VOL. 50, NO. 2 ETHNOMUSICOLOGY SPRING/SUMMER 2006

Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro[1]

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Having to do with the 2005 SEM Conference's attempt to come to terms with important, albeit not largely acknowledged, non-hegemonic traditions, this paper could take many different angles, one of which being individual contributions by Brazilian scholars largely unknown to ethnomusicologists around the world. Their lack of international visibility obscures their relatively original insights. One may take for granted the acknowledgement of Mario de Andrade and his critical and thoroughly poetical search for Brazil's musical fabric from the mid-1920s until his death in 1945, and his creative assimilation of both German comparative musicology and World War II U.S. Pan-Americanism cementing his pioneer folk music documentation initiatives. Alternatively, one might focus on Luiz Heitor Correa de Azevedo's close interaction with both Charles Seeger and Alan Lomax at the Library of Congress in 1941, his continuation of Mario de Andrade's work between 1942 and 1945, and his later appointment as Secretary of UNESCO's Music Tribune, a job he held from 1948 nearly until his death in 1992. And the story could go on and on as one surveyed composer and musicologist Guerra Peixe's work in the state of Pernambuco, from 1950 to 1952, which anticipated field procedures such as bi-musical research strategies or drawing attention to musical metaphors that have currency in aspects of daily life far removed from musical goals. One should by no means forget either that both Mario de Andrade and Luiz Heitor had their initiatives furthered by other eminent scholars such as Oneyda Alvarenga and Dulce Lamas who not only gave their predecessors' work a public face in the form of publications, but also went on in their own way to pave the roads their mentors had

opened by doing fieldwork themselves and training subsequent generations of researchers.

Coming from training in distinct academic traditions, a younger generation of Brazilian scholars has been carrying forward the work undertaken by these pioneering scholars, and a few of its more representative names have presented papers at the 2005 SEM conference. No matter what specific generation one may be considering here, placing its contribution within a larger socio-historical picture would certainly show us the constraints of nation-building debates, as the vast majority of these scholars deal with aspects of a rather complex social problem called Brazil, in its continuities and discontinuities.

Another tempting way of celebrating the obscure side of ethnomusicology's histories from a Brazilian viewpoint would be to trace one or more institutions that provided, directly or indirectly, the immersion of scholars in what one might term the academic gaze. One might also take as an example the oldest institution dedicated to public musical instruction in the country, the Imperial Academy of Music, founded in 1846, which was transformed into the National Institute of Music under the newly born republic in 1889, becoming the National School of Music under the nationalistic ideology of the 1937–45 populist dictatorship, and finally the School of Music of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro under the military regime from 1964–85. The list of people at least indirectly relevant to ethnomusicological concerns in this institutional saga is both long and illuminating: beginning with Guilherme de Melo, librarian and author of the first history of music in Brazil (1908), who found it necessary to dedicate chapters to oral traditions to which he had been exposed as a youngster back in his home state of Bahia; his successor as the school's librarian, the aforementioned Luiz Heitor, an art music scholar who would later become the first professor of the newly created discipline National Brazilian Musical Folklore (1939), who at one time had Gerard Béhague as a student. One might also remember nationalist composers of different generations, such as Luciano Gallet, Helza Cameu, Guerra Peixe or Batista Siqueira, who devoted themselves to studies of both folk and indigenous musics, and folklore scholars such as Dulce Lamas and Rosa Zamith (the latter having her master's thesis advised in its early stages by Anthony Seeger in the early 1980s), and finally one of the authors (Araújo), who went through the first public examination for an ethnomusicology position in the country in 1994 (as the practice until then was to open positions for musical folklore). The creation of the ethnomusicology lab in 2000 and the hosting of the 36th ICTM World Congress in 2001 helped to establish solid grounds for the discipline in that particular institution, mirroring its simultaneous consolidation in other university contexts throughout the country.

But this would still leave us in the dark as to whether or not this un-

equivocal growth, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, might posit a significant contribution to the equation of that complex problem called Brazil. From a particularly located observation post, one could—and perhaps should—also tackle issues that have surely gone beyond national boundaries, such as the politics of difference, the inequalities of difference, the physical and symbolic violence of groups against other groups, of nations against other nations—aren't all these issues ethnomusicological ones? Is ethnomusicology helping—or should it help—to disentangle them in any way? It would surely be wrong to deny the possibility. After all, issues of power asymmetry have been identified and contextualized through recent ethnographies of music making, through the critique and application of up-to-date theoretical approaches to notions of musical authenticity, national heritages, and race-, class- and gender-centered values. But is this satisfactory? If not, what might be missing in the history of ethnomusicologies?

Far from attempting to provide any convincing answers here, I will just propose that a potential alternative seems to be emerging in a type of scholarship that asks apparently simple questions. And such questions are just apparently simple if one considers that they open an unprecedented dialogue with "the people we work with" and entirely new issues and directions, as they move the field to consider the sharing of its time and investment in seemingly prosaic but, in fact, intellectually challenging and politically explosive directions.

Understanding this academic forum as one to assess the state of ethnomusicology somehow from a socio-historically located perspective, the authors intend to discuss first the notions of conflict and violence as largely neglected (though they are potentially effective theoretical tools at this very stage of the field), by locating their relevance to recent Brazilian history. We then unveil a few methodological responses to the implications of this approach, based on recent fieldwork experience, hopefully bringing to debate ethnomusicologists' institutional practices and the knowledge produced by their discipline in general.

To highlight conflict and violence as neglected categories in the field of ethnomusicology is of course a dangerous operation, since references to the conflictive settings in which music works abound in ethnomusicological literature and, for that matter, in musicological literature as well. In both traditions, however, the terms conflict and violence very often signal either a social or personal disturbance of an implicit regular order, or an eventual denial of a given order that produces effects on music makers and the music they produce. The path we are suggesting here is a different one. It entails taking both conflict and, to a certain extent, violence as central conditions of knowledge production, which includes the production of musical knowledge and cultural analyses of music and music-making.

In saying so we will refer and pay tribute to, among others, the work of a Brazilian pedagogue, the late Paulo Freire, author of books that have achieved international resonance, such as *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Educational Action as a Liberating Practice,* both written in the conflictive 1960s and inspirational to a small but selective number of ethnomusicologists, from Catherine Ellis in Australia (Ellis 1994) to Angela Impey in South Africa (Impey 2002). In Freire's work conflict and violence are already inscribed in all sorts of oppressive social relations which make knowledge not only hostage to dominant groups, including the dominants among their own kind, but also unviable *a priori* once any truly theoretical treatment of conflict as a socially produced fact renders impossible the perpetuation of dominance itself. If we dare to summarize Freire's postulates in a single sentence, we perhaps should say that without a radical reconfiguration of the community of knowledge producers in a veritable horizontal fashion one can only hope that conflict and hostility may not stomp onto one's own front yard at any minute—a reality which has grown in people's awareness throughout the globe due to the recent disturbances in Europe's "third world" neighborhoods.

Surely these considerations will bring promptly to our minds, among other more dramatic events, the discussions of the crisis of representation, the repositioning of native voices in research texts, the place of native authorship, and the legitimacy of Western-type academic research—discussions which were all raised more than twenty years ago in the field of anthropology, and which were soon taken up in the field of ethnomusicology as well (e.g., in the collective work edited in 1997 by Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, *Shadows in the Field*). Even at the risk of boring readers to dismay, one might recall a few of the seemingly old questions asked at the time: To what extent could an academic discipline remain standing after that provocative interrogation of academic authority? As rational non-believers in the supernatural or in the supremacy of culture-specific convictions, cultivated by many of the peoples we work with, can We continue to represent Others' social practices, and if we can claim to do so, on what grounds? What to do then with the scholarship accumulated through colonialism, dominance, and exploitation? Can it really be put into a comparative or relational perspective with a truly Other interpretation by those whose voices have not yet been given real autonomy? These remain disturbing, but largely silenced questions, since they arguably have the potential to weaken the social sciences in the sense of a self-reproductive practice, with established rules of conduct, ethical codes, etc., etc. The late Pierre Bourdieu, just to mention an illustrious name often cited in this very journal, has tackled this issue many times in his work, including his posthumous book (Bourdieu 2005), in which he reflects upon his own improbable academic career, being a son of a provincial clerk in intellectually aristocratic France.

Summarizing one of the major arguments to be developed here, the state of the discipline—reflecting a generalized trend in the humanities—seems to be less and less related to its social relevance, and very much anchored in its self-reproductive capacity—a capacity that for better or worse has proved to be an enduring one.

Given the premises very roughly sketched above, and in order not to be overcome by a depressive mood, we will consider positing alternatives. One area of ethnomusicology and social research in general that has invested in thinking over the establishment of different-natured relations between scholars and the peoples they work with has been now and then defined as "applied," perhaps self-protectively denoting that its aim is not truly the production of knowledge but its diffusion or application outside academia, and eventually its repatriation to its real originators. This term, "applied ethnomusicology," encompasses today an organized interest group within SEM and has raised interest all over the globe, as could be observed in recent conference programs of two major international conferences, one of them being SEM 2005, and the other being the 36th ICTM Conference held in Rio de Janeiro, in which new forms of relations between researchers and communities they study was one of the four major topics, and among them the one which received the largest number of proposals.

A more socially engaged—and, in our viewpoint potentially transforming—variant of this tendency has been investing in natives' formation in and conduction of research activities such as discussions, readings, documentation, and the production and diffusion of texts, quite often in joint collaboration with native organizations. Paulo Freire's pedagogy has been here a very effective tool, as we can draw from Catherine Ellis's introduction to a collaborative issue of *the world of music* (1994) which discusses horizontal exchanges between aboriginal and academic researchers, and Angela Impey's article on her participatory experience in mediating the formation of a native research group to both conceive and execute a project on music, culture, and ecology in the Dukuduku Forest, near Lake Victoria (Impey 2002). In the latter stance researchers have employed alternative terms such as "advocacy" or "participatory action" research, refusing a defensive position regarding the production of knowledge, since the insertion of community members within a stable and mutually reflexive dialogue with academia has potential to transform profoundly the epistemological product of this new relationship, as stressed by both Ellis and Impey. So, the issue at stake here is not quite simply returning something to a community with which one works, out of respectable ethical considerations, but moreover the opening of a possibility of a new kind of knowledge about social forms such as music and music-making—one that may even subvert academic knowledge as it has been traditionally legitimated.

We will attempt to explain this statement further with reference to a collaborative effort between the Ethnomusicology Laboratory of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and a non-governmental organization founded by residents from Maré, Rio's second largest *favela* (slum—a term itself embedded in symbolic conflict, as we will examine further in this paper), which adopts a participatory strategy based on Paulo Freire's concept of dialogic research. To exemplify the potentials of such perspective, a research team formed by Maré's residents, the self-denominated Grupo Musicultura, analyzes *funk proibidão,* one of the musical styles, which, in their perception, conveys the often contradictory social perceptions, within and outside their own residential space, of conflict and violence in socio-politically disenfranchised urban areas.

One asks, in conclusion, about the significance of dialogic ethnographies of sound practices in reframing violence from a socio-scientific point of view (i.e., as a socially produced phenomenon), the alternatives opened by the use of Freire's methodology in terms of ethnomusicological research (e.g., how it confronts persisting dichotomies between Us and the Others, or how it may or may not displace dichotomies between applied and scientific research), and, last but not least, to what extent the problems exposed through this approach are confinable to situations socially perceived as violent.

Conflict and Violence in Recent Brazilian History: A Summary

Any observer of Brazilian socio-political history will certainly have noticed the progressive transformation of urban criminal violence into one of the major concerns in national public debates. Recent enquiries[3] have detected strong indicators that it has already become the fourth most important electoral issue—after unemployment, health care, and drugs, in that order—in the perception of voters in general but mainly among city dwellers. Informal street conversations, press news and editorials, and political speeches will hardly be able to avoid the subject, and the extent to which daily life in the more densely populated cities may seem to be liable to violence at any minute. While a prestigious institute for socio-economic research devised,[4] under a rather sophisticated methodology, the "fear index"—a social indicator unprecedented in the world—a national referendum on disarmament took place in October 2005.[5]

Since the late 1970s and '80s, under a largely justifiable perception that organized crime in urban settings (principally in the metropolitan areas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) was assuming new forms and huger proportions, the social sciences in Brazil have dedicated a growing and more systematic

attention to criminal violence as an object of study.[6] Although other forms of criminal organizations—including certain white-collar enterprises—may arguably be identified as active during this period, drug traffic activity in particular appeared to the public-at-large as the main originator and perpetrator of whatever since then came to be characterized as crime-related urban violence. The initially advanced explanations (for a detailed historical comment on this literature, see Misse 1995) often had an economic basis and tended to politicize the issue at a time in which a military dictatorship had apparently defeated all sorts of socialist alternatives and had succeeded in imposing, so to speak, a dependant capitalist insertion in world geopolitics.

The eventual and problematic "return to democracy," through the election of the first civilian president in 1985 after twenty-one years of military dictatorial rule, was concurrent with the reconstruction of free socio-political activity on various fronts. These fronts ranged from militancy in the wider spectrum of political parties then made available (only two of which had been legally admitted during the dictatorship) to participation in new organizations of civil society focused on what one might label "newly visible issues," such as movements for rights of women, and of gays and lesbians, along with "recently re-emerging" issues, such as, by the end of the 1970s, newly created, proactive organizations against racial discrimination and inequality. This strengthening of political activity also had to do, of course, with the largely shared perception—or, one might surely say, evidence—that many obstacles persisted on the way to the reestablishment of a more stable democracy. These obstacles, just to mention a few, included socio-economic inequalities, racial inequalities, and one of the most dramatic national income concentration patterns in the world.

A mirroring phenomenon emerging from virtually the same sources was the progressive outspread in Brazil of non-governmental organizations which sought to provide more immediate answers in areas perceived as liable to questionable performance and/or relatively little investment on the part of state and other public agencies in general. The more visible among these areas have probably been ecological issues and social actions toward the poor—e.g., drug and AIDS prevention, employment agencies, sports, educational opportunities for social mobility, and arts programs, all of which are perceived as alternatives to social disenfranchisement and violence.

The election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, former metal workers union leader, founder of the Worker's Party, and imprisoned political leader under military rule, for president of Brazil in 2002 can be—and indeed has been—seen as a symbol of the emergence and self-awareness of social movements in the country's recent history. Not by chance did his major campaign slogan read "May hope win over fear."

On Violence and Culture: Selected Theoretical Perspectives

Analyzing the culture of violence in a state-bound society, such as the culture emerging during the last three decades in Rio de Janeiro, many analysts agree (e.g., Zaluar 2004; Misse 1995; Machado da Silva 1999) that the growth of indicators and predominant representations of violence—invariably associated with the hegemony of the drug traffic in the city's underprivileged areas—together configured a new situation in Rio over the last decades, leading to alarming references to the existence of a criminal or extra-legal state-within-the-state or, in daily conversation, *Estado paralelo* (a parallel state). Socio-scientific studies have somehow deconstructed this ideologically charged, demonizing image that expressed primarily the generalized fear among the middle and upper strata (even though the more dramatic violent events still take place within the poorest residential areas), pointing instead toward an interaction of social factors, which include: extreme poverty and inequality; structural unemployment; relatively unstructured, though organized, factions recklessly controlling drug retail points and opening new ones; indiscriminate police violence against the non-criminal poor; strongly organized, international drug and arms trade; social complicity, through state corruption and civilian self-consumption—all of which make up a very complex puzzle with no easy solution (Misse 1995).

The more visible signs of violence, claim analysts, have more to do with the small-scale, relatively autonomous and precariously structured—although deadly predatory—organizations, each of which is identified with one of the more encompassing penitentiary protection schemes known as *comandos*—prison inmates who run organized actions outside penitentiaries through go-betweens, cell phones, etc.[7] These retail understructures provide the local links to the more elaborately structured international arms and drugs trade, which is tied to larger schemes of state corruption. The comandos, through their small-scale local organizations in the poorest and more disenfranchised residential areas, such as the so-called favelas, self-define real and imaginary boundaries for circulation and sociability within an area officially defined as a residential unit (i.e., a neighborhood or administrative region). An individual who crosses these boundaries risks his or her life, as happens when a resident who lives in a sub-area controlled by a given comando goes to a party in a neighboring place under another one's control, or when relatives are separated simply by living in areas controlled by different organizations.[8]

In such a framework, the emergence of a warrior culture among young favela dwellers exhibits some of the characteristics highlighted by Clastres (2004) within certain "societies-against-state," among whose members violence is perceived as a condition for self-protection against the Other and thus for freedom. As specialized warrior groups emerge within this type of social

formation, displays of bravery, cruelty, and audacity transform poor young traffic "soldiers" (as they are often called within a faction) into "beings-for-death" (Clastres 2004) whose average lifespan barely surpasses twenty-six years (Zaluar 2004). In contrast with societies-against-state, however, their capacity to frighten civil society, including "their own communities,"[9] is no doubt enormous, and quite often these soldiers may also count on sensationalistic media coverage able to transform an isolated and relatively inarticulate retail point controller into a powerful capo. This allows an important distinction: a foreign social body that concentrates real destructive power, and is thus potentially able to claim control, exists within a state-bound society as a sort of state co-extension (see Machado da Silva 1999). Clastres's characterization of warriors, however, also rings true in this case, since any supposed capo's killing by the police or a rival faction—usually boosted as a major event by all parties involved—only means his substitution by another being-for-death as temporarily powerful and fragile as his predecessor.

Another important dimension of this violent escalation over the control of drug traffic retail points is, as Misse (1995) points out, the degree to which it plays a role in socially orchestrated and long-lasting patterns of underpayment of the Brazilian labor force and of society's very selective assimilation of individuals to citizenship. This situation means that profitable illicit activities, whatever their nature (drug-trafficking may even prove to be an ephemeral phenomenon here, as bootlegging once was in the U.S.), present a permanent possibility of increasing levels of criminal violence. Reading it differently, it would be just too simplistic to believe, as many political interests often insist, that curtailing or even eradicating the drug traffic would mean either controlling or eliminating violence. In this sense, it is worth recalling Clastres' premonition: that knowing violence badly—i.e., assuming it can be erased from human experience—means knowing society in the same manner.

One of the more evident results of these accumulating inequalities has been the emergence of socially disenfranchised residential areas in virtually every Brazilian metropolis, many of which have been labeled as favelas after one specific settlement in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro. Throughout their century-old history favelas have been subject to dominant elites' simultaneous representations of fear (of the "dangerous classes") and admiration (for their vigorous and singular culture, and their music in particular), leading to policies of (failed) eradication and (relatively effective) relocation (see Zaluar and Alvito 2000). Different terms have been developed to define such urban areas, none of which, however, are consensually agreed upon by residents or outsiders. The former may use, alternatively, favela or *comunidade* (community) to designate their living area, the police prefer the military term "*complexo*" (e.g., Complexo da Maré), while recent technocratic jargon has produced a hybrid, *favela-bairro* (slum-neighborhood), perhaps more in

line with the English term "inner city." According to Wacquant (2003), this term emerged in the second half of the twentieth century as a euphemistic alternative to the term "ghetto," but in tune with the latter as a sociological category constructed around "stigma, constraint, spatial confinement, and institutional encasement." (Of these factors, perhaps only the first, stigma, would be entirely applicable to present-day *favelas*, as we shall see further in this paper). In the neo-liberal 1990s, still following Wacquant, deindustrialization and the consequent deterioration of ghetto-based, post-World-War institutional nets led to the hegemony of drug-dealing as an institution in such areas.

A word should also be said here on the history of NGOs in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. The NGOs, which have been active since the early twentieth century, at first usually consisted of philanthropic societies run by foreign religious institutions. They are seen as performing functions in areas passed over or badly attended to by the state. After World War II, several Brazilian organizations followed this model of a non-profit society centered on assistance to the "more pressing" (one may ask in whose perception?) needs of the poor, mainly through the provision of housing, health care, and professional education. It is only in the 1980s that NGOs with widely diversified focuses (ecology, self-sustainability, cultural survival, arts, etc.) and not necessarily directed to the poor, spread throughout Brazil. A more recent development in the last ten years or so has been the emergence of differently focused community-based NGOs—i.e., founded by residents and having their headquarters located within the community—in rural settings, inner-city residential areas, and other contexts (see Carvalho 2003).

One relevant development pertaining to the particular case discussed herein is the emphasis of various so-called "social projects" for the arts (music included), which are usually sponsored by businesses and run by NGOs. They are aimed primarily at offering alternatives to violence and exclusion through activities which are conceived as both meaningful and self-fulfilling, and eventually at opening windows to artistic professions.[10] Exceptions notwithstanding,[11] they are often proposed to the NGO by an outside artist or artistic collective, with credibility becoming a major asset in the search for funding. It is worth noticing that the social projection of the proponent artist may often help even more to open the right doors, thus empowering the proponent vis-à-vis the host NGO or the community itself.

These arts programs (or *projetos* in daily talk) in general, and the musical ones in particular, encompass various focuses, from basic music reading notions to flute ensemble formation or percussion classes. They are typically isolated, self-contained actions, since their sources are too diversified and each NGO has difficulties in keeping up with the contents of each program, which are often devised by outsiders on the premise that the community

lacks them. From this results a certain disconnection and, not rarely, profound contradictions between the several simultaneous experiences.[12]

Uneasy Steps: Dialogues between Academia and its "Internal Others"

The first research initiatives leading to the collaboration between the LE-UFRJ and CEASM involved a series of discussions among teachers and students within a university-based ethnomusicology program, reflecting upon critical debates in anthropology and ethnomusicology. These issues included the crisis of representation (see Clifford and Marcus 1986, Marcus and Fischer 1986), the place and value of native discourses and of field experience in theory (Barz and Cooley 1996), and other topics. The initiatives sought to devise experimental research directions and methodologies. Small-scale studies mainly conducted by students resulted in theses (Cambria 2002, Marques 2003) that attempted to combine more conventional participant observation and dialogical forms of ethnography with careful negotiation of research focus and of forms of diffusion. As such discussions became more solid and partial results became visible, several community-based NGOs in Rio looked to the university's ethnomusicology lab, in search of partnerships in establishing local databases on musical practices, perhaps the more palpable product of previous projects.[13]

For a variety of reasons, the first partnership in Rio was established with CEASM (Center for the Study and Solidarity Actions of Maré), an NGO born within one Rio de Janeiro residential area highly stigmatized by the favela-exclusion-traffic-violence equation. A conglomerate of at least eleven distinct sub-areas, comprising significant social, economic and demographic distinctions (ranging in size from 8,000 to 25,000 people each), Maré as a whole is home to about 135,000 people: relocated slum populations of Rio, unskilled migrant labor (mostly from northeastern Brazil), and even a population of about a thousand young Angolan students and middle-aged war refugees. High rates of unemployment and the profitability of drug-trafficking delineate the broader social contours in the Maré area, leading to a harsh routine of intermittent police raids, drug wars on territories between factions, and traffic-dictated curfews.

CEASM has been one of the most visible community-based NGOs in Rio, with a considerable infrastructure (classrooms, well-equipped administrative offices, computer rooms, library, and various types of databases) and a strong focus on the preparation of Maré youngsters for the yearly admission exam for public universities (reputedly the best in Brazil and free of charge). Its main focus requires, in its representatives' perception (middle-aged, university-trained residents or former residents of Maré), that exam-centered

skills be complemented with other skills that may enrich the experience of youngsters.

What CEASM expects from our joint project, which is aimed at the creation of a database of the Maré's musical output, may perhaps be summarized as the development of a new program that might reinforce the subjects' self-esteem and further their experience in another musical program or in other related areas such as dance, history, story-telling, etc.

Intense discussions with NGO representatives (educators, historians, and administrative personnel) led to the development of a one-year research project restricted to two sub-areas of Maré and involving three basic stages. The first stage consisted of twice-a-week encounters with a group of twenty-four Maréresident youngsters (twenty high-school students and four university students), aimed at the development of a conceptual basis as well as of research focuses and tools. Following participatory action models, particularly the one proposed by Paulo Freire which is examined below in more detail, the university researchers would act as mediators of discussions among the youngsters on relevant musical subjects and categories, as well as on strategies for music research, would indicate relevant readings upon the group's request, and would facilitate the actual documentation through the use of digital technology. The second stage involved the building of a public database within Maré, located at the NGO headquarters. The third stage involved the development of outreach programs and individual presentations aimed at its residents and at the general public. This stage involved certain specificities such as questions about the range and type of diffusion.

On Freire's Dialogical Pedagogy and Reflexive Ethnomusicology

In common sense, ethnomusicological research has been generally conceived as the study of a musical culture foreign to the researcher's experience. The phenomena, knowledge, agreements, and disagreements which constitute a culture will be difficult for a researcher, so biased, to comprehend, as will the practices (s)he will be observing, the language used to perpetuate culture-specific knowledge, and the discourses over issues pertinent to the culture in question. The research itself would thus require the researcher's observation and participation, as much as possible in the researched culture, obtaining in the field various types of records (e.g., field notes, audiovisual), and interpretation of what was lived, observed, and recorded in terms of an academic discussion, quite often made public in written form.

Therefore one could safely state that this research procedure initially takes up a very modest and unpretentious posture before a seemingly strange

and challenging native knowledge. The latter is taken as already constituted (or so imagines the researcher) in the universe to be researched, through a progressive initiation process, until the point at which a certain cultural competence—or, in other terms, a capacity for operating within the conduct codes "internal to the observed cultures"— is acquired, allowing the production of a more reflexive discourse on the culture. The degree to which this discourse will be able to speak authoritatively about the observed culture and the excellence of its interpretation will depend on many factors, such as the legitimacy of the research in its respective field of knowledge, the researcher's reputation, his/her institutional affiliations, or the amount of research-related publications. The repercussions of the findings will be, no doubt, wide and strong insofar as the researched culture is seen as exotic in the perception of an academic field that values reason and science, in accordance with the extent of the interpretive challenge supposedly faced by the researcher, and, finally, in accordance with the researched people's acknowledgement of "something good" the research may have returned them. When, however, an interpretation (or "knowledge") leads to the identification of a form of distortion, stereotyping, or stigma attributed to the culture being studied—or, worse, to be publicly contested by the researched—not only the specific research work under criticism but the entire area it represents may fall under suspicion.

On another key, when one confronts commonsensical perceptions of educational processes (including musical education)—perceptions that quite often are embedded in concrete educational practices—a similarly elusive margin will be noticed between the proposed ways of building knowledge, the active role exclusively attributed to educators, and the experience of the ideal subjects of such process, the students.

These educational practices have been termed "banking" ones by Freire, implying that they reduce the experience and cognitive world of students to a sort of latency state, "waiting for" knowledge pre-formatted in socially distant contexts and, in many instances (e.g., among the socio-economically underprivileged) contrary to the enhancement of the students' autonomy. It is perhaps unnecessary to restate here the many paradoxes of such a charade, but perhaps one example would suffice: In many countries, such as in Brazil, the relative decrease of illiteracy, instead of contributing to better educational levels or social mobility, has mainly contributed to the increase of so-called "functional illiteracy" in which the use of reading and writing does not go much beyond turning printed letters into sounds or signing an ID card.

So one should notice here the almost absolute symmetry between the two cognitive processes briefly commented on above. In the first one—that is, ethnomusicological research—"native" knowledge (a "strange" musical culture) is given as already pre-existing before an external agent's (the re-

searcher's) intervention. The researcher will initially make a great effort to encode it in terms simultaneously intelligible to the respective cultures of both the researched (to the extent possible, their "native musical theory") and the researcher (the so-called "theory of music," almost always on the axis of Western concert music), in order to finally be able to decode its meaning in terms exclusively intelligible to the researcher's own culture (the producer of the only "true" theory, or theory as such), since the researched will hardly have access to, or interest in, the final research product.

In the second process—educative action—knowledge (in the particular case under study, "music" also approached as something strange to the students' experience) is also understood as an entity pre-encoded in terms of the external agent's (the educator's) culture (in our specific case, music with "educational content" endorsed by a school system), which will supposedly have to decode it in terms intelligible to the student-objects (supposedly lacking "musical knowledge"). It is worth noticing here that this is precisely the basic premise on which the majority of arts programs are conceived as tools for social inclusion and as alternatives to violence.

Therefore, in both situations, common sense would see the external agent as the active term of a desirable cognitive equation: either between researcher-produced and researched-produced knowledge, or between knowledge already deposited in the educator and knowledge to be deposited in the student. As stressed by Freire as well as by critical anthropology and ethnomusicology, both equations will tend to fail insofar as the gap between the experience and vocalizing power of the different cultures impedes developing a real dialogue, or as insofar as the research subject or the student is denied a more active role.

At this point, the following issues are timely: what would happen if we could foresee another world in which both research and educational action reserved a more active role for both the researched and the students? (No one educates anyone, insists Freire in several contexts.) Could one imagine the production of another kind of knowledge in such a transformed world, perhaps qualitatively superior to traditional (in the sense of disciplinary traditions) modes of knowledge-building, the ones Freire terms "banking" modes? In this case, would distinctions between research and education—between scientific and applied research—dissolve?

Sound Sociability at Maré: Relocating Ethnomusicology in the "Field"

Two years after its beginning, a retrospective synthesis of the project offers a provocative frame to relocate ethnomusicology and its contemporary dilemmas in another key.

Differences in musical backgrounds and experience were among the most immediately self-perceived traits within the group, revealing from the start a quite significant feature of Maré: its widely diversified soundscape (to use once more composer Murray Schaffer's well-known metaphor), corresponding not only to its diversified socialscape but also to the concurrent transit of media through its social space. The preferred genres initially emerging in the discussions may be generally described as Brazilian popular musics (mainly samba and its derived style *pagode*, and Northeastern *forró*) and internationally popular trends in both Brazilian-made and foreign versions (rap, rock, and reggae), but also include clusters of African pop (among Angolans), Brazilian-made evangelical gospel songs, or the local equivalent to "gangsta rap," the so-called "proibidão" (i.e., highly forbidden). It is probably redundant to say that each of these genres may be "the" exclusive preference of a given individual's particular choice repertoire, intersecting with other musics. The main sources for musical experiences encompass jukebox, radio and TV airplay, music recordings from both licit and illicit sources, public performances (e.g., religious services, ***bailes funk***[14]) and private ones (rock rehearsals, private parties), and indoor and outdoor events. Taste distinctions can be seen to correlate with age, religious affiliations, schooling, occupation, the proximity of the drug business, and also to the period of residence within Maré.

It is also relevant to notice that the initial revelation of such differences, as might be expected, provoked much meaningful silence during the first encounters. Little by little, however, a number of interaction strategies proposed by the university team (such as showing documentary videotapes recording different sound practices within the Maré area and simulated life history interviews with project participants) led the student researchers to increase their awareness of the content of each other's preferred styles. Just recently, new kinds of interaction (including musical ones) between these youngsters have started to develop, including the organization of a Carnival group which made its debut in 2005. This is particularly significant since it followed debates about the relative reduction of public samba activities within Maré in recent years on account of exposure to violence.[15]

Another issue emerging strongly in the first discussions has been the impact of violence (much more than hunger, or the lack of either job or leisure opportunities, which is not to say that these are not strong concerns) on social life in general, but particularly on musical ones. Violence, in the discussions among youngsters, is often understood as a sub-product of drug-trafficking and/or police action. But their reactions to its symptoms may open profound impasses in their daily experiences, which could eventually be spotted in the discussions. The following transcription of my own field notes will perhaps illustrate better both the research process and its contents. Time indexes in

the MD recording of the discussion session are provided,[16] so that the reader may note the not always immediate response of subjects to the mediators' suggestions:

> At a previous meeting, reacting to a video on violence in favelas, one of the Maré youngsters (Erica) reported she had said no to one of her dance teachers in college who asked her to create a choreography based on her daily experience with violence, arguing that she wouldn't like to be represented by violent images. Therefore she wouldn't be willing to record images and sounds of violence [in the ethnomusicology project] as representatives of her community either. (Fieldnotes, CEASM - 5/31/2004)

One mediator (Vincenzo) recalls this fact (00'00"-02'10"), relating her position against that specific representation as an important research topic, leading to a critique of external stereotyping of the favelas. He stresses the importance of the issue and asks whether the group would like to continue the discussion (some people had been absent in the last session). An initial silence leads the mediator to go on exploring the significance of representations for the social sciences and philosophy, and also the academic critique of univocal interpretations of social identities. He uses as an example the term favela as a representation that may embody prejudice and misconceptions, including equivocal labels and identification of social identities. He stresses that misconceived and conflicting representations may generate an obstacle to dialogue. Two terms in particular, he suggests, should be used carefully: identity and diversity. One participant (Helaine, university student) asks, what about unity. This is the first oral participation of a Maré resident (25'10") (Jefferson, idem, 28'30").

> But I think there are also . . . positive—I am not sure if it is correct to say that—exotic stereotypes. For instance, to deconstruct this narrative that the favela is a violent place, where the drug traffic reigns, where you find this and that, and you begin to say that the favela is wonderful . . . I think this is a problem. I think it is exotic, the image of a favela as something exotic. And this is to me problematic when I start to adopt postures before, for instance, state actions within favelas. They [state authorities] usually say: "Look they have natural talents, give them a little soccer project, or a *pandeiro* and a *cuíca* [respectively a hand-held drum and a friction drum used in samba] and they will begin to swing [*já saem gingando*]. It is an exotic, stereotyped image of what to live in a favela is like. So I don't know what is the best discourse to be constructed to talk about this place. But at the same time I question ways of defining the favela as a violent place only, I am concerned with this other discourse which is constructed [*sic*] one: 'Violence? [mockingly] I never saw it. It is the best place in the world for one to live'. So I also keep thinking about this.

The mediator seeks to motivate the rest of the group and gives other examples: e.g., himself as a native Sicilian, being discriminated for stereotypes but also using them to his best interests. At some point he recalls (42'40"),

"In the interviews we did to select you to participate in this project we asked what were the major problems youngsters faced within the community and almost all of you answered 'violence' and 'lack of security to move about.' So my question is: Do you think we can eliminate this from our work here?" Helaine intervenes (43'20"): "Before we answer you, I think it is interesting that you are proposing that we ourselves also start to propose . . . Looking at my friend's [Jefferson's] example. When we are asked where we live we answer Bonsucesso [a wider neighborhood to which jurisdiction the Maré area is officially subordinated] not Maré. We should say Maré. Then you will be proposing a different discourse. This is the beginning, the acknowledgement . . . " The mediator cautions, however, that he didn't mean to turn automatically positive something that is not usually understood as such. Another mediator (Virginia) intervenes, positing that, in fieldwork, the researchers will already find many representations of practices ready-made, and they should not have pre-determined ideas about their "righteousness." They should be open to other voices, to polyphony within the community. She gives a musical example: You may have a critical view of what a pagode [samba related style] is, but we will have to listen to what the playing musician has to say about it, no matter how distant his interpretation may be of our own. Helaine asks back (49:30): "But what should we do when we see that he/she is complying with what the media imposes on him/her?" The mediator exemplifies with her own master's thesis on *maracatu* (an Afro-Brazilian music-and-dance processional form) in which this type of polyphony was chosen as narrative form. She also talks about the provisional aspect of any research when it attempts to typify musical or other social forms. The initial mediator takes the opportunity to recall their first discussions on the crisis of representation (using a few synthetic texts), in which they had seen that one of the solutions devised by post-modern anthropology was precisely an emphasis on dialogic research strategies, substituting a dialogue between different voices for the ethnographer's exclusive authority.

Quite significantly, instances of violence in the youngsters' accounts are frequently illustrated with significant sounds as the events are typically characterized by terrifying noise. On the other hand, the term "sound" allows the description of local practices that might otherwise be deemed "musical," which has led us (university and Maré researchers) to reflect on the continuity of the sound spectrum in Maré, recalling Schaffer's soundscape (1977a, 1977b) but also Araújo's acoustic labor concept (1992), from gunfire, church loudspeakers, and war commands to everyday speech and more or less ritualized sound performances.

Physical violence and terror notwithstanding, violence appears more often in the form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001). This form was superficially spotted, and only recently acknowledged by the young

researchers, in Maré residents' downplaying of their own cultural output, perhaps as a result of years of actions aimed at what "the community lacks." Symbolic violence, however, appears more often in the form of concepts made up from outside perceptions that "freeze," so to speak, social practices, failing to recognize or, in Bourdieu's terms (2001), misrecognizing practical strategies as categories that make no sense in the real world. This has serious implications, since the ongoing discussions have revealed different internal uses within Maré for established categories used in academia, side by side with frequently used, socially pertinent local categories which remain absolutely absent in scholarly studies of the masses or of the poor. That should leave us wondering about the relative innocuousness of many labels and object-centered approaches that pervade the literature on popular music cultures in Brazil vis-à-vis a highly significant, while largely ignored, praxis emanating from stigmatized daily struggles for physical and emotional survival.

A Sound Ethnography by Maré Residents

It is very common to use the term "popular" to classify or qualify different musical manifestations. In Brazil, the term MPB, or Brazilian popular music, has been used to lump together styles which, perhaps, in other contexts and moments, would not be grouped so closely. However, even after this particular use and its derivatives, the idea of "popular" remains an object of intense debates and controversies. For example, should the *proibidões* (funk songs praising the drug traffic and its factions) be considered "popular"?

Before even trying to answer the question, it seems necessary to examine a little bit further the concept of "popular." Looking at more familiar uses of it, we perceive three ideas associated with the term. The first one associates the "popular" with poverty or, if you like, marginality. The second one associates the term with market success. In other words, the larger are sales, the more popular the manifestation or product will be. Under this reasoning, popularity is directly proportional to the financial return a product may render. The third usual meaning is related to its revolutionary potential, i.e., to the capacity of popular manifestations for social transformation, aside from stylistic and aesthetic innovation. Noting this, we shall return to the initial question in an attempt to answer it.

For all we have observed at Maré in our research work, funk would fit the majority of the above definitions, in the senses that: (1) it is a phenomenon created and recreated in contexts of poverty; (2) from its growing condemnation it becomes unanimous; and (3) it has demonstrated an enormous potential for innovation, with many other musical styles having borrowed many of its constituent signs and practices. Nevertheless, when considering the proibidões (highly forbidden), a new question becomes inevitable: could

funk be a possible catalyzing factor in significantly transforming the living conditions of those people portrayed in its lyrics?

In Brazil, music coming from the favelas and other peripheral areas has always been seen, at first, as something deprived of any cultural or artistic value. Such was the case with samba and several other cultural practices. Lately, what best exemplifies this reaction is the so-called funk-proibidão, or ***funk do mal*** (evil funk), which have been constantly demonized because of their alleged praising (***fazer apologia***) of drugs and violence.[17]

Funk culture in Brazil is customarily associated with the drug traffic, dispensing in general a critical examination of both phenomena. But how is violence produced? Why is it so present in favelas? How does society-at-large contribute to this situation?

The absence of the state in the promotion and support of cultural events in favelas allows drug trafficking to play a fundamental role in the financing of parties, as well as in the creation of new economic opportunities in poor communities. Funk proibidão is somehow a product of this imbalance. Its very name derives from its dealing with the day-to-day reality of the drug traffic in low-income communities, approaching themes which relate favelas to the traffic, and expressing the daily life of organized criminal factions—or "life in crime." In this music, local drugs are highlighted alongside descriptions of local gun power, and the praising of courageous criminals and drug types.

These songs are, in general, textual parodies of well-known songs in other popular styles, and of other funk songs not associated with stigmatized themes. At the dances where they are played, the sound is often extremely loud and even aggressive. The vocal range of the singers—who are also almost invariably the makers of the parodies sung— is usually high, and male singers are predominant, as women are largely excluded.

Most proibidões are recorded live at funk balls, dispensing with many technical features common in studio productions, in a way which usually compromises the final recording quality. The CDs are immediately pressed, thus guaranteeing the currency of the transmitted information. One may take up for instance the proibidão transcribed below, a parody of the *axé* (highly popular style from the state of Bahia) song "Carro Velho," made successful through Bahian singer Ivete Sangalo's voice in the 2002 Carnival.

Cheiro de Uê queimado	Smells like burned Uê
Café foi espancado	Café was spanked
E o Robertinho é um viado	Robertinho is a faggot
O Celsinho é um medroso	Celsinho is a sissy
Tomou coça na cadeia	He was beaten in jail
O Beira-Mar dedo nervoso	Beira-Mar's easy fingers
Eu vou	I'm going
Quem for "dispô" que venha	Whoever feels like should come
E se bater de frente com nós	And if anyone faces us

É lenha	It's going to be tough
O Jorge Turco já é nosso	We've already got Jorge Turco
Foi o bonde que tomou	Our "tram" has taken it
Que lindo!	Beautiful!
Até o bonde do mineiro Aê	And also Mineiro's ""tram," dig it,
Mineiro, é o bonde do Mineiro	Mineiro, it's Mineiro's "tram"
E o bonde do Gorra	And Gorra's "tram" too

The song (of unidentified title and author) is sung by MC Gê and is part of the *Proibidão 15* CD, probably recorded in 2002, judging from the narrated facts. It describes the rebellion at a maximum security penitentiary, Bangu I, that took place on 11 September 2002. That day, inmates linked to the Comando Vermelho (Red Commando) assassinated four other inmates from the rival faction Amigos dos Amigos (Friends' Friends), also known as ADA.

Among the dead were Ernaldo Pinto de Medeiros, nicknamed Uê (who was killed by being immolated and was one of Comando Vermelho's main rivals in the control of the traffic), Wanderley Soares, a.k.a. Orelha, Carlos Roberto da Costa, Robertinho from Adeus (a hillside slum of Rio) and Marcelo Lucas da Silva, a.k.a. Café. According to the press, Celsinho from Vila Vintém (another marginalized area of Rio) would have cried, surrendered, and handed the control of the drug traffic to Luiz Fernando da Costa, a.k.a Fernandinho Beira-Mar, Comando Vermelho's leader at the time and the one who headed the rebellion.

It is worth noticing in this context that proibidões do not obtain any space in the formally constituted media, allegedly due to their praise of violence and drugs. By contrast, other Brazilian and foreign musicians who deal with the same themes do manage to record in major labels and occupy a huge space in the media. Such is the case with the song "Fazendo a Cabeça" (Getting High), authored by Formiga, Marcelo D 2, and Bacalhau, and recorded by Planet Hemp, a musical group signed by Sony Music which enjoys a wide reputation in the national recording business, above all in Rio de Janeiro:

Fazendo a sua cabeça	Getting you high/Making up your mind
No Rio de Janeiro, praia, favela,	In Rio de Janeiro, beaches, slums Maconha,
bebida, puteiro, tiroteio,	Pot, booze, whorehouses, gunfire,
Arrastão já está aceso o pavio	Violent raids, the "lighter" is on
E como diz o black future:	As black future [?] says:
"Eu sou do Rio"	"I'm from Rio"
1, 2, 3, pra você levar um tiro	1, 2, 3 for getting shot
Eu tenho pena de você,	I pity you, fool,
Otário, se cruzar comigo	If you come across me
A erva não é perigosa,	Grass isn't dangerous
Mas eu ofereço perigo	But I offer you danger
Se eu te pego te dou um sacode	If I catch you, you're gonna get whupped
Depois te jogo no lixo	And then I throw you in the garbage
Planet Hemp, mermão "é o bicho"	Planet Hemp is mean, brother,

Tem gente fazendo a tua cabeça	There are people manipulating you
E te jogando no buraco	And putting you down
Com preconceito	Out of prejudice
Não dê mole, tome cuidado,	Watch your back, take care,
Pense duas vezes	Think twice
Pra não acabar ajoelhado	Before you end up on your knees
Passa a bola, não enrola,	Pass it on, don't hesitate
De uma goma, não se esqueça	Give it a shot, don't forget
Planet Hemp fazendo a sua cabeça	Planet Hemp getting you high/ Making up your mind
Eles querem a sua cabeça	They want your head
E querem que você diga ''não"	They want you to say "no"
Faça você a sua cabeça	You should make up your mind/get high
E pense um pouco meu irmão	Think a little bit, brother,
Não falo só da maconha	I'm not only speaking of pot
Eu tenho muito pra dizer	I have a lot to say
Ouça Planet Hemp	Listen to Planet Hemp
Pra depois cê não se fuder	Or you're gonna get fucked
Falo e você vai ter que me escutar,	I say and you're gonna have to listen
Porque maconha, meu irmão,	Because pot, brother,
Não pode lhe prejudicar,	Cannot hurt you
Então é bom cê se ligar	So you'd better dig it up
Cuidado vacilão,	Take care, fool,
Porque senão vou te apagar	Otherwise I'm gonna shut you down
Porque de onde eu vim	Because where I come from
Eu sei o gatilho é a lei	The trigger is the law
Então não se esqueça	So don't forget
Planet Hemp fazendo sua cabeça,	Planet Hemp getting you high/making up your mind
Com a cultura do arrastão	With the raid culture
Pra você poder sobreviver	So that you can survive
Cê tem que ter boa educação	You must have a good education
Boa educação que eu tô falando	The good education I'm talking about
Não são boas maneiras	Is not about good manners
É saber distinguir	Is about knowing to distinguish
O pó da poeira	"Coke" from dust
Porque malandro	Because a hustler
Quando tá na pior sabe sair de lá	Knows how to get out of dead ends
De lá o único barulho	From there the only noise
Que eu escuto rá-tá-tá rá-ta-tá	I hear is ra-ta-ta ra-ta-ta
Cê tem que fazer a sua cabeça	You've got to make up your mind/get high
Com que você bem quiser	With anything you wish
Ninguém pode impedir	No one can stop you
Se você sabe o que quer	If you know what you want
Chega de hipocrisia,	Enough with hypocrisy
Pare antes que eu enlouqueça	Stop before I go mad
Então não esqueça	So don't forget
Fazendo a sua cabeça.	Getting high/Making up your mind

As we can perceive, the above song talks about drug use and violence, showing off Rio's hustler who "offers danger" and smokes pot. The obvious question then is: Isn't this song referring to the same characters depicted by funk proibidão? Why, then, does the latter not deserve a similar treatment by the media and particularly the largest recording companies?

Through the analyses above, looking at these issues from a point of view of class relationships seems to us much more significant, since the fact that proibidão does not manage to find space in the media is clearly attributable to factors beyond the criminal contents of their lyrics or their oft-cited praising of the traffic. Besides, we see that in many cases there are no conflicts of interest when the subject matter involves contracts between artists and companies, oftentimes millionaire ones, or when songs are so successful among the popular classes that shall not be ignored. So we have today in Brazil (and now being exported to the U.S. and other countries in Europe) the prestige of other types of funk, such as the erotic type, for instance, which was strongly condemned by the media in the beginning, but today is widely acclaimed and played intensively in middle-class dance clubs.

It is timely, then, to ask: If going to a funk ball means praising the drug lords and the traffic, whom or what is one praising when one goes to a dance club?

One can deduce then that the media are highly prejudicial against funk, forever harping on its constant reference to drugs and violence, and always ignoring the specificity of its diverse manifestations. Moreover, the media describe *funkeiros* (participants, enthusiasts) generically as poor slum residents, blacks (as if to be black were a degrading factor), and drug dealers, who build up a negative stereotype of a lost youth which, because it is poor, expresses its revolt through violence.

Maré Cultural Links: Funk, Circulation, and Civil Rights

Located between some of the main access arteries to the so-called "Wonderful City," Maré holds a highly visible status among Rio's hundreds of favelas. It has been center stage for "success" stories in areas such as culture and education, with or without governmental support. It is also well known for drug trafficking, which regularly appears in the police reports. Today both terror and fear have secure places and addresses in favelas.

In a context assailed by drug wars, the fragmentary logics of drug lords have played an increasingly relevant role in constructing social identities within Maré. There, free circulation rights, as well as other citizenship prerogatives, are unequally exercised by local dwellers. In other words, violence has to be placed as one among several important factors affecting that specific place, taking into account the links (or obstacles) among its dwellers.

Thus one may perceive how difficult Rio's poor have found it to circulate among their neighboring communities, due to contingencies that go beyond economic aspects. These circumstances seemingly worsen insofar as the characters involved are youngsters, men, and/or people linked to given cultural expressions. These are the social segments which apparently suffer the biggest burden due to unofficially imposed "divides" under criminal power. No matter how invisible and arbitrary, these barriers define where, when, and who may cross them.

Assaulted by fear, the dwellers facing it—including the youngest ones—do not circulate freely, but instead use the most circuitous paths to their routine destinations, when not remaining confined in their own neighborhoods, which then become like open-air prisons. A terror state is thus internalized, leading everyone to follow certain rules of conduct even when there is no clear evidence of danger, no matter how absurd these rules might be from a human rights point of view.

The activity of coming and going is thus carefully calculated. This caution, embedded in peoples' lives, emerges from the sensation—sometimes exaggerated, other times very real—of being constantly under surveillance. When in doubt, conformist self-regulation seems sensible. These are then ways by which people, subtly and tragically, learn to act according to a power code that imposes rules and limits.

This power code, however, may eventually be broken by socio-cultural neighborhood projects, which oftentimes become the only way for one to circulate more freely in one's own neighborhood, as they may supply a form of "identification" for those who participate in them. This can make circulation safer since there seems to exist some respect for people involved in groups not associated with the drug traffic. Conversely, people associated with funk music, for instance, face difficulties in circulating among communities that are perceived as rivals and use funk (a style strongly identified with youth) as a type of confrontation. This situation produces more obstacles for *funkeiros* than for *rockeiros*, the former being restrained from taking part in balls attended by rival factions, even when they mean only to enjoy the beat and have fun.

Challenges to an Ethnomusicology of Conflict and Violence

We should not end this paper without making clear a few basic points:

(1) In making a claim for the importance of an ethnography of sound—i.e., something beyond an anthropology of music (Merriam 1964) or, with Seeger (1987), a musical anthropology—in contemporary studies of society, we attempt to stress the high socio-cultural significance of a continuum of meaning from isolated sounds to more

formalized sound forms such as speech, music, and other types of sound-structured events. This may be—and certainly is—just as important in the study of other social configurations, but this would only reinforce our argument.

(2) Conditions for the appearance and predominance of physical or materialized forms of conflict and violence (e.g., economic hardships leading to drug-trafficking as an economic alternative and criminal violence as a "natural" state of affairs) may be more ephemeral than the ones for symbolic violence (increasing socio-economic inequalities amidst increasing material wealth in global scale).

(3) Assuming the ethnography of sound practices in today's world may require repositioning seemingly ageless theoretical, methodological and conceptual guideposts (perhaps the easiest part) while simultaneously (the toughest part) finding sense in symbolic agency under the apparently irresistible hegemony of the commodity form.

Notes

1. This paper results from a two-year (10/03–9/05) research project titled "Samba e coexistência; um estudo etnomusicológico da circulação do samba no Rio de Janeiro" (Samba and coexistence; an ethnomusicological study of samba diffusion in Rio de Janeiro) sponsored by CNPq (National Council for Research), the NGO Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré (CEASM), through its Social Memory Network, and the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). An ongoing development (from January 2004 through December 2006) is the project titled "Música, memória e sociabilidade na Maré," funded by FAPERJ (Rio State Foundation for Research). It is also necessary to acknowledge the participation as research assistants of both formerly and currently enrolled graduate students at UFRJ's School of Music, Vincenzo Cambria and Virgínia Barbosa among the former, and Eduardo Antonio Duque and Yahn Wagner F. M. Pinto among the latter.

2. This text was collectively produced. For the UFRJ Ethnomusicology Lab, it is signed by the project coordinator, Samuel Araújo. For Grupo Musicultura, it is signed by Geandra N. do Nascimento, Jaqueline Souza de Andrade, Leonardo dos Santos Marques, Monique de Lima Pureza, Nathália Faustino Pereira, Aline Cristina Souza, Vanessa Pereira de Morais, Jéssica A. de Macedo, Sinesio Jefferson Andrade Silva, Mariluci Correia do Nascimento, Alexandre Dias da Silva, Helaine Christian Alves, Gilmar Santos da Cunha, Rosana Lisboa Lima, Otacília dos S. Silva, Bruna Pereira da Silva, Janaína da S. Lima, Marcos Diniz Jr., Fernanda Santiago França, Jefferson L. P Barcelos, and Adriana Freires da Rocha.

3. See IBOPE 2002.

4. See Fundação Getúlio Vargas 2002.

5. A proposed ban on the arms trade in Brazil—the new proposal under scrutiny defended by the federal government and several NGOs—was blatantly defeated by about sixty percent of the voters, thus maintaining legal sales to private owners.

6. One indicator is the creation of research groups on violence at major universities, such as the Universidade de São Paulo (1987), and the proliferation of sociological studies which would soon rival and perhaps outnumber studies in fields more "traditionally" concerned with that issue, such as psychology and education (Misse 1995). Misse notes the contrast between sociological traditions in Brazil and in the U.S., where criminal violence has been a stable theme for the so-called Chicago school since the 1920s. It is also worth noticing that a National Security

Act has been in place in Brazil since 1934—edited under a bourgeois revolutionary government and constitutionally ratified after its downfall until the present—which equates "violent" and "disorderly" (i.e., perceived as firmly contesting) political action with "crime," making of the latter a rather suspicious socio-scientific theme from a dominant point of view.

7. At least three comandos are recognized by the police and criminals alike: the Comando Vermelho (Red Commando), the Terceiro Comando (Third Command) and the Amigos dos Amigos (Friends' Friends) or ADA. The specialized literature also indicates that the name comando itself was first used by the police during the military dictatorship, a time in which "regular" and "political" prisoners had regular interactions in the penitentiary system (see Misse 1995).

8. In an alert against a "drug traffic dictatorship," one Brazilian newspaper of nationwide circulation reported in 2002 that 1,092,783 people living in Rio's 605 favelas, i.e., 18.6% of the population or one in five of the city dwellers, feel obliged to respect the drug dealers' laws (see *O Globo,* Rio de Janeiro, 2/20/2005, p. 18).

9. The term "community" is often used by residents to refer to the areas in which they live but it is far from being a workable sociological entity, as we will see further in this paper. Its use by criminal individuals is usually related to their respective faction's control over one area, and only circumstantially—but not necessarily—to having a steady involvement there through their life history.

10. It is worth noticing too that there is a long-standing tradition in Brazil, traceable to eighteenth-century religious musical institutions (see, for instance, Lange 1979), and still verifiable in public conservatories and university programs nowadays (Silva 2005), of music serving as a means of professionalization and upward social mobility for the poor.

11. One significant exception, Grupo Cultural Afro-Reggae, was founded in 1993, after the massacre of twenty-one residents of Vigário Geral (another favela) in a police raid; this Grupo was founded by a group of community youngsters interested in musics of the African diaspora. It defines its mission as "to promote social inclusion, using the arts, Afro-Brazilian culture and education as tools to create bridges to unite differences and serve as foundations to sustainability and to exercising citizenship" (http://www.afroreggae.org.br/sec_missao.php).

12. In a 2003 seminar on NGO-run arts programs at Rio de Janeiro's Industry Federation, a representative of one of the largest of the city's NGOs, Viva Rio, expressed her organization's concern with the problem. The NGO had even chosen the integration of its supposed nine hundred simultaneous projects as a priority theme for a seminar the following year.

13. This also has to do with the financing agencies' growing demands for external qualitative evaluation as an indispensable part of any application for funding.

14. Literally, funk balls, dance parties held in social clubs, gymnasiums and samba schools rehearsal yards, which have been very popular among Rio's predominantly black lower-class youngsters since the 1970s (Vianna 1988). Through a combination of real facts with sensationalistic media coverage, ***bailes funk*** became seen as central contexts of violence—or the dangerous Other—in middle- and upper-class perceptions. Laws to prevent violence in bailes funk were passed in the city representatives council and in the State House of Representatives. The latter (Lei Estadual 3410, 29 May 2000) states, "The Police Force will be able to shut down clubs/places in which induced acts of violence, eroticism and pornography may occur, as well as those where one can verify that the so-called *corredor da morte* [lit. death corridor, mostly symbolic, but also physical confrontation between factions disposed in two opposing rows] occurs" (5th Art.) and "Remaining forbidden shall be the playing of music and procedures of crime praises in places where social and sports events of any sort may occur" (6th Art.).

15. The name of the group (Se Benze Que Dá, or Bless Yourself And Move) is equally relevant since it is an allusion to the tension around its parading through the tight community streets.

16. All formative sessions have been recorded as a means to allow the group to go back to certain issues and concepts in order to inform their future reflections on the topics they will be covering. Copies of the MDs in mp3 audio files, made by resident researchers, are stored on disks in the group's room in one of CEASM's facilities. The room also houses a computer equipped to make a variety of audio and video conversions.

17. "The police cited thirteen funkeiros (funk ball singers) who give shows in balls in the poor communities of Rio, under accusations of praising the drug traffic. According to the police, all of them sing songs praising drug consumption, drug factions or criminal acts" ("Funkeiros são acusados de exaltar tráfico," *Folha de S.Paulo,* 04/10/05). It is also common for Rio's police to use illegal proibidões CDs in investigative operations and legal procedures.

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