

Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Brazilian Music and Jazz

John Murphy

University of North Texas

1 Introduction

Scholars in a broad range of disciplines are rethinking race and ethnicity in conjunction with genre, nationalism, place, cosmopolitanism, the shift towards neoliberalism since 1985, and intellectual property. In this paper I use a comparative perspective to think about the typical representations of Brazilian music and jazz as emerging from tri-ethnic and bi-ethnic heritages. I consider the assumptions and original purposes of the models and propose a new one that addresses the historical trajectories of multiple ethnicities; their socioeconomic context, specifically neoliberalism; aesthetic competence and universality; divided identities; contexts of production, appreciation, and pedagogy; intellectual property, and scientific metaphors. I'll draw examples from my field research and from recent scholarly and pedagogical literature.

2 Race and Ethnicity

Rethinking and questioning of the myth of racial democracy are omnipresent in current scholarship on Brazilian music and culture. The model inherited from Gilberto Freyre, of a tri-ethnic heritage that has yielded a blended Brazilian identity through *mestiçagem* and its resultant lack of color prejudice in Brazilian society, has been strongly questioned by the UNESCO study after WWII, which documented racial prejudice, though of a milder form than that found in the U.S., and, during the military regime, by the rise of black consciousness movements and social science research that documented the existence of racial prejudice (Bailey 2009, pp. 1-6); (Fry 2000). More recently, scholars have explored the meaning of racial democracy beyond scholarly and elite uses of the concept (Bailey 2009), and suggested that the U.S. and Brazil may be on "converging paths" (Daniel 2006) as the U.S. becomes more multiracial and Brazil makes more use of a binary black/white classification, especially where affirmative action policies are concerned (Bailey 2009, 11-12). The consequences of this recent scholarship for musical research are just beginning to be felt. The tri-racial heritage of African-European-Indigenous is typically found in textbook accounts of the origins of Brazilian music. Discussions of ethnic identity and racial discrimination are typically found in studies of early Carnival (Crook 2009, p. 52) and contemporary popular music (McGowan and Pessanha 2009, pp. 228-230 on rap; 225 on funk); (Vianna 1999) on funk carioca). For example, Larry Crook uses the tri-ethnic heritage as a starting point for his discussion of musical instruments:

The majority of the instruments of Brazil's vast musical culture can be traced to the country's Amerindian, European, or African heritages. [...] However, for most Brazilians, esoteric knowledge about the origins of specific instruments is of little importance or relevance. What is more relevant is that certain types of musical instruments have come to symbolize Brazil's tripartite

racial heritage. In the broadest terms, Amerindian, African, and Portuguese heritage in Brazil is symbolized through the flute, the drum, and the guitar, respectively. (Crook 2009, p. 30)

Later in the book, Crook cites José Jorge de Carvalho's concepts of universalism and aesthetic competence found in Candomblé to show how religious affiliation can overcome racial categorization:

In the world of Candomblé, biologically determined racial identity and the separation of humans into racial categories such as black and white are minimized. In fact, an ideology of universalism seems to prevail in which anyone, regardless of race (or gender), may be chosen by an Orixá to become a member of the religious family of the Orixás. (2009: 70)

McGowan and Pessanha, citing sociologist G. Reginald Daniel, note the presence of both tolerance and racial discrimination and stereotypes in popular music lyrics in their discussion of funk carioca and rap (McGowan and Pessanha 2009, pp. 12–13).

Brazilian music scholarship after Mário de Andrade has shared in the myth of racial democracy. Suzel Reily's two overview articles show how this was part of nationalist project of the Vargas era. In the earlier article she argues that Mário de Andrade had to emphasize how Portuguese elements were transformed in order to avoid giving too much emphasis to European elements over African ones (Reily 1994, p. 83). She writes, "Although Mário was clearly aware that the origins of Brazilian musical elements were diverse, producing a wide range of distinct musical forms throughout the country, the nationalist project required a discourse that would allow for the integration of the various regional genres" (*ibid*). In her later article, she argues that Brazilian ethnomusicology, under the influence of the nationalist desire to promote a unified Brazilian identity while acknowledging regional differences, remained primarily descriptive until 1985 (Reily 2000, p. 5), after which time the emphasis shifted to "dismantling the tri-ethnic mythologies" (Reily 2000, p. 7). Scholarship on jazz has followed a different path. While in samba the African contribution was recognized and celebrated as the core of the national music, in jazz the relative significance of the contributions of African Americans and Euro-Americans has been and remains a contested topic. The earliest writings were affected by the "primitivist myth," according to which early jazz was the product of emotional outpourings by untutored African-American musicians (Gioia 1989). The first significant work of jazz criticism in English, Winthrop Sargeant's *Jazz Hot and Hybrid*, used a racialized vocabulary of "Negroid" characteristics to describe the music and viewed it as a folk music that was incapable of stylistic evolution (Sargeant 1938, pp. 147-148). By the 1950s the "jazz tradition" paradigm had established a canon of innovators in which African-American musicians were prominent ((DeVeaux), (Williams 1983). By the

1970s and 1980s, the notion of jazz as “America’s classical music” had gained currency (Sales 1984). Monographs have outnumbered comprehensive jazz histories since the 1990s. Most textbooks have cautiously echoed the origin story of jazz as a combination of African and European and sometimes Caribbean musical practices. In a prominent new textbook published by Norton, historian Scott DeVeaux and critic Gary Giddins make two significant departures from this consensus (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009). They advance a view of jazz as African-American music. The qualifications they feel are necessary are a commentary on the state of discourse about music in race in the U.S.:

[...] we may also think of jazz as **folk music**. [...] More often than not, those folk resources are African American. [...] We must therefore make the following simple but provocative assertion: *Jazz is an African American music*. This is the kind of statement that seems designed to drive people crazy. Doesn’t jazz belong to everybody? Calling it African American (or “black,” or “Negro”) suggests that only people who have been branded as such by American society can produce, or discern, jazz in any meaningful way. The rest, usually designated as “white” (although actually including the rest of humanity), have no real business being there. In fact, jazz musicians may be black, white, or any shade in between, just as they may be of any age or either gender, or from any part of the world. [...] We usually take “African American” as an indication of **race**—the physical characteristics such as skin color that we inherit through our genes and dutifully report on census forms. But “African American” also tells us about **ethnicity**—how culture makes us who we are. [...] Race can’t be changed. But because it is learned behavior, ethnicity can. [...] By listening to and loving jazz, the whole country, even the world, becomes more African American. Jazz has a deep musical grammar that ultimately can be traced to Africa. (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009, p. 54, original emphasis)

DeVeaux and Giddins also argue for considering jazz a new kind of classical music. They see it not as a branch of Western European art music, but a new classical music on its own, defined as “having permanent interest and value” (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009, p. 538). “Jazz has now moved so far from center stage,” they write, “that its survival is partially dependent on an infrastructure of academic study and institutional support[...]. Jazz and its musicians are weighed down by the accomplishments of the past” (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009, p. 539). Jazz today has a traditionalist wing, a cutting edge, a commercial branch (smooth jazz), and a broad mainstream. What is noteworthy in the context of Brazilian music is that—in 2009—the authors feel the need to defend jazz as both a national music and an African American music, while samba has recognized as both a national music and a music of Afro-Brazilian origin since the 1930s.

3 Race and ethnicity in my research

Race and ethnicity were not prominent themes of my research on *cavalo-marinho*. It would not be difficult to identify elements of *cavalo-marinho* in Pernambuco that could be traced to African, European, and Indigenous sources: polyrhythmic percussion, Portuguese songs about the Reis Magos, and the Caboclo

de Urubá character, respectively. But my focus was on understanding the meaning the performance held for its present-day participants, and I found that in popular Catholicism, the struggle for land and subsistence in the rural setting, improvised poetry and song, and comic art. In surveying the Recife music scene in 2000-2001, I found that asserting a regional identity on the national music scene and struggling against corporate control of media outlets were more prominent in musicians’ discourse than issues of race or ethnicity. In the musical settings where I spent the most time, the small towns north of Recife, the weekly *forró* gatherings behind the house of Arlindo dos Oito baixos, and the festivals, clubs, and recording studios of Recife and Olinda, something very much like racial democracy appeared to prevail. Had I chosen different research themes I have no doubt this could have been otherwise. The conference at which this paper was presented provided an opportunity to think beyond the culture- and genre-based emphases of my training in ethnomusicology and performance and seek instead to form new research interests around concepts rather than genres linked to a certain place, while cultivating more awareness of the role that race and ethnicity continue to play in musical life. The remainder of this paper will explore several of these concepts and offer some new research questions.

4 Structural racism and intellectual property

Ingrid Monson’s *Freedom Sounds* “explore[s] the interplay between music and politics in jazz during the years of the civil rights movement and African independence” (Monson 2007, p. 312). Her argument advances the scholarly conversation about race in jazz by distinguishing clearly between structural racism and racism in interpersonal contexts. No matter how much collaboration there is among jazz musicians of different backgrounds, these have always occurred within the context of a society that legislated segregation throughout the first half of the music’s history. One of the most memorable and useful concepts from the book for me has been the diagram on p. 314, which she uses to illustrate the following argument:

The crucial issue at the center of this historical analysis has been the recognition that the aesthetic streams contributing to jazz have proved to be far more mobile and hybrid than the sociological and economic status of the various demographic groups who have drawn upon them in the processes of aesthetic agency that produced this golden era of modern jazz. Put another way, the musical language of jazz has been far more pluralistic, democratic, and cosmopolitan than the racially stratified society that produced it. (Monson 2007, p. 313)

In her discussion of this model, she identifies the lack of recognition of the contributions of African-American musicians to the music and the lack of economic rewards for those contributions as key obstacles to the acceptance of a notion of colorblindness with respect to jazz (Monson 2007, p. 315). Monson’s analysis and jazz discourse more generally include multiple senses of “justice,” including the justice sought by those who opposed legalized segregation and racial discrimination and the justice sought by those who fought for recognition of their contributions to the music and the economic rewards that should flow from it. Robin D.G.

Kelley's biography of Thelonious Monk (2009) shows that Monk struggled throughout his life for exactly those two things: recognition of his contribution as one of the originators of modern jazz, and economic rewards worthy of his originality as a composer. While he most definitely suffered from racial discrimination, his overriding concern was part of the aesthetic mix: the proper acknowledgment of his contribution to the music. Monk articulated this in response to pointedly political interview questions from Valerie Wilmer in 1967:

While his anger over police violence was palpable [Kelley explains], he nevertheless insisted that racism was not his concern and he had no desire to make his music a commentary on black oppression: "I never was interested in those Muslims. If you want to know, you should ask Art Blakey. I didn't have to change my name—it's always been weird enough! I haven't done one of those 'freedom' suites, and I don't intend to. I mean, I don't see the point. I'm not thinking that race thing now; it's not on my mind. Everybody's trying to get me to think it, though, but it doesn't bother me. It only bugs the people who are trying to get me to think it." (Kelley 2009, p. 374)

A similar concern for recognition has been a prominent theme in a long series of interviews I have conducted with the jazz drummer Ronald Shannon Jackson, who played with Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor, and Ornette Coleman before forming his band The Decoding Society. Born in 1940 in a segregated Fort Worth, Texas, Jackson experienced racial discrimination growing up and has encountered it throughout his life. He has struggled to receive royalties from record companies, and made special efforts to own the master tapes from his recording sessions. He was gratified to be included in the DeVaux and Giddins textbook after having seen his work omitted from or minimized in studies of jazz since the 1960s.

It would be interesting to draft a comparable diagram for various kinds of Brazilian music to suggest contrasts between the aesthetic mix and the sociological mix. A third dimension could be added to model the interplay of music originating in Brazil's various geographical regions.

5 What a study of rural music can contribute to a rethinking of race and ethnicity

Alexander Dent's study of *música caipira* and *música sertaneja* suggests new ways of thinking about race and ethnicity and other topics that are applicable beyond the sertaneja context and even in the jazz context. Brazilian rural music discourse divides the world into "a debased urban present and ideal rural past" (Dent 2009, p. 83). In an echo of the W.E.B. Du Bois "double consciousness" idea, he describes the rural musician or listener as "split subject":

In the present, the protagonist is both geographically and temporally cut off from the moment in which he felt intact. In a fragmented "now," the singer is divided, living partially, longing for completion back then, off there. (Dent 2009, p. 29, original emphasis)

Dent shows how various kinds of mixture are "laminated together" (Dent 2009, p. 84): mixtures of races, instruments, singing voices,

cultures, and places, like country and city. He shows how "rural genres challenge hegemonic arguments for what it means to be Brazilian that were consolidated during the Vargas years and reworked and reused through the dictatorship (1964-85)" (Dent 2009, p. 85). Rural music discourse agrees with the national discourse that presents Brazilians as a musical people (Dent 2009, pp. 85-86) and "elevates music over other forms of public culture as fundamental to Brazilian self-understanding and self-projection" (Dent 2009, p. 86). Dent situates rural genres differently within the tri-racial conception:

... rural genres focus on a slightly modified prioritization of the three races idea conventionally associated with Brazilian musical ideology. It is not that Africa is out of the picture, here, but rather, that it is placed more in the background. Furthermore, racial mixture has a different outcome. While the miscenogation of blacks and whites created the exuberance of samba in the hillside slums of Rio de Janeiro, the Indian-Portuguese *caboclo* appears perennially crestfallen. (Dent 2009, p. 96)

Rural genres also differ from other Brazilian genres in their emphasis on "historicity" and "a state of reflection on the past" (Dent 2009, p. 96). Dent's discussion of genre outlines two opposing and complementary positions that link up with the racial origin myth. Traditionalists value

"Brazil's mutations from the past, occasioned by the union of Indian, African, and European elements. According to this line of reasoning, Brazil's musical history created highly unusual minglings which results in what must, in the *present*, receive treatment as inviolable musical forms. [...] Mutationism, by contrast, inverts most of these traditionalist terms and requires the flouting of distinct genres. [...] Mutationism thus requires the idea of genre as a fixed entity against which to cast its ostensibly revolutionary permissiveness" (Dent 2009, p. 103, original emphasis).

While this level of generality may strike some readers as extreme, these two approaches to genre might be comparable to racial mixture, as Dent suggests by his use of the term "mutation." The traditionalist's tendency toward definition and separateness finds its complement in the mutationist's tendency towards mixture and blending genres. Perhaps they exist in a mutually supportive tension between tradition and innovation: For every Zezé di Camargo e Luciano, a Zé Mulato e Cassiano; for every Chico Science, a Mestre Salustiano. The final element of Dent's analysis of sertaneja that I find relevant to this discussion is its relationship to neoliberalism. During the Vargas regime, "a new cultural cartography placed regional genres, among them rural genres, into a peripheral position with respect to more central Rio-based expressive practices" (Dent 2009, p. 167). "On a national scale," Dent continues, "developing media conglomerates, often in partnership with the national government, promulgated notions of *brasili-dade* as derived chiefly from carnival and samba and helped to maintain rural music's peripheral status" (*ibid.*). After 1985, the increase in national musical production enabled *forró*, *axé*, *pagode*, and *música sertaneja* to gain popularity (Dent 2009, p. 168).

An increasing focus on commercialism in genres such as *música sertaneja* oriented toward a certain cosmopolitanism [...], plus the focus on the production of

locality as in folkloric genres [...], thus characterizes the musical component of the economic and political liberalization that followed close upon redemocratization” (Dent 2009, p. 169)

Accompanying this change was the introduction of the CD, digital recording equipment made affordable by the real plan, and a rise in independent CD production and pirated recordings (Dent 2009, pp. 169–170). “In conformity with neoliberalism, where competition is perhaps the most important principle, [independent artists] even see themselves to be in competition with each other for market share” (Dent 2009, p. 170). Reading this helped me see the rise of Banda Calypso, as shown in the documentary film *Good Copy, Bad Copy* (Johnsen, Christensen, and Moltke 2007), and the mangue movement in 1990s Recife in an entirely new light. Neoliberalism can also be connected to the rise of neotraditional jazz and smooth jazz in the Reagan era, but that is a topic to explore on another occasion (DeVeaux and Giddins 2009, p. 521).

6 Race and ethnicity in electronic genres

Dent’s arguments about neoliberalism’s effect on the music market and the documentary *Good Copy, Bad Copy* led me to two articles by Ronaldo Lemos on the website Overmundo about shifting notions of center and periphery in the context of electronic dance music (Lemos 2008a; Lemos 2008b) and to Lemos and Castro’s book on tecnobrega in Belém do Pará (Lemos and Castro 2008). The articles on electronic dance music led me to the dubstep genre and to writings by Steve Goodman on sonic warfare (Goodman 2009; Goodman 2010), audio virology, and bass culture and to Kodwo Eshun’s article on music and Afrofuturism (Eshun 2003), which have led back into issues of race, ethnicity, and technology in the Black Atlantic. These writings have caused me to rethink my approach to my own traditionalist, acoustic bias and the way it has affected the trajectory of my research. Inspired by a new sound studies group within the Society for Ethnomusicology, Steven Feld’s Seeger lecture at the Mexico City SEM conference in November 2009, and Ronald Radano’s article in *Music and the Racial Imagination* (2000) and his review of the Ken Burns *Jazz* documentary (2001), I’ve been thinking about how a reconsideration of sound in general and the primacy of rhythm in particular, whether acoustically or electronically generated, has the potential to generate new research perspectives for rethinking race and ethnicity in Brazilian music and jazz. In the article “Tudo Dominado: A música eletrônica globoperiférica,” republished from an exhibit at the Museu da Imagem e do Som in São Paulo, Ronaldo Lemos writes, “Se você nunca ouviu nenhum dos estilos musicais mencionados nesse texto, saiba que você faz parte de uma minoria” (“If you have never heard of any of the musical styles mentioned in this text, know that you are part of a minority”). He continues:

Como dá para notar, a idéia de “periferia” usada aqui não tem muito a ver com um conceito geográfico, nem tem relação com uma separação entre ricos e pobres, desenvolvidos e em desenvolvimento ou mesmo norte e sul. As cenas musicais que essa pequena amostra ilustra surgem em qualquer lugar onde haja um computador, criatividade e gente com vontade de dançar. A invisibilidade dessas cenas acontece apenas quando decidimos (conscientemente ou inconscientemente) não prestar atenção nelas. Por essa razão, pensadores como Hermano Vianna vêm afirmando que o “centro” está se

tornando cada vez mais “a periferia da periferia”, especialmente do ponto de vista simbólico.

As can be noted, the idea of “periphery” used here has little to do with a geographical concept, and is not related to a separation between rich and poor, developed and developing or even north and south. The musical scenes that this small sample illustrates emerge in any place where there is a computer, creativity, and people who want to dance. The invisibility of these scenes happens only when we decide (consciously or unconsciously) not to pay attention to them. For this reason, thinkers like Hermano Vianna have affirmed that the “center” is becoming more and more “the periphery of the periphery,” especially from the symbolic point of view.

The genres in question are champeta, kuduro, tecnobrega, kwaito, cumbia villera, funk carioca, bubblin, dubstep, and coupé décalé. Along with the democratization of musical production via technology, Lemos argues, comes a democratization of taste:

Outro impacto importante é que essas cenas globoperiféricas reorganizam a idéia de “qualidade”. [...] Em suma, não existe mais árbitro para o gosto. Se boas ou ruins, pouco importa. O fato é que a festa é ótima e está por toda a parte. Só não participa quem não quer.

Another important impact is that these scenes on the global periphery reorganize the idea of “quality.” [...] In sum, the arbiter of taste no longer exists. Good or bad matters little. The fact is that the party is great and it’s everywhere. The only people not participating are those who don’t want to.

In a comment on this article, Luciano Carôso links these developments to race:

[...] está claro pra mim que, através da apropriação tecnológica e da inclusão digital, a periferia (negra por definição, conceito, historicidade, etc) está, como sugere o seu artigo, disseminando a sua cultura que parece se preservar com altas doses de ancestralidade. Acho também que esse é o principal campo de expansão da etnomusicologia contemporânea. Pena que não tem muita gente no Brasil antenada com isso. Esclarecendo: quando penso que nãõ tem muita gente no Brasil antenada com esses movimentos, falo especificamente da área da etnomusicologia.

...it’s clear to me that, by means of the appropriation of technology and digital inclusion, the periphery (black by definition, concept, historicity, etc.) is, as the article suggests, disseminating its culture that it appears to be preserved with large doses of ancestrality. I also think that this is the principal field of expansion of contemporary ethnomusicology. It’s too bad that there aren’t many people in Brazil who are hip to this. Clarifying: when I think that there aren’t many people in Brazil who are hip to these new movements, I’m speaking specifically of the area of ethnomusicology.

Colleagues at the conference at which this paper was read have not been ignoring this new music. Frederick Moehn gave a paper

on Brazilian remixes of Angolan kuduro at the Society for Ethnomusicology meeting in Mexico City in 2009 (Moehn). Carlos Palombini has written prolifically about funk carioca (Palombini 2007) and digital music (Palombini 2001), and Cristina Magaldi has written about rap and related issues (Magaldi 1999). In his article “Centros, Periferias e a Propriedade Intelectual,” republished from an exhibit catalog at Instituto Itaú Cultural, Ronaldo Lemos argues that the new digital music from the periphery (which is becoming the center) operates as a social commons rather than a legal one, in which intellectual property rights do not play a role.

Perceba-se que o commons social não se configura na forma de uma dicotomia que pode ser resolvida em termos do século passado: norte versus sul; ricos versus pobres; centro versus periferia. Os commons sociais estão presentes tanto nos países pobres quanto ricos, tanto no norte quanto no sul, no centro assim como na periferia. Note that the social commons does not configure itself in the form of a dichotomy that can be resolved in terms of the previous century: north vs. south; rich vs. poor; center vs. periphery. The social commons are present in rich and poor countries, in the north and south, in the center as well as on the periphery.

Nor does it operate according to simplistic racial dichotomy, since the technological nature of the production process distances the sound from easily racialized categories. As cultural theorist and music critic Kodwo Eshun writes,

By the 1980s, the emergent digital technology of sequencers, samplers, synthesizers, and software applications began to scramble the ability to assign identity and thereby racialize music. Familiar processes of racial recognition were becoming unreliable. Listeners could no longer assume musicians were racially identical to their samples. (Eshun 2003, p. 296)

Lemos returns to the idea of taste:

O debate sobre “bom” e “ruim”, de qualquer forma, esvai-se na constatação de que, independente de qualquer busca por uma qualidade substantiva, não existe mais uma classe de pessoas (elites, críticos, intelectuais, centro ou simplesmente “pessoas de bom-gosto”) à qual é possível recorrer para se determinar o que é bom ou não. A descentralização do gosto acompanha a descentralização da produção cultural, do acesso à cultura e das economias da cultura.

The debate over “good” and “bad”, in any form, empties itself in the assertion that, independent of any search for a substantial quality, there is no longer a class of people (elites, critics, intellectuals, center or simply “people with good taste”) to whom it possible to refer to determine what is good or not. The decentralization of taste accompanies the decentralization of cultural production, access to culture, and the economies of culture.

This is significant because it might be personal taste that has prevented more ethnomusicologists from engaging with this music. I know this has been true for me, to varying degrees, until recently. What connects this to the theme of rethinking race and ethnicity is that if, for the sake of argument, we suppose that

many ethnomusicologists have a tendency to privilege acoustic music-making and its relatively straightforward racial categorization over electronic music-making, and the latter is marked by a veiling of racial categorization, then ethnomusicologists may be leaving a gap both in musical coverage and in the opportunity to theorize race and ethnicity differently.

The place where these discourses can be joined is the nexus of rhythm and modernism. As summarized Ronald Radano (Radano 2000), African-derived approaches to rhythm were a sign of the primitive past in the racialized music discourse of the past two centuries and were often written about using metaphors of disease and contagion. New scholarship is reframing rhythm as the driving force in the development of modern musics and arguing for a positively-defined “audio virology” (Goodman 2010) to describe the spread of new ideas.

Music and race are two domains in which metaphors of genetic descent and viral contagion are so prevalent as to become invisible. “Hybridity” implies previously distinct strains that have been blended. Musicians are apt to use metaphors related to DNA, as Steve Coleman does in talking about Charlie Parker’s importance. After discussing interplay between Charlie Parker and Max Roach and vocal interjections by musicians and members of the audience, he writes, “All of these features that I mention are traits that I consider to be a kind of musical DNA that has been retained from Africa” (Coleman nd). Just as Gilberto Freyre used Boasian relativism to get beyond 19th century scientific racism, with its ranking of racial types and negative attitude towards mixing, perhaps ethnomusicology could benefit from virological and cybernetic metaphors found in the new scholarship on electronic music and Afrofuturological approaches to music. I am just beginning to get into this literature by means of writings by Steve Goodman and Kodwo Eshun. The following quote from Goodman will give a sense of the multiple connections between his work on military and commercial uses of sound and Afrodiasporic dance music and that of music scholars:

Whereas predatory branding captures and redeploys virosonic tactics to induce generic consumption, the tactical elaboration of sonic warfare in the fictions of some strains of Black Atlantic sonic futurism take the concept of the “audio virus” beyond the limitations of memetics and digital sound theory. Here, audioviruses are deployed in affective mobilization via the diasporic proliferation of sonic processes, swept along by the carrier waves of rhythm and bass science and a machinic orality. (Goodman 2010, p. *xix*)

Rethinking race and ethnicity means not only rethinking representations of the historical trajectories of multiple ethnicities in the past, but also in the future. Eshun outlines competing visions of the future for African diasporic peoples and offers Afrofuturism as a strategy:

Afrofuturism [...] is concerned with the possibilities for intervention within the dimension of the predictive, the projected, the proleptic, the envisioned, the virtual, the anticipatory and the future conditional. (Eshun 2003, p. 293) Afrofuturism studies the appeals that black artists, musicians, critics, and writers have made to the future, in moments where any future was made difficult for them to imagine. (Eshun 2003, p. 294) If racial identification became intermittent and obscure to the listener,

for the musician, a dimension of heteronomy became available. The human-machine interface became both the condition and the subject of Afrofuturism. (Eshun 2003, p. 296)

To the frequently-cited trio of Sun Ra, Lee “Scratch” Perry, and George Clinton (see (Corbett 1994)), we might add Chico Science, Carlinhos Brown, Tom Zé, and DJDolores. Eshun’s arguments about the production of Afrofuturist artworks provide pointers that scholars can use in contexts of appreciation and pedagogy. This quote, for example, has given me much to think about as I teach classes on jazz history:

In an interview with critic Paul Gilroy in his 1991 anthology *Small Acts*, novelist Toni Morrison argued that the African subjects that experienced capture, theft, abduction, mutilation, and slavery were the first moderns. They underwent real conditions of existential homelessness, alienation, dislocation, and dehumanization that philosophers like Nietzsche would later define as quintessentially modern. Instead of civilizing African subjects, the forced dislocation and commodification that constituted the Middle Passage meant that modernity was rendered forever suspect. (Eshun 2003, p. 288)

Eshun paraphrases an idea from Mark Sinkler: “slavery functioned as an apocalypse experienced as equivalent to alien abduction” (Eshun 2003, p. 299). Connecting the historical past with the imagined future enables new ways of hearing modern jazz.

7 Conclusion

A tri-ethnic or tri-racial heritage seems barely serviceable for explaining the origin of Brazilian music in the context of the colonial encounter, just as thinking about black and white contributions to jazz is a barely adequate starting point. As a tool for thinking about the current complexity of both musics, however, these models fail to address the complexity of the current scene. Resources for thinking differently about race and ethnicity in Brazilian music and jazz include the economic context of neoliberalism, continuing debates about race and its representation in legal discourse, regionalism, intellectual property, virological models of cultural transmission, and Afrofuturist concepts of the uses of technology in black music, which disconnect habitual links between whiteness, technology and the future and blackness, authenticity, and the past.

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