12). As samba and carnaval became less African and more Brazilian, samba school participants became more heavily invested in propagating the nationalist discourse and affirming a Brazilian identity. Given that *alas* were separated by gender for many decades after samba schools became official, nationalist sentiment inevitably intertwined with sexuality during carnaval performances (Gardel 49). This explicit link between Brazilian national identity and sexuality made gender difference and *brasilidade* inseparable. Simply stated, “it was not Brazil that invented Carnaval; on the contrary, it was Carnaval that invented Brazil” (DaMatta, “On Carnaval, Informality and Magic” 245). The hegemonic, masculine control over carnaval and the influence of nationalism on Brazilian sexuality is reflected in the gender roles of three principal figures in the Rio de Janeiro samba school competition: the *ritmista*, the *passista* and the *travesti*.

The Ritmista

After adopting the *malandro regenerado* identity, samba school *ritmistas* entered a new era in which their increased proximity to the *caxias* masculinity enabled them

recognition and power. Their control over carnival and samba, which have always been created within an essentially male space, is epitomized in the samba school parade (Parker 172). Originally founded and directed by *ritmistas*, samba schools continue to rely on their pivotal role. “The *bateria*... is the foremost group within the *escola*. Its function is essential. In fact, an *escola* without a *bateria* is inconceivable” (Gardel 59, Burke 156). This is demonstrated by the fact that *bateria* performance dictates when parades begin and end. The significance of the *bateria* is also seen in the respect afforded the bandleader, or *mestre de bateria*. In addition to leading an immense percussive orchestra and composing, the *mestre de bateria* is one of the highest ranked members of the samba school and is thus highly influential in its activities. The level of prestige afforded his position grants him public recognition at parades. He often delivers a speech to introduce his school in front of millions of viewers. This position is only acquired with many years of experience and dedication to a school, and obviously demands a high level of skill. A few women have succeeded in becoming samba school *diretores* (section leaders), but none have reached the level of *mestre de bateria*.

The attention to order in the hierarchy of *baterias*, which encompasses drummers of various skill levels, *diretores* and the *mestre de bateria*, demonstrates the influence of hegemonic masculinity. “Each school, in its rational organization, reflects the image of this (Brazilian) society and celebrates the order which it proclaims” (Queiroz, “Domestication” 31). DaMatta’s evaluation of the *caxias* icon demonstrates the importance of order and hierarchy in its association with military parades, which of course were a popular form of encouraging patriotism during the Vargas regime (Williams 62). This is not, however, the only aspect of samba schools that represents

hegemonic values. In fact, the power and recognition afforded *ritmistas* after 1935 were direct products of the patriarchal dividend. They were aligned with the interests of hegemonic masculinity. As mentioned previously, the *malandro regenerado* identity permitted *ritmistas* to gain access to power and the cultural resources that denote manhood through an increased proximity with the hegemonic standard. However, this patriarchal dividend benefited them through the subordination of women. The samba school performance state regulation obligating the inclusion of women reinvested in the *mulata* myth, thus projecting masculinist desire on the body of mixed-race female dancers. Espousing the values and interests of the *caxias* figure, *ritmistas* affirmed their masculinity by appropriating the colonial discourse in order to exploit the *passista*.

Women in the Samba School

During the earlier stages of samba school development, one of the only positions available to female dancers was the *ala das baianas*. The only other group of women in the parade was the *ala das pastoras*, which formed the choir of their respective school. However, the majority of families were opposed to their daughters participating in the parade. In fact, there were so few women willing or permitted to dance with the samba school that the first *ala das baianas* was entirely composed of men (Fernandes 56). As the parades became more popular, women filled the roles as dancers in this section. When the state began to support samba schools in 1935, it established a regulation that obligated the inclusion of the *ala das baianas* (Gardel 75). This was significant for two reasons. First, the *baianas* represented a symbol of Brazilian hybridity, which served to promote national identity. More importantly, this regulation guaranteed that mixed-race female dancers were put in the spotlight, encouraging the concept of the *mulata* as a

national symbol. This played on several of the previously mentioned myths established in colonial literature regarding the *mulata* as a sensual seductress. One such myth from late nineteenth century literature, for example, associated mixed-race women with the *lugar do prazer* (place of pleasure). Their presence in the *feira* echoed the colonial discourse that placed her in the kitchen or the bedroom. “A festa, a dança, a música e os instrumentos musicais compoem esse ambiente de sedução (Sant’Anna 36). This created a highly sexualized image for the *mulata* in the context of Afro-Brazilian dance, music, instruments and celebrations. The extent to which these myths were encouraged correlate with the progressive objectification of mixed-race women in carnival. The transformation of carnival into the *lugar do prazer* of the *mulata* reflects the process of her increasing sexualization. A variety of phases and agents contributed to this process.

Even before government support, state-influenced newspapers offered prizes for the best samba schools. This inspired fierce competition among the groups. When the *ritmista* began to collaborate with the government, the competitive attitude only increased (Queiroz, “Domestication” 15; Gardel 86). What had begun as a free-spirited celebration and expression of culture transformed into an insatiable desire for victory and the affirmation of national identity. This was accomplished by outdoing opposing schools in the representation of Brazilian sexuality. During the earlier periods of samba school parades, women’s costumes were usually plain and modest. Dancers sewed their own garments using whatever material was available to them (Gardel 47; Pravaz, “Where is the Carnavalesque” 100). In fact, until 1952 they were not obligated to wear costumes (Pravaz, “Where is the Carnavalesque” 6). However, they “became affected by a sort of complex which obliges them... to constantly go beyond their means to appear in more

luxurious attire at every carnival” (Gardel 47).

They began to take on a seemingly more active position in carnival after 1960. Additional dancing roles were made available to women with the rise of the *passistas*, *rainhas de bateria*, and *destaques* (Von Simson 18). Females were no longer restricted to the *ala das baianas*, however, these new roles only further enforced sexualized *mulata* stereotypes. Internal and external pressures to represent the quintessential national sexuality drove women to wear less clothing and personify the charming, sensual *mulata*. “The increasingly open expression of female sexuality has been pushed, each year, to an extreme in the performances of the schools” (Parker 179). These pressures only augmented when the parade became more of a visual spectacle than a cultural performance. In the 1970s, the prominence of the samba school competition as a tourist attraction led to the institution of televised performances (Pravaz, “Where is the Carnavalesque” 105). Not so coincidentally, it was during this period that parading nude became common among *passistas*, thus drawing attention to female dancers as visual spectacles exuding Brazilian femininity (Queiroz, *Carnaval Brasileiro* 133). The sexualization and exploitation of mixed-race, female dancers climaxed in the staging of samba school performances. The construction of the Sambadrome in 1984 took samba parades off the streets, where the marginalized were formerly able to negotiate space and freedom, and put them within the confines of a stage (Sheriff 16, Boyce Davis 193). Staging carnival contained performers within boundaries and facilitated the voyeurism of detached spectators. It is within these boundaries that the colonial gaze upon the *mulata* was reproduced.

The Passista Under the Male Gaze

The myth of the *mulata* only exists in relation to the masculine gaze (Pravaz, “Brazilian Mulatice” 133). “As watchers, men retain their power over women symbolically without having to prove their virility. Voyeurism posits the image as representing reality in a literal way” (Rector 74). The myths created during the colonial and post-colonial period were born in literature but preserved in the male perception of mixed-race women as a result of that literature. The Sambadrome stages carnival in a way that emphasizes voyeurism and thus reinvests in the *mulata* myth through the masculine gaze. The desires of the colonial patriarch are reborn in the tourist as his eyes follow the sensual movements of the *passista*. Her nudity and sexual demeanor transform her into an object of desire, just as she was portrayed in *mulata* literature (Rector 70). “Her physical charms are presented (ranging from the parts of the body-face, legs, arms, bust, buttocks-to her representation as an erotic object as a whole). There is always a ‘happy look’ on her face... a necessary feature in representing her ‘prostitute’ quality” (Rector 70). The highly sexualized image of the *passista* as a prostitute plays on her sexual nature both physically and emotionally, but also echoes Freyrian and nationalistic ideologies. Under the male gaze, the *passista*’s nudity and personification of the “spirit of carnival” in the parade are equated with sexual availability (Rector 74). Roberto DaMatta’s analysis of carnival as an inversion of society demonstrates that the *passista* takes a central role in the festival because it celebrates promiscuity instead of morals.

We glorify the prostitute, the great generalized whore, who brings life with her and prompts thoughts of physical encounter, sexual penetration and reproduction of the

world... The women of the Carnival parade as whores, high up on platforms where they draw the attention of everyone's eyes. (DaMatta 108)

His interpretation of the *passista* as a prostitute demonstrates the extent to which her persona in carnival aligned her with promiscuity under an all-consuming male gaze. The *passista*'s "reproduction of the world" also references *Casa Grande e Senzala*, which alluded to the propagation of the Brazilian people as a product of the *mulata*'s sexual encounters. Freyre's work frequently references her as an embodiment of ideal beauty and irresistible sensuality. However, he also validates the mythical love affair between the white elite and Afro-Brazilian women that resulted in the hybrid nature of the country, both ethnically and culturally (Pravaz, "The Tan from Ipanema" 87). By incorporating nationalist desire in the sexualized *mulata* image, Freyre contributed to the patriotic sentiment that became inherent in Brazilian sexuality. Expressing sexuality became a way for mixed-race women to demonstrate their *brasilidade*, but in doing so they personified the Brazilian sensuality sought by tourists. For many parade spectators, "the attraction to the carnival is the possibility of seeing female bodies, naked and prostituted and willfully performing for the pleasure of the voyeur" (Boyce Davies 189). While the *passista* may be expressing her culture, femininity and patriotism, she is subordinated under the colonial gaze reproduced in the lustful eye of the tourist.

The state and samba school's control over the female role in carnival forced the *passista* into a position of sexual subservience, much like the actions of the colonial patriarch. "The black female body for her is expressed in the language of a certain geography and history which has been denied, as black woman's control over her own sexuality has been denied" (Boyce Davies 195). Under the gaze of men, the

Sambadrome *passista* became a symbol of her own traumatic history. Her body became the site of the patriarchal construction of femininity that oppresses her (Boyce Davies 193). Infused in her bronze skin is the very illusion of racial democracy that denies her own marginalization. Exposed curves represent her sexual image in society, which denies her desires for love or social ascension. Her charming smile invokes the mythical *mulata* seductress, an icon that promotes the mixed-race woman as promiscuous. The sensual movements of her cultural performance enact the fictional love affair of the colonial period, thus denying the violent historical reality of slavery and rape.

As a result of the inequitable power relations inherent in patriarchal and imperialistic dynamics, “the female body has been trained to function for the benefit of and in the service of others” (Boyce Davies 188). The dancer in carnival self-destructively affirms the colonial and nationalist discourses deployed upon the surface of her skin, making herself both an object of desire and a symbol of nationhood. While this position oppresses women, it benefits the masculine institutions that have always controlled it. Masculinity is often associated with the pursuit of power and demonstrating power by asserting it over others (Boutilier 74). The power masculine institutions exert over the *passista* directly correlate with the violent acts of the colonial patriarch, both constituting sadistic means of affirming the hegemonic masculinity of the *caxias* icon. However, the subjugation of women also contributes a patriarchal dividend to variations of masculinity that are complicit with the *caxias*. The *ritmista*, no longer utterly marginalized by the hegemonic model, also affirms his masculinity in his control over femininity. In addition to the state, he is also responsible for the events that produced the

passista role and her enactment of the *mulata* every year. As a samba school drummer, he expresses his own sexuality in the violent control over Brazilian femininity.

The Ritmista's Control of the Passista

In Jorge Amado's first novel *O País do Carnaval*, the author makes an interesting observation as to how men define Brazilian identity. The protagonist, Paulo Rigger, declares "Eu não tenho o sentido de Pátria. Só me senti brasileiro duas vezes. Uma, no carnaval, quando sambei na rua. Outra, quando surrei Julie, depois que ela me traiu" (Amado 67). Given the protagonist's conception of *brasilidade*, Brazilian identity for men is problematic because it constitutes performing samba during carnival and controlling female sexuality through violence. It is relevant, however, to the context of the period in which the book rose to popularity. The Vargas regime was appropriating Afro-Brazilian culture and positive conceptions of hybridity to form a national identity. *Ritmistas* were thus offered the opportunity to escape the marginalized *malandro* sexuality in their collaboration with the state. The patriarchal *caxias* figure, which always represents the accepted means of subordinating women, stipulated the participation of female dancers as symbols of Brazilian hybridity (Connell 77). In adopting a masculinity complicit to the hegemonic model, *ritmistas* became committed to empowering themselves by exploiting those against whom hegemonic masculine identity was projected (Kimmel 280).

Female dancers came to represent the "lack" or "Other" of the drummer. *Ritmistas* placed them in a position that would grant the drummers power and benefit the state. Control over mixed-race women in carnival facilitated the development of national identity through exhibitions of sexuality. In this way, nationhood became a central aspect

of Brazilian sexuality. The colonial and nationalist desires projected upon the body of *passistas* eventually formed the basis for idealized Brazilian femininity. *Ritmistas*, however, developed and affirmed masculinity in carnival through the manipulation of the *passista's* sexual image. The actions of the *ritmista* affirm Amado's commentary on men and *brasilidade*. Brazilian identity truly revolves around carnival, samba and the control of female sexuality.

Given the significant correlation between masculinity and power, *ritmistas* affirm a masculine identity through the power of their performance. While the *bateria* was highly influential in regards to samba school affairs during the parade's developmental stages, it continues to dominate the parade – and *mulata* sexuality – through the compelling and intense force of its percussion. The *bateria* is the mainspring of the samba school. It was the foundation in the samba school's development and continues to breath life into parade participants. It is impossible to comprehend the collective force produced by three hundred drums and then unleashed upon the Sambadrome without witnessing it firsthand. The thunderous cadences of the *ritmistas* rise and descend like the tide, pushing and pulling parade revelers along the avenue, simultaneously exhilarating and formidable.

The *bateria* does not provide mere background noise or even musical accompaniment. The power generated from its pulse galvanizes participants to frenzied jubilation, and even compels their movements. Samba music causes an adrenaline rush in *passistas* that vitalizes their performance (Pravaz, "Performing Mulata-ness" 122). The music overwhelms them and induces what Natasha Pravaz calls *emoção* or "ecstasy." Alluding to the act of spirit possession, she describes this ecstasy as "the exit from

individuality into an intoxicating fusion” (Pravaz, “Where is the Carnavalesque” 108) Pravaz directly attributes this “experience of abandon and *emoção*... to the powerful ring of the *baterias*... producing an all-encompassing, thundering sound” (“Where is the Carnavalesque” 108). She also observes, however, that this ecstasy is “controlled, regulated, and harnessed for political and economic purposes” (Pravaz, “Where is the Carnavalesque” 108). If the *passista*’s subordination principally benefits political and patriarchal entities, how is it that they control the *passista* when absent from the parade? (Burke 156, DaMatta 136) As men characterized by complicit masculinity, *ritmistas* represent the interests of hegemonic sexuality within the event in their control over the dancers. They induce the ecstasy that forces the *passista* to abandon their individuality and adopt an inner union that resembles spirit possession. Yet while African spirits possess the dancers of Afro-Brazilian religion, the *espírito carnavalesco*, or carnavalesque spirit, falls upon the *passista*.

Just as there is a hierarchy in the *bateria*, there is a hierarchy of *passistas*. While the *bateria* hierarchy is based on experience, skill and leadership, the *passista* hierarchy is based on aesthetics and the sensuality, charm and energy encompassed in the *espírito carnavalesco* (Gil, “A Influência da Indústria Cultural”). These requisites interestingly fall in line with essentialist gender roles that measure femininity by “expressiveness” and masculinity by “instrumentality,” coincidentally providing a dual significance in regards to the instrumental nature of the *bateria* (Connell 22). The hierarchy of *passistas* is composed of the *ala das passistas*, *passistas destaques*, *rainhas de bateria* and other “muses.” These titles are awarded to those who best enact the mythical *mulata* both physically and emotionally. Thus the *mulata* as a sexual icon becomes a model for

marginalized, mixed-race women to emulate as *passistas*. They conform to standards of beauty and adopt a certain “posture” that falls in line with sexist colonial illusions (Pravaz, “Performing Mulata-ness” 122; Gil, “A Influência da Indústria Cultural”). This cultural configuration of gender was naturalized as idealized femininity. Therefore, when *passistas* adopt it they are engaging in a performative practice that continues to materialize normative ideals, following Judith Butler’s theory of gender performativity (Butler 33). The posture that *passistas* assume embodies the sensuality, charm and energy of the *espírito carnavalesco*. It is the very same *emoção* and ecstasy inspired by the *bateria*. *Ritmistas* utilize the power of their rhythms to produce an “intoxicating fusion” not between the *passista* and a god, but with the *mulata* of colonial discourse. In this way, *ritmistas* become complicit with hegemonic masculinity and political interests by controlling and harnessing the ecstasy produced in dancers to promote nationalistic ideals of femininity that ultimately exploit women.

In addition to providing the energy that drives *passistas* to fulfill their role as the quintessential embodiment of *mulata* femininity, *ritmistas*’s rhythms directly compel their movements (Parker 169). The lead drum in particular, the *repinique*, plays rapid and complex variations that command more complicated and sensual movements from the *passista*.

The true passista dances to the sound of the repique (or repinique), a percussion instrument... (that) is marked by intricate, continuous rhythmic patterns... A passista has to follow the repique... She has to dance in the same timing... Performers who have samba no pé... dance to the repique. (Pravaz, “Performing Mulata-ness” 119)

Female dancers who embody the *espírito carnavalesco* pride themselves in their ability to interact with the *bateria*. They have an intimate knowledge of the music and can identify any rhythm and respond accordingly (Pravaz, “Performing Mulata-ness” 119). *Ritmistas* are thus able to dictate the movements of *passistas* in addition to their energetic demeanor. As the lead drum, which commands the *bateria* and the dancers, the *repinique* is normally played by the *mestre de bateria* in smaller groups. However, in large samba school performances the *mestre de bateria* commands the *repinique* players. Thus the *mestre* and the *bateria*’s collective control over the *passistas* allows them to further promote the *mulata* identity. This is exemplified in a number of instances, including the synonymy between the *mulata* and the samba dance.

As stated in the aforementioned quote, one who is an authentic *passista* has *samba no pé*, or dances samba skillfully (Bastos, “Ala das Passistas Tem que Mostrar Samba no Pé”). This plays into a colonial myth that established the *mulata* as the only woman capable of dancing the samba (Sant’Anna 37; Pravaz, “Brazilian Mulatice 123). The *mulata*’s association with samba eroticized the dance and the spaces in which it was performed, as reflected in nineteenth century literature. Alfonso Sant’Anna comments on the connotations of samba during this period, stating “a dança é um jogo de sedução branda, onde a violência se metamorfoseia em ritmo e expectativa” (37). Thus as the embodiment of idealized Brazilian femininity, the *passista* can only be considered authentic if she demonstrates the same *samba no pé* associated with the mythical conception of the *mulata*.

Roberto DaMatta’s analysis also touches upon the notion of samba as a “game of seduction,” if not the figurative act of sex. He states that *passistas* perform samba naked,

“revealing its (the body’s) reproductive potentialities” (106). Furthermore, even when the *passista* dances alone, “the body... cries out for its complement, for its ‘other,’ always alluding to the sexual act” (DaMatta 106). Carnivaleque dances performed by women, especially the samba, are often directly equated with sex. Monica Rector posits that the pleasure of carnival performance transforms dance into “a sublimated sexual activity” (71). Carol Boyce Davies observes that women in carnival are represented as prostitutes under the sexually objectifying male gaze, and thus dance becomes “intercourse at the level of desire” (190). These associations between the *mulata*, samba and sexual activity promote sexist and nationalistic discourses that subordinate mixed-race women. The *bateria*’s rhythms command the *passista* to perform and thus preserve these discourses, sexualizing her and reinvesting in the colonial myth.

Under the male gaze, samba forces stereotypes that distort the *mulata*’s image to resurface. However, the *passista*’s motions simultaneously reenact the traumatic experience of mixed-race women. In response to the coercive drum-strokes resounding out upon the avenue, *passistas* move or position themselves in ways that imitate the bondage and violation of Afro-Brazilian women during the colonial period.

Black female bodies, which at times adopt dance postures with their... hands on the ground and buttocks in the air, mime that very struggle and therefore mark the distinctions... (that) relate to conquest and domination. (Boyce Davies 189)

This imagery draws a connection between the *bateria*’s power over the *passistas* to the violent actions of the colonial patriarch. This emphasizes the extent to which the *ritmista* controls and exploits female dancers (Parker 50). Some would argue that these provocative poses directly call attention to the traumatic past of Afro-Brazilian women,

thus allowing dancers to transcend the *mulata* identity. The constant pressure to invoke the *espírito carnavalesco*, however, prevents them from placing their submissive movements within a historical context. Their charming smiles and exuberance negate any traces of allusion, and instead produce a more pornographic quality that evokes the sadistic notion from colonial literature that slaves took pleasure in their sexual violation (Rector 8, Sant'Anna 25). Ultimately, the *passista*'s enactment of the mythical *mulata* in samba school parades can only be seen as an affirmation of masculinist and nationalist constructions of femininity, which results in the subordination of women and the dominance of men. *Ritmistas* have contributed to this destructive mechanism in their collaboration with the state and their complicity with hegemonic masculinity. Samba school drummers set in motion the process of exploiting women in carnival, and they continue to represent the interests of hegemonic masculinity in their control over female dancers and the invocation of the *mulata*.

The Bateria as a Masculine Institution

Despite the exploitation of women in carnival dancing roles, their attempt to secure potentially more rewarding positions within the *bateria* has been largely unsuccessful. Little progress has been made since the female percussionist debut in Salgueiro's 1959 performance (Gardel 98, "Carnaval 1959"). Sexist ideology continued to prevent women from becoming *ritmistas*. In fact, official regulations prohibiting female participation existed in major samba schools well into the twenty-first century ("Mulheres Quebram Tabu"). Even today, institutional sexism continues to discourage them from becoming active in this male domain. Brazilian women have always been socialized to believe that dancing and drumming are gender specific, and thus generally

reject the idea of playing in the *bateria*. Men encourage this cultural pattern by promoting the notion that drumming, as a male domain, “masculinizes” women. In addition, *ritmistas* engender the cultural disarmament of women with verbal abuse and sexist stereotyping, thus sustaining their dominance through symbolic violence (Connell 83). Currently, female *ritmistas* only compose three percent of *Grupo Especial* (special class) samba schools in Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, these women are restricted to minor instruments within the *bateria*. They are scarcely ever permitted to play the powerful instruments – like the *surdo*, *caixa* or *repinique* – that command the samba (Duarte, “Fina Batucada”). It is clear that the *bateria* continues to be protected by men as a masculine domain, but perhaps less clear why.

In a culture that considers the identifying qualities of men and women to be polarized, masculinity is framed in contrast to feminine identity (Connell 70). A major consequence of this gender formation system is the systematic devaluation of the roles of women and feminine values (Boutilier 100). This animosity contributes to the clear segregation of activities and domains by gender, which has always been apparent in samba dancing and percussion. The absence of women from the domain of drumming promoted the samba school as a masculine institution. “What secures and enhances the activities prescribed for men is, in large measure, due to women’s exclusion from them” (Boutilier 103). Samba schools in various Afro-Brazilian communities of Rio de Janeiro continue to act as exclusively male fraternities. In the *terreiro* (headquarters) of the schools, young men interact with male veterans who impart upon them percussive techniques and become responsible for their masculine socialization (Parker 67). The *bateria* teaches them skills that afford them respect within the community and power as

men. As a masculine institution, it acts as a microcosm of larger society by reflecting the values and ideas of the patriarchy (Boutilier 98). It positively conveys the core values of masculinity (activity, dominance, instrumentality, power) in contrast to those of femininity (passivity, submission, expressivity, reliance); provides means for achieving these qualities; emphasizes gender polarity, male superiority, the ideology to justify inequality and the importance of preserving it (Boutilier 94, 100; Parker 39, 50). The samba school *bateria* teaches boys why and how to attain and maintain masculinity (Boutilier 101). The prevalence of such masculine institutions lessened, however, with the rise of Getúlio Vargas and the restructuring of patriarchy.

While industrialization under the Vargas regime revealed a new hegemonic masculinity that extended complicit sexuality to the lower class, it also had negative effects on manhood. It spurred a series of social and cultural changes that eliminated many socialization agencies for men (Parker 97). “The shift from rural to urban lifestyles, the growth of bureaucracy and technology, and changes in the nature of work have led to a frustration of the masculine impulse” (Boutilier 101). Modern society began to rely less upon physical strength than intellect. Labor reforms enabled women to enter the work force and contribute in the public sphere (Fausto 208). The world had changed but conceptions of gender had not. This left progressively fewer opportunities for men to demonstrate the definitive qualities of masculinity (Boutilier 101). In a society struggling to preserve existing cultural patterns, the institutions that instill and affirm sexuality become precious. Such was the case with *ritmistas*, for whom drumming was and continues to be protected as a means of performing masculinity.

That demonstrates that while societally characterized by strength and power, masculine identity is a rather delicate gender construction. It is more a flight from femininity than a direct avowal of masculinity, and thus occupies a tenuous existence on the precipice of gender difference (Kimmel 274). Man's fear of being perceived as feminine becomes a limiting factor for his identity, and this is exemplified in the *ritmista*. While he represents the foundation and mainspring of the samba school, he is certainly not the most important aspect of the carnival parade. In fact, the *bateria* has for the most part been ignored in literature concerning the festival. The majority of samba school parades in Brazilian history have aimed to exhibit the exotic qualities of the nation as represented in the sensual *passista*. Focus upon the *passista* in televised coverage and the media demonstrate her significance. Thus the *ritmista* may control the carnival parade, but its *raison d'être* is to exhibit the beauty and charm of the *passista* as a symbol of Brazil. The *ritmista*, however, is limited to his position. As the male *malandro regenerado*, he cannot become the focus of the parade as a dancer because it would conflict with his gender construction. "Any interest or pursuit which is identified as a feminine interest or pursuit becomes deeply suspect for men" (Gorer 129). Thus the expressive, sexualized and submissive nature of the dancer makes it an unviable position for the *malandro regenerado*, who wishes to abide by patriarchal gender norms. This is not, however, the case for the *passista*. While female carnival performers may be socialized to dancing roles and the patriarchy's *mulata* construction of femininity, *bateria* drumming does not pose a direct threat to their sexuality. In fact, it is a potentially rewarding position, which is why women have made any progress participating in the *bateria* at all. The fragility of masculinity is what impedes their success.

As one of the few masculine institutions in a modernized patriarchy, which provides one of the only masculine roles in samba schools, men protect the *bateria* as a stronghold of male superiority and security. Female participation is perceived as a threat to the institution and their sexuality, because if women can drum, then “men aren’t really men” (Boutilier 102). The rationalization behind this masculinist conception is grounded in the aforementioned essentialist Brazilian system of sexuality, which associates masculinity and femininity with activity and passivity, respectively. Masculinity corresponds with the active role during sexual interactions, one of dominance and control. Femininity corresponds with the passive role, characterized by submission. As the female sexual role is that of “the penetrated,” only homosexual men who also assume this position are perceived negatively as “passive homosexuals” (Parker 52). Thus, men who do not assume more active or masculine qualities are at risk of being labeled as feminine or homosexual. In engaging in a pursuit characterized by activity or dominance, such as drumming, men affirm their masculinity. Women are expected to engage in activities characterized by passivity or submission, as is the case of the *passista*.

Despite the fact that women are subordinated and seen as inferior to men, they present a significant threat to the tenuous gender construction of masculinity (Parker 65). For instance, a woman who betrays her husband is seen as taking on the active role in the relationship. The husband’s inability to control his wife’s sexuality is understood to be a passive or feminine trait, demonstrating his lack of masculinity. Since he is being figuratively “screwed” by his wife, it as if he is taking on the sexual role of “the penetrated.” Thus, in Brazilian culture, a man who cannot control female sexuality is

considered the moral equivalent of a “passive homosexual” (Parker 54). Herein lies the threat of women participating in the samba school *bateria*. *Ritmistas* strive to maintain polarity between the dancer/drummer carnival gender roles because this relationship ensures their power over *passistas*, preserves the *bateria* as a masculine institution and drumming as a means of affirming masculinity. Under the patriarchal gender system in Brazil, female participation in the *bateria* would imply that women were assuming active roles. It would imply that male *ritmistas* were incapable of controlling female sexuality, thus labeling them with all the negative connotations of passivity associated with women and homosexuals. This conception equates female participation in the *bateria* with the emasculation of one of the last masculine institutions, an important means of affirming masculinity and one of the few positions for men in the carnival parade. This demonstrates the extent to which masculine identity is incredibly fragile and women pose a significant threat to it. Hence an important aspect of masculinity is the idea that:

Female sexual potential must be culturally molded, shaped, and most important, controlled—brought in line with the socially determined expectations of the traditional female role, with the passivity and submission that are the marks of femininity in Brazil. (Parker 62)

Particularly in the case of *ritmistas*, control over female sexuality is an important indication of masculinity. This is demonstrated both in their power over the *passista*'s image in the samba school performance and their efforts to prevent the emasculation of the *bateria* and drumming as a result of female participation.

Activity vs Passivity in Carnaval

While common Brazilian conceptions of masculinity and femininity would identify the female dancer as passive and the male drummer as active, academics disagree as to which role should be characterized by action. In Peter Burke's comparison of European and Brazilian carnival, he considers the passive role of European women versus the apparently active role of Brazilian women. Burke concludes that European carnival was a ritual for the affirmation of masculinity, given that men participated fully in the streets while women were confined to "their place" at home. In contrast, he notes that "women have long been more visible and more active" in the carnival celebrations of Brazil (Burke 152). This raises an interesting point as to "the gaze" upon both women and men in carnival.

In Burke's assessment of the extent to which carnival revelers are active in European and Brazilian carnival, his primary means of measuring activity is physical presence. He considers Brazilian women to be active in carnival because they dance on the street, while European women are not because they are restricted to their homes. Yet if one adopts a definition of activity in terms of independence and control, neither European nor Brazilian women can be considered active participants. The European woman is not physically active in carnival because of men's control over her sexuality. She is restricted to her home because her culture's idealized femininity places more importance on morals and chastity. Male control over her sexuality removes her from the street, safe from the masculinist gaze that would endanger her feminine image. Male control over the Brazilian woman's sexuality, however, places her amidst the chaos of carnival. While she is physically present in the festival, she is no more active in terms of

independence and control than her European counterpart. Her exuberance and open sensuality are not marks of freedom, but controlled manifestations of the hegemonic culture's idealized femininity. The male participants of the *bateria*, who are less focused upon in terms of physical presence, ensure her enactment of the *mulata* sexuality of masculinist discourses. Her physical presence in the parade also exposes her to the masculinist voyeuristic gaze, which only further emphasizes her subordination and lack of control over her own sexuality. The European woman is absent from carnival while the Brazilian woman is present. The European woman escapes the voyeuristic gaze while the Brazilian woman does not. Either way, both are passive in their submission to men and lack of control over their own sexuality. There is also the question, however, of the gaze upon men during carnival.

While women are subordinated as objects of desire under the masculinist gaze, men also struggle under a similar process of voyeurism. Masculinity, as a cultural configuration of gendered practices, constitutes a never-ending performance of sexuality. But who is the audience? "Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval" (Kimmel 275). Masculine identity is thus performed in relation to the gaze of other men, such as peers or authority figures, who judge the performance and approve or deny manhood. Masculinity is also commonly associated with the exercise of power, specifically over women (Connell 42). Therefore, performing masculine identity often becomes a demonstration of power over women in relation to the male gaze. Burke states that European carnival is an affirmation of masculinity because of the physical presence of men in the festival (Burke 152). While their wild demonstrations are likely deemed active and masculine by their peers, perhaps what is more convincing is what is absent

from the celebration. The male control of female sexuality is a significant marker of manhood in terms of power and dominance. Thus to a certain extent, European carnival revelers demonstrate their masculinity more in the absence of women than in their own participation.

The male *ritmistas* in Brazilian carnival also demonstrate their masculinity, but Burke emphasizes their presence far less than European men or Brazilian women. Perhaps this is because the *bateria* is a crucial, but not central aspect of the parade. For the most part, the focus of carnival has fallen upon the *passista*. She has become a symbol for carnival and Brazil worldwide. Roberto DaMatta comments upon how the differences between the *ritmistas* and the *passistas* place them in the background or foreground of the carnival scene.

The parade of the samba school expresses an association between the collective and the poor, on the one hand, and the individual and the rich, on the other. Everything in the school that is strictly collective, such as the percussion section, is ugly, poor, and uniform; everything that is allowed to stand out and stand apart is luxurious and rich.

(DaMatta 99)

As an embodiment of massification, with its uniform dress and compact marching group, the *bateria* is largely ignored. The *passista*, however, captures the voyeuristic gaze with her opulent costumes and individualistic, sensual motions (DaMatta 98). Thus, the *ritmista* fades to the background while the *passista* is pushed to the foreground. In fact, at times the *bateria* is, in a way, physically absent from the parade. As mentioned previously, the *bateria* generally enters the Sambadrome after one third of the parade has left and is followed by the *ala das passistas*. Half way through the performance, the

bateria exits into the *recuo* and allows the other *alas* to pass. The *ala das passistas* continue through the Sambadrome and fill in the space left by the *bateria*. In this way, the *ritmistas* are physically absent from the parade. This draws a connection between the European woman and the male *ritmista*, whose carnival participation is less pronounced according to Burke. His analysis would also place carnival as a ritual of sexual affirmation for both the European man and the female Brazilian dancer, given their high level of participation and presence. The *bateria*, however, does not escape the masculine gaze by fading into the background.

Ritmistas perform drumming as an affirmation of masculinity, and their performance is judged under the male gaze of both peers and authority. The concept of performing drumming to affirm masculine identity has a dual significance. In one sense, *ritmistas* engage in a literal performance, or demonstration, of drumming. It is socialized as an active or masculine activity, and thus engaging in its practice displays masculine attributes to peers, be they other drummers or other Brazilians socialized to accept the same gender roles. In another sense, performing drumming is the metaphorical act of controlling female sexuality through violence, which is understood as an evident marker of manhood (Kimmel 278). In the act of carnival drumming, *ritmistas* rely on their physical strength to engage in an activity where violently beating an object results in power and control over women's actions and female sexuality. This not only echoes the colonial patriarch's violent means of achieving the same objective, it projects the same masculinist discourse that denied the trauma of Afro-Brazilian women upon the image of the mixed-race *passista*. This performance of drumming subordinates women and promotes the nationalist discourse, thus appealing to patriarchal interests under the gaze

of the male authority represented in the *caxias*. Despite the *bateria*'s position in the background of carnival, or even absent from the parade in the *recuo*, they affirm their sexuality by controlling femininity. Just as the physically present European man demonstrates his masculinity through the absence of women, physically absent *ritmistas* demonstrate their masculinity through the presence of *passistas*. When the *bateria* leaves the parade into the *recuo* they never cease drumming. Their thunderous percussion, heard throughout the stadium, continues to motivate the dancers for the duration of the performance. The *ala das passista* moves ahead and occupies the space left by the *bateria*, representing the absent *ritmistas* through the energetic response to their music. In this way, under the gaze of male authority, *ritmistas* exemplify a masculine identity in their power over the female *passistas* that have assumed their very position in the parade. Michael Kimmel comments upon how masculinity is demonstrated for the validation of other men by stating, "we constantly parade the markers of manhood – wealth, power, status, sexy women – in front of other men, desperate for their approval" (Kimmel 275). Given that *ritmistas* literally "parade sexy women" in their own position of the samba school performance for the approval of other men, this statement applies on multiple levels.

The Bateria as a Microcosm of Patriarchy

The manner in which power relations are enacted by *ritmistas* in carnival demonstrates the extent to which the *bateria*, as a masculine institution, acts as a microcosm of a larger patriarchy. The influence of hegemonic masculinity is not always openly apparent in the quotidian context of life. Men and women are socialized to patriarchal values and beliefs through a ubiquitous power that pervades all aspects of

society. The power of the *bateria* functions in a similar fashion. *Ritmistas* embody a *malandro regenerado* masculinity that is complicit with the hegemonic standard of the *caxias*. The *caxias* authorizes their marginalized culture, allowing them to gain proximity to the hegemonic model and thus accumulate the cultural symbols that denote manhood through samba drumming. This is accomplished by assuming power and control via female subordination and exploitation, achieved with the masculinist and nationalist discourse inherent in the mythical *mulata* sexuality.

The power of the *bateria* is representative of patriarchal interests, which are realized in the samba school competition. While not overtly present in the parade, the *bateria* controls female sexuality through the omnipresent power of samba percussion. The objectifying male gaze emphasizes the sexualization of the *passista* as the *bateria* invokes in her the *mulata* identity, which simultaneously affirms Brazilian national identity and the masculinist construction of idealized femininity. Her exploitation embodies the *ritmista's* affirmation of masculinity in his performance of power, control and dominance through drumming, all of which is presented for the approval of male authority. In this way, the *caxias* is absent from carnival but his power and values are reflected in the *ritmista*. The *ritmista* is absent from the parade but his sexuality is reflected in the *passista*. The ubiquitous power of hegemonic masculinity is represented in the omnipresent influence of samba percussion, and the resulting subordination of women thus leads to the continued dominance of patriarchy and preservation of gender roles. This annual fortification of the gender hierarchy is indicative of the ritualistic social mechanism of reinforcement.

In a given patriarchy, the quotidian influence of contrasting systems and routines may result in ambiguous conceptions of the established system (DaMatta 55). The *caxias*, who benefits from and personifies hegemonic sexuality, will thus go to lengths to preserve the underpinning roles of the patriarchal structure. He accomplishes this with rituals of reinforcement, which dramatize hegemonic values by setting them in relief and causing contrasting systems to submerge in the collective conscious. African tradition was practiced in a separate social space during the colonial period, allowing the marginalized to escape the oppressive control of the *caxias*. The appropriation of Afro-Brazilian culture on a national level, however, dissolved the boundaries between the marginalized lower class and greater Brazilian society. The Vargas regime transformed the nation in a way that brought the practice of marginalized culture under its direct control. Carnival thus became a means for the *caxias* to ritualistically fortify the gender roles supporting patriarchy. The *ritmista* and the *passista* were reduced to mere symbols, personifications of the *malandro regenerado* and the *mulata*, manipulated in order to promote the values of the authority. Under the pervasive influence of hegemonic power, carnival thus exists as a ritual of reinforcement enacted within the *caxias*' social space.

The Travesti as the Renunciador

Among the chaos of this ritual of inequitable power relations exists one remaining Brazilian icon of sexuality that celebrates carnival in the hope for a better future. In his androgynous sexuality is the nature of the *renunciador*. He rejects the static qualities assigned to gender and the dominance of one sex over the other. The *travesti*, while haunted by the struggles and trauma of past carnivals, came to represent a principal figure in the Rio de Janeiro celebration (Parker 162). The fashion and spectacles of

modern day carnival were born in the rising *travesti* culture of the mid-twentieth century (Green 240). During the 1950s, the garish and vibrant styles that would become quintessential characteristics of samba school parades were innovated in drag costume balls (Green 211). The police and media persecuted *travestis* extensively, however, during the following decade (Green 219). This changed when the commercialization of carnival in the 1970s called for increasingly ostentatious spectacles, which led to the growing participation and influence of *travestis* and their culture.

Much like DaMatta's *renunciador*, the *travesti* rejected a society with rules and boundaries by which he could not abide. He rejected a world that abandoned him and chose instead to carve out a new social space in which he could let go of his past and create possibilities for a better future (DaMatta 211). Within this social space, he demonstrates the potential for an exit from gender. By refusing to be a man, and refusing to abide by the politics of hegemonic masculinity, the *travesti* reveals the potential to dismantle the patriarchal system of sexuality (Connell 222). The popularization of *travesti* culture in carnival enabled him to create this space within the very confines of the samba school parade, one of the most prominent manifestations of gender inequality in Brazilian society. By assuming both active and passive positions, he transcends gender roles within the festival. "Homosexuals participated actively in all aspects of the parade, from creating the spectacular visual effects associated with the processions to joining a given *ala*, or section, to samba down the avenue in a luxurious costume" (Green 240). This quote illustrates two significant and sexually polarized roles assumed by the *travesti* in the samba schools, the active *carnavalesco* and the passive *destaque*.

As the samba school *carnavalesco*, the *travesti* acts as a media expert who designs costumes and allegorical floats, overviews dance choreography and organizes a visually stimulating performance that coherently illustrates the parade's theme (Pravaz, "Where is the Carnavalesque" 109). This title allows the *travesti* to take an active role within the school. Like the *ritmista*, he assumes a dominant position in his control over the parade and its participants. His control over samba school costumes and choreography, like the *bateria*'s omnipresent influence of samba, is expressed in a ubiquitous power over the parade and sexual expression within it. In this sense, he utilizes Brazilian patriarchal discourses to sexualize the *passista* physically in the same way the *ritmista* does so on an emotional level. In a way, however, the *passista*'s exhibition of garments influenced by *travesti* culture endorses the androgynous lifestyle aspired to by the *renunciador*. In addition, *ritmistas* have borne the lurid ensembles of *travesti* influence in more recent carnival celebrations, thus extending the *carnavalesco*'s control over sexuality to the hypermasculine drummer. Drawing the voyeuristic gaze away from the *passista* through the use of vibrant decorations in other *alas* has been one of the *carnavalesco*'s greatest contributions to balancing power relations in Rio de Janeiro carnival.

In his role as the *carnavalesco*, the *travesti* controls the samba school from the background much like the *bateria*. As a *destaque*, however, he takes the foreground and demands the voyeuristic gaze afforded the *passista*. Adorned in all of his luxurious regalia, he assumes coveted positions on the top of allegorical floats where his androgynous sexuality is displayed for millions to see (Green 240). The *travesti destaque* assumes a passive sexuality in the sensual and expressive nature of his dances and poses.

Within the parade he comes under the influence of the *bateria*'s driving force, which forces his submission and invokes his sexuality. The *travesti*'s style and presence has become so crucial to carnival that entire *alas* have been dedicated to them (Parker 163). The various resulting levels of *travesti* dancers at times seems to form a hierarchy that resembles that of the *passistas*. The androgynous nature of the *travesti*, however, ends up parodying more than paralleling the patriarchal conception of femininity embodied by the *passista* hierarchy. In fact, heterosexual cross-dressers pose as *travestis* in carnival performances with the explicit intention of satirizing this manner of feminine gender performance (Green 203). The resulting intermingling of transgender and heterosexual cross-dressers in samba school *alas* only further emphasizes the ambiguous sexuality of the *travesti* figure in the context of this celebration.

The *travesti*'s rebellion against patriarchal society through the transgression of gender politics is best exemplified in Madame Satã, an infamous *travesti* and *malandro* who was honored in Salgueiro's carnival performance of 2011. Carlinhos Coreógrafo, the director of the *passistas*, interpreted Madame Satã as a *destaque* amongst eighty men dressed in the characteristic white linen suits of *malandros* (Ortiz, "Diretor dos Passistas"). The *ala* highlighted Carlinhos as an expressive, feminine representation of the gender bending folk legend at the heart of a tumultuous sea of *malandragem*, the essence of marginalized Brazilian masculinity during the early twentieth century. Their performance perfectly illustrated the multiple and contradictory elements that characterized the *travesti* warrior's complicated nature.

Satã was proud of his ability to wield a knife and win a fight, two marks of a *malandro*'s bravery and virility. Yet he openly admitted that he liked to be anally penetrated, a

sexual desire that was socially stigmatized and the antithesis of manliness represented by the penetrating knife blade. (Green 90)

As a passive homosexual who performed feminine gender practices, Madame Satã embodied the passive attributes associated with women, such as expressivity and submission. As a fearsome *malandro*, however, he embodied the active attributes associated with hypermasculine men, such as strength and violence. This outraged his enemies and the police, men who wished to preserve the traditional conceptions of gender. Madame Satã, however, was only outraged by the society that sought to restrict his identity to specific boundaries, and punish him for transgressing those boundaries. The androgynous fusion of sexualities that characterized Madame Satã's identity was reflected in his style of fighting. Capoeira, the martial art typically employed by *malandros*, constitutes the passive qualities of dance and the active elements of combat. The intensity or nature of its practice is generally mediated by the commanding rhythms of several percussionists who compose a *bateria*.

Madame Satã, like modern day *travestis*, rebelled against the patriarchal system of sexuality by establishing new rules within his own social space. He demonstrated the potential for a world without the sexist conceptions of gender that result in inequality. While carnival functions to preserve patriarchal ideology, *travestis* create their own social space within the ritual, alongside the male drummers and female dancers of samba school parades. Within this space, the *travesti* demonstrates his defiance of normal gender distinctions through individuality as a contrast to the complementary sexualities exhibited in the *mulata* and the *malandro* (Parker 142). It is this complementarity, the existence of a "lack" or "negative," that results in the domination of one gender over the

other and the preservation of patriarchy. In not existing as a complement, the *travesti* “shows to his fellow companions the fragility and arbitrariness of their conventions, thus creating the possibility of a ‘reinvention’ of society amid the hierarchized world of authority in which he presently lives” (DaMatta 212). Embracing the *renunciador* sexuality, the *travesti* represents the potential for sexual equality within the very ritual that exists to

Conclusion

This research has demonstrated how masculinity is performed through carnival drumming by analyzing the sexual icons and gender roles in two different rituals of similar roots. It illustrates how the shared ideologies between Afro-Brazilian religion and Rio de Janeiro Samba Schools have resulted in two ceremonies that dramatize traditional and hegemonic conceptions of gender, and thus preserve essentialist notions of drumming and dancing as masculine/active and feminine/passive, respectively. At its core, masculinity is expressed through drumming in the spirit possession ritual and the samba school parade via proximity with the hegemonic standard and, most importantly, the power that male participants hold over women. Female dancers thus express their femininity in complete and utter submission to the male drummers and the patriarchal authority.

This work has also shown how a shift in the hegemonic masculinity affected the Brazilian icons of sexuality within the context of Afro-Brazilian culture. This change drastically affected the implications of performing masculinity through drumming, particularly in regards to women. While the gender roles and sexist ideology pervading samba schools stem from Afro-Brazilian religion, the disparate circumstances of the two rituals make them dissimilar in nature. The transformation in the relationship between the *caxias*, the *malandro*, the *mulata* and the *renunciador* has changed how the ritualistic dramatization of social roles impacts society. Roberto DaMatta's explanation of the tribal and modern individualistic rituals helps to clarify this change.

Dramatization achieves varying outcomes depending on the culture. In tribal societies, rites are "highly individualizing moments designed to resolve life crises or...

moments of affliction” (DaMatta 17). Afflicted members are individualized in order to identify the antisocial issues preventing them from associating with the collective. These issues, often the result of traumatic experience, are treated with the intention of restoring the victim’s inner balance and thus facilitating a reincorporation into society. The rituals accomplish this through dramatization of life crises, which addresses the trauma and restores the member to the group identity. In this way, the tribal ritual transforms the individual into the collective. The modern individualistic society, however, uses ritual to transform the collective into the individual. As is the case in Brazil and other large countries, complex societies are characterized by innumerable diverse values and identities. Ritual is utilized to create a collective identity through the appropriation of an individual culture and the dramatization of specific values. Modern societies thus eliminate regional differences and construct a semblance of national identity by forcing the collective to conform to the customs and persona of an individual group (DaMatta 17).

While tribal and modern individualistic rituals utilize dramatization as a shared tool in achieving an objective, it affects the participants differently and produces divergent results. Such is the case with the spirit possession ritual and the samba school parade. “In the rites of Umbanda and Carnival the poor, especially poor women... enter into relationships with spiritual beings (or with samba and the musical rhythms) and become able to seduce or heal” (DaMatta 136). As this research has indicated, the percussive rhythms of these two Afro-Brazilian cultures can have a mystical influence over female dancers; however, it can affect them in different ways. While the ceremonies of Afro-Brazilian religion are commonly associated with healing an individual, the samba

parade entails taming the collective by promoting the seductive qualities that characterize the nation's ideal feminine image.

In the spirit possession ritual, *alabê* drummers heal the violently traumatized *iaôs* in an African space formed by the *renunciador*. They affirm their masculinity in their power over and sexualization of the dancer, in turn permitting her to deny the oppressive *mulata* discourse. This tribal ritual thus constitutes a healing process that involves bringing an individual to the collective African identity utilizing neutralization as a social mechanism. In the samba parade, however, drummers act on behalf of the interests of hegemonic masculinity. The Sambadrome becomes a gendered arena of patriarchal society where *ritmistas* affirm masculinity in their power over and sexualization of the *passista*, forcing upon her the *mulata* discourse while denying African identity in the reinvestment of *brasilidade*. The samba parade thus constitutes a modern individualistic ritual that utilizes the social mechanism of reinforcement, where dramatization of patriarchal gender roles results in bringing the collective to an individual Brazilian identity.

The performance of masculinity through drumming, which originated in the *terreiros* of Afro-Brazilian religion, passed into samba school *terreiros* and transformed as a consequence of shifting hegemonic masculinity. This preservation of gender roles through cultural inheritance resulted in the sexism that continues to pervade Rio de Janeiro carnival. What was originally a ritual of healing and African identity affirmation became the patriarchy's tool for reinforcing notions of *brasilidade*, subordinating women and maintaining the sexual hierarchy. Instead of facilitating an escape from colonial and

masculinist discourse, the performance of masculinity through drumming in carnival serves hegemonic masculine sentiment by reinforcing the mythical *mulata* sexuality.

As this research contends, Rio de Janeiro's pre-Lenten festival does not only provide an "avenue" for the expression of female sexuality. The active nature of samba drumming, manifest in the *ritmista*'s exhibition of power and control, demonstrates that carnival is also a setting for the practice of masculine sexuality constructions. These performances, however, are inextricably linked. Drumming in the samba parade only affirms masculinity in that it enforces popular conceptions of femininity. Maintaining the traditional associations with drumming to manhood is contingent upon reinforcing the sexist attitude that has remained prevalent in samba schools. Therefore, the inequitable circumstances that prevent women from participating in the *bateria*, or from avoiding general exploitation in carnival, lie in the gender roles that have been ritualistically preserved for centuries. The complementarity between the drummer and dancer, the active and passive, the "self" and the "Other," results in the oppressive power relations that encourage the domination of men over women. As long as these constructions of sexuality are encouraged and traditional gender roles are enforced, carnival will continue as a ritual that represents and reinforces the values of patriarchal society.

Recent years, however, have not been without improvement in regards to the state of carnival and gender equality. The values of the *renunciador* are reflected in the progress made toward reinventing notions of gender within the samba school parade. In states outside of Rio de Janeiro, particularly in the case of São Paulo, women have already conquered a significant number of positions as *ritmistas* within important *escolas de samba*. In the paulista samba school *Águia de Ouro*, for example, female drummers

compose twenty-five percent of the *bateria* (Italiani, “Mulheres Conquistam”). Progress has also been made in the carioca carnaval. In 2001, a prominent *mestre de bateria* opened an all-female samba school, which continues to flourish today (Duarte, “Fina Batucada”). In 2010, the first woman was promoted to *mestre de bateria* of the Unidos do Uraiti, a fourth class Rio de Janeiro *escola de samba* (Antônio, “Liderança Feminina”). *Grupo Especial* schools have been the slowest to abandon male-chauvinist conceptions of samba drumming, but this has not prevented women from challenging stereotypes. Many have taken up more commanding and “masculine” instruments such as the *surdo*, *caixa* and *repinique*. Others have even climbed the ranks of the *bateria* hierarchy, assuming the prestigious position of *diretor*, or section leader, in some of the most significant Brazilian samba schools (Guedes, “Batuque Cor de Rosa”).

While the drummer and dancer stereotypes are still firmly rooted in Brazilian gender ideology, the aforementioned progress demonstrates that a more equitable pre-Lenten festival is not out of reach. Reinventing conceptions of gender may lead to a carnaval where the performance of masculinity is not predicated on exploiting women or engaging in a gender specific activity. A better understanding of the roots and history of carnaval’s gender ideology clarifies the absurdity of limiting men or women to certain roles in this ritual. Carnaval participants should seek to act as the *renunciador* by enjoying the event in all its aspects and not preventing others from doing the same. They should aspire to a genderless carnaval where a celebration of identity is neither restricted nor restricting.

Works Cited

- Antônio, Marco. "Liderança Feminina para os Ritmistas da Uraiti." *OBatuque.com*. 22 May 2009. Web. July 25 2012.
- Amado, Jorge. *O País do Carnaval*. Companhia das Letras: São Paulo, 2011. Print.
- Ampene, Kwasi. *Female Song Tradition and the Akan of Ghana: The Creative Process in Nnwokoro*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005. Print.
- Andrade, Oswald de. *Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia e às Utopias: Manifestos, Teses de Concursos e Ensaios*. Civilização Brasileira: Rio de Janeiro, 1972. Print.
- Bastos, Ângela. "Ala das Passistas Tem que Mostrar Samba no Pé e Graça no Resto." *Diário Catarinense*. 28 Jan. 2012. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Béhague, Gerard. "Patterns of *Candomblé* Music Performance: An Afro-Brazilian Religious Setting." *Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*. Ed. Gerard Béhague. Westport, CT: Greenwood Print, 1984. 222-254. Print.
- Boutilier, Mary A and Lucinda San Giovanni. *Sporting Woman*. 2nd ed. Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1983. Print.
- Boyce Davies, Carole. "Black/Female/Bodies Carnivalized in Spectacle and Space." *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her "Hottentot."* Ed. Deborah Willis. Philadelphia: Temple University Print, 2010. 186-198. Print.
- Burke, Peter. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Print, 1997. Print.
- Burns, James. *Female Voices from an Ewe Dance-drumming Community in Ghana*. Ashgate: Surrey, 2009. Print.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge Classics, 2006. Print.
- Cássia, Cristiane de. "Mulheres Conquistam Cada Vez Mais Espaço nas Baterias das Escolas de Samba." *O Globo*. 27 Jan. 2008. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Print, 1995. Print.
- DaMatta, Roberto. *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma*. Trans. John Drury. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Print: 1991. Print.

- . "On Carnival, Informality and Magic: A Point of View from Brazil." *Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*. Ed. Edward M. Bruner. Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society. 1984. 230-246. Print.
- Diretoria Cultural G.R.E.S. Acadêmicos do Salgueiro. "Carnaval 1959: A Histórica e Pitoresca Viagem de Debret." *G.R.E.S. Acadêmicos do Salgueiro*. 2007. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Duarte, Daniel. "Fina Batucada: O Ritmo Feminino Chega à Bateria pelas Mãos de Mestre Riko." *OBatuque.com: O Journal do Sambista Online*. 10 Oct. 2005. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Fausto, Boris. *A Concise History of Brazil*. Trans. Arthur Brakel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.
- Fernandes, Nelson da Nobrega. *Escolas de Samba: Sujeitos Celebrantes e Objetos Celebrados. Rio de Janeiro, 1928-1949 / Nelson da Nobrega Fernandes*. Rio de Janeiro: Coleção Memória Carioca, 2001. Print.
- Flores, Lana. "O Papel dos Passistas da Protegidos." *Alô! Protegidos! A Paixão da Minha Vida!* 19 Aug. 2011. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa-Grande e Senzala: Formação da Família Brasileira sob o Regime da Economia Patriarcal*. 48th ed. São Paulo: Global Editora. 2003. Print.
- Fry, Peter. "Male Homosexuality and Afro-Brazilian Possession Cults." *Latin American Male Homosexualities*. Ed. Stephen O. Murray. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 193-220. Print.
- Gardel, Luis D. *Escolas de Samba: An Affectionate Descriptive Account of the Carnival Guilds of Rio De Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editôra, 1967. Print.
- Gil, Mariane da Silva, et al. "A Influência da Indústria Cultural na Formação da Imagem Corporal de Passistas de Escolas de Samba." *EFDeportes.com, Revista Digital* 15.152 (2011) : n. pag. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Gonçalves, Guilherme and Mestre Odilon Costa. *O Batuque Carioca: As Bateria das Escolas de Samba do Rio de Janeiro: Aprendendo a Tocar*. Groove: São Paulo, 2000. Print.
- Gorer, G. *The American People: A Study in National Character*. New York: Norton, 1964. Print.

- Green, James N. *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. Print.
- Guedes, Bruno. "Batuque Cor de Rosa." *Samba Rio Carnaval*. n.d. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Hampton, Barbara. "Music and Ritual Symbolism in the Ga Funeral." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 14 (1982) 75-105. Print.
- Herskovits, Melville J. "Drums and Drummers in Afro-Brazilian Cult Life." *The Musical Quarterly* 30.4 (1944) : 477-492. Print.
- . "The Panan, an Afrobahian Religious Rite of Transition." *Caribbean Quarterly* 5.4 (1959) : 276-283. Print.
- Hentschke, Jens R. *Vargas and Brazil: New Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.
- Hertzman, Marc. *Surveillance and Difference: The Making of Samba, Race, and Nation in Brazil*. Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2008. Print.
- Italiani, Rafael. "Mulheres Conquistam Espaço no Carnaval de São Paulo." *Jornal das Cidades DF*. 1 March 2012. Web. July 25 2012.
- Keller, Mary L. "Spirit Possession: Women and Possession." *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. Lindsay Jones. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005. Print.
- Kimmel, Michael. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity." *The Masculinities Reader*. Ed. Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001. 266-287. Print.
- Matory, J. Lorand. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. Print.
- Monts, Lester. "Vai Women's Roles in Music, Masking, and Ritual Performance." *African Musicology: Current Trends: A Festschrift Presented to J.H. Kwabena Nketia*. Ed. Jacqueline DjeDje. Vol. 2. Los Angeles: African Studies Center, University of California, 1992. 219-235. Print.
- Moraes, Eneida de. *História do Carnaval Carioca*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira. 1958. Print.

- “Mulheres Quebram Tabu e Entram na Bateria da Mangueira.” *PCdoB: O Partido do Socialismo*. 16 Sept. 2006. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Ortiz, Fabíola. “Diretor dos Passistas Vai Interpretar Madame Satã no Desfile do Salgueiro.” *UOL*. 3 March 2011. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Parker, Richard G. *Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions: Sexual Culture in Contemporary Brazil*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009. Print.
- Pravaz, Natasha. “Brazilian Mulatice: Performing Race, Gender, and the Nation.” *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8.1 (2003) : 116–147. Print.
- . “Hybridity Brazilian Style: Samba, Carnival, and the Myth of ‘Racial Democracy’ in Rio de Janeiro.” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15.1 (2008) : 80–102. Print.
- . “Where is the Carnavalesque in Rio’s Carnival? Samba, Mulatas, and Modernity.” *Visual Anthropology* 21.2 (2008) : 95–111. Print.
- . “The Tan from Ipanema: Freyre, Morenidade, and the Cult of the Body in Rio de Janeiro.” *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 34.67 (2009) : 79–104. Print.
- . “Performing Mulata-ness: The Politics of Cultural Authenticity and Sexuality Among Carioca Samba Dancers.” *Latin American Perspectives* 39.2 (2012) : 113-133. Print.
- “Quebrando Tabus.” *O Globo*. 2 June 2007. Web. 25 July 2012.
- Queiroz, Maria Isaura Pereira de. “The Samba Schools of Rio de Janeiro, or the Domestication of an Urban Mass.” *Diogenes* 33.1 (1985) : 1-32. Print.
- . *Carnaval Brasileiro: O Vivido e o Mito*. São Paulo, 1992. Print.
- Rector, Monica. “Nudity in Brazilian Carnival.” *American Journal of Semiotics* 6:4 (1989) : 67-77. Print.
- Sant’Anna, Affonso Romano de. *O Canibalismo Amoroso*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1984. Print.
- Schmidt, Cynthia. “Womanhood, Work and Song Among the Kpelle of Liberia.” *African Musicology: Current Trends: A Festschrift Presented to J.H. Kwabena Nketia*. Ed. Jacqueline DjeDje. Vol. 1. Atlanta: Crossroads Press, 1989. 237-263. Print

- Shaw, Lisa. *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1999. Print.
- Sheriff, Robin E. "The Theft of Carnival: National Spectacle and Racial Politics in Rio de Janeiro." *Cultural Anthropology* 14.1 (1999) : 3-28. Print.
- Taylor, Gerard. *Capoeira: The Jogo de Angola from Luanda to Cyberspace*. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2005. Print.
- Vianna, Hermano. *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*. Trans. John Charles Chasteen. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Print, 1999. Print.
- Voeks, Robert A. *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil*. Austin: University of Texas Print, 1997. Print.
- Von Simson, Olga Rodrigues de Moraes. "Mulher e Carnaval: Mito e Realidade (Análise da Atuação Feminina nos Folguedos de Momo Desde o Entrudo Até as Escolas de Samba)." *Revista de História* 125 (1992) : 7-32. Print.
- Williams, Daryle. "Civicsape and Memoryscape: The First Vargas Regime and Rio de Janeiro." In *Vargas and Brazil*. Ed. Jens R. Hentschke. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.

Review of Literature

Introduction

This literature review discusses a variety of historical, gender theory and sociological texts, which as a collective body of research, facilitates a comprehensive discussion of the performance of masculinity through samba drumming. Given the topic's focus upon gender roles in the rituals of Afro-Brazilian religion and Rio de Janeiro carnival, the diverse perspectives of these three fields permitted the essential incite into topics such as the transformation of Brazilian politics and society, the construction of gender and national identity, power relations and sexism. The first section of the review will focus upon historical material. These resources place specific rituals in the context of their time and social significance. In addition, they provide the historical evidence to support theoretical arguments made in the research. The following section discusses the gender theory that is applied in the context of the topic. Specifically, the research employs significant texts of feminism and masculinities to analyze gender roles in the rituals of Afro-Brazilian religion and the samba parade. These resources provide incite into how certain constructions of gender become naturalized and why women are excluded from male-dominated spheres. Finally, the last section examines texts of a sociological and anthropological nature. These works are divided into those that focus upon Brazilian society, Afro-Brazilian religion and Rio de Janeiro carnival. The texts examined focus specifically upon Brazilians, their culture and constructions of gender and national identity specific to them.

Samba, Carnaval and Brazilian History

Lisa Shaw's *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba* is based on the research from her doctoral thesis, and is only one of a few books in English that delve into the history and formation of samba. Her work provides a considerable amount of information in regards to the origins and development of samba, but it is primarily concerned with examining the relationships between the lyrics of popular samba songs and the socio-political changes of the Vargas regime (1930-1945) affecting cultural life in Brazil. She states in the first chapter that setting the artists' lyrics in the context of samba during the period it rose to popularity provides "a revealing illustration of how popular music has traditionally articulated changes in community and identity in Brazil" (Shaw 1). The first half of the book frames the genre of samba within its social, cultural and musical origins while discussing the historical context of the Vargas regime. This portion of Shaw's study will be of more use in the development of my own research. The second half introduces three significant artists representing the first generation of professional *sambistas*, and analyzes their lyrics within the context of their individual backgrounds and Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo.

Chapter one, entitled "Samba: its Roots and Conventions," begins by discussing the roots of samba and carnaval, the predecessors of samba, the areas that allowed samba to develop, and the nature of the style before its appropriation by the state. The author briefly describes the European derived style of carnaval called *entrudo*, as well as the music/dances of *batuque*, *lundu* and *marchinha*. During this period, samba and Afro-Brazilian activities and religions like candomblé were prohibited due to racist associations. Many of these cultural forms were only allowed to develop behind closed

doors. One such instance is in the house of Tia Ciata, who was an Afro-Brazilian religious leader and promoted gatherings between musicians. “Tia Ciata allowed her home to be used for parties where ‘decent’ dance games and music were performed in the front rooms, but at the back of the house samba and religious ceremonies worshipping the African deities of *orixás* were practiced in secret” (Shaw 4). This is one important instance of how the development of samba occurred directly alongside the practice of Afro-Brazilian religion. This author and several others attest to the fact that Afro-Brazilians often engaged in such activities associated with the lower class (samba, candomblé, capoeira, choro) in the same locals. It seems likely, therefore, that samba was practiced in the same places and by the same practitioners of other forms of Afro-Brazilian culture. The notion that these cultures share a similar ideology seems likely. One such ideology, for instance, is that of *malandragem*, which Shaw discusses at length over the course of her work.

After mentioning various locations in Rio where samba thrived, the first samba entitled “Pelo Telefone,” and the advent of *escolas de samba*, Shaw discusses *malandragem* and the culture of *sambistas* on the *morro*. Her analysis of literature and lyrics illustrate the famous characteristics of the *malandro* – his cunning, his machismo, his bohemian lifestyle and of course his aversion to labor which “flouted the work ethic of the Vargas government” (Shaw 7). The author discusses the popularity of *malandragem* as a theme in samba music before its rise, stating “the *malandro* and the *sambista* became synonymous” (Shaw 10). “Women and love” is the second theme that the author describes as dominating samba lyrics in the 30’s and 40’s. She describes several feminine figures present in these songs, but goes into detail regarding the *mulata*.

“She is not allowed to exist either as a wife or as a mother, for she is a symbol of sexual license. She is respected neither as a woman nor as an individual. Her function is to attract men, to be exploited by them, and to exploit in turn by obtaining her own ends through sex” (Shaw 15). She continues by describing the origins of the *mulata* during the colonial period. In Parker’s book, he goes into detail analyzing the stereotypes of gender in Brazil. He finds that masculinity is typically characterized by activity, dominance, power and control while femininity is characterized by beauty, sensuality, passivity and submission. In his discussion of the *malandro* and the *mulata*, he portrays them as embodiments of the Brazilian gender distinctions.

Given the synonymy of the *malandro* with the *sambista* and the *mulata* with the *passista*, I feel it would be interesting to include these roles in my research given their centrality in the themes of samba. In addition, as outlined in Shaw’s book as well as others, the *malandro* and the *mulata* are the two figures that receive the most concern from the Vargas regime in relation to the formation of samba and carnival. The patriarchal Estado Novo (in a sense the masculine embodiment of the elite) demands the eradication of the *malandro* (the masculine embodiment of the marginalized) from samba in exchange for its support. In addition, it also demands the inclusion of a woman’s section in carnival (which would only further develop the sexualized nationalistic image of the *mulata*). In a sense, the elite and marginalized embodiments of masculinity (or perhaps phallogocentrism) enter into a battle over who will control and manipulate the female embodiment of femininity. Shaw argues that *malandragem* disappeared when *sambistas* were faced with this choice between identity and success. I would argue that

sambistas/malandros did what they had to do to survive and “look out for number one,” which is in fact the nature of the *malandro*.

Chapter two illustrates the historical moment in which samba gained popularity by discussing the objectives and cultural policies of Getúlio Vargas from 1930-1945. Shaw accurately depicts Vargas’ controversial and multifaceted image as both the father of the poor and a strict, controlling dictator. She describes his accomplishments with industrialization, his support of the working class, his efforts to unify the country, form a national identity as well as his support of Afro-Brazilian cultural forms. The book also mentions the brutality of his regime, his complete control through propaganda, censorship and policing, the manipulation of culture and the promotion of the *mulata* as a symbol for the mythical Brazilian racial democracy. This informative description of Vargas’ politics will be helpful in framing my research within its own historical context.

The third chapter goes into more detail in regards to the progression of samba, the varieties of samba, the people who brought samba out of the *morro* and the music they produced. It begins by elaborating upon the predecessors of samba as well as the artists that originally shaped samba in the house of Tia Ciata and the streets of Estácio de Sá, home of *Deixa Falar* (first *escola de samba*). Shaw explains that samba gained popularity with the upper classes when upper class white musicians would form partnerships with Afro-Brazilian composers. The development and success of a variety of sambas, including *samba de morro*, *maxixe* influenced, *de salão* and *canção*, led to the advent of *Bossa Nova* and other genres of *MPB*. This detailed account of the style’s development will help me in describing the origins of samba and organized carnival. Luis Gardel’s *Escolas de Samba: An Affectionate Descriptive Account of the Carnival*

Guilds of Rio De Janeiro serves to provide English readers with a brief history of Rio de Janeiro carnival and a description of the *escolas de samba* that compete every year. This resource will provide a historical reference for carnival and samba school related information. It is divided into seven chapters describing carnival before the samba schools, the emergence of the samba schools, the floats and costumes, the organization and structure of the samba schools, the various samba schools and positions within them, samba music and its lyrical content and finally a final chapter advising visitors of carnival.

The first chapter opens with a discussion of a more European derived carnival called *entrudo* dating back to 1852. It continues by describing the development of this carnival by the lower classes and upper classes. The parading with drums and instruments on the street developed as a chaotic predecessor to the contemporary festival. The author describes the progressive organization of street parades in different forms such as the *bloco* and the *rancho*, eventually resulting in primitive samba schools. The second chapter continues this topic by introducing the original samba school, *Deixa Falar*, and the subsequent formations of better-known groups like *Mangueira*. The book describes the organization of some of the very first parades. With the rise of the Vargas regime, the samba schools received sponsorship but were given a set of rules including the exclusion of wind instruments and the presence of female dancers (*ala de baianas*).

The third chapter describes the floats, costumes and their place in various sections of the carnival. Particularly of note, the author emphasizes the pressure for the schools to make the costumes progressively more ostentatious each year. In addition, he states that originally each wing of the carnival was obligated to be entirely men or women.

This rule will be significant given my argument of gender roles and gender-dominated realms of carnival. The fourth chapter goes into detail in regards to the rules and regulations of carnival, and discusses the finances of the *escolas de samba* (including government sponsorship and participant fees). The final chapters provide a plethora of information regarding the sambistas and samba. The author mentions some of the shared cultures between Afro-Brazilian religious groups and the *escolas de samba*. For instance, the *terreiro* is the traditional word to describe a house where Afro-Brazilian religion is practiced, but it is also used to describe the space where the *escolas de samba* hold rehearsals. The author also goes into detail describing the important percussive instruments of the *bateria*.

Gender Theory

Judith Butler is a highly influential post-structuralist philosopher who has published high impact material in the fields of feminism and queer theory. She is well known for her internationally renowned book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, in which she critically examines the works of several theorists and establishes some theories of her own concerning the categories of sex, gender, and sexuality. The book is composed of three chapters: “Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire,” “Prohibition, Psychoanalysis, and the Production of the Heterosexual Matrix” and “Subversive Bodily Acts,” followed by a concluding chapter. These chapters aim to demonstrate the illusory nature and instability of identity. More specifically, through her extensive critical discussion of language, patriarchy, heteronormativity and several philosophical works, Butler argues that sex, gender and sexuality are all imagined cultural constructions that have acquired a natural semblance through the repetition of stylized acts encouraged by a phallogocentric society. This concept, known as performativity, is first proposed in the introductory chapter and then utilized in her philosophical critiques that follow in the subsequent chapters.

Butler begins by criticizing the initiative in feminism to establish an identity or subject that would represent feminism in politics and language. She specifically targets the category of “women,” noting that any identity that is recognizable within a patriarchy is in fact a product of that system, and thus contradicts the objectives of feminism. “The feminist subject turns out to be discursively constituted by the very political system that is supposed to facilitate its emancipation. This becomes politically problematic if that

system can be shown to produce gendered subjects along a differential axis of domination or to produce subjects who are presumed to be masculine” (Butler 3). Furthermore, gendered identities such as “women” intersect with various other identities such as race, class, ethnicity and sexuality, and thus articulating a stable subject for feminism could result in extreme misrepresentation. Butler concludes that representation will only be acceptable for feminism when the idea of a subject ceases to exist.

This being said, the author sets out to question the justification of categories of sex and gender. She states that given the fact that gender is culturally constructed, it can be assumed that “gender itself becomes a freefloating artifice, with the consequence that man and masculine might just as easily signify a female body as a male one” (Butler 6). Butler continues by considering whether sex is also culturally constructed given that, like gender, it could be “discursively produced by various scientific discourses in the service of other political and social interests” (Butler 7).

To expand upon these ideas of gender, she explores the works of Beauvoir, Irigaray and Wittig. Beauvoir believes women are the Other or a negative against which men can establish their masculinity. Irigaray feels that the feminine is completely excluded from a patriarchal system since both the subject and the Other are products of that phallogocentric system. Finally, Wittig believes that the subject can manipulate language, and that in eliminating the concept of gender, freedom can be attained. She sees the lesbian as an embodiment of this concept. Since all three incorporate the idea of female (gendered subject) representation, Butler is not satisfied. It is here that she elaborates on performativity. Drawing upon the works of Foucault, she determines that “the appearance of an abiding substance or gendered self... is produced by the regulation

of attributes along culturally established lines of coherence” (Butler 24). Butler’s conclusion is that “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results” (Butler 25). Establishing an identity is thus simply accomplished through the repetition of acts that embody said identity, or in a sense performing that identity.

I believe that Judith Butler’s theories will be very useful in supporting the ideas that I will present in my research. I plan to incorporate both her notion of performativity as well as her ideas of gender as a cultural construct, completely unattached to biological sex. The concept of performativity will be very helpful in discussing drumming as a practice that is characterized by masculinity, both in the *terreiros* of Afro-Brazilian religion and in the *baterias* of the *escolas de samba*. It will clarify how it might have been possible that men and only men were and continue to be drawn to drumming in Brazil, and how this gender role crossed over from Afro-Brazilian religion to samba percussion. To a lesser extent, I will discuss how this same principle was applied to dancing with women in the *terreiros* as well as *passistas* in *escolas de samba*.

I have several resources, such as the research by Melville Herskovits, that illustrate the extent to which drumming was considered a strictly masculine realm in African and African derived cultures such as Afro-Brazilian religion. Furthermore, these resources discuss the great level of respect afforded to drummers and how customary it was to push drumming upon boys in the *terreiros* (as a initiation into manhood). *Gender Trouble* posits “if there is no radical repudiation of a culturally constructed sexuality, what is left is the question of how to acknowledge and ‘do’ the construction one is invariably in” (Butler 31). Butler’s theory would support the idea that, in a culture that

associates drumming with masculinity and encourages their boys to participate, anyone seeking a masculine identity will follow suit and perform the cultural construction. Butler also states that “repetition is bound to persist as the mechanism of the cultural reproduction of identities” until the “cultural configurations of gender take the place of ‘the real’ and consolidate and augment their hegemony through that felicitous self-naturalization” (Butler 32). Thus if drumming is repeatedly acknowledged as an affirmation of masculinity and the realm of men, eventually it will be understood as “real” and “natural” and fundamentally incontrovertible. As such, it seems plausible that such an understood truth could translate from the *terreiro* into the world of samba (the development of samba being in such proximity to Afro-Brazilian religion).

My research will make an in depth investigation into the gender roles of men and women in Brazil, more specifically drummers and dancers in the *terreiros* and the *escolas de samba*. The extent to which these gender roles are ingrained in the Brazilian culture causes much of the conflicts between men and women, *ritimistas* and *passistas*, that I will discuss. This being said, a model of sex and gender that disputes the opposition between masculinity and femininity in Brazil will help to draw attention to the futility of such conflicts. *Gender Trouble* posits “if gender is the cultural meanings that the sexed body assumes then...the sex/gender distinction suggests a radical discontinuity between sexed bodies and culturally constructed genders” (Butler 6). If the illusion of gender is not enough to demonstrate the futility of protecting gender roles, then such a conception of sex and gender might draw attention to the absurd nature of designating specific realms as masculine or feminine. In addition, this sex/gender system will be helpful in my

discussion of the androgynous figures of the *pai-de-santo* in the *terreiro*, and the *travesti* in carnival.

The United States witnessed a second wave of the women's movement in the late sixties that championed a variety of feminist ideologies. One of the many victories of this movement was unprecedented growth in women's participation in sports. As a result, several feminists of note have entered into a critical discourse of the increased presence of women in a male-dominated realm. The scientific study of sports, in a variety of disciplines, was also on the rise during the seventies, thus producing a considerable amount of scholarly literature dedicated to sports. In *The Sporting Woman*, Boutilier and San Giovanni combine "these three themes into a single work that explores women's engagement in sport from the perspectives of social science and feminism" (Boutilier and San Giovanni vii). Espousing "humanist sociology" and socialist feminism (though they also explore liberal, Marxist and radical frameworks), the authors produce an informative and inspiring intervention into a societal domain where women continue to be marginalized. Their book explains why this is, and optimistically proposes ways in which things might be changed.

I find that this book provides a plethora of information regarding the experience of women struggling to survive in a male-dominated realm, a unique insight into gender roles and performativity and it serves as an excellent model for a study that aims to expose a hypermasculine realm that disenfranchises women. In my research, I will complement my resources concerning gender roles in Brazil with explanations from this book of how the performance of societally endorsed gender roles can result in the masculinization of a particular activity and male dominated domains (such as the

bateria). I will also apply the authors' theories on why men discourage women from participating in "masculine domains" and why women generally abstain from doing so to the case of the *bateria*. I will draw attention to the notion of Brazil as a patriarchal society and the *escola de samba* as a microcosm that reflects its values using the authors' discourse on hegemonies and social institutions. Using the book's extensive research on gender role socialization (performativity for Butler), I will provide support for my own claims regarding drumming as a performance of masculinity. Finally, I will briefly discuss the similarities between drumming in Rio de Janeiro and sports in the United States as male-dominated activities that discourage female participation, as well as the state's manipulation of women to promote nationalism in carnival and in the Olympics.

The Sporting Woman is divided in two parts. The first half of the book discusses the philosophical, theoretical and methodological dimensions of studying women in sports and includes sections dedicated to the history of women in sports, the psychology of female participation and gender role stereotypes. The second half of the book explores how female participation in sports is affected within different social institutions, including family, academics, the media and the government. The first chapter outlines the research as primarily influenced by humanist sociology and socialist feminism. The authors' discuss the humanist approach to sports, summarize the ideology of liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminism, and finally list a variety of axioms concerning their approach to women and sport given their academic and ideological influences. The first two seem most applicable to the notion of drumming as masculine and male-dominated in Brazil. The authors' state, firstly, that the institution of sports is clearly patriarchal, celebrates masculine power and values. Second, sexist ideology pervades

sports and this is seen in its exclusion of women based on “assumed biological inability” and “culturally ascribed ideas of femininity” (Boutilier and San Giovanni 18). For the most part, I believe these axioms will also apply in the case of *escolas de samba*.

The second chapter concerns the history of women in sports. More specifically, it recounts the long struggle for female participation in the United States, the athletic revolution of the sixties and seventies, and the feminist discourse concerning it. The third chapter approaches female participation in sports from a psychological standpoint. I found the chapters based on a feminist frame of reference much more constructive, but this chapter was not without some fascinating observations. The chapter begins by stating that given the patriarchal and hegemonic nature of sports, females have been wary of participating because they have been led to believe in an incongruity between the roles of “female” and “athlete.” Those who do participate are labeled deviants, given their disruption of the societal gender norms (Parker discusses this deviancy/disruptive nature as a threat to the masculinity of men). Chapter 3 also discusses the notion of sport involvement representing “a manifestation of the need for power” and that some participants may be concerned with their “impact, control, or influence over another person, groups of persons, or the world at large” (Boutilier and San Giovanni 74). Given the context of drumming in the *terreiro* as a means of controlling a ritual, the female participants and calling upon the gods, this need for power may also apply. This is particularly significant given the various resources that associate masculinity with a need for power in Brazil. The chapter ends with a useful quote “Matters are at their worst and individuals are reduced to objects when sex differences are invoked as a justification for a blanket restriction to freedom of choice” (Boutilier and San Giovanni 88).

Chapter 4 is incredibly relevant to my research in its discussion of important relevant feminist concepts and its exploration of the gender roles and patriarchal nature of sports that affirm masculinity, threaten femininity, lead men to protect it from women, and lead women to avoid it. While the authors identify similar gender role stereotypes to those that were mentioned in Parker and Burke's works (masculine as active, dominant, controlling; feminine as passive, submissive, inactive), she also mentions women as expressive and men as instrumental (technical, practical) which I also feel apply to *passistas* and *ritmistas*. Sports is described as "society's most prominent masculinity rite" and given the lack of remaining realms that permit the manifestation of traditional masculinity, "men cling ever more strongly to an institution that confirms their identity and social dominance" (Boutilier and San Giovanni 102). Female participation entails the destruction of one of the few agencies for masculine affirmation. "If women can play sports then 'men aren't really men'" (Boutilier and San Giovanni 102). The authors continue by discussing that men have discouraged female participation by stating that sports would "masculinize" women, though this may expose their true fear of "the feminization of sport" (Boutilier and San Giovanni 103). These concepts will be extremely beneficial in their application to men, women and the *bateria*. As a patriarchal institution, drumming has provided a means of affirming masculinity in *baterias* and the *terreiro*. Female participation in this realm would entail its destruction as a masculinity rite, thus emasculating the male members. While its hegemonic and patriarchal nature has convinced both men and women of its masculine values, and women may feel threatened by its allegedly masculinizing qualities, women remain a threat given their potential to take away man's only societal role as well as their masculinity. Subsequent

chapters discuss the socialization process in the family that lead to gender roles, as well as the manipulation of female athletes in the Olympics for the purpose of nationalism.

Michael Kimmel is an accomplished sociologist who specializes in the area of gender studies. He has made significant contributions to the subfield of men's studies, or masculinity, for over a quarter of a century. In his essay "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity," he focuses on the notion of masculinity as both multiple and variable, fluctuating in its constructed significance given the context of different historical moments, cultures and people. This idea presupposes that masculinity is not innate, and is in fact performed or molded. Using figures and examples from history, the author demonstrates how men design various forms of masculinity based off the predominant hegemonic model of the time. Failure to measure up to this specific model results in confusion and pain, as well as the formation of other variations. Drawing from Freudian theories, the author discusses how masculinity is based off of others as opposed to the individual subject. Specifically, it is a repudiation of femininity, a validation from other men as well as a fear of other men. This results in the exploitation of women, the marginalization of other men and the pain of feeling powerless despite entitlement to power.

This is one of a few gender theory materials I will be utilizing for my discussion of masculinity of drummers and affirmation of masculinity through drumming. My research is meant to draw attention to the sexuality of men in carnival and their gender-role based domination of drumming, but it also discusses women and femininity in depth. There are a few reasons for this. First, I wish to address the fact that so much attention

has been given to the sexuality of women in studies of Brazil and carnival. This is one reason that an investigation of masculinity in Brazil and carnival is significant. Second of all, and more importantly, masculinity can only be identified in its opposition to femininity (and perhaps other forms of masculinity). This is seen in Kimmel's simple and direct statement, that first and foremost, "being a man means 'not being like women'" (Kimmel 272). So it is in a comparison of gender roles that gender identity is determined, power relations can be discussed and how various people are affected by this power can be analyzed.

Kimmel begins the article by stating how masculinity is formed. "We come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of 'others' – racial minorities, sexual minorities, and, above all, women" (Kimmel 267). He continues by demonstrating that conceptualizations of masculinity change through time by comparing the current predominant hegemonic masculinity ("Marketplace Man") to previous ones ("Genteel Patriarch" and "Heroic Artisan"). The concept of sexuality transforming over time and in response to different situations will be helpful in my research when I discuss the gender role of the drummer, as well as how the sexuality of the *malandro/sambista* was affected by the development in its relationship with the Estado Novo (a patriarchal masculine entity). The author describes the Marketplace Masculinity as one shaped by the self-made man of capitalism, and is a strict formation of class, age, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity and a variety of attributes and backgrounds. This masculinity, as well as other contemporary variations and past hegemonic forms, are primarily "defined more by what one is not rather than who one is" (Kimmel 273).

“Historically and developmentally, masculinity has been defined as the flight from women, the repudiation of femininity” (Kimmel 273). Kimmel draws upon Freud’s Oedipus Complex to demonstrate how men detach from their mother, identify with their father and spend the rest of their lives fleeing from femininity and trying to prove their manhood. This results in men denouncing and suppressing feminine traits (as embodied by the mother) proving that “masculine identity is born in the renunciation of the feminine, not in the direct affirmation of the masculine” (Kimmel 274). The author continues by stating that this leaves masculine gender identity in a fragile and tenuous state. This concept is extremely valuable in the discussion of why men are so protective of the activities and realms that represent and affirm their masculinity. Given its fragility, any presence or influence of femininity becomes dangerous (as mentioned in Parker’s discussion of gender roles). The imminent threat of emasculation drives men to defend their sexuality and the tools that preserve it. This also clarifies the exploitation and marginalization of women by men, which is discussed by Kimmel. He states that as a result of denouncing and suppressing feminine traits, men learn “to devalue all women in society, as the living embodiments of those traits in himself he has learned to despise” (Kimmel 274). Given the defining qualities of hegemonic masculinity (and masculinity in Brazil as discussed by Parker and others) as strong, dominant and in control, “being masculine” entails maintaining and demonstrating “the power that some men have over other men and that men have over women.” (Kimmel 272). Thus, exploiting others and proving their inferiority (especially women) is one of the main tools of embodying male sexuality. This idea is elaborated in other sources on feminism and masculinity.

The author continues by discussing the formation of masculinity in the approval from and fear of other men. “Ideologies of manhood have functioned primarily in relation to the gaze of male peers and male authority” (Kimmel 275). It is only in performing masculinity and having that performance both acknowledged and approved that the construction of masculinity is affirmed. This concept will be helpful in discussing the importance of *terreiro* and *escola de samba* drumming groups as social clubs/fraternities that encourage male sexual identity. Masculinity is also formed in the fear of men, or homophobia. The author states that given the former pre-oedipal identification with one’s mother, men are forced to suppress the homoerotic desire that results from this identification. A desire for men is feminine, and masculinity is formed in opposition to femininity, thus homophobia becomes the effort to avoid being mistaken as (or perhaps revealed as) homosexual. It is more than denouncing the feminine traits that stereotypically characterize homosexuality, or subordinating homosexuals. Homophobia is a fear of men in the sense that they might “unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men” (Kimmel 277).

The marginalization of women and gay men often occurs as a means of exaggerating masculine identity so as to not be mistaken as feminine. “Women and gay men become the ‘other’ against which heterosexual men project their identities... by suppressing them, men can stake a claim for their own manhood” (Kimmel 280) Other groups (race/religion/ethnicity) have previously been characterized as unmanly, thus becoming “the screens against which traditional conceptions of manhood were developed” (Kimmel 281). Denying the manhood of others stems from a futile effort to

prove manhood. “Masculinity becomes a defense against the perceived threat of humiliation in the eyes of other men, enacted through a ‘sequence of postures’ ... that would make us ashamed of ourselves” (Kimmel 281). These concepts will be extremely helpful in establishing the reasoning behind the exploitation and marginalization of women, the preservation of masculine identity, and the protection of a domain and activity that affirms masculinity.

Sociological/Anthropological Texts Regarding Brazil and Brazilian Culture

Roberto DaMatta, one of Brazil's foremost social scientists, has had significant influence on how Brazilians view themselves and how they are seen worldwide. His approach to analyzing the national culture of Brazil is rooted in symbolic and structural anthropology. *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma* discusses myth and ritual in urban society and their contributions to national identity. It has proven to be his most important work. The book comprises a series of essays that analyze the nation and its people from the standpoint of Rio de Janeiro as a cultural hub, representing what it means to be Brazilian. The first three essays discuss the significance of carnival as directly embedded within the symbol system of Brazilian society. They compare carnival to two other rituals and associate all three to distinctive personality archetypes, creating a triangle of rituals and their respective participants. These chapters also discuss the context of these rituals within the spheres of the "house" and the "street," or the private and public realms. The fourth essay constitutes a study of how hierarchy and hegemony are maintained on a quotidian basis, centering on the authoritatively structuring pronouncement, "Do you know who you are talking to?" The final two essays further analyze the archetypal Brazilian icons, discussing the *caxias*, the *malandro* and the *renunciador* in relation to popular myths and conceptions of society. This book was essential to my research as it provided abundant information and insightful quotes regarding carnival, in-depth analysis of rituals and carnival as ritual, anthropological and sociological theory as well as the archetypal Brazilian figures that I placed in the context of sexual identity.

The introduction focuses on the nature and importance of ritual. DaMatta argues that it is during rites that members of society reflect upon their identity, either as individuals or a collective. For this reason rituals have the most potential to reproduce certain values or construct new ones. Given the influence of ritualization, the author draws attention to the “regular association between ritual and power” (DaMatta 16). Ceremonial exhibitions can influence society in a way that strengthens structures of authority, reinvests in certain beliefs or opens the participants’ minds to new ideas. Works of gender theory indicate that gender systems are intricately connected to power relations. It also often associates masculinity with the quest for and exertion of power. Therefore, it seems likely that the powerful influence of ritual could control conceptions of gender.

In my research, I utilize DaMatta’s understanding of ritual in the context of sexuality and Afro-Brazilian cultural practices. I also employ DaMatta’s interpretation of ritual as “a dramatization of certain elements, values, ideologies, and relationships in society” (24). He posits that the influence of rites lie in bringing specific phenomena to the forefront, thereby emphasizing their significance. The author demonstrates how this process of dramatization can produce divergent results depending on the circumstance. The example he provides is that of ritual in tribal and modern individualistic societies, where dramatization can bring the individual to the collective or visa versa. I use this idea to express how the dramatization of drummer/dancer gender roles produce divergent results in the Afro-Brazilian spirit possession ceremony and the samba school parade.

The first chapter discusses three Brazilian rituals, the social mechanisms of ritualization employed in them as well as the archetypal figures that embody them.

DaMatta analyzes carnival, military parades and religious processions as rituals in order to discuss varying realms and representatives of Brazilian society. He feels that carnival represents the “limit-point of informality,” where structures of authority are dismantled and citizens of any background can experience equality in their quest for pleasure (DaMatta 32). The malandro represents this ritual because he is a marginal character that is infamous for the pursuit of pleasure and distaste for the authority. DaMatta views carnival as the inverse of everyday society, where hierarchy is constantly emphasized. He thus designates *inversion* as the social mechanism that drives the ritual. The opposite occurs, however, in the military parade ritual, which DaMatta refers to as the “limit-point of informality” (32). In this ritual, the authority attempts to reinforce the values and roles that underpin hierarchy. The *caxias*, a patriotic embodiment of the authority and its values, acts as a archetypal icon for this event. The dramatization of phenomena constitutes the social mechanism of *reinforcement*, where the values emphasized are those that the authority deems essential to society. The religious procession is described as a ritual where participants seek freedom and equality by strengthening a structure of authority that is beyond their own society. The social mechanism employed is *neutralization*, because it incorporates but is neither reinforcement nor inversion. The renunciador embodies this ritual because he renounces the system in which he lives by dedicating himself to the hope for one which is better. DaMatta further elaborates upon the nature of the *caxias*, malandro and renunciador in chapter five. I utilize his extended description of these icons in my research by placing them in a hierarchy of Brazilian sexuality. This is accomplished by matching each icon to a variant of masculinity, selected from gender theory resources concerning the subject of masculinities (Connell

1995, Kimmel 2001). By assigning these roles to specific participants within the spirit possession and samba school parade rituals, I examine how a hegemonic shift affected the relationship between the figures and the implications of performing masculinity through drumming.

The second chapter discusses the “many levels of carnival” (DaMatta 61). One such example is the various social spheres of society, as seen in the street and the house (public and private). DaMatta discusses these two realms as feminine and masculine. The street is masculine because it is characterized by movement, freedom and action. The house is feminine because it is controlled and static. This view of the two realms of Brazilian society supports the essentialist conceptions of sexuality as “active” and “passive,” as discussed in Parker and Green’s works. It also complements the discussion in my research regarding Burke and activity versus passivity in Brazilian and European carnival. DaMatta also discusses two different female figures and their respective realms. The “virgin-mother” is a woman of the “house,” controlled by men and characterized by chastity and class. The “whore,” however, DaMatta feels is not under the control of men. Her place is in the “street,” and as such she enjoys freedom and pleasure. The “whore,” DaMatta claims, is celebrated in carnival. He views the female dancers of carnival as embodying this “whore” figure, focusing on how her sensual movements bring to mind images of reproductivity. DaMatta’s comments on carnival dancers as personifications of sex is similar to Pravaz’s analysis of Freyre’s *Casa Grande e Senzala*. The *passista*, like the mythical *mulata*, is seen as a promiscuous and fertile figure. This discussion helps to demonstrate how female dancers are negatively viewed

and subordinated within the context of carnival. It also helps to demonstrate popular conceptions of women in Brazil.

Throughout his book, DaMatta provides a plethora of information about and incite into Rio de Janeiro's pre-Lenten festival. He discusses in detail, for instance, the roles and significance of the drummers and dancers. DaMatta believes the drummers to be an example of massification in carnival, as they dress and act as a powerful and unified group. The dancers, however, draw attention to themselves individually with their exotic attire and sensual movements. My research will discuss the bateria as a microcosm of the greater patriarchy, not embodying a single entity but representing a collective and omnipresent force reflected in the submission and invocation of sexuality in the dancers. DaMatta's analysis of massification and individuality in carnival support this theory. The author goes into further detail regarding expressing Brazilian identity in carnival, and even draws connections to Afro-Brazilian religion. The information he provides, the theories he presents and the archetypal figures he employs regarding his work on Brazil and Rio de Janeiro carnival are essential components of my own research on gender roles and performing masculinity in the event.

Richard Parker's *Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions: Sexual Culture in Contemporary Brazil*, much like Roberto DaMatta's work, provides a great deal of information and incite into Brazilian identity, popular culture and carnival. His investigation into the construction of sexual meanings and national identity in Brazil is accomplished through fieldwork with the lower class of Rio de Janeiro, cultural observations, and the analysis of a diverse range of literature. At the center of this study of sexual meanings are the multiple and recurring subsystems of sexual experience

characterized by “disparate patterns, conflicting, and sometimes even contradictory, logics that have somehow managed to intertwine and interpenetrate within the fabric of social life” (Parker 2).

Parker discusses three subsystems in particular – gender relations, sexuality and eroticism – all of which can and have been situated within the wider context of Brazilian history. Parker emphasizes that despite the conflicting nature of these subsystems, the multifaceted nature of Brazilian social life allow them to be simultaneously contradictory and complementary, independent and yet completely reliable upon the existence of and constant exchange with other frames of reference. These subsystems make possible the construction of sexual realities and allow for Brazilians to “mold the contours of their own sexual universes” (Parker 5).

This book can also be divided between two different themes. In the first part of the book, Parker utilizes analysis of Brazilian literature, fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro and cultural observations to demonstrate how past and present cultural context of words, images, rituals and fantasies have shaped the experience of sexual life and applied multiple meanings to sexual categories. Parker traces the origins of sexual identity in Brazil and analyzes how different aspects of history, literature, and language have molded gender relations, sexuality, and eroticism, and how they have influenced the way Brazilians perceive themselves. In the second part of the book, Parker discusses these sexual meanings and subsystems and how they apply in the context of carnival as a symbolic illustration of the Brazilian sexual universe. The history and structure of Rio’s carnival is discussed at considerable length, as well as the key figures and roles of the

event. This culminates in an exploration of carnival as a metaphor, specifically for Brazilian identity.

Richard Parker's work will be a very important resource for the development of my research for several reasons. His insights into the works of Gilberto Freyre, Roberto DaMatta, Michel Foucault and Gayle Rubin, as well as the application of their works to Brazilian identity, will be crucial in expanding upon my own theories in regards to carnival and Brazilian sexuality. His perspectives on Brazilian history, especially in regards to slavery and the development of carnival, draw attention to some fascinating connections with modern Brazil that will be helpful in establishing my own ideas. The book also goes into depth in regards to the origins of gender roles and patriarchy in Brazil, and these theories apply directly to my own conclusions. Parker analyzes several figures that are essential to my own research, including the *mulata*, the *malandro*, the *machão* and the *traveste*. Finally, his analysis of carnival, especially as an embodiment of Brazilian sexuality, will be very helpful in establishing my own conceptions of the festival.

Parker's discussion of the colonial period and Gilberto Freyre's *The Masters and The Slaves* is particularly relevant to my studies, especially in regards to patriarchy, gender roles, and the *mulata*. The book cites a prime example of patriarchy in Brazilian history in the case of the plantation. "This hierarchical structure seems to have been based, above all else, on the exercise of force by the patriarch" (Parker 36). Parker continues by drawing attention to the creation of gender roles via the masculine patriarch's opposition to femininity. Masculinity became characterized by "a vision of power, of action and virility encompassed in the patriarch's absolute domination over all

those around him” (Parker 39). Femininity, in contrast, was “defined in terms of obvious inferiority, as in all ways the weaker of the two sexes—beautiful and desirable, but nonetheless subject to the absolute domination of the patriarch” (Parker 36).

Parker also ties gender roles to the concept of activity versus passivity in relation to masculine and feminine personality, activities, social spaces (*casa* and the *rua*) as well as sexual positions. “This distinction between activity and passivity clearly structures Brazilian notions of masculinity and femininity and has traditionally served as the organizing principle for a much wider world of sexual classifications in day-to-day Brazilian life” (Parker 46). This patriarchal concept of masculinity implying power over women will help in my discussion of gender roles within the Candomblé terreiro as well as in modern day carnival. I will also talk about the passive and active roles (as discussed by Parker) of men and women in Brazilian carnival versus European carnival as analyzed by Peter Burke in *Varieties of Cultural History*. Parker goes on to discuss how passive roles in men and active roles in women disrupt the established Brazilian sexual conduct. In the case of the *cornio*, he assumes a passive and submissive position when he fails to fulfill his masculine obligation and is emasculated by his partner who assumes a dominant position as betrayer. The *sapatão*, however, threatens her femininity in assuming a position of active dominance. This is essential to my discussion on how a woman entering the *bateria* threatens the masculinity of men, and how that woman would threaten her own femininity in doing so.

Parker describes this potential for women to emasculate men as a reason why the social space for a woman is the *casa*, where they can develop their femininity and not endanger the dominance of masculinity. The man must escape femininity by developing

his own masculinity through experience on the *rua*. This freedom accompanies the colonial conception of sexual prowess as a mark of masculinity. This sexual freedom of the elite led to Gilberto Freyre's ideas on miscegenation, and the considerable amount of research on the identity of the *mulata*. "The mulata is given a key role in the symbolic universe of the carnival. Defined, ever since the days of slavery as an erotic ideal in Brazilian culture, the mulata is perceived as the perfect embodiment of the heat and sensuality of the tropics" (Parker 171). Parker discusses both Freyre's and his own ideas about the *mulata*. He discusses how the treatment of the *mulata* during the colonial period as well as the sexual connotations ascribed her by society has led to her image as the embodiment of sensuality. Furthermore, he discusses how she has become a symbol for Brazil and Brazilian sexuality given her identity as a mixture of Portuguese, African, and Indian. Parker's discussion of Freyre's work and the *mulata* will compliment materials by Natasha Pravaz that concern the image of the *mulata* and her sexual identity in the context of carnival.

In addition to the relevant information Parker's book provides in regards to gender relations and sexual meanings in Brazil, the detailed historical accounts and descriptions of carnival are also helpful. One such example is in his explanation of the advent of sexuality in Brazil, which is clearly influenced by Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*. Much like Foucault's work, Parker draws attention to how "social hygiene, modern medicine, and scientific investigation were intimately tied to the question of sex." (89) His research regarding the church and state's interest in the Brazilian population's led to the conclusion that this period led to sex becoming "both and object of knowledge and a source of truth" (Parker 110). Given Foucault's theories on sexuality, bodies and

power, I plan to use his works in my research on the *escolas de samba*. Parker's application of Foucault's works on Brazil will be very useful in this respect.

Parker also provides a considerable discussion of the history of carnaval and a description of modern carnaval in Rio de Janeiro. In addition, he analyzes several figures in carnaval such as the *malandro* and the *travesti* and explains their significance. This information will be very helpful in providing a background to the event, and analyzing its key figures. Analysis of the *travesti* will be particularly important in discussing the disruption of gender roles in carnaval, and comparing it to the *terreiro* figure of the *pai-de-santo*. Parker also briefly discusses a concept more or less identical to Judith Butler's performativity, and how it occurs in the context of gender in Brazil. Parker's work provides much information and incite into Brazilian identity, culture and Rio de Janeiro's pre-Lenten festival.

Natasha Pravaz has also done extensive research in the area of Brazilian culture, but focuses more upon her fieldwork with the *escolas de samba* of Rio de Janeiro and popular conceptions of the *mulata/passista*. Much of her research has included hands-on experience performing as a dancer in carnaval, and it seems her close interaction has provided her with a perspective allowing for more optimistic views of the *mulata* and her place in society. Her optimistic view contrasts with a great deal of literature (Rector 1989; Boyce Davies 1994; Gilliam 1998; Giacomini 2006) that focus on the exploitation and marginalization of the Afro-Brazilian by a patriarchal and nationalist society. While Pravaz acknowledges and discusses the majority of concerns addressed by other authors in regards to the *mulata* and carnaval, she generally appeals to a subjective viewpoint in

favor of the benefits that Afro-Brazilian women take out of assuming the *mulata* identity and representing their country's culture. Many of these concerns are focused upon individually in each article, though much of the background research is similar.

Pravaz's article 2003 "Brazilian mulatice: performing race, gender, and the nation" traces the origin of the *mulata* in the context of Brazilian history and literature and separates the image of the *mulata* from the physical body. The author describes the qualities of "mulatice" as they have developed since the colonial period, and explains that the *mulata* has become more of a cultural construction than a race. Through Gilberto Freyre's idealization of the relationship between masters and slaves during the colonial period, his nationalization and sexualization of the *mulata*, and her sensual and symbolic role in carnival, the *mulata*'s ideal image came to be emulated by Brazilians of all backgrounds. Pravaz describes how black women identify with the *mulata* to escape persecution and white women attempt to embody its sensual qualities. This specific article will help in putting the *mulata* within a historical context, portraying her as an extreme or ideal femininity, demonstrating how the *mulata*'s role in carnival helped separate Afro-Brazilian culture from Afro-Brazilians as well as how it affects women today.

"Hybridity Brazilian style: samba, Carnaval, and the myth of 'racial democracy' in Rio de Janeiro" focuses on the Vargas regime and its appropriation of Afro-Brazilian culture in an effort to form a national identity and promote racial democracy. Pravaz draws attention to how Afro-Brazilians utilize strategic hybridity to live through and question Brazil's racial formation. The article begins by stating that as a hybrid form, samba owes "as much Candomblé as to more Europeanized dances," (Pravaz,

“Hybridity” 83) emphasizing samba’s roots in Afro-Brazilian religion. She continues by saying “it was in the *terreiros*, the religious spaces established by migrant ex-slaves from Bahia at the turn of the twentieth century, that samba as we know it today took shape,” and that much of the choreography from contemporary carnival performances are derived from Afro-Brazilian religious movements (Pravaz, “Hybridity” 83). Pravaz follows these statements with a history of the origins of samba in Afro-Brazilian communities, and moves on to the rise of the Vargas regime. She describes how the Estado Novo utilized samba and carnival to create national symbols that emphasized racial democracy (comparing the cultures to Freyre’s conceptualization of the *mulata*). Pravaz questions whether the commercialization of samba and carnival is a positive or negative force for racial equality in Brazil, but emphasizes that the Afro-Brazilian use of strategic hybridity allows from the preservation of their values and cultures. This article contains some interesting information that links samba to its roots in the *terreiro* of Candomblé. In addition, it will help in my discussion of the impact of the Vargas regime on samba and carnival.

“Where is the Carnavalesque in Rio’s Carnival? Samba, mulatas, and modernity” discusses the modernization of carnival since the Vargas regime. Specifically, the author discusses how the inclusion of the middle-class has affected the Afro-Brazilian community and how carnival has transformed from a ritual into a spectacle since its widespread commercialization. After briefly discussing concepts of *mestiçagem* and Vargas’ influence on carnival, Pravaz talks about how carnival and *escolas de samba* have changed. She states that mass production of costumes for carnival has made it difficult for the lower class to participate, and the middle class is happy to step in.

Furthermore, she feels that middle and upper class Brazilians are more invested in a visual spectacle while the lower class wish to preserve their culture. She continues by drawing attention to how the spectacle of carnival once again places the *mulata* in the spotlight where the “colonial gaze” emphasizes her sexualized identity. “The body presented in the spectacle of carnival is heavily sexualized and its genitals strongly emphasized,” however, Pravaz feels that their joy in participating outweighs the negatives (Pravaz, “Carnavalesque” 105). The author also makes a comparison of the carnival space *mulatas* take to the space in the *terreiro* “where worship is enacted through spirit possession” (Pravaz, “Carnavalesque” 108). This connection of samba to the *terreiro* will be helpful for my research. In addition, the information on how the modernization of carnival has drawn attention back to the *mulata* as a sexual and national entity will help with my analysis of the *mulata* and feminine gender roles in carnival.

James Green’s primary research involves the political, social and cultural history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Brazil, often specifically related to sexuality. His book *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* seeks to “look beyond the gender transgressions and public displays of sexuality that take place during Carnival in order to examine the broader social and cultural reality of male homosexuality in Brazil over the course of the twentieth century” (Green 15). While the research focuses on the lives of male homosexuals in Brazil, the author feels that in discussing the lives of men who have overstepped sexual boundaries, much is revealed about cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. In fact, the first page discusses how performances on the streets of Rio de Janeiro publicly affirmed “these men’s own notions of masculinity and femininity, notions that both challenged and reinforced

Brazilian gender norms” (Green 1). Their conceptions of gender roles and how they choose to imitate or parody them will be useful in my research of gender roles in carnival. The fifth chapter focuses on the cross dresser and (more importantly) *travesti* and their roles and experiences in Rio de Janeiro’s since the officialization of Carnival during the Vargas regime. I plan to first of all emphasize the gender roles in Brazil as they are conceptualized by the *travesti*. I will also demonstrate how the *travesti* parodies these roles. In comparing the *travesti* to the *pai-de-santo*, I will examine how these two androgynous figures transcend the regulations of gender while remaining essential figures within their own rituals/realms. I should note that while I focused on chapter five, the book also elaborated upon the active/passive Brazilian understanding of homosexuality as it is discussed by Parker and Matory in their books. This will also prove useful to my research.

Chapter five investigates three realms of Carnival occupied by *travestis* – street revelry, Carnival balls and costume competitions and samba school parades. While their collective experiences in each domain of Carnival led to the *travesti* becoming a significant figure of this annual event, the street revelry (and more significantly) participation in the samba parades will be the focus of my research in regards to this book. The author states that while some gender transgression was permitted during Carnival in the mid twentieth century, the homosexual appropriation of space in Carnival was a long process. Many heterosexual men have assumed roles as cross dressers during the pre-Lenten celebrations over the course of the century, but “their transgression is limited to society’s superficial markers of gender” (Green 203). Those truly dedicated to the practices of inversion during Carnival save money for costumes the

entire year. Both heterosexual and homosexual cross dressers participated in the street revelry of the *blocos* as early as the 1930s. However, it was the “drag balls” that were truly responsible for Carnaval *travesti* culture. The costumes worn at these events were lavish and expensive. “Some men dressed as women not to equal beauty queens...but rather to make fun of rigid social rules of gender through effeminate gestures, makeup and clothes” (Green 212). The success of drag balls eventually drew the attention of members of the elite and foreign Carnaval participants. It would grow to become a main attraction of Rio Carnaval, however, there were several years when participants were persecuted and the balls were banned. In any case, celebrity attendance and influence of *travestis* in popular culture, such as the song “Cabeleira do Zezé,” reflected the rise in popularity of *travesti* culture.

“By the mid-1970s, these bailes had become a permanent part of Rio’s carnival festivities” (Green 233). Various street parties featured performances and participation by drag queens, such as Banda de Ipanema and Baile de Paulistinha. The shows during Carnaval had become so popular that they became a year round event in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, in some cases performing internationally. Greater visibility of *travestis* transformed how they were viewed, creating a new climate. The *travesti* became an icon of Carnaval, allowing for homosexuals to participate in every aspect of the festival.

“Parading with samba schools became one of several Carnival activities that they engaged in during the three days preceding Ash Wednesday” (Green 240). The author continues by describing how the modernization of Carnaval in the early 1970s “encouraged increasingly ostentatious productions. Homosexuals participated actively in all aspects of the parade...joining a given *ala*, or section...samba(ing) down the avenue

in a luxurious costume” (Green 240). *Travestis* were even able to act as *destaques*, taking “prominent positions on the floats, dressed in all their regalia...joined by male drag stars, who outdid each other in aspiring to be the queens of Carnaval” (Green 240).

As mentioned in Parker’s study, deviants of gender identity tend to disrupt societal frameworks and throw them in disorder. Judith Butler encourages readers to manipulate the performativity of cultural constructions by acting as deviants and “troubling gender.” In this way, it is possible to liberate oneself from the oppressive shackles of a patriarchal society. Androgynous entities are free from the regulations that demand gender conformity. They exist outside of a framework that privileges one gender with power over the other. The *pai-de-santo* and *travesti* are such androgynous entities. The *travesti* specifically portrays cultural gender norms in her perception of society, and parodies them in her performance. Like the *pai-de-santo*, she establishes a significant and celebrated position in her realm and ritual, while transcending gender roles and escaping the patriarchal framework. The *travesti* further illuminates the gender roles of Carnaval, while simultaneously criticizing them and representing liberation from oppressive gender systems and hegemony.

For over a quarter of a century, Peter Burke has made significant impact in the field of cultural history and has published over a dozen books. The twelve essays of *Varieties of Cultural History* aim to criticize the classic models of cultural history as short sided, and portray and reflect upon an expanded methodology that prevents the field from deteriorating into fragmentation without resorting to the homogenization of entire societies. Burke accomplishes this in his works by avoiding specialization and broadening the scope of his study. This is clearly evident in the diverse subject matter of

his essays. If a lesson is to be taken from Burke's writings, surely it is to avoid a homogenous and fragmented view of culture that is ethnocentric and "blind to differences and conflicts" (Burke 211). Instead, he urges the reader that a cultural history must be polyphonic. "It has to contain within itself a variety of tongues and points of view, including those of victors and vanquished, men and women, insiders and outsiders, contemporaries and historians" (Burke 212). Burke's approach advocates consideration of a vast range of topics including gender, race, class, nation, space, time and memory.

This book is important to my study for a couple reasons. First of all, I find his comprehensive approach to cultural history very instructive, and I plan to utilize his methodology in my research. The final chapter entitled "Unity and Variety in Cultural History" goes into depth explaining various models of cultural history. One example is called "The Encounter Model," which concerns itself with the cultural consequences of European expansion. One essay that is quite relevant to this model is called "The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds." This essay draws attention to the similarities and differences between Brazilian and European carnival, and discusses the potential causes of change. The essay is important for my research for several reasons. In comparing the two carnivals, I will be able to determine (in my own research) what contributions may have been of European origin, African origin, or a product of transculturation. Furthermore, Burke discusses the gender roles of European and Brazilian carnival, as well as the history and prominent figures of carnival. Discussion of gender roles will be particularly important in my work in the discussion of the roles of *passistas* and *ritimistas*. Finally, Burke concludes that the African influences are obviously what account for the differences between Brazilian and European carnival, and

he specifically mentions the influence of Afro-Brazilian religion. This conclusion supports my own hypothesis about the presence of religious values in the *escolas de samba*.

Burke states in his essay that the parallels between Brazilian and European carnival are remarkable. He finds similarities in the mischievous antics of the Portuguese *entrudo*, the elaborate costumes and masks, as well as the parades and allegorical floats that were present in past carnivals of Europe. One could conclude from these observations that Brazilian carnival has much of its origins in Europe. However, Burke continues by stating that the original European cultural form was “adapted to the local conditions” resulting in three noticeable transformations: “the place of women, of dancing and of African culture” (Burke 151).

The section on differences in Brazilian carnival begins by stating “the importance and the active role of women in the carnivals of the Americas contrasts with traditional European customs, in which a woman’s place was generally on the balcony, observing ... the men below, rather than in the street participating fully.” Burke continues by stating that European carnivals, their focus being on men, could be seen as “rituals for the affirmation of masculinity” (Burke 152). This comparison of the focus and activity between men and women in European and Brazilian carnival will be discussed in my research in relation to Richard Parker’s notion of activity and passivity correlating with masculinity and femininity respectively. My research will discuss that just as men affirmed their own masculinity in their power over women (forcing them to assume feminine roles by European standards), Brazilian *ritmistas* also engage in a ritual of

masculinity affirmation in their power over women (forcing them to assume feminine roles by Brazilian standards).

Burke continues by emphasizing the unique importance of dance in the carnivals of the Americas. He talks about some of the more prominent female dancing figures in the carnival, and discusses the progression of popular Brazilian dance up until samba. The author considers the African influence present in carnival dances, perhaps most significant being the dance and music of Afro-Brazilian religion. One such example is the “ritual provoking loss of consciousness and the possession of the dancer by spirits or gods” (Burke 156). Burke compares the possessed practitioners to the carnival dancers who seem to take on the nature of their elaborate costumes. “The dances of the *candomblé* are sometimes compared with the carnival samba not only by observers but by participants” (Burke 156) My research will also compare the ritual of spirit possession and the dance of Afro-Brazilian religion to the dances and rituals of carnival

The author continues by discussing the influence of the music of Afro-Brazilian religion. “Drumming was central to these possession rituals. The drums were considered the voices of the gods, each god being associated with a distinctive rhythm” (Burke 156). Several other sources corroborate this idea of drums as sacred. My research will further explore the importance of drums and drummers in African and African-based cultures. The author emphasizes this importance by discussing how it translated into carnival. “The place of drums in these carnivals is central in the cases of the *baterias* of Rio” (Burke 156). My work will also discuss how the culture of drumming in Afro-Brazilian religion, including drumming as an affirmation of masculinity, became a part of the culture of the *escolas de samba*.

One of the most significant works regarding Afro-Brazilian drumming is an article by Melville Herskovits called “Drums and Drummers in Afro-Brazilian Cult Life,” which addresses the importance of drums and drummers in Afro-Brazilian religious groups. Melville Herskovits made a tremendous impact on anthropology, American academia and the country during his lifetime. Along with Gilberto Freyre, Herskovits studied under Franz Boas at Columbia University. He went on to do extensive studies of the African diaspora in the United States as well as Latin America. Some of his more acclaimed works include *The Myth of the Negro Past* and the publications concerning syncretism of Catholicism and African religions in the Americas.

Herskovits explores a range of topics all centering around drumming and the lives of Afro-Brazilian religion practitioners. This includes the requisite skills demanded of these drummers, the respect afforded them because of their responsibilities, the importance of drums to these communities and the resulting treatment of them, the role of drummers in spirit possession rituals, the gender roles associated with drumming and the fraternity among drummers. While this fieldwork was completed in 1944, Herskovits has corroborated his observations in more recent publications, as have other contemporary works.

This article (and other related articles) will be extremely important for my work because it establishes the gender roles for drummers and dancers in Afro-Brazilian religions, and lends credence to the performativity of drumming as a self-naturalizing cultural construction of masculinity (theories borrowed from Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble*). Herskovits begins the article by depicting the drummer of the Afro-Brazilian cult *terreiro* as one who exudes confidence, is respected, admired, and in a position of

power. The author is quick to explain his level of importance in the religious group. “It is he who brings on possession through his manipulation of these rhythmic intricacies, yet he himself never becomes possessed” (Herskovits 477). One of the most important practices in Afro-Brazilian religions is the ritual of spirit possession, where (primarily) women dance to the beat of drums and song with the objective of coercing the gods to descend among them. While the dancers commune with these deities, it is the drummers who control the ritual. With their mastery “of the large drum, whose voice commands the gods,” the drummers call upon the divine and still maintain complete control. “The drummer knows that, without him, the gods would not come and worship could not go on. He is the mainspring of the ritual” (Herskovits 477). Herskovits is quick to establish the importance of the drummer’s role because it is essential to the *terreiro*. Early on in the article, it becomes clear that this role is characterized by power, dominance and control. These ideas will be essential in my discussion of how drumming became associated with masculinity. Richard Parker often cites masculinity in Brazil as a gender characterized by activity, dominance and power while femininity is one of passivity and submission. In applying these ideas to the *terreiro* and the *escola de samba*, I will be able to demonstrate the connections between the roles of drummers and dancers in both realms.

Herskovits continues to define gender roles in the *terreiro* in his work. He mentions the separation between men and women during rituals. “Spectators occupy bleacher-like seats on either side of this space, women separated from men” (Herskovits 480). He also describes the respect required of dancers who are generally women. “No one under possession may turn back to the drums when dancing;” “[Drummers] control

the choreography of the dance;” Any well known drummer is accorded this salute-it is his right, and must be given him.” (480) Perhaps most importantly, Herskovits illustrates gender roles in the *terreiro* by describing the taboo in African culture against women engaging in the activity of percussion. “As in all African and African-derived cultures, drumming is for men” (Herskovits 488). “One Bahian woman, at least, is a very good drummer; but she is a distinct exception and would never presume to play at a rite unless in an emergency when no male drummer was available. It is significant, moreover, that the god of this woman is a male deity” (Herskovits 489). My research proposes that this African tradition survived the diaspora to the Americas and was preserved in Afro-Brazilian syncretism. It was honored as a tradition, acknowledged as a means of affirming masculinity and finally accepted as a naturalized truth following years of repetition as a cultural construction. Given the close quarters of samba and Afro-Brazilian religion during the formation of the national dance/music, I will propose that this African derived sexual taboo was and is shared by samba and, more specifically, *escolas de samba*.

The remainder of the article also supports the aforementioned development of percussion as a sexual taboo in the discussion of drumming as a male birthright. “Often their fathers, and sometimes their grandfathers, were drummers of repute. They are anxious that their own technique should, in turn, be handed on to their sons;” “Boys are encouraged by tradition to learn the drum-rhythms... At ceremonies, before the skilled drummers take over, the older boys and young men of the house begin beating out rhythms;” “Wherever drums are played, a group of boys is invariably found standing close by, listening, watching, learning. A youth who shows talent is sometimes permitted

to play a smaller drum (during cult rituals)” (Herskovits 489). These observations demonstrate how drumming is encouraged as a means of affirming one’s masculinity at a young age. In doing so, older members of the *terreiro* ensure that the sexual taboo is ingrained in the minds of the younger generation. Richard Parker also discusses how important male social groups are to the development of masculinity in Brazil, and how invested older members are in cultivating masculinity in younger men. This seems very relevant here. Evidence of fraternity formed between these drummers is clear in Hervokits’ observation that “drummers form a group of their own, and regard each other with the friendly respect of professionals who acknowledge one another's competence” (489). All of the previously mentioned statements are also relevant in the *escolas de samba*. Young men growing up in Rio de Janeiro are constantly exposed to the city’s (perhaps even the country’s) cultural heritage, especially in the favelas. The *baterias* in the *escolas de samba* can also be seen as social clubs that encourage the cultivation of masculinity.

Every *terreiro* has a hierarchy composed of priests, initiates, and a variety of members of different titles. Drummers are also granted titles within this hierarchy, often of prestigious rank. “Every house has a chief drummer, the principal *alabe*, who has a definite place in the hierarchy of officials that controls, to the last detail, the direction of cult affairs and assures ritual correctness in every step of the intricate ceremonial” (Herskovits 480). The high rank and reverence afforded them is only proportionate to the level of proficiency requisite their position. “For each deity worshipped by the members of a given cult group – and the group may serve 20-25 gods – there are songs to which there is at least one rhythmic accompaniment and many for which there are alternative

accompaniments” (Herskovits 491). Drummers are also expected to be able to relieve the priest – who generally leads the rituals in song. They must be prepared to play the rhythms and songs of other *terreiros*, those requested by visiting practitioners, all the while adapting to and shaping the energy of a ritual. This ability is also demanded of the *ritimistas* in the *escola de samba bateria*, who control the energy and pace of carnival. Much like the dancers of the *terreiro*, female *passistas* are the focus of ritual and their sexualities receive the most attention and contemplation. It is the drummers, however, that dominate the dancers in both the *terreiro* and *carnaval* rituals. The dancers are submissive and obey the demand of their rhythms. They understand that without the drummers, neither their roles nor the rituals would exist. It is in this relationship between the dancers and drummers that the subtle yet commanding presence of masculine sexuality is revealed. Whereas Herskovits focuses on the significance of the drummer, Matory and Fry discuss the male leader of the *terreiro*, known as the *pai-de-santo* or *adé*.

J. Lorand Matory is an accomplished cultural anthropologist who has researched extensively in the area of African diaspora. His book *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy* discusses, ethnographically and historically, how the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé has affected and been effected by transnationalism. The author accomplishes this by examining the textual, commercial and ritual forms that embody the overlapping and “multiple imagined communities” of Candomblé practitioners. The book is written chronologically, with the first chapter beginning in the mid 19th century and the final chapter ending in the early 21st century. The first four chapters will be helpful in framing Afro-Brazilian religion historically in my research. The first chapter concerns “the trans-Atlantic genesis” of various peoples from different

African nations, whose culture would form the basis for African derived religions in the Americas. The next chapter follows by providing a historical account of the origins of the Jeje Nation in Bahia and a critical discussion of transnationalism. Chapter three discusses the rituals of Afro-Brazilian religion, focusing on African racial and cultural purity. The next chapter discusses the rise of the Vargas regime and its embrace of Candomblé as a symbol of Brazil. These chapters, which focus on the origins of Candomblé and its development in Brazil, will be helpful in discussing the history of Afro-Brazilian religion, especially immediately before the Estado Novo.

Chapter five is the most important part of the book in regards to my research. It addresses the gender roles and sexuality of practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religion, especially the male priest, known as the *pai-de-santo* or the *adé*. Earlier in the book, Matory discusses how “in Candomblé, sex is a recurrent metaphor and metonym in ritual efforts to control what does and what does not penetrate the body of the temple, the religious community, and its members” (Matory 133). He provides examples by drawing attention to how language is used to describe different roles and acts in the *terreiro*. For instance, practitioners who are possessed by gods are known as *iaô*, or brides, and the act of being possessed is described as being “mounted” (*montada*) by a god. As other resources will note (Ruth Landes’ *City of Women* and the Encyclopedia of Religion), receiving a god is generally (if not imperatively) considered the gendered ability of women. Women are considered to have this ability because of their receptive role in heterosexual relations. Parker identifies femininity in Brazil with passivity and submission. These ideas go along with the title of bride and the concept of being mounted by a god. Ability to receive a god, therefore, is inherent in one’s sexuality.

Given the aforementioned criteria, the male possession priest, known as a *pai-de-santo* or *adé*, becomes problematic for the gender roles of Afro-Brazilian religion. Matory briefly discusses the concept of homosexuality in Brazil as identifying one who is penetrated during intercourse (whereas Americans identify homosexuals as anyone engaging in same sex relations). Thus, homosexuality is associated with passivity or femininity as opposed to sexual interest. While the *terreiro*'s feminine realm is that of the spirit possession dancers, and the masculine realm is that of the drummers, the *pai-de-santo* moves freely between these two worlds. The *pai-de-santo* plays several roles in the possession ritual. He is the organizer and leader of the ritual, he assumes the role of the male drummer in singing and playing the agogô, and he assumes the role of the female dancer in being mounted by the gods. In addition, the *pai-de-santo*'s role as a "bride" of the gods obligates him to wear a dress. This androgynous role allows for the *pai-de-santo* to embrace both the feminine and the masculine while maintaining a crucial and respected position within the ritual and the *terreiro*. I plan to discuss this role in relation to the gender roles of men and women (drummers and dancers) in the *terreiro*. I also plan to compare his role to the androgynous position of the *travesti* within the ritual of carnival. Theoretical research on gender roles will be employed to discuss the ideal nature of androgyny as opposed to masculine/feminine systems, which exist within a patriarchal framework.

Given his cross dressing and his passive role in the ceremony, the *pai-de-santo* is often assumed to be homosexual and is identified with male prostitution and transvestitism by Brazilian society. Many people, including anthropologists, look down upon the practice of possession by male priests. In her book on Candomblé, Ruth Landes

said “no upright man will allow himself to be ridden by a god, unless he does not care about losing his manhood...some men do...they are known to be homosexuals” (Matory 212). Matory states that men who wish to maintain their masculine identity will flee a ceremony at the slightest sign of becoming possessed in fear that he will be regarded as feminine. The author continues by discussing how a man considered passive can still assert his dominance in leading the cult. He continues by stating that the image of a dominant macho overcoming a passive partner is “played out in the ritual of the gods.” It is “continuously reinvested with an aura of reality at the height of the public ceremonial, when the *macho* drummers and singers induce the chief priest to lose self-control by ‘calling the saint’ into his head” (Matory 215). The author defends the priest’s ability to fulfill his role as leader, demonstrating that he can transcend the gender roles of the *terreiro* while still maintaining a dominant role (in contrast to his passivity in possession). Furthermore, the author places the role of the drummers on the opposite pole of the feminine dancers, thus confirming the concept of drumming as a masculine/male-dominated realm. The remainder of the chapter is spent defending the *pai-de-santo*, claiming that despite the role they assume the author has not met any male priests who considered themselves homosexual or who claimed to engaged in same sex relations. Other resources (Fry 1995) place more emphasis on the literal homosexuality of male possession priests.

Peter Fry is an anthropologist who has published several works on his research in Brazil in the area of sexuality and religion. His article “Male Homosexuality and Afro-Brazilian Possession Cults” comprises analysis of literature regarding spirit possession

and homosexuality as well as his own fieldwork in the area. The research aims to clarify previous studies linking Afro-Brazilian religion and male possession priests with homosexuality. Specifically, Fry states that gay men are attracted to Afro-Brazilian cults because the cults are known for gay membership. Homosexuals, like practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religion, are considered deviant in Brazilian society. Fry finds that such a reputation would be beneficial to one whose profession involves magic. The article centers on some of the earliest allegations of Ruth Landes, who stated “tradition says baldly that only women are suited by their sex to nurse the deities, and that the service of men is blasphemous and unsexing” (Fry 197).

Fry discusses in depth the Brazilian understanding of homosexuality, homosexual possession priests, and homosexuality in Afro-Brazilian religion. This article is significant in that it is complementary with the Matory text that analyzes the *pai-de-santo*. Ruth Landes’ work denounces the male priest in Afro-Brazilian religion, but neither Matory nor Fry concur. Matory defends the *pai-de-santos* and refutes any allegations of them as passive homosexuals just because of their receptive role in spirit possession. Fry, however, defends the *pai-de-santo* but his article depicts the stereotype of the passive homosexual priest as correct. His fieldwork draws the reader’s attention to openly gay possession priests, Candomblé *terreiros* with a primarily homosexual membership, and erotic rituals. The article also emphasizes that the homosexuality of these priests can be beneficial to their profession, and that their sexuality does not prevent them from performing competently in their position. I will use both Fry and Matory’s articles to construct a vision of the androgynous *pai-de-santo* as a genderless entity that transcends the roles assigned to women and men during possession rituals. The fact that

both authors determined the priests to be significant in their roles, but disagreed in regards to their sexualities, only strengthens my own argument that these priests represent an ambiguous sexual identity.

Works Cited

- Boutilier, Mary A and Lucinda San Giovanni. *Sporting Woman*. 2nd ed. Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1983. Print.
- Burke, Peter. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Print, 1997. Print.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge Classics, 2006. Print.
- Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Print, 1995. Print.
- Da Matta, Roberto. *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma*. Trans. John Drury. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Print: 1991. Print.
- Fry, Peter. "Male Homosexuality and Afro-Brazilian Possession Cults." *Latin American Male Homosexualities*. Ed. Stephen O. Murray. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Print, 1995. 193-220. Print.
- Gardel, Luis D. *Escolas de Samba: An Affectionate Descriptive Account of the Carnival Guilds of Rio De Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editôra, 1967. Print.
- Green, James N. *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Chicago: University of Chicago Print, 1999. Print.
- Herskovits, Melville J. "Drums and Drummers in Afro-Brazilian Cult Life." *The Musical Quarterly* 30.4 (1944) : 477-492. Print.
- Kimmel, Michael. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity." *The Masculinities Reader*. Ed. Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett. Cambridge: Polity Print, 2001. 266–287. Print.
- Matory, J. Lorand. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton: Princeton University Print, 2005. Print.
- Parker, Richard G. *Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions: Sexual Culture in Contemporary Brazil*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Print, 2009. Print.
- Pravaz, Natasha. "Brazilian Mulattice: Performing Race, Gender, and the Nation." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8.1 (2003) : 116–147. Print.

---. "Hybridity Brazilian Style: Samba, Carnaval, and the Myth of 'Racial Democracy' in Rio de Janeiro." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15.1 (2008) : 80–102. Print.

---. "Where is the Carnavalesque in Rio's Carnaval? Samba, Mulatas, and Modernity." *VisualAnthropology* 21.2 (2008) : 95–111. Print.

Shaw, Lisa. *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1999. Print.

Author and citation information:

Dillon, Gregory M. "Masculinity in Carioca Carnaval Drumming." MA thesis. University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2013. Web <www.umassd.edu/portgrad>.