Fifty Years of Cultural Cannibalism: Contemporary Attitudes Towards Globalization in Ceará

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the influence of Tropicália—a Brazilian art and music movement of the 1960s and 1970s—on contemporary attitudes towards cultural globalization in Ceará, Brazil. This paper examines the influence of one Tropicalist ideal in particular, the concept of antropofagia, or cultural cannibalism. Cultural cannibalism promotes the consumption of foreign cultures with the goal of internalizing and synthesizing with local cultures, and subsequently creating something wholly original. The goal of the paper is to assess the impact of antropofagia on modern attitudes towards globalizing processes and globalized phenomena in Ceará, particularly related to music. Few of the key actors in Ceará explicitly recognize the influence of the Tropicália movement. However, I argue that antropofagia and the Tropicalist manner of interpreting and processing globalization have transcended the legacy of the Tropicália movement itself. Traces of the Tropicalist interpretation of antropofagia are in fact present in daily life in Ceará and continue to shape ways of thinking about globalization.

Key Words: Tropicália, antropofagia, globalization, Brazil, music

INTRODUCTION

Globalization has reconfigured relationships and increased interconnectivity between distant parts of the globe in economic, cultural, political, and environmental realms alike. Such linkages affect culture, identity, and nationality in profound ways. For this reason, it is essential to examine thoughtfully the role globalizing processes play in our own lives and to question the effects they have on our communities. In order to do this, we must take a closer look at the influences that have shaped the way we view globalization itself.

One such movement that beseeched citizens to ask such probing questions about
identity, nationalism, and globalization was Tropicália, a Brazilian art and music movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The movement emerged with the release of pioneer Caetano Veloso's breakout album and song, aptly titled “Tropicália.” Veloso’s 1967 release instigated a series of debates surrounding the nature of Brazilian national identity in the post-War era, the place of Brazil in the early age of globalization, and the character of Brazilian society under a repressive regime and culturally insecure political elite. While the movement took its name from Veloso’s song, the song itself takes its name from a 1967 installation of interactive visual art at the Museum of Modern Art in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil by Helio Oiticica, an avant-garde conceptual artist (Perrone 2000). Following Veloso’s album release in the same year, Tropicália quickly became a socially activist countercultural movement that spanned multiple forms of art and media, the most prevalent of these being popular music.

Tropicalists looked to a number of historical influences with which to engage the Brazilian public. Avant-garde notions of antropofagia (translated as anthropophagy, or cultural cannibalism) borrowed from the modernist movement helped them to redefine the global and the local in Brazilian music and reassert the roots of Brazilian cultural expression. Tropicalists put themselves in the middle of debates surrounding national identity and the place of Brazil in the globalizing world.

This paper examines these same Tropiclist ideals—notably antropofagia—in a modern context, assessing the role they play in contemporary attitudes towards cultural globalization. I begin with a brief history of the Tropicália movement to show how it became inextricably linked to debates surrounding Brazil’s place in the age of globalization. The next section provides a working definition of globalization with a focus on the role that Brazil has played in global political and cultural landscapes over time. I then turn to a review of the academic and popular literature surrounding Tropicália and its legacy within Brazil. Finally, I assess the findings of studies conducted in two locations in the Northeastern state of Ceará: the capital city of Fortaleza and the small, inland town of Iguatú.

**TROPICÁLIA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The revolution began with a song: “Eu organizo o movimento/ Eu oriento o carnaval/ Eu inauguro o monumento,” opens Veloso’s 1967 musical manifesto “Tropicália.” “I organize the movement/I direct the carnival/ I inaugurate the monument” (Veloso and Dunn 1996). Organizing the movement was certainly something that Veloso did during his time as a cultural icon and activist in 1960s Brazil. Veloso, along with his compatriots and collaborators Gilberto Gil, Tom Zé, Maria Bethânia, Rita Lee, Os Mutantes, and many others, were at the musical and socio-political forefront of the transformational cultural movement known as Tropicália.

Research rooted in musicology and cultural studies dominates the literature surrounding Tropicália, and does not fully acknowledge the power of Tropiclist ideas to alter social attitudes. Tropicália has long been recognized as an innovation in art, but is not as recognized for its role in spreading messages of social change and altering the way Brazilians interpreted the changing world around them. Tropicália did not simply challenge the political and cultural elite of the time, but did so by providing an alternative framework for greeting the phenomenon of globalization and supporting a movement to reformulate Brazil’s national identity (Veloso 2002).

It was no coincidence that Tropicália came at a pivotal time in Brazil’s history. In 1967, Brazil was three years into a military dictatorship that had shut down not only political dialogue, but also the cultural landscape. The conservative regime, coupled with the leftist intellectual opposition, combined to create a paralyzing state of cultural xenophobia. Both sides, nationalistic for different reasons, were afraid of the potential of foreign cultural influences compromising Brazilian
cultural and political integrity (Veloso and Dunn 1996). In light of these beliefs, the left in particular promoted what Veloso dubbed a "defensive nationalism," one rooted in cultural insecurity and discouragement of certain outside influences (Veloso 2002). This defensive nationalism entailed a protectionist, anti-globalization stance towards the influx of foreign cultural practices in Brazil, allowing in only those deemed to be unthreatening and overemphasizing the 'local'. The role of music in this debate was essential on both sides. “Música Popular Brasileira” (MPB), or Brazilian Popular Music, was an established pillar of identity formation in Brazil and was accepted by the establishment for its links to “local tradition” (Magaldi 1999, 319; Perrone 2002). In this vein, the political and cultural elite selectively utilized pieces of MPB as nationalistic tools to assert particular musical forms, notably samba and bossa nova, as explicitly 'Brazilian' while negating others, especially rock (Magaldi 1999).

Furthermore, Tropicália was a movement that engaged primarily with the disgruntled youth of Brazil’s universities. Due to the government’s increasingly repressive censorship policies, Tropicalists used poetic subtlety to convey their messages to the masses. This quality within the lyrics of many important songs of Tropicália required an educated and engaged public. Only those who were well informed and possessed a critical eye could identify the spirit of protest existent within Tropicalists’ lyrics. Additionally, many of the primary actors came from a university background and met while involved in university music scenes. Gil, Veloso, Zé, and others first collaborated while participating in the dynamic music scene at Bahia’s largest university, the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). For this reason, students, primarily at the UFBA as well as the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), formed Tropicália’s main constituency, although the movement would eventually grow beyond this base as it attracted attention through various MPB festivals (Veloso 2002).

Taking into consideration the motives of the political and cultural establishment surrounding Brazilian identity in the 1960s, Tropicalists offered distinctly countercultural messages through their work. At the root of the Tropicalist mission was to enable Brazilians to actively claim their national identity rather than passively accept the prescribed, isolationist projection of brazi
dade.¹ In particular, Tropicalists worked to dispel the dichotomies between the ‘foreign’ and the ‘Brazilian’ as well as the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’. In this sense, they projected Brazilian culture as innately hybrid, in turn reshaping the notion of Brazilian national identity (Dunn 1993).

**ANTROPOFAGIA**

Tropicália came to be defined by a few key ideals, one of which was the notion of antropofagia. Antropofagia, translated as ‘cultural cannibalism’, fomented the Tropicália movement by providing a framework through which artistic innovators could react to globalization. Oswald de Andrade, a vanguard poet and native of São Paulo, pioneered the modern notion of antropofagia. His 1928 document entitled “Manifesto Antropófago,” or “Cannibalist Manifesto,” introduced new ways of perceiving the increasingly interconnected global community. With such lines as “Absorption of the sacred enemy. To transform him into a totem,” Andrade challenged the existing notions of the nature of cross-cultural exchange (de Anrade 1977, Dunn 2001, Jackson 1978). By adapting Andrade’s hybridizing ideology and absorbing foreign influences ranging from electric guitar to acid jazz, Tropicalists maintained that Brazilians could unite local traditions with global influences to create something wholly original (Lovering 1998, Magaldi 1999). Tropicalists redefined the power dynamic between Brazil and foreign cultures by asserting that Brazilians could assimilate western culture without becoming marginalized by it. This “critical assimilation” as inspired by Andrade’s metaphor is a key
component that distinguishes Tropicalist musical experimentation from other forms of cultural mixing (Magaldi 1999, 310).

Veloso articulated his understanding of antropofagia as “a means of radicalizing the demand for identity.” He goes on to state that the metaphor of “devouring” central to antropofagia was apt for describing the Tropicalist musical style (Veloso and Dunn 1996). The political and cultural establishment claimed that exposure to foreign cultures could only result in indoctrination, homogenization of the masses, and what it deemed an Anglificizing of Brazil. In light of this fear, the elite sought to place Brazil in a cultural autarky in which true expressions of Brazilian culture were not exported and no threatening foreign culture was imported. However, it is imperative to note that Tropicalists considered antropofagia a method of absorbing and synthesizing—reflecting the inherence of both consumption and production of culture in their definition of antropofagia—and in no way considered it an imitation of foreign cultures (Veloso 2002). This contention is central to the notion of antropofagia as a component of Tropicalists’ response to defensive nationalism.

Musical syncretism is, of course, much older than Tropicália or antropofagia. However, what separates Tropicalist musical fusion from past iterations is a heightened sense of critical awareness and intentionality (Magaldi 1999). Tropicalists operated with the direct intention of challenging the definition of brasiliade as prescribed by the elite and its censored MPB and were acutely aware of the stylistic changes they were making by adopting the influence of Jimi Hendrix, the Beatles, and others.

Tropicalists utilized antropofagia not only to inform Brazil’s present, but also to explain its past. Brazil, they contend, is a product of “miscegenation,” or the mixing of races and cultures. They go farther, stating that it is this mixture, and not its reductive components, that is the root of Brazilian identity. As Andrade’s “Manifesto Antropofago” reminds them, “cannibalism alone unites us” (Veloso and Dunn 1996). In this way, Tropicalists used antropofagia to redefine the linkages between different facets of Brazilian identity. While the notion of miscegenation as a pillar of Brazilian identity formation is not unique to Tropicalists, their extension of the metaphor of miscegenation to musical expression was an eloquent addition to the to their interpretation of “neo-cannibalism” (Greenan 2010, 7).

Essentially, antropofagia was the means by which Tropicalists encouraged Brazilians to greet foreign influences. Furthermore, it was also the lens through which they encouraged the Brazilian public to process these influences. Antropofagia allowed Brazilians to position their identity in the context of globalization, and granted them the freedom to explore, create, and continue to shape this identity—right the both the left and the military regime had denied them.

GLOBALIZATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Globalization has become the buzzword that most aptly describes our time. It has become synonymous with interconnectivity, post-modernity, and the changing face of world political, social, and economic relations. However, it is actually a set of historical processes that dates back farther than the Internet, the telephone, or even the word itself. Although interpretations within the academic community vary and there is still a large debate surrounding what historical processes can be considered globalizing phenomena, it is widely acknowledged that the notion of globalization is older than the term itself, which arose in the 1960s (Steger 2009).

The most widely acknowledged precursor to contemporary globalization is the Industrial era. During this time, European-led industrialization gave rise to today’s international division of labor and laid the foundation for the patterns of global production and consumption that typify the current global economic system (Steger 2009). Brazil’s role in this wave of globalization was, along with
the rest of Latin America, that of an exporter of primary products and an importer of manufactured ones (Galeano 1997). It was during this period and the development of international industrial and economic linkages that Andrade published his “Manifesto Antropófago” and introduced the notion of antropofagia. In this context, antropofagia can be seen as a cultural parallel to the global rescaling of economic activity and exchange between countries (Jackson 1978).

Contemporary globalization, or globalization as we know it today and Tropicalists were beginning to address in the 1960s, emerged following World War II through the Cold War period. In this era, the groundwork for international economic relations laid during the Industrial age was fortified by neoliberal economies in the West and Latin America. Brazil’s military government was largely swept up in this trend, succumbing to pressure from the United States to open its economy to the free market (Galeano 1997, Skidmore 1999). Although the rise of labor unions in the late 1970s would eventually challenge such decisions, at the time of Tropicália’s emergence, neoliberalism had a strong hold on Brazil’s economic policies (Skidmore 1999). The birth of transnational organizations like the Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations cemented the integration of the world’s economic and political leadership. It was in this context that Tropicália emerged: a world where the integration of global processes, both economic and cultural, was happening at a rapid rate. Thus, Tropicalists’ reinterpretation of antropofagia as a way to comprehend this growing phenomenon served as a way to help ground Brazilians in the past in a world rapidly moving towards the future.

CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDINGS OF TROPICÁLIA

Despite Tropicália’s presence during such a formative time in Brazil’s history, few scholars have examined its social role. Two leaders of the movement, Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, are both primary sources and also scholars, and have helped to preserve the movement’s history and to explore its legacy. In fact, Veloso’s 2002 memoir Verdade Tropical (Tropical Truth) proves to be one of the most insightful and meaningful additions to the study of Tropicália, and is of particular use to researchers as a primary source. Veloso’s work goes beyond the way Tropicalist ideals were presented in the music itself and into the broader social messages contained within the movement. He extols Tropicália as not just an example of the phenomenon of globalization, but also a movement attempting to redefine Brazil’s relationship with that phenomenon (Veloso 2002, 156).

Veloso’s efforts notwithstanding, most research has focused on Tropicália as an example of musical innovation. Tropicália is widely acknowledged as an example of musical evolution and ingenuity in the early global age, and is noted for its incorporation of global influences ranging from the United States to Africa. Scholars writing for journals such as the Latin American Music Review praised Tropicália for breaking down the dichotomy between the “global” and the “local” in Brazilian music and asserting its hybridized musical form as a symbol of the future of music on a global scale (Béhague 2006, Turino 2003, Perrone and Dunn 2002). However, as Veloso and Gil have maintained in their work, Tropicália was more than just a product of the global music industry; it also helped shape the debate surrounding the emerging notion of globalization in one of the world’s most important emerging economies (Leu 2006).

While Tropicália certainly has important implications for the music industry in Brazil, its social implications are often overlooked in musicological accounts by scholars such as Gerard Behâgue (2006). This paper seeks to expand on notions of Tropicália’s globalizing effect on Brazilian music and examine its parallel globalizing effects on social attitudes, such as those found in previous investigations by
Americans Christopher Dunn (1993, 2001, 2002) and Charles A. Perrone (2000, 2002) who have contributed the most to studies of Tropicália as a social phenomenon, rather than a strictly musical movement.

Much in the way it helped break down the dichotomy between the global and the local in Brazilian music, Tropicália broke down this dichotomy within the Brazilian identity, as well. By reshaping attitudes about music as a globalized phenomenon, it also reshaped popular attitudes about globalization itself. Tropicália is not only an example of globalization, but also a response to it. It not only represented the global character of the music industry, but it also sparked dialogue about the proper place for these global influences in Brazilian cultural expression.

This paper attempts to supplement prior inquiries into Tropicália’s historical influence by questioning its role in influencing contemporary attitudes towards cultural globalization in Brazil and identifying traces of Tropicalist thought in contemporary Ceará, specifically. The following sections explain and analyze the results of a study designed to gauge the presence of Tropicalist ideals in modern perceptions of globalization in Ceará. In particular, I discuss what implications Tropicália had in Ceará as opposed to other areas of Brazil and how notions of global culture have evolved in the years since the Tropicália movement.

**METHODOLOGY**

This study uses qualitative methods to assess the presence of Tropicalist ideals—most notably the critical, Tropicalist interpretation of *antropofagia*—within the contemporary Cearense musical community. While not intended to comprehensively represent all of this community, this study is intended to reflect the diversity within this population and speak to the vastly different life experiences for those in urban versus rural Ceará, in particular. Thus, two study sites were selected for this research. Fortaleza, the capital and most musically cosmopolitan city of Ceará, is the first location. Iguatú, a small inland city in Ceará’s rural *sertão*, is the second (Fig. 1).

The study design in Fortaleza consisted of a series of interviews and observation sessions with three individuals. The participants selected were intended to be a cross-section of the city’s music scene, and to reflect attitudes held by musicians towards globalizing processes specifically related to music. Due to the fact that Tropicália was first and foremost a movement expressed through music, and Tropicallists interpreted *antropofagia* through a musical lens, exploring these themes through a community of musicians is the the most effective way to gain insight into how the critical, Tropicalist reading of *antropofagia* has or has not had an effect on attitudes towards globalization in Ceará.

In contrast to cosmopolitan Fortaleza, Iguatú is buried deep within the interior of Ceará, some six hours from the capital by automobile. Although it boasts a population of over 90,000, Iguatú’s location in the heart of the Cearense *sertão* makes it relatively isolated from metropolitan centers like Fortaleza (Prefeitura de Iguatú 2011). In Brazil’s coast-centric political structure, cities like Iguatú represent the sectors of the population most likely to be cut off from global influences, especially given the fact that most homes in the region do not have consistent Internet access. However, the last five years have seen a shift away from this relative isolation in Iguatú. The advent of social and cultural programs maintained by the city’s Secretariat of Culture has drastically transformed the cultural landscape of the city. Projects designed to provide social assistance through cultural involvement have especially targeted troubled youth and the elderly (Prefeitura de Iguatú 2011).

Conclusions herein are drawn from a combination of interviews, group discussions, participant observation, and analysis of live and recorded performances, samples of which can be found in Table 1. Participants were asked to speak about their general feelings towards the idea of cultural globalization, their relationship to the Tropicália movement.
and its actors, and their personal creative process. Because the majority of the participants are musicians, I also analyzed their original compositions and arrangements for signs of critically aware global/local synthesis, lyrical subtlety and protest, and other notable Tropicalist influences. Most importantly, participants were asked for their opinions towards globalized cultural consumption in the music industry and whether exposure to Tropicália has shaped their career or personal life in any way.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

I argue that study populations in both locations are engaged in a considerable amount of “cultural cannibalism.” The characteristic of antropofagia most commonly exhibited in both areas was the synthesis of foreign and domestic cultural influences in composing original music, an important aspect of the careers of all participants. Furthermore, both...
groups demonstrated an attitude towards globalization that is in line with the spirit of antropofagia, demonstrating openness towards foreign cultural influences and musical styles and moving away from protectionist attitudes towards cultural production and consumption. Most importantly, both study populations were engaging in what Magaldi (1999, 310) termed “critical assimilation,” the element of Tropicália that separates it from broader musical synthesis. Both groups were engaged in cultural activity reflective of a specifically Tropicalist reading of antropofagia. However, despite familiarity with the movement and its key actors, both groups were resistant to acknowledging any enduring influence of Tropicália in their lives, musical careers, or in the political or cultural landscape of Ceará. This tension between demonstrated attitudes and professed influences will be explored in depth later in the paper.

STUDY POPULATION 1: FORTALEZA

Fortaleza, a diverse and thriving city, offers a dynamic environment in which to examine questions of globalization and social attitudes about the globalized world. As the fifth largest metropolitan area in Brazil and the largest economy in the Northeastern region, Fortaleza houses a population engaged in a variety of cultural activities. Additionally, as the capital and cultural center of the state of Ceará, it is a hotbed of the musical genre forró, the music most typical of Northeastern Brazil (Prefeitura de Fortaleza 2011). As an important political and economic center in

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the region, Fortaleza is growing its reputation as a global city, and will even act as a host when the FIFA World Cup comes to Brazil in 2014 (Prefeitura de Fortaleza 2011). Combined with a rich musical heritage, a culturally engaged public, and a municipal government active in promoting cultural activities and participation, Fortaleza is undoubtedly Ceará’s most comprehensively globalized city in all aspects political, economic, and cultural (Prefeitura de Fortaleza 2011).

The primary way in which the study population in Fortaleza demonstrated behavior in accordance with the notion of *antropofagia* was in the globalized character of musical performances and the attitudes of these musicians in regards to international influences. One such figure who participated in the study was guitarist, composer, producer, and educator Lu de Souza. A native Cearense, Souza has traveled throughout Brazil and South America in various ensembles playing jazz, *forró*, Brazilian rock, samba, and other musical styles. He is active in music education, offering classes twice a week at the city-run Centro Urbano de Cultura, Arte, Ciências, e Esporte, or the Urban Center for Culture, Art, Sciences, and Sport (CUCA) in the lower-income Barra do Ceará neighborhood (Souza 2011). As a producer, Souza has worked with artists throughout Brazil in styles ranging from jazz to pop/rock to traditional Northeastern. As a composer, Souza’s current project with the trio Projeto Timbral is focused on strictly instrumental music, something that he feels does not receive the appreciation it deserves in Brazilian culture (Souza 2011).

In his composition and live performances, Souza’s ‘cannibalistic’ tendencies are most evident. With his trio of guitar, bass, and drums, with whom he performs regularly, Souza mixes influences from all over Brazil with a sophisticated jazz sound and his reverence for Jimi Hendrix’s soulful attack on guitar. The result is exactly what Tropicallist forefathers Gil and Veloso had in mind when they adopted the term *antropofagia* to describe the process by which they created their musical “manifestos.” As Veloso himself stated, the idea of *antropofagia* fit Tropicália so perfectly because Tropicallists were essentially “‘eating’ The Beatles and Jimi Hendrix” (Veloso 2002, 156; Veloso and Dunn 1996). This metaphor of “devouring” - indicative of the idea of consumption of a foreign product in order to create a fresh, new interpretation - aptly characterizes what Souza’s trio seeks to do in its original compositions and arrangements.

Souza’s trio often showcases these original creations in public performances. On November 19, 2011, Souza’s trio played a free public show at Fortaleza’s Passeio Público, a plaza in the downtown Centro district. The Passeio, once a nighttime hangout for prostitutes and drug dealers, has for the last ten years been the target of extensive ‘cleaning’ efforts on the part of the municipal government, and is now an upscale area frequented by government officials with nearby offices (Prefeitura de Fortaleza 2011). This particular show was part of a series of government-sponsored cultural activities taking place all over the city, with the principal performance venues being the Passeio, the Dragão do Mar Center for Art and Culture, and the José de Alencar Theater, important cultural landmarks in the city. In this particular performance, the mixture of international musical influences was clear. Souza and his trio mixed aggressive be-bop lines on guitar with hard rock beats and swing-style walking bass lines. They posited syncopated samba rhythms against jazz chord voicings in original compositions showcasing their ingenuity and ability to not only demonstrate knowledge of international musical influences, but also interpret them (Souza 2011).

In this diverse and globalized set, no two songs were alike. The trio’s take on gospel standard “People Get Ready,” originally written by The Impressions, features a wailing, Hendrix-like solo section. Their aggressively articulated take on genre-bending American jazz/funk/hip-hop trio Soulive! is true to the original spirit of the group, yet shows off a rock edge not normally associated with the
funk/fusion Soulive! is known for. Similar to the way that Tropicalists displayed a subtle sense of humor in their arrangements, Souza’s trio played with its audience in the way it positions the various global styles it utilizes. In one particularly innovative piece, the drums and bass transitioned from a syncopated Afro-Cuban rhythm to an upbeat disco, over which Souza quoted Brazilian standard “Aquarela do Brasil” in his solo, representing the ultimate juxtaposition of both styles and sentiments. In essence, while Souza and his trio may not proclaim an adherence to Tropicalist standards or ideas, their set exemplified aspects of antropofagia as interpreted by Gil, Veloso, and their colleagues. Where Gil and Veloso mixed The Beatles with samba or Hendrix with MPB, Souza and his trio are doing the same with Soulive!, forró, and other styles as the medium (Souza 2011). Furthermore, Projeto Timbral’s instrumental arrangements allow the ‘sound’ itself to be the challenge. Rather than make direct statements through lyrics, Timbral challenges the musical status quo simply by being the band that they are and performing well-known melodies without a singer. According to Souza, this is particularly uncommon in Brazil’s music industry, where instrumental music is yet to realize a niche in the market (Souza 2011).

While Souza and his trio embodied the anthropophagic image of “devouring,” they are not the only artists in the Fortaleza cultural scene whose work speaks to the globalized consumption of international influences. Other artists involved in the Fortaleza portion of the study have also demonstrated open mindsets towards globalizing influences in their musical careers and have critically assessed the presence of global and local influences in their work.

One such artist was Patricia Alice, a singer-songwriter who worked with Souza on her recently released album My Guitar (2011). Alice, a native of São Paulo who moved to Fortaleza to pursue a music career, readily acknowledges the distinctly global influences that have played into her development as an artist. Not only informed by global influences in her music, Alice also understands the importance of globalization in a broader context, and believes that understanding the historical development of globalization is essential to understanding the modern world. When asked how she sees Brazil in the context of the globalized world, she replied that Brazil was born out of one historical wave of globalization: colonization. To deny Brazil its roots in globalization would be to deny it its entire cultural history (Alice 2011). She specifically indicates the widely acknowledged role of African and indigenous practices in forming the basis of what we know today as contemporary Brazilian culture. In essence, Alice’s employment of antropofagia in her work as a singer-songwriter and her attitude towards globalization, not just in music but in Brazilian life in general, embodies the goals of Tropicália to open and expose the Brazilian public to new global influences, and to re-acknowledge existing cultural practices rooted in past waves of globalization.

Alice’s work demonstrates many of the same ‘cannibalistic’ characteristics as Souza’s, due in part to his influence in the development of her career, but also due to her unique life experiences and the different influences she has been exposed to. She attributes spending her formative years in São Paulo, the southern hemisphere’s largest metropolis, for lending an “urban” edge to her compositional style. Additionally, she credits her time there with exposing her to hip-hop influences, specifically the spirit of protest and social indignation present in São Paulo’s hip-hop community. Furthermore, she cites the omnipresence of American popular music and pop icons like Michael Jackson and Madonna with infusing a softer, pop feel to her music. Lastly, through her work with Souza she has incorporated his aforementioned penchant for rockers like Hendrix and The Beatles. The anthropophagic mixture results in a musical style all her own, a product she attributes to the presence of global influences in the work of herself and her colleagues (Alice 2011). While Alice’s work shows significantly less
'local' musical influence than that of Souza or Tropicalists, she uses her lyrics to relate her music to a Brazilian audience. The refrain of her original composition “Eu Quero Mais” (2011—“eu tenho tudo, e eu quero mais” (‘I have it all, and I want more’)—is a thinly veiled critique of what she believes to be a Brazilian tendency towards excess (Alice 2011). Additionally, Alice plays up the global/local opposition in her music by playing with language. Many of her compositions with a samba-inspired rhythmic backing are written in English, while her pieces with an American pop feel she often writes in Portuguese (Alice 2011).

While Alice’s work shows some traces of Tropicalist musical experimentation, her attitude towards global influences better exemplifies the persistence of the Tropicalist take on globalization and globalizing phenomena. She advocates valorization of the roots of Brazil’s various musical forms, whether samba, manguete, forró, or hip-hop. Similar to the way Tropicalists reminded Brazilians that their nation was created out of “miscegenation,” or the mixture of races and cultures, Alice seeks to remind those who listen to her music that African and indigenous traditions lie at the root of musical expression in Brazil even if Lady Gaga currently tops the charts (Alice 2011). This valorization is essential to understandings of antropofagia and modern globalization as well, in that by acknowledging cultural roots we validate the idea of culture—particularly in the case of Brazil—as intrinsically syncretic.

Despite the presence of antropofagia and an intentionally critical stance on musical synthesis in Alice and Souza’s work and their attitudes towards globalization, they as well as other subjects involved in the Fortaleza portion of the study downplayed or even outright denied the influence of Tropicália in their work or worldview. When asked about their knowledge of Tropicália or the influence it has had on the way they view music and the world around them, the majority of subjects offered little, and often stated that they did not feel a connection to the movement itself or its legacy. One such figure was Eduardo Praciano, a cultural producer currently working as the executive producer of TVForteza, a television channel run by the city that broadcasts meetings of municipal councils and organs of city government. In his career as a producer, Praciano has overseen numerous cultural events, movements, and phenomena, including 1979’s Massafeira, one of the largest cultural festivals (similar to a Cearense Woodstock) Ceará has witnessed (Praciano 2011). Praciano’s statements about the history of cultural expression in Ceará during the dictatorship help to explain how Tropicalist interpretations of antropofagia became a part of the Cearense consciousness in a way that the memory of the movement itself did not.

Praciano, in his role as a producer of both television and cultural events, has for a long time been linked to the Fortaleza cultural scene. To date, the most well-known project he has been involved in was Massafeira, which, as he puts it, sought to bring together a variety of artists and forms of cultural expression to best display what Ceará had to offer to the cultural world. Both an attempt at a movement and a single event, participating performers included poet Patativa do Assaré, musicians Ednardo and Fagner, and exhibitions of visual art as well. Styles ranged from modern rock to Northeastern forró and baiao to avant-gardism, and the focus was to unite all of these individual forms of expression in one weekend of live performances. Praciano even went so far as to term Massafeira a “fundamental mixture of cultures” (Praciano 2011). In this way, Massafeira in itself can be seen as an anthropophagic expression of Ceará’s culture at this point in time. However, when asked about the relationship between Massafeira, Tropicália, and the numerous parallels between them, Praciano was quick to deny any linkage. He also categorically denies any influence of Tropicália in Cearense culture. The basis of his argument was geographic. “Tropicália did not exist in Ceará,” he bluntly states (Praciano 2011). Tropicália, according to Praciano, was a movement based...
in Salvador and perpetuated through large MPB festivals in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. As a Ceararense living during the time of Tropicália, he argued that the influence of Gil and Veloso was not as strong in Ceará as the aforementioned Fagner, for example.

Praciano asserted Tropicália's spatial dimensions—the fact that, despite being a purportedly 'national' movement, it concentrated itself in the traditional seats of power within Brazil—as the reason its legacy is not as acknowledged in Ceará. Leaders of Tropicália, though never specifically addressing Ceará, have also spoken to the spatial concentration of their movement. Gil, Veloso, Zé, and other Tropicalists have acknowledged their time spent at the UFBA as the genesis of their collaboration and in many ways the beginning of the movement (Veloso and Dunn 1996). Simply put, the popularity of Tropicalist music never diffused from Bahia or São Paulo to Ceará according to Praciano. While Tropicália may have had a reach beyond just Salvador—particularly in São Paulo and the Brazilian southeast—other Fortalezans in the study echoed Praciano's sentiments that Tropicália was not a movement by or for Cearenses. Furthermore, little evidence within the literature points specifically to Ceará's role in Tropicália.

Thus, despite pronounced global influences in contemporary cultural activity in Fortaleza, exemplified by Souza and Alice, and past cultural productions such as Massafeira, the influence of Tropicália is not a strong one in Fortaleza. The spatial dimensions of Tropicália simply did not allow the movement to become a part of Fortaleza's cultural history. The question of how commonly held attitudes towards globalization came to be similar to those of Tropicalists, including the resurgence of antropofagia—what Greenan (2010, 7) terms a "neo-cannibalism"—will be explored in depth later in the paper.

STUDY POPULATION 2: IGUATÚ

The Cearense city of Iguatú provided the backdrop for the second group of participants in this study. One prominent institution within Iguatú is the Escola de Música Popular de Humberto Teixeira, a music school maintained by the city that offers free music lessons to residents of Iguatú and neighboring towns. Founded in 2009 and named for an innovator of baião originally from Iguatú, the Escola offers lessons on eight different instruments and currently sees students ranging from age seven to seventy-three. Its mission, keeping in line with the city's overall goal of transforming the social landscape of Iguatú, is to use all genres of music as tools for social inclusion and to provide its students with opportunities to excel (Gomes, Benicio, et al. 2011). Thus, the Escola provides the ideal environment for examining attitudes towards globalization in Ceará in a contrasting environment to that offered by Fortaleza. It contains a musically informed public similar to that in Fortaleza, but in a city historically marked by isolation from global cultural and economic influences.

Given Iguatú's considerably different exposure to globalizing phenomena when compared to Fortaleza, one would expect starkly different attitudes towards globalization and different tendencies towards musical hybridity in cultural production. However, the study population in Iguatú demonstrated remarkably similar culturally cannibalistic tendencies and attitudes towards globalization. Similarly, participants in the Iguatú portion of the study rejected the idea that Tropicália affected their worldviews or attitudes towards globalization in any substantial way.

Much like Souza and Alice, the teachers at the Escola, active musicians arrangers, and composers in their own right, best demonstrate the notion of antropofagia in their original work. One notable example of anthropophagic influence in the school comes through in rearrangements of well-known songs put together by the professors. Due to the fact that they work with students of various ages and skill levels, the teachers cite the need to change many of the songs they often perform to suit the skill set of whoever
may be learning it. However, in rearranging Northeastern standards such as “Asa Branca,” “Eu Só Quero um Xodô,” and others, the teachers go beyond making a song simpler or more challenging and often inject different rhythmic patterns, instrumentation, and harmonic structures into their arrangements to add new character to old standards.

One teacher who consistently seeks to add global character to his various rearrangements is bass teacher Welkinay Lima. Lima, a student of both jazz (he listens frequently to American bassist Victor Wooten) as well as northeastern forró and the like, enjoys concocting original arrangements for bass ensemble, which he then teaches to his students. His most recent accomplishment, an arrangement of Michael Jackson’s “Beat It” for four basses, incorporates musical characteristics from Brazil, the Caribbean, the United States, and Africa. One bass plays the melody, or the part traditionally sung by Jackson himself, and one bass plays the standard bass line throughout the song. The two accompanying parts are where Lima injects foreign influence into the song. One part consists of jazz chords voiced high up in the bassist’s range, interjected in a complex syncopated rhythm. For the chorus, this part moves into a forró-like strumming pattern, also playing chords. The effect of the sophisticated chord voicings heard on bass, extremely rare in popular music or jazz for that matter, immediately gives the song a feel unlike anything heard before. Meanwhile, the rhythm of the part, at once jazz and Northeastern inspired, lends enough familiarity to ground it (W. Lima 2011).

The other accompanying part, also on bass, is a driving rhythmic part played in the slap style. This part provides the rhythmic foundation for the ensemble, with lines inspired by upbeat Afro-Caribbean patterns reminiscent of the Miami Sound Machine horn section, for example. The combination of slap articulation, most often associated with funk in the United States, and the Afro-Caribbean flavor of the line itself epitomizes ‘anthropophagic’ originality. All in all, Lima’s “Beat It” represents finest spirit of antropofagia in that it uses all of these diverse influences to create something that is truly syncretistic. When Lima’s student ensemble plays “Beat It,” one does not hear an Afro-Caribbean rhythm followed by a jazz chord with the original bass line underneath; it all unites as one sound and as one product (W. Lima 2011). Additionally, the creatively liberating intention reminiscent of Tropicalists is there, as well. Lima encourages his students not to become stagnated in one musical “world” but rather to jump between genres that speak to them, as he does with Wooten and Teixeira (W. Lima 2011).

Also akin to the study population in Fortaleza was the way those in Iguatú viewed globalization as a phenomenon, both within the context of music and broader life. Teachers and students alike exhibited steadfastly open attitudes towards the influx of global influences. Most notable was the degree to which teachers and students emphasized cultural consumption in articulating their attitudes towards globalization, Lima’s globalized adaptation of “Beat It” and reverence for Victor Wooten being two examples.

What most exemplifies this point is the range of music that students learn and listen to within the school. The learning process as described by the teachers is fundamentally student-driven; once supplied with the basic tools, students choose the music they want to learn based on their interests and what is popular at the moment. Teachers report that students frequently choose to bring in music from the United States, ranging from rock legends like Metallica and Bon Jovi to jazz greats like Chick Corea, to pop icons such as Beyoncé and Justin Bieber. While forró and other traditional Northeastern styles remain popular at the school, teachers report that as international music begins to creep more and more into the Iguatuense culture, students request more and more to study it (W. Lima 2011).

Thus, clearly, students in Iguatú also demonstrate an open attitude towards globalization and the influx of global cultures; without
reservation, they welcome exactly the cultural influences Brazil’s military regime attempted to protect against forty years ago. Surprisingly, teachers—who, when asked, identified much more with Northeastern musical traditions than any others—demonstrated an equally open attitude towards globalization both in music and daily life. Though they preferred to associate more with forró and baía traditions, not one teacher involved in the study saw this as contradictory to welcoming the influence of other international musical styles (Gomes, Benicio et al. 2011). When asked about the threat of cultural imperialism and the idea of cultural massificação, the teachers unanimously responded that they did not feel that this was an issue in their careers or with their students. Leonardo Lima (no relation to Welkinay), one of the school’s two guitar teachers, spoke to the idea that globalization has not only spread new musical forms around the world, but also created a completely new space for these new styles in the market for musical consumption. He reminds us that rather than limit what music we have access to, globalization has only expanded our potential to realize new modes of cultural expression (Gomes, Benicio et al. 2011). Lima’s statements here reflect Tropicalists’ assertion of aggressive nationalism in that he views globalization as a profound opportunity rather than a cultural threat.

Once again, despite seemingly Tropicalist informed perspectives on globalization and antropofagia in their work, teachers at the Escola, most of whom were coming of age at the tail end of the military regime and Tropicália’s influence, categorically denied any influence of Tropicália in the formation of their attitudes and opinions. Most cited the spatial dimensions of Tropicália as their reason for this, echoing Praciano’s statements that Tropicália simply did not reach Ceará. However, while it is surprising in some ways that Tropicália did not reach the public of Fortaleza, a capital and important city in the Northeastern region, it is less surprising that it did not reach the relatively sequestered population of Iguatú, especially given Brazil’s coastally dominated political power structure. Furthermore, to this day Iguatú is without any comprehensive higher education institutions. Those wishing to pursue degrees must relocate to federal universities either in Juazeiro do Norte or in Fortaleza, at opposite ends of the state (de Paula 2011). Thus, the university-based constituency Tropicália found in Salvador and São Paulo was entirely out of the question in the Iguatú of the 1960s or even today.

CONCLUSION

Despite the widespread agreement among my interviewees about the geographic limitations of Tropicália and its absence in Ceará, many of them in both Fortaleza and Iguatú demonstrated a profound understanding of the Tropicalist spirit of antropofagia, if not the term itself, as well as a seemingly Tropicalist-informed attitude towards globalization. If not attributed to the legacy of Tropicália, where did these attitudes come from? What this research suggests is that the attitudes promoted by Tropicália, including the notion of antropofagia, so forward thinking and controversial in their time, have become so commonplace as to have transcended the movement itself. The presence of such pronounced Tropicalist attitudes in a location ignored by the movement during its heyday suggests that these ideals, while they may have been associated primarily with Tropicália in the 1960s and 1970s, have become the norm in Brazilian society and Brazilian music since then.

The evolution of Tropicalist attitudes as a whole can be summed up in the changing way antropofagia, one of the movement’s most influential ideals, has been received throughout history. When first introduced by Andrade in 1928, the notion of antropofagia was an intentional challenge to the status quo; it was, by definition, not the norm. To play with an idea as ‘vulgar’ as cannibalism and to remind Brazil of its subjugated colonial past all in the name of cultural emancipation was simply not fitting within the cultural times (Jackson 1978). Andrade came from the small but
outspoken modernist movement, seeking to expand the Brazilian public’s perspective and push them towards recognizing the onset of a process we now call globalization before it even had a name.

Fast-forward to 1967, however, and one would have found a rather different cultural climate. In the time of the Tropicalists, globalization was sweeping the developed world and moving towards the developing, something that Brazil’s government and scholars sought to ignore or marginalize. Unlike the modernists, however, the Tropicália movement, though it consisted of a small group of actors, represented a larger portion of society yearning to embrace the growing phenomenon of globalization as many nations already had. Antropofagia in the Tropicalist context was not a revolutionary idea, but a way for Brazilians to interpret the global cultural restructuring undoubtedly upon them. Though still not the cultural norm, acknowledging the presence of foreign influences and the desire for more was not as taboo as it was during Andrade’s time. Rather, it described exactly what the public yearned for, to be able to freely practice their culture and to be given the freedom to innovate and change that culture. Antropofagia in this context was, as Veloso said, a means of “radicalizing the demand for identity” (Veloso and Dunn 1996, 156).

Today, however, Brazil finds itself in yet another cultural context, different in many ways from that of Andrade or the Tropicalists. Globalization, however we choose to define it, is a given. There is no debate surrounding whether or not globalization is upon us or whether our cultures have been irrevocably altered by global influences. Antropofagia, or at least something like it, is the norm across Brazil (Magaldi 1999). Cearenses do not need this term to articulate the way they express their culture, rather they simply do not know musical culture any other way. Thus, born in the modernist movement and reborn in the music of Veloso, Gil, and others, antropofagia and the ability to critically process global and local traditions with it have transcended both of these movements. They have become a part of the broader cultural foundation of Brazilian identity.

NOTES

Literally translated as ‘Brazilianness’, brasileiridade refers to a common sense of Brazilian national identity.

Although the majority of businesses have Internet access, my sources in Iguatú informed me that it is frowned upon to use this for personal matters and most Iguatuenses do not have open and unrestricted access to the Internet beyond professional uses.

Interviews were conducted in Portuguese. Quotations cited in this paper were translated by the author. Links to selected performances from each of the study participants can be found in Table 1. Not all performances referenced in the paper are available.

Rhythmically, forró guitar playing is usually syncopated and emphasizes the third beat of each measure. It often mimics or replaces the rhythm of the zabumba, a two-sided drum integral to traditional forró that is less commonly found in modern arrangements.

So named because the technique is based on hitting the strings rather than pulling them.

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