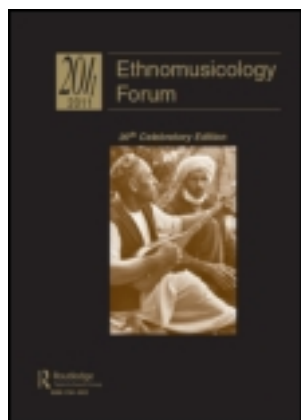


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Jesse Samba Wheeler

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# Rock, Refrain and Remove: Hearing Place and Seeing Music in Brasília

Jesse Samba Wheeler

*This article investigates relationships between rock music and the concept of place in the modernist, functionalist, planned city of Brasília, Brazil, known at times as ‘Capital of Rock’ and ‘Capital of Hope’. With rock history in Brasília, the city’s built environment and its social character as my foci, I theorise the homology of remove as a way to conceptualise substantive relationships between these three, seemingly disparate ‘spheres’. Fieldwork, notably three repeated motifs—the ‘refrains’—subjects use to explain their observations, historical research, and space syntax theory’s ‘integration’ provide the material.*

*Keywords:* Place; Rock Music; Underground; Brasília; Homology; Space; Urban Studies; Architecture

## Introduction

Dialogic aspects of the relationships between place and music, where the two ‘speak’ to each other and affect subjects’ apprehension and experience of both, have received critical attention from ethno/musicologists, music historians, geographers, anthropologists and other social scientists. If this growing body of literature lacks consilience, it may be due to the polysemy of both place and music, as well as the diversity of approaches. Most often place and music are connected by their emotive potential and affective power, co-creators of individual imagined geographies, identities and ‘landscapes of the heart,’ or sites of group struggle, community belonging, collective history and shared experienced (e.g., Cohen 1991; Connell and Gibson 2003; Feld and Basso 1996; Leyshon, Matless and Revill 1995; Stokes 1994; Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004). What is demonstrated is people’s inventive and necessary investment of

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Jesse Samba Wheeler is the Special Assistant to the Directorate for the Fulbright Commission in Brazil. An alumnus of the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation programme, he earned his PhD in 2007 in ethnomusicology from UCLA under Tony Seeger. He plays concertina and sings with Tanaman Dùl and is working on the soundtrack for a documentary on health and healing in Malawi. Correspondence to: Jesse Samba Wheeler, SQS 206-C-201, 70252-030 Brasília-DF, BRAZIL. Email: [jesse.wheeler@ucla.edu](mailto:jesse.wheeler@ucla.edu)

these discursive 'spaces' with life-structuring significance. Stories are told about and through music and place, in which meaning is infused, evoked, extracted, remembered and contested, so much so that these spaces work like both wellspring and cistern for ever-evolving ontologies.

Research into music and place in indigenous societies has produced several studies arguing for essential relationships, where language, environment and cosmology appear almost as the grain of a people's musical practices (e.g., Feld 1982; Roseman 1991; Seeger 1987). When popular, commodified music shows evidence of relationship with a place, analyses frequently focus on notions of a 'local sound', such as the 'Dunedin Sound', and perceptions of authenticity or, conversely, 'cosmopolitanism' (e.g., Bilby 1999; Rommen 2007; Turino 2000; Wheeler 2008). Locally produced music (using not-so-local ways and means of production) is conjectured to reveal something about that locality, and often the inhabitants themselves make connections that 'emanate from a common stock of understandings concerning music's relationship to the local. Such understandings, in turn, crucially inform notions of collective identity and community in given regions and localities' (Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004: 3). Even when the connections are the researcher's own observations, they are often of the same mould; recursions to previously established feelings form structures upon which the bridges purportedly joining 'music' and 'place' can be built.

Yet place-music research ought also to take into account a less discursive layer of interaction, where the subjectification of place and music is not the (only) theoretical mode, the sole interpretive gate through which our thinking passes. I am not arguing for an essentialist theory, where geographies are a limiter on, or demographics are deterministic of, meaning in music, such that it be fixed by these or other factors that may define place. What are alternatives for observing the mutually constitutive, dynamic and processual dialogue between the two?

Transnational in appeal, rock music shows ambivalence toward place: as a style it can be interpreted as both an expression of specificity and of universality. In this article, an analysis of relationships between place and music in Brasília, Brazil, I explore some of the ways rock music can be place-specific. I shall show, via a juxtaposition of environmental observations, demographic data, musical analysis and local discourse, how Brasília's two rock music scenes are related to the city's architectural style, built environment and urban plan.

The idea of building a city in Brazil's interior to serve as capital predates independence (1822), going back at least as far as 1813 (Barbosa Ferreira 2010: 26). In 1955 Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira was elected president, in part because of his promise to construct Brasília, and in 1957 he convened a group of international architects and urban planners to submit designs in competition. Lucio Costa's winning sketches, the urban plan elaborated and embellished by his team of artists, architect Oscar Niemeyer's modernist and monumental buildings, and Brasília as experiment in social engineering have been the subjects of the bulk of writing on

the city.<sup>1</sup> While aspects of Brasília *qua* place have received much attention, scholarship on the ‘cultural’ life of its inhabitants has not received adequate attention.

The body of writing about rock music in Brazil is less robust than that on samba, due in part to reluctance by many Brazilians (as well as many foreigners, no doubt) to consider it a Brazilian musical style.<sup>2</sup> The history of rock music in the capital is represented as punk rock’s sudden appearance in the Pilot Plan, the capital’s middle-class and upper-class, economic, functional and symbolic centre, mainly the creation of the children of diplomats and university professionals. Crucially, the exclusion from official and institutional power afflicting residents of the peripheric satellite cities has been written into histories of Brasília’s rock, reinforcing the social segregation undergirding Brasília.<sup>3</sup>

### Refrain and Remove

When demographic data and musical activity are mapped out over Brasília’s urban plan, a homology emerges. By ‘homology’ I mean a formal correspondence between elements of discrete organisational categories (i.e., non-hierarchical taxa of relations), which may contain any number of elements. I hesitate to call the correspondences ‘structural’, for I have not examined the extent to which systems are implicated. I refer to these categories as ‘spheres’ to highlight their permeability and their capaciousness, as they circumscribe aspects of life, including things, concepts and actions. So as not to give too much weight to the struggle over resources, I do not use Bourdieu’s ‘fields’. Each sphere organises the observation of life in Brasília around a specific axis: the three spheres involved are the spatial—a relief of the geographies where people live, work and recreate; the social—a window onto quality of life, education, income and racial identities of Brasília’s inhabitants; and the expressive—wherein ‘musicking’ happens (Small 1998). The three spheres are not entirely

<sup>1</sup>Costa’s sketches and treatment can be viewed in English at [http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot\\_plan.htm](http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm) (‘Lucio Costa’s Pilot Plan for Brasilia’ n.d.) and in Portuguese at <http://portal.iphlan.gov.br/portal/baixaFcdAnexo.do?id=280> (‘Brasília’, 10–22).

<sup>2</sup>*Cf.* Perrone and Dunn (2001: 24); Veloso (2002: 20); and rock’s total lack of mention in Tinhorão (1997). Fê Lemos, the drummer for Capital Inicial, which originated in Brasília in 1982 and remains one of the country’s most successful rock bands of all, said (interview, Brasília, 2005): ‘When we started college, a ton of people looked down their noses at us, because it was rock [that we played], it wasn’t Brazilian music. We were called “colonized”, “Americanized”, and just about everything else.’ In histories of Brazilian rock (e.g., Alexandre 2002; Dapieve 1995), Brasília gets a brief mention for three bands who made it big in the 1980s. Focused work, scholarly or otherwise, on Brasília’s rock music is rare (Madeira 1991; Marchetti 2001; Rosa 2006; Vieira 2005; Wheeler 2006, 2007; Wheeler and Melo 2006; Cavalcante’s 2003 photographic essay; a handful of theses and dissertations; print and virtual fanzines; and a few fan-sites, including <http://rockbrasiliadesde64.blogspot.com/>, <http://www.rockbrasilia.com.br/>, and <http://www.cult22.com/blog/>, and fanzines, like <http://www.zineoficial.com.br/>, <http://dfhardcore.blogspot.com/>, <http://www.osubversivozine.com/>).

<sup>3</sup>*Cf.* Perrone (1990): ‘... [S]ome observers imagine that national rock emanates solely from major cosmopolitan centres (Rio, Sao Paulo, Brasilia) and that it is primarily a middle-class activity. ... [Y]et evidence suggests that new rock is the music with which wide sectors of youth in all urban areas identify. Rock emanates from cities around the country, including working-class districts.’ <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9612300794&site=ehost-live>.

bounded or discrete, but intersect in regions: the geographic (physical) has a hand in organising social relations, work and play; the demographic (social) draws attention to aspects of people's physical existence, as well as aesthetic orientations; the expressive (aesthetic) includes locations and human agents.

The palaeontologist Sir Richard Owen defined a 'homologue' as 'the same organ in different animals under every variety of form and function' (1848: 7). I have not undertaken a study of functions, *per se*, or of origins; thus, my 'homology' departs from biological and mathematical conceptualisations. My usage is informed more by Lucien Goldmann's, which signals parallelism of form between two 'structures', such as social class and literary text (1955), or the novel and economic structures (1964). I also borrow from Lévi-Strauss' formulation of homology that underpinned Dick Hebdige's (1979) work on subcultures the notion that formal renderings, such as aesthetics of styles, may via homologies communicate meaning.

The bases for homologies are as varied and numerous as the qualities that describe objects. The homology I have identified is syntactical: of the arrangement of parts intrinsic to the form in each sphere. The parts, which are buildings, neighbourhoods, communities, styles of music and manners of music appreciation, exist within a system of space common to all spheres, but the way space is perceived is peculiar to each, being physical, social, aesthetic or a combination thereof. The concrete ways Brasilienses (those from Brasília) live, perceive and express the differences between, for example, their neighbourhood and others, their social standing and others', or their own and others' modes of recreation, reveal subject positions within the socio-spatial topography separated by distinct forms of distance. These physical, geographic, social, symbolic and aesthetic manifestations of distance structure what I shall call *remove*. The arrangement of elements in each sphere reveals the homology of *remove* between the spheres.

The means for analysing the spheres and uncovering the homology is the *refrain*: the frequently recurring motifs in speech, habitually used as short-hand, to explain the reasons for experiences. When asked why rock is Brasília's characteristic musical style *par excellence*, speakers often found themselves stymied in unpacking what they took as a commonplace, and so resorted to a standard explanation. Although these motifs may appear as enervated stand-ins for true elucidations or critical interpretations, I found them to be rich lodes of social knowledge and treated them as ethno-scientific material, examples of the 'society effect':

the very effects that constitute the concrete, conscious or unconscious relation of the individuals to the society as a society [...] in which men consciously or unconsciously live their lives, their projects, their actions, their attitudes and their functions, as social. (Althusser and Balibar 1970: 66)

The refrains revealed structural linkages between the built and musical environments.

The first refrain is that Brasília's existentially 'cold' buildings, layout, and social climate inspired rock music's beginnings. The second refrain is that what was a single rock scene in the 1980s is today rife with tribes and beset by 'closed pots' (*panelas*

*fechadas*, or *panelinhas* [little pots]), clique-like entities that fracture it into two major scenes, that of centre and periphery. The third refrain addresses a subject that will appear throughout, namely the chronic absence of ‘place to play’, used locally to signify a combination of location and opportunity.<sup>4</sup>

### Brasília, ‘Capital of Hope’

First visits to places are memorable and strange. The novel and the known co-exist as layers of the same locale, a palimpsest through which remembered places flicker; mirages of oases in sepia deserts. A phenomenon occurs typically two weeks after arrival that I cherish; a washing-over awareness of already having been *on this exact spot*—but whereas before it was utterly foreign, it is now almost familiar, and in *mise en abyme* the new place becomes its own palimpsest. The moment is liminal, for I can still recall the disorientation, blinking as it were between the faces and the vase. It is too fleeting: too soon I am over the threshold and through to the side of irrevocable knowing, and the feeling of being lost is, itself, lost.

Brasília is a different kind of city—there is no palimpsest, there are no memories. It belongs to a class of planned cities, whose visual patterns broke with conventions. The Pilot Plan is an urban environment of open expanses, flowing parallel highways and standardised, largely uniform, repetitious constructions. It is geometrically limpid, coherent, explicit, and graceful. In the typical Brazilian city, streets, squares and neighbourhoods are named after important historical personalities and events. In Brasília, names speak to a universality, a global applicability, a systemic rending of previous ‘toposocial’ fabric—the web that enfolds a place and a people in a cocoon of sentiment, memory and belonging. Subdivision names like ‘Pilot Plan’, ‘South Wing’ and ‘Octagonal’, and road names like ‘Monumental Axis’ and ‘W3’ are pure denotation. ‘W3’ stands for West 3. The use of English and the letter ‘w’, not native to Portuguese, demonstrate the non-Brazilian orientation of the system.

Construction of Brasília began in 1957. One of the reasons given for its location is that there was but ‘one-half inhabitant per square kilometre’ (Nunes 2004: 65, n.2). On 21 April 1960, the capital was inaugurated, and governance began the following day. The Brasília that most visitors see is the Pilot Plan, which from above looks like an airplane. This design was the rendering in shape of Brasília’s, and synecdochically Brazil’s, modernity: hope and promise, science and industry, the future incarnate in the present—the opposite of memory. The wings of the airplane are the residential areas—South Wing and North Wing—divided into quadrants of *blocos*, or apartment buildings. The forward fuselage is called the ‘Esplanade of the Ministries’ and is where the federal buildings sit. The rear fuselage is the where state administrative buildings lie. At the cockpit are clustered the branches of Brazil’s tripartite

<sup>4</sup>The musicians speaking in this article were when interviewed in their late 20s to mid 40s and worked as teachers, producers, business owners, public servants, social service volunteers, or were unemployed. They lived in the satellite cities of Taguatinga, Gama, Guará and Candangolândia, and the Pilot Plan. They were chosen as representative examples from many others who repeated the refrains examined here.

presidential government, including the iconic towers and bowls of the bicameral legislature. On the far banks of Lago Paranoá, the large artificial lake, lie the wealthiest areas, North Lake and South Lake.

Modernism, functionalism and Taylorism (scientific management) inspired Le Corbusier's apothegmatic vision of the city as 'a machine for living in' (1986: 4 et al.); a radical, use-based demarcation of space would permit the *a priori* planning of all activity, making life run better and residents happier. Sullivan's hallowed 'law' that in all nature 'form ever follows function' (1979: 208) found a literal expression in the parsing of the Pilot Plan into a bewildering array of subdivisions, some: SCL (Sector for Local Commerce), SHI (Sector for Individual Housing), SMH (Sector for Medical Hospitals), SE (Sector for Embassies), SH (Sector for Hotels), SIG (Sector for Graphic Industries), SMU (Sector for Urban Military), SRT (Sector for Radio and Television), SAA (Sector for Storage and Filling), SAU (Sector for Autarkies), SRP (Sector for Public Recreation), SIN (Sector for Inflammables), SBO (Sector for Woods).

The Pilot Plan is also beautiful. The unobstructed, resplendent sky is called 'Brasília's sea'. The soil is a ferrous red and the light, diamondiferous. Trees, flowers, bushes and plants from all over the country—a purposeful analogy to the capital's human diversity—adorn the city and provide shade and colour. The jasmine-like fragrance of *Cestrum nocturnum* envelops twilight strollers on lush paths. High-nestling mangoes are targets for sticks, rocks, even other mangoes, hurled from below by children walking home from school, day labourers trimming grass or collecting litter, and *bloco*-dwellers out walking small dogs. Crates of grapes, *pinhas*, and persimmons, wheelbarrows of *umbu*, *pitomba* and *sirigüela*, pyramids of papaya, star fruit and the cashew fruit, and piles of 'silver', 'gold', 'apple', 'water' and 'earth' bananas make a farmer's market of every speed bump and slow curve.

Costa and Niemeyer reconfigured space to dismantle persistent economic hierarchies. One way was the housing of ministers and their motorists in the same buildings (thus their children would go to the same schools), thereby integrating members of traditionally separate economic classes. Although evidence of class ascension exists, the persistent hierarchies have prevailed; all around the 'airplane' at removes of 5–45 km sit the satellite cities, semi-autonomous towns, some barely more than shanties, forming a halo of largely substandard living. Brasília was planned for employees of the federal administration only; all others, including those involved in its construction, were meant to go back whence they came. They did not; they moved outside the Pilot Plan. A formational feature of Brasília is the geographic and social separation between the Pilot Plan and its satellite cities. These cities do not appear on tourist itineraries. Many of the Pilot Plan's residents do not know how to get to the more distant ones and avoid entering those nearer in.

Half a century after the first droves of impoverished migrant labourers arrived on foot, mule and open-backed truck to erect a city from sketches and models with shovels and picks, the capital has 2.3 million inhabitants (metro São Paulo has over 20 million, while metro Rio de Janeiro has approximately 13 million), while the Pilot

Plan has half the projected 500,000. Thus, in approximately 50 years, something over two million people have migrated to this particular point on the map, a point that did not appear on any maps prior to the city's construction. About one in every 90 Brazilians either relocated to or was born in Brasília. This one-way flow is not ebbing.<sup>5</sup>

What drew so many to Brasília was, to borrow from Ernst Bloch (1993), the 'principle of hope'. The explicitly utopian drive in the design of Brasília inspired André Malraux, France's Minister of Culture, to proclaim during a visit to the construction site of the new capital in 1959 that Brasília was, for all, the 'capital of hope'.<sup>6</sup> This epithet was much cherished, but when used now, the tone is ironic.

### Brasília, 'Capital of Disparity'

In his spatial-syntactical analysis of Brasília, Frederico de Holanda (2003) reported two findings relevant here: (1) Modern urbanism features low rates of ground occupation, which he calls the 'rarefaction of the urban fabric', through, among other factors, great spatial discontinuity. Spatial discontinuities result in greater distances, higher transportation costs, and poorer mass transit. (2) 'There is co-variation between [...] patterns of human settlements and divisions of gender, social class, dominators and dominated' (Holanda 2003: 26). He posited that societies of greater inequality have invested in the maximisation of open space over total area of settlement. Brasília, with perhaps more open space than any other Brazilian metropolis, shows this correspondence: in terms of resource distribution it is one of the most unequal cities in Brazil, itself eighth among nations according to the United Nations' 2005 *Human Development Report*. The following comparative data of the Pilot Plan and a cross-section of satellite cities will illustrate this.

The capital is home to the most diverse economic conditions in the country. In 2005 households in the highest income bracket earned 44,200 Brazilian Reals per month (US\$ ±22,100 at the time), a ratio of around 155:1 to the earnings of the poorest families, while the national average is 93:1 (*Correio Braziliense*, 27 March 2005). In 2004 the average family living in the Pilot Plan earned 19.3 times the minimum legal monthly salary of 260 Reals.<sup>7</sup> Compare these figures with those of several satellite cities, listed in order of increasing distance from the Pilot Plan (see Table 1).<sup>8</sup> A distinct pattern emerges.

<sup>5</sup>The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) projects that in 30 years Brazil's population will stop growing, while Brasília will be one of the few cities to experience continued expansion (see video at <http://www.agenciabrasil.gov.br/media/videos/2008/09/02/ibge.flv/view>).

<sup>6</sup>Tamanini (2003: 345–62) contains the text of the speech in both French and Portuguese.

<sup>7</sup>According to <http://www.portalbrasil.net/salariominimo.htm>.

<sup>8</sup>Demographic statistics through the end of the section come from: *Pesquisa Distrital por Amostra de Domicílios, Pesquisa domiciliar* (2004: 41–2, 83, 94, 105, 159); *Pesquisa de Informações Sócio-Econômicas das Famílias do Distrito Federal—PISEF/DF/97, Posse de Bens da População* (1997); job statistics from Holanda (2003: 52), except for Taguatinga's population, from [http://www.sucar.df.gov.br/ras/03\\_taguatinga/09.htm](http://www.sucar.df.gov.br/ras/03_taguatinga/09.htm).



**Table 1** Mean family income for the Pilot Plan and five satellite cities in 2004, correlated with distance from the Pilot Plan

	Pilot Plan	Guará	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Gama	Planaltina
Monthly income per family (R\$)	5026	3186	2439	1211	1558	825
% of minimum legal monthly salary per family	1930	1230	960	470	600	320
Distance from Pilot Plan (km)	–	11	21	26	30	38

Related data, such as the likelihood of households to possess appliances, cars, home computers, and so forth, show the expected correspondences. Educational data show correlations between all resources (income, material wealth, access to media and information) and education level: illiteracy rates increase with distance from the Pilot Plan, while tertiary education rates decrease. Employment data show that jobs are most plentiful per capita in the Pilot Plan. The satellite cities provide the Pilot Plan with a source of labour for all sectors, acting as ‘dormitory cities’ for many workers. The commute to and from the Pilot Plan for work recreates in daily ritual the expulsion of the builders from the Pilot Plan after inauguration. When juxtaposed with population data, one sees that the demand ratio (persons per job) is much higher where resources are the scarcest: Gama (22.62) and Ceilândia (14.33). An apparent anomaly is the largely residential South Lake, the wealthiest area in the state. This does not, however, indicate joblessness; residents often work in the Pilot Plan. The highest levels of unemployment in the country are found in the satellite cities (Nunes 2004: 168). Finally, census data on ‘declared colour or race’, comprising six ethnic/‘dermo-chromatic’ categories, show that people with lighter skin are more numerous in the Pilot Plan, while those with darker skin are in the satellite cities.<sup>9</sup>

Taking all the data together, we see that education, resources and jobs are most plentiful in the Pilot Plan and diminish with distance. We can also see a correlation between socioeconomic class and race/colour, where the holders of economic advantage tend to identify themselves as of the lighter categories. Also apparent is the inverse relationship between availability of resources and axiality, meaning that the areas of concentrated resources are among the least accessible. (Military-police roadblocks of connections between poorer areas and adjacent wealthy ones create another kind of barrier.)

### Brasília, ‘Capital of Rock’

Rock music, through the success of a handful of primarily post-punk and new-wave bands that formed in the early 1980s, put Brasília on the nation’s musical map and earned it the nickname ‘Capital of Rock’. Rock music’s symbolic importance to the

<sup>9</sup>At one time the ‘mixed-race’ category *parda/mulata* contained myriad sub-categories such as ‘coffee with milk’ and ‘gourd-colored’ (Schwarz 2003).

city was demonstrated in its 2005 Carnival, the occasion where a city's typical music is highlighted.<sup>10</sup>

Rock and Brasília are about the same age (Little Richard recorded 'Tutti Frutti,' considered by many historians to be the first rock 'n roll record, in 1955, the year the location for Brasília was selected). The mid-1970s, about 10 years after the city's first rock bands formed (Rosa 2006), is regarded as the beginning of the first wave of the city's rock scene, when a critical mass of youth from all over the country and with a variety of regional musical backgrounds, found themselves in a city without a traditional music of its own. Rock was simultaneously no-one's music and everyone's—it was non-regional, the importance of which should not be underestimated in a country where *bairrismo* ('localism') plays a strong role in structuring affiliations (this will resonate in the discussion below on *panelas*). The initial messengers of this new music were the children of the social and cultural elite of Brazil—those employed in the administration, embassies and university—who travelled abroad for long periods of time as exchange students or accompanying their parents on assignment, postdoctoral study or vacation. They sent on tape and vinyl the sounds to which local youth of their age in New York and London listened, and they carried back instruments and technology prohibitively costly locally if at all available, like amplifiers and guitar pedals, plus T-shirts, magazines, fanzines. Punk rock spread from the privileged centre of the Pilot Plan to the satellite cities (where the most vibrant scenes of the harder styles continue today).<sup>11</sup>

Aborto Elétrico, Brasília's first punk band and one of the first anywhere in Brazil, formed in 1978, but was unlikely known by many beyond the capital. In the following decades local rock bands like Plebe Rude, Detrito Federal, Capital Inicial, Legião Urbana, Os Raimundos and vocalist Cássia Eller (the last four have sold millions of albums on major multinational labels) sealed the capital's reputation as a cauldron of rock.

Today's rock scene in Brasília is really two scenes, two moieties composed of multiple fissiparous 'demiscenes' of overlapping substyles.<sup>12</sup> *Scene* for me shares elements of Straw's definition (1991): namely, it is a cultural space with external boundaries and internal structural alliances. When, as in the case of rock, the style of music is not restricted to a single community, the scene will possibly have local,

<sup>10</sup>The historical information presented comes from extensive personal fieldwork.

<sup>11</sup>In São Paulo the movement was from (poor) periphery to (wealthy) centre. There, underground bands like Restos de Nada and Inocentes spurred the formation of highly successful, mainstream rock acts like Ira! and Os Titãs.

<sup>12</sup>I use 'moieties' for the formalised restrictions in relations. In Brasília, the moieties are spatially distributed, the literal periphery and centre, and socially enacted. One example, noted also by Holston (1989), is the dual elevator system in Pilot Plan apartment buildings, where residents use the 'social' elevator and maids and labourers (and residents moving lots of stuff) use the 'service' one. Sometimes the two are separated by partitions, other times by locked, although perhaps transparent, doors—as if to see one's place in the hierarchy was to strengthen it. Another case is the mass transit system seemingly designed to preserve avoidance between classes while enabling the functioning of the (hierarchical) social and political systems—an impossibility without the 'importation' of labour into the Pilot Plan from the satellite and Entorno cities. I thank Tony Seeger for helping me see the adequacy of the term for an urban context.

translocal and virtual dimensions, to cite Bennett and Peterson's rubric (2004). O'Connor (2002) specified a variety of the activities that define a punk scene, including finding places to play, building audiences and sharing information, and the internal debates around style and politics. All of these characterise the scenes I have researched. The Brasiliense rock scenes act as social networks where reputations are built through negotiations of competition and cooperation, as Gerstin (1998) detailed. Despite the decentred nature of a particular scene, each locale will probably have a geographic 'centre' where, until it shifts elsewhere (as a scene's centre is apt to do), participants will feel 'at home' and carry out much of the social work necessary for the scene's maintenance. Importantly, scenes may also act as *circuitos autónomos* (autonomous circuits) of musical production and distribution (Vicente 2008), especially in the case of musical styles with no presence in the mainstream market. 'Underground' scenes are those that, from a resource perspective, depend almost entirely on participants for their perpetuation. They remain excluded by, or purposely separate from, the interwoven flows of resources that are non-specific to any one scene.

The spatial discontinuities Holanda observed in the urban fabric match tears I observed in the social fabric. As mentioned above, residents of the Pilot Plan typically do not go to the satellite cities. Jeferson Ayres Cunha, drummer in the hardcore band Terror Revolucionário, explained:

Because of the fact that the city has, let's say, a violent record, lots of time the dude who lives in the [Pilot] Plan says: 'My brother, I'm going to go there [i.e., Taguatinga] to get robbed?' So it's kind of a prejudice thing. (Jeferson Ayres Cunha and Joséfer Ayres Cunha, Interview, Taguatinga, 2005)

The satellite cities are thought of as having music of less symbolic value, while the Pilot Plan is home to 'erudite' styles. On the surface, rock bridges centre and periphery. But at a bar like Gate's, the premier rock bar in the Pilot Plan, the rock bands are typically oriented stylistically toward the past and the mainstream. Indie, nostalgic and regionalist rock styles dominate. The crowd tends to be of middle to upper class, light-skinned or white, in conservatively casual attire with a full spectrum of hues, few tattoos, very little piercing, short hair for the men and long for the women. The crowd's appreciation of the band is more reserved. If it is a cover band, the crowd will sing along. Dancing is minimal, unless there is a DJ.

At underground rock shows in a satellite city venue, a hall, a parking lot or other open space, or in one of the liminal loci (see below), one sees many more darker-skinned youth in the crowd.<sup>13</sup> They tend to wear black, studded clothing. Boots are popular. They sport more daring hairstyles and colours, tattoos and piercing. Musical features of local underground rock styles, such as hardcore punk, grindcore and thrashcore (a.k.a. crossover), include excruciating levels of loudness, low sonic fidelity,

<sup>13</sup>Galinsky observed in Recife the same correspondence between heavier or harder styles of rock, skin colour, economic conditions, and where in the city the musicians and fans tend to live (2002: 96).

purposefully high chordophone distortion, the inevitable vocal distortion (given over-taxed microphones, amplifiers and loudspeakers of mediocre quality) and vocal textures from guttural growling to snorting and ‘shredded’ screaming. While it is not possible to speak categorically of the compositions played, one notes certain conventions: homophony with tonal harmonic foundations and shallow-contour melodies, duple meters, and tempos between 120–240 beats per minute. The typical instrumentation is one or two guitars, bass guitar, basic drum set (snare, one or two toms, bass drum with single or double pedal, high-hat and one or two suspended cymbals), and one principal vocalist (on occasion two), with the rest of the band providing vocal backing. If the band plays one of the more elaborate styles of metal (black, death, progressive or heavy) a synthesizer can be used.

The dominant rhythmic figure is *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá*, the ‘blast beat’, drawing bodies into the elliptic *roda de pogo* (the local term for the mosh pit), equal parts Cajun waltz and rumble: a marching anti-clockwise orbit around a maelstrom of limbs and torsos in full, gleeful career. The blast beat, with its variations, is one of the most recognisable sonic elements of Brasília’s underground, being either the only rhythm for a song, whole show or a band’s entire repertoire, or it may be the ‘home rhythm’ from which development departs. The single-pedal bass drum (‘tu’) and snare and hi-hat (‘pá’) alternate or double up eighth notes at tempos determined only by the drummer’s limits. There are few fills if any—no time for frills—and songs, some lasting under a minute, may start and end without any pause in the drum pulse. The same bands that might use a synthesizer may also play more complex rhythms. Bands playing this rhythm will not appear at shows with bands playing other rhythms (except at large festivals); its achieved aggressiveness has not (yet?) been accepted into the mainstream. It is not a rhythm that DJs will play, unless the event is special. The rhythm represents a front: it is contained within limited, prescribed areas.

### Refrain 1: Rock in a ‘Cold’ City

You stay at the window of your apartment  
 Your eyes wander over the cold concrete.  
 You think not having anything to do is romantic  
 While your friends jump from this airplane.  
 You wait at home for some letter to arrive  
 To change your situation  
 While your friends get drunk  
 Start rock and roll bands. (Vieira and Detrito Federal 1987)

Brasília has a reputation for being a ‘cold’ city: in social, architectural and design/layout senses. Various reasons are given, among them the city’s newness, its heterogeneity, the transience of a large part of its population, its status as federal capital, the monumental architecture and vast open areas, and the lack of beaches. Rockers frequently use the city’s architecture and design as a way of explaining how rock began. Gilmar Santos, vocalist and leader of ARD, the region’s longest running

hardcore punk band (1984–present), and bassist for X-GRANITO, a ‘punklore’ band, said:

[Brasília] is a city built in the middle of the highest plateau in the country, on the highest tectonic plate in Brazil, at an altitude of 1,100 metres, the sun beating down constantly on your head, with frigid concrete constructions. Brasília is a living model, with an extremely cold architectural style. It was constructed for people to work, not to live. And so . . . people begin to start bands. (Santos, Gilmar, interview, Brasília, 2005)

An oft-heard opinion of the general effect of the modernist, functionalist architecture on residents’ sociability is that it separates people from one another. People complain of not feeling comfortable asking neighbours for ‘a cup of sugar’ (Ronan, interview, Brasília, 2005). The atomising of the social body into discrete compartments is mitigated for many only by the common space *embaixo do bloco* (‘beneath the [apartment] block’), the open, ground-level area where children play, adolescents hang out, young couples kiss and gregarious seniors gather to chat. Fê Lemos, the drummer of Capital Inicial and Aborto Elétrico, grew up in the isolated Colina, the special quadrant for the families of professors of the University of Brasília remembered in the city’s rock lore as ‘where it all started’. He recalled rehearsing *embaixo do bloco* (interview, Brasília, 2005). This is a liminal space between the two oppositional zones identified by DaMatta as the ideological bases of Brazilian society, both of which are ideational and material: the home (*casa*), the site of intimacy, belonging, personhood, privacy, order and freedom, and the street (*rua*), the site of public exposure, negative individuality, chaos, and the law (DaMatta 1991).

The outdoors area in the immediate vicinity of the *bloco* brings people into contact with one another. Music travels; its sonic element is a magnet for attention. A quadrant, its design being that of a spacious, internally open enclosure, provides one or more central areas between *blocos* that focus the sight and reflect sound in such a way that activity is supremely public. An unintended consequence of Costa’s height limitation on *blocos* to six stories plus the ground floor—reputedly to preserve a mother’s ability to call from a window to her child playing below—is shown in this quote from Ana Rezende, part of the group of friends and musicians associated with what is regarded as the first wave of Brasiliense rock:

When I moved to 106 South, I met Chris Brenner<sup>14</sup>, who lived in the same bloco as I did. Helena [Ana’s sister] sent records and clothes from New York. Chris and I used to listen to these records really loud. [...] [S]omeone who was passing beneath the bloco and heard the music came up, got to know Chris, told her about a party that was going to happen. [...] I got to the party and Gutje<sup>15</sup> and Flávio [Fê Lemos’s brother] were playing. [...] It was at the party that Chris and I got to know the [rock] circle and from that point on we hung out with them. (Marchetti 2001: 17).

<sup>14</sup>Ex-vocalist of Blitz 64, another of the city’s first rock bands.

<sup>15</sup>Ex-drummer for Blitz 64 and Plebe Rude; ex-husband to Helena.

In her daily 'Chronicle of the City' in the city's broadsheet, Conceição Freitas compiled a list of 'modes of being Brasiliense' submitted by readers, one of which was: 'Waiting for your friend to yell from [*embaixo do bloco*], "Come do-o-o-o-o-own!"' (Freitas 2004). Stories from the early 1980s abound of walking by a *bloco*, hearing the Sex Pistols or other punk rock issuing from a window above, and then repeatedly yelling the name of the band until someone came to the window.

Into the 1980s specific quadrants were associated with musical styles; e.g., 104 South was for progressive rock, and the Colina for 1970s rock. When punk fans in the Colina learned that there were kids in 303 South who liked punk, they would walk the 8 km each way just to hear their tapes. Music became a motive for choosing where to be and where to go. Time and again in conversations speakers made *lieux de mémoire* of specific cartographic points, such as quadrants, bars and schools (Nora 1989).

Costa designed each residential quadrant to have an adjacent commercial quadrant. The proximity of residential and commercial quadrants (a hundred feet or so) means that, whether live or mechanical, music coming from bars or other establishments has to be controlled, so as to abide by The 'Law of Silence', which treats music and noise as the same and restricts the location of venues, their physical construction, hours of operation and other specifics.<sup>16</sup> Venues open and close with astonishing frequency, due to owners' apparent difficulty in obtaining the proper *alvará de funcionamento* (licence to operate). When a new venue debuts, one often hears people saying they should go 'while it lasts' or 'before it disappears'. Rubens, one of the owners of Gate's Pub, located in the commercial quadrant SCLS 403, opened his live music venue with instrumental jazz before moving to rock, so as not to provoke neighbours' outrage before he had established his club's presence. 'Now I'm having a problem with electronic music. . . . It travels [pointing in the direction of the adjacent residential *blocos*], goes into the person's bed' (Rubens, interview, Brasília, 2005). This particular design aspect of the Pilot Plan is a major contributor to the difficulty rock bands have in finding 'place to play'.

## Refrain 2: 'Tribes' and '(Closed) Pots'

A 'tribe' (*tribo*) is the commonly observed grouping of fans of a particular musical style. More generally, it is an elective, affective form of socialisation with aesthetic and emotional bases (Maffesoli 1996).<sup>17</sup> As a discursive trope in music studies it occupies analytical territory similar to 'subculture', if not superseding it. In Brasília the 'darks', 'colourfuls', 'melodics', 'punks', 'indies', 'metalheads', 'trancers', 'bikers', 'hippies', 'clubbers', 'straight-edgers' and more all have places where they congregate, music they prefer and distinctive visual styles, incorporating colour, fabric, accessories and body art. By most accounts, tribes are a recent phenomenon in Brasília. A plausible explanation is given by Felliipe 'CDC' Sant'anna, leader and vocalist of the crustcore

<sup>16</sup>The law (No. 1.065 of 06 May 1996) can be viewed in its entirety at [http://www.brasilia.df.gov.br/005/00502001.asp?ttCD\\_CHAVE=5950](http://www.brasilia.df.gov.br/005/00502001.asp?ttCD_CHAVE=5950).

<sup>17</sup>He calls them 'neo-tribes'. Hetherington (1992) describes Schmalenbach's similar concept, that of the *Bund*.

Terror Revolucionário and the thrashcore Death Slam and widely respected in the underground for organising shows that counteract ‘tribal’ fragmentation by bringing together hardcore, metal and punk bands. ‘In the old days there was *rock*, and everyone went to rock shows. [...] Now, with these subdivisions *within* rock, subdivisions within the public have formed’ (Sant’anna, Fellipe, interview, Brasília, 2005). Shows, like radio stations, tend to cater to a musically defined audience. As Alessandra Tavares, guitarist of the all-female death metal band Valhalla, reflected, tribes tend to support only one style, or just those regarded as intrinsically related. ‘If we were to play a show, say, with Khallice [a progressive metal band], maybe it wouldn’t go over so well, get it?’ (Michelle Godinho and Alessandra Tavares, interview, Brasília, 2005). Death and progressive metal are regarded as too different.

Tribes can have a geographic element. Because of distances within the Pilot Plan and between satellite cities; public transportation universally cited as expensive, inadequate and inconvenient; of the enclosure design of quadrants; high fences surrounding *blocos* in some places; and dead-end streets and myriad other obstacles to movement, people may find it difficult and intimidating to venture far off their beaten paths. Tribes may form as individuals gravitate to groups and environments where they feel ‘at home’—places often near their literal homes.

Analogous to the aesthetic phenomenon of the tribe is the economic phenomenon called the *panela fechada*, the ‘closed pot’.<sup>18</sup> Often shortened to *panela* and its diminutive *panelinha*, in the musical world it refers to a group of bands who play together repeatedly and are seen as monopolising resources like ‘place to play’, benefits such as recognition, and economic return, be it money or in kind (free recording sessions, rehearsal discounts, coupons for tattoos, etc.). It functions both as a clique and a mutual aid association: members support one another’s access to resources, share opportunities, and lend their labour. When asked about the major challenges facing bands in Brasília, Michelle Godinho, vocalist with Valhalla, linked ‘place to play’ and *panelas*:

Showing your work, because you have no place to show it. Sometimes there are fantastic bands, quality bands, and they can’t get into the *panela*—there are X number of bands, and only they play: they’re the bands of the producers’ friends, the music teachers’ bands [...]. When [the others] do get the chance to play, it’s a tiny show out in the sticks. (Michelle Godinho and Alessandra Tavares, interview, Brasília, 2005)

*Panelas* are primarily a means on the part of musicians to preserve and leverage their access to resources, especially ‘place to play’, for performing is the only way, other than the difficult, expensive, time-consuming and financially onerous process of recording and selling, to reap the potential social, symbolic and economic benefits of having a band.

<sup>18</sup>Neither ‘tribe’ nor *panelinha* is unique to Brasília. Regarding the latter, it is believed that Machado de Assis, writer and president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, coined the term in 1901 as a nickname for the group of artists who would convene over dinners served from a silver pot, *A Panelinha de Prata* (The Little Silver Pot).

The extended discussion below with Jeferson and Jôsefer took place on a weekend afternoon in the brothers' family home in the notorious 'L North', the neighbourhood in Taguatinga with the highest rate of breaking-and-entering into homes and cars, drug-related arrests and the highest overall rate of penal infractions (Jôao Meia-Boca and Meirelles, interview, Taguatinga, 2005). Jeferson plays drums with Terror Revolucionário and his younger brother Jôsefer plays drums with the thrash metal band Phrenesy. Our animated voices summoned the brothers' mother, who came in from the kitchen to watch, listen to the conversation and add her thoughts on having drummer-sons, as well as the neighbours' unsolicited opinions on the subject (and her feelings on *their* opinions):

Jôsefer: Panelinha is like this: I play in Phrenesy, Jeferson in Terror [Revolucionário], we're brothers, and then Jeferson has a friend who plays in Pæna, so we go playing a bunch of shows together, just us, get it?

Jeferson: [Coming in on top, to clarify] It's like this: because sometimes guys [os caras] do shows and generally it's basically the same bands that play. But why? Because you don't see guys from other bands at shows—they just want to be seen and play [aparecer]. In the scene as a whole you have to be present, you have to show your face, you have to do something for your band. Show up and communicate with folks. Lots of people complain that they aren't playing, but it's obvious—no one knows you exist. How are they going to invite you to do something, if they don't know you exist? Whoever's organizing [a show] only invites bands they know, or they think they're going to end up making money with—

Jôsefer: [Interrupting] To not get screwed over, you see? If Abhorrent and Khallice are playing there in the [Pilot] Plan, and one week, two weeks from now there's Abhorrent and Khallice in Taguatinga, then Abhorrent and Khallice in Gama, dude [nêgo] will be like, 'Fuck! That panelinha!' But that's not it! People have to try to understand that sometimes it's not a panelinha, see? Sometimes it's just the bands trying to get their sound out there together, see? Sometimes you feel good with another band, so, 'Come on, we're going to do a show together', and everybody gets along. And there's no dough to hit the road, so 'Let's get out there here in Brasília the two of us, my band and your band, let's do tons of shows together!' See? . . .

Jesse: Are you guys part of a panela, you think? Terror—

Jôsefer: [Jumps in] No!

Jeferson: Terror, no! . . . Terror isn't part of any panela, so much so that—

Jôsefer: [Simultaneously] Phrenesy played 15 shows [last year]—

Jeferson: [Continuing]—anywhere they invited us to play—

Jôsefer: [On top]—so me and Jeferson, my brother, man, we could like arrange to play together, get it? But like, Phrenesy last year played three shows with Terror, one far apart from the other, see? One in August—

Jeferson: [Breaks in]—dude invites us to play in Jardim Ingá, Terror's there—we're not so stuck up as to be picking places, you know what I mean? Let's suppose the band is from the [Pilot] Plan, let's say, just an example, and there's going to be a show in Ceilândia. So the guy organizing in Ceilândia goes and calls the band from the Plan, 'Hey, there's going to be a show on such-and-such day, y'all into playing?' The guys think . . .



‘Man, playing in Ceilândia . . . Ceilândia sucks, it’s so frickin’ far, no, let’s not go.’ So they turn it down. With Terror it’s different. A call from over there in Planaltina: ‘There’s going to be a show in Planaltina, y’all into playing?’ [Affirmative response implied]. So dudes sometimes even think it’s bad because we play in whatever place. [As if responding to the complaint] ‘Well, what—what do we have a band for? To play at home? [Or] to just play in the Plan?’

Jesse: [Several beats] More beer? (Jeferson Ayres Cunha and Jôsefer Ayres Cunha, Interview, Taguatinga, 2005)

This excerpted stretch of our chat reveals nuances in the concept of *panela*. We see that the feeling of exclusion—a result of not having ‘place to play’—is provoked by the observation that other bands are playing with frequency; are playing together regularly with one or more other bands; are gaining recognition, potentially convertible into a form of capital; and are getting gigs in more desirable areas. We also see that financial and personal concerns may drive musicians to choose where, when and with whom they play, and that although these choices may not be motivated by the wish to form or penetrate a *panela*, this very perception may result. Jeferson and Jôsefer point out that organisers of shows face their own challenges (a sensitivity to the other side that not all musicians demonstrate).

The importance of location is evident (recall Michelle’s comment above about playing a ‘tiny show out in the sticks’). Geographic and demographic distances are linked: to inhabitants of the Pilot Plan, ‘far away’ is usually understood to mean the periphery. Bands may opt to not play in far away locales: Jardim Ingá lies 65 km south of the Pilot Plan in the Entorno, the ring of cities in the state of Goiás that for their proximity to Brasília share much of its social, economic and cultural life; Planaltina is on the other side of the Pilot Plan from Taguatinga, making the distance between the two one of the longest possible trajectories within the state (52 km). ‘Far away’ often signals perceived class distance; Ceilândia and Planaltina have the reputation for being poor and dangerous. Many bands turn down invitations to play outside of the Pilot Plan, because conditions—the venue’s equipment, transportation to and from the venue, financial returns (if any), and media coverage—tend to be worse. On the other hand, the scene in the periphery is often more exciting for rock bands, as the shows tend to be more lively. The satellite cities possess a certain claim of authenticity of scene in the underground—a measure of compensation for the detractions of playing outside the Pilot Plan. As a consequence, an underground band that does not ever play in the periphery will be regarded as ‘fake’ or called a rich kids’ band (*banda de playboy*).

Seen from within, from the point of view of those cooperating or benefiting from inclusion in a *panela*, it is not called a *panela*. Local lingo has no name for it, and I got the impression it was a question no one had put to themselves; when I asked, people got the look of swimmers searching blearily for their glasses at the bottom of a pool. Two interesting responses surfaced: *engate*, a ‘hook-up’ or ‘hitch’, like that used to pull a trailer; and *auto-ajuda* (‘self-help’). The former stresses the connections a *panela* affords; the latter, its solidarity or self-interest, depending on the scope of ‘self’.

*Panelas* appear to have roots in the homogeneous socio-spatial organisation of the city (Silva 2003). The functionalist and scientific management urban plan was extended to the lives of its inhabitants as well—even after their deaths: the main cemetery of the Pilot Plan is divided into sectors and quadrants. When the Pilot Plan's residential units were apportioned, quadrants accommodated functionaries of a single administrative entity: they were designated for military personnel, the staff of the government bank, diplomats, university professors, and so forth. When housing became a market commodity, occupation-based homogeneity diminished, although people who work together still recreate together in special clubs and may avail themselves of special hospitals for their occupational set. Thus, 'monocultures' formed—for bank staff, the Marines, Brazilians of Japanese descent. Migrants to Brasília, lacking social and occupational networks, often form *panelas* based on origins.<sup>19</sup>

Ethnomusicological phenomena need not be unique to be significant; repetition may signal meaningfulness. Neither tribes nor *panelas* are, *per se*, exclusively Brasiliense, or Brazilian. Analogous groups of positive and negative preference employing aesthetic markers to affiliate and differentiate (i.e., tribes) and exclusivist groups of internal assistance (i.e., *panelas*) probably exist the world over, given the roles the expression of taste, resource protection and differential distribution would appear to play in the very human processes of identity formation and maintenance. The scale of analysis may hide/reveal significant degrees of difference. In the case of the phenomenon of tribes, it may be in the specific frames of reference and attitudes therein where we find uniqueness. One diacritical feature of tribes in Brasília over the identical phenomenon in, for example, London, could be that the former are largely organised around styles of music and their exponents from elsewhere. Terror Revolucionário is a popular and important local band for followers of hardcore and, more specifically, crustcore. But they do not define the style in the final analysis; the UK bands Crass, Discharge and Extreme Noise Terror do. This is only possible because of an international frame of reference and an attitude that openly values, usually as superior, non-local models and exemplars.

Another distinguishing feature is that Portuguese is the language of Brazilian hardcore bands. This may strike some readers as obvious, but it is not typically the case with Brazilian metal bands, for reasons of differing objects of communication. In the former, it is a literal message, while in the latter it is an 'atmosphere'—an evocation of other worlds.

### Refrain 3: '*Não tem lugar*'—'No Place to Play'

It's one of things that up 'til today we still don't get—if Brasília is the 'Capital of Rock,' why, in this misery here, is there no place to play rock, man, you know? One

<sup>19</sup>According to Silva (2003, 2003a) common complaint of migrants to Brasília is social exclusion. In her research, *Panelas* were organised around homogeneity of age, economic class, time of residence in Brasília, and region of origin.

thing we've taken up with all the governments that have come to power, but not one has managed to address, is that every part of the country has a specific culture, a folklore of its own. Brasília's folklore is rock—there's no way to escape it, man. (Fellipe Sant'anna, interview, Brasília, 2005)

'Place to play' represents a conjuncture of two of the most valuable resources in the rock scene, a location (space) and moment (time), both generally and specifically, as in a particular venue and appearance. It designates 'playing out', not rehearsing. Space and time enharmonically emphasise different aspects of a single problem. To some degree all musicians feel the shortage of adequate 'place to play', for Brasília was not planned with much in the way of recreational spaces in mind, and with the high number of bands, competition is fierce. Rockers of the underground feel this most acutely (my experience as a performing musician in four bands of different styles—blues, punk, hip-hop and Irish—over 12 years demonstrates this). The perpetual search for 'place to play' has led to creative spatial uses, such as the renting out of the auditorium of the Association of Orthodontistry of Brasília, going camping to play, or Plebe Rude's legendary rigging up a generator and playing on top of a bus shelter. Use of existing non-music spaces temporarily increases 'place to play' by both creating opportunity to play and making space available.

The Pilot Plan was designed with the Sector for Entertainment (SD) and Sector for Culture (SCT). While the SCT houses the national theatre, library, museum, and radio station Rádio Cultura, the SD comprises two shopping malls located on either side of the central bus station. Of these, the gallery known as 'Conic', to the south of the bus station, is a multilevel complex of offices, commerce and institutions. Its dilapidated and labyrinthine corridors, lined with tattoo and piercing dens, sex-toy emporia, T-shirt vendors, musical instrument and sheet-music stores, skate shops, watchmakers, occultists, booksellers, braiding salons, nail parlours, health food outlets, working-class eateries and squalid bars, wend towards a central, open-air square with a church, a theatre, a (defunct?) X-rated movie house and a police precinct station. Once the site of embassies, now prostitutes perambulate al fresco among peddlers of combs, lottery tickets, cellphone covers, socks, flavoured ices, dark glasses, roasted nuts, and flashing, beeping gewgaws. *Capoeiristas* (Capoeira players) congregate in impromptu circles near small, smoking grills heaped with sundry meats on sticks. Drifting CD and DVD pirates with backpacks laden with the latest soon-to-be-releases operate under the noses of the owners of the rock and rap record stores. The Conic is a genuine *olla podrida*—the poorly sighted and the oculist; the druggist, druggie, and drug dealer; the lost soul and the charismatic; the officer and the thief. The arrant variety human and mineral brings on aboulia, desensitises one to the silent *cris de cœur* of the countless waifs and vagrants.

It is also rock's de facto headquarters in Brasília, a locale that brings together its different tribes. It had, at the last count, two spaces in which rockers could put on shows. One was the theatre's grotto-like basement, a network of dark and narrow corridors with walls revealing the structure's guts and no plumbing. The other was the headquarters of the Party of Socialism and Liberty, a cramped quadrilateral with a

low ceiling and three bright fluorescent lights. In both, a patch of floor serves as 'stage'. These spaces are examples of *liminal loci*, in that they exist socially in a place apart from their physical surroundings, and that they are utilised for activities quite different from their intended and usual purposes. Loci like these are located in the Pilot Plan, but frequented by people from the satellite cities. They tend to be proximal to the central bus station, Brasília's nerve centre.

The struggle for 'place to play' stimulated the creation of the short-lived ACBRock, or the Brasiliense Cultural Association of Rock. Led by Felipe CDC, the association rescued a subterranean corridor near the bus station that had become a haven for drug use and spontaneous sex, renamed it the Rock Hole, built a stage and put on shows. It hosted workshops, produced fanzines, T-shirts and other crafts, and put in motion social programmes aimed at giving underprivileged and homeless youth something to do. It was an effort to give local rockers a place where they could feel welcome at any time and be guaranteed of having 'place to play'. UNESCO, which declared Brasília a World Heritage Site in 1987, subsequently alleged that ACBRock's use of the corridor and adjacent area was inconsistent with the protected original plan, and the Rock Hole was closed. The space was taken over by the most powerful of the charismatic protestant churches. UNESCO's intervention illustrates space's symbolic importance, as well as exemplifying the discrimination that both rock music and people from the satellite cities suffer: although the church's use should qualify as inconsistent with the plan, it was not blocked. Michelle and Alessandra opined on the lack of 'place to play' in the Pilot Plan:

Michelle: The farther from the centre of power, the better they think it is. For example, there was this great place, the Gran Circo Lar, a place that had great shows. Brasília was on the circuit of bands that came from abroad to play. And they simply destroyed the place. Oh—the Show Bar . . . nope, no more Show Bar. The Rock Hole . . . nope, now it's the Universal Kingdom of God . . . you see? They keep closing them and pushing us out, because . . .

Alessandra: Pushing out the noise. (Michelle Godinho and Alessandra Tavares, interview, Brasília, 2005)

'They' in this case would be the city administration. The Show Bar was reportedly closed for lack of the proper *alvará*. The Gran Circo Lar, a tented open-air arena accommodating 3500, was abruptly closed to make way for two more of Niemeyer's monumental buildings, constructed a full 10 years later (Gran Circo Lar fecha de vez, *Correio Braziliense*, 20 October 2000: 22). A 14-year-old female student was quoted in the city's broadsheet the night of the venue's interdiction, saying: 'At the Micaré [a Carnival-type event during Brazil's winter] where people die, there's no problem. But for a rock show there is' (Show cancelado causa indignação do público, *Correio Braziliense*, 23 August 1999: 2). Rock music, according to a police officer acting as government official from whom I sought the *alvará* for a dance party, is a music that makes people 'fight'. Efforts to achieve a space for the local rock community have included soliciting the help of political figures: in 2005 the ultimately unsuccessful

attempt at reclaiming the Rock Hole from the church was launched, this time assisted by a politician in the Worker's Party (PT). In 2006, just ahead of state and federal elections, Ronan, one of the most active producers of rock shows in Brasília and vocalist of the metal band P.U.S., circulated this email on behalf of a Popular Socialist Party candidate for state representative:

Capital of Rock??? What is that supposed to mean??? We don't have, nor have we ever had, a cultural space dedicated exclusively to all the styles of Rock. . . . Rock has a true godfather, for LULA MARQUES likes the scene, believes in it, protects it and, principally, works against the prejudice in Brasília! . . .[H]e will defend the building of the 'ROCK HOUSE' . . . with space for Shows, Parties, Theatre, Cinema, Photography, Cartoons, and all the Under-Alternative Culture there is. . . . Don't vote for the same-old-same-old!!! (Ronan, email, Brasília, 2006)

When Rogério Rosso, a heavy metal bassist and studio owner, became interim governor of the Federal District in 2010, his influence was soon felt: that year's edition of the annual metal festival Marreco's Fest featured a structure far superior to that of previous years' editions and of any local underground rock event I have seen; it was sponsored by Rosso's administration (Gustavo Ribeiro Vasconcelos, interview, Brasília, 2010).

The 'place to play' problem shows cumulative causation. When rockers complain about a lack of 'space', one of the meanings is physical space. Another is media space: mainstream media's inattention to cultural happenings in the satellite cities promotes and, in a sense, sanctions ignorance among Pilot Plan dwellers as to what goes on over the imaginary border. A third meaning is industry representation. The local and wider music industry's lack of interest in underground rock looks like this: music from Brasília is, in general, not profitable; rock music is among the least lucrative genres; within rock, underground styles are the least saleable of all. Support for the underground tends to come only from businesses whose owners and customers are of the scene. Where bands can find place to play, and which style of music bands can play in those places make manifest *remove* in the expressive sphere.

### **Seeing Music, Hearing Space: The Homology of *Remove***

Each refrain comments on all three spheres, while giving us insight into one particular sphere more than the others. Refrain 1 speaks mainly to the spatial (S), Refrain 2 to the social (D), and Refrain 3 to the expressive (X). Each refrain also addresses themes of the descriptions I termed Brasília's 'capital' faces. Together the refrains and faces depict a lack of qualitative integration in all three spheres between the Pilot Plan and satellite cities. From this qualitative segregation of centre from periphery emerge two moieties (1 and 2) cutting across all spheres. Illustrating the relationships between the moieties and spheres as analogies makes important correspondences visible:

- a. Across all spheres moieties are self-consistent,

S1:D1:X1:: S2:D2:X2 [parallel consistence]

such that within the Pilot Plan and North and South Lakes (S1) inhabitants enjoy a relatively homogeneous lifestyle and adhere to a certain set of social relationships (D1), and a certain set of styles of rock (X1) are produced and consumed. A parallel relationship exists for inhabitants of the satellite cities (S2), a standard of living less homogeneous than that of D1, but still correspondent (D2), and the underground rock styles (X2).

- b. Within all spheres moieties are mutually exclusive,

S1:S2:: D1:D2:: X1:X2 [parallel mutual exclusivity]

such that the mutual exclusivity of S1 and S2 is paralleled between D1 and D2, and X1 and X2. This means that the lack of integration between the Pilot Plan and the satellite cities is consistent in all spheres. Naturally, exceptions exist.

These analogies expose the physical, societal and aesthetic distance between the Pilot Plan and the satellite cities, functioning so that the urban design, quality of life and musical expression reinforce one other. This lack of integration is systemic and homologous in the three spheres.

'Integration' in space syntax analysis, a lens for interpreting the nexus of spatial and social phenomena, is a measure of how connected one space or conduit is to another. The space around constructions correlates to structure, or 'syntax', while constructions and their uses correlate to function, or 'semantics' (Hillier 1998). Sociocultural patterns, such as gender relationships or occupational hierarchies, are theorised to produce effects on spatial configurations, such as the location of rooms in a house, or the layout of a court. Conversely, spatial configurations are thought to be of significance in human affairs (Hanson 2000). Space can be 'conservative' or 'generative'; in the former, space tends to reproduce existing social relations, usually via spatial segregation and the resultant human 'co-absence', while in the latter, the potential for new relationships exists, via integration and 'co-presence' (Hillier 2005). *Place is a product of the relationship of a space's syntax to its semantics.* When the semantics of a particular space are incongruous with its syntax, place does not arise. Local focus on 'place to play' (space and opportunity) helps us see the means by which resources are tied to this equation.

*Remove* is the quality—not quantity—of distance in the system of space. It will arise from the lack of integration between two or more parts; the obstacle—i.e., *remove's* instantiation—will be specific to the particular sphere. For example, in the spatial sphere the obstacle may be 40 km and a transit system designed to keep residents of Gama from being in the Pilot Plan at night. In the social sphere, it may be the personal/political connections needed to land gigs or score municipal financing. In the expressive sphere, it may be the aesthetic standards or requirements for playing in specific venues. Thus, the homology obtains in the repetition of *remove* (the

homologue), embedded within each sphere as syntactical distance of a spatial, social or expressive quality.

The concentration of economic and symbolic capital maps out neatly over the concentrated geographic areas of the Pilot Plan and adjacent North and South Lakes. The poorer satellite cities are far-flung: figurative economic distance and literal geographic distance, exacerbated by difficulty of circulation, due to poor mass transit and police roadblocks, reinforce *remove* and reiterate it in the cultural field. Rock production has historically followed and affirmed this homology, with the initial, successful bands emerging in the Pilot Plan and North and South Lakes, while better equipped studios, the better known music schools and the more financially successful musicians are likely to be located in these areas (the apparently unremarkable nature of this fact may suggest the homology's presence in other locations). Satellite-city rockers' self-perception as *os fodidos* ('the fucked ones') derives from their perception of the conditions constructing the homology of *remove*. Exceptions exist, and niche markets aid in the redistribution of capital in ways that do not conform to the homology: the Gama-based, one-man 'horrorcore'/D-beat band Besthöven of multi-instrumentalist Fofão, has fans worldwide. Stores in Japan in one month sold out of the 3000 copies of the first pressing of the band's recent anthology.

*Remove*, in practice, exists over and above two forces, one afferent, which I envision as 'approach', and one efferent, 'retreat'. Both are the motion, literal or figurative, of subjects, relative to other subjects. While 'retreat' can be likened to the augmentation of an interval (as two subjects grow more distant), 'approach' is its diminution. Because both 'approach' and 'retreat' are measures of the relationship between multiple subjects, a subject's position will determine perspective: the formation and maintenance of a *panela* as seen from within is a socio-economic response to *remove*, a strategy of 'approach' to achieve access (proximity) to resources; those excluded from it will see decreased access, thus constituting 'retreat' and probably contributing to their perception of *remove*. Likewise, the formation of tribes: on both local and international scales the formation of networks of taste bring people into contact, immediate or mediated, and provide opportunities for resource-sharing ('approach'). Tribes' referencing of non-local musical styles, performance conventions and social movements, and tribe members' emulation of non-local actors, and so forth, and the accompanying affects of these aesthetic decisions can appear as 'retreat' to those on the outside. *Panela*, 'alienated', 'colonised' and 'Americanised' (see note [2]) describe 'retreat', while 'hook-up', 'hitch' and 'self-help' describe 'approach'. The complementary forces of 'approach' and 'retreat' make an inherent operational dialectic within *remove* visible, and the questions of what changes take place through the push and pull of the two, and whether they are in the quantity of distance between subjects, or in its quality. A force-field analysis might reveal these dynamics.

The identification of homologies may assist in the creation of maps of formal and functional relationships between what are usually envisioned as discrete realms, distinct structures, or autonomous systems that touch on facets of musical life. Homologies should, quoting Frederic Jameson's caveat in reading the work of

Greimas and Goldmann, be a jumping-off point for further analysis, instead of a 'forecast of the shape of the results of analysis' (Jameson 1983: 31). They may help theorise links between paradigms of design, of which Brasília is a special case, and changing social ideas. I have looked for correspondences that may help comprehend how place affects music-making, or how, for example, performance styles relate to work, locomotion, and other aspects of daily life. A succinct case: during my fieldwork generalised land speculation in Brasília, due in part to the imminent completion of the original plan and its status as World Heritage Site, stimulated a steady increase in property values and taxes, which caused venues, such as Gate's Pub, to raise drink prices to increase revenue. The adjacent package liquor bar Piauí experienced a surge in customers taking advantage of its lower drink prices, and its owners expanded outdoor seating and began selling food to attract more customers. This change in the local economy led to subtle alterations in the drinking habits of some of Gate's customers, who began to drink (or drink more) at Piauí before going on to hear music at Gate's, exacerbating the problem for Rubens. Reduced revenue for Gate's precipitated an increase in cover charges (while compensation for the bands froze or fell), which put off a portion of the public. For a time, more nights were given to DJs and cover bands, 'a sure thing' to attract customers (see Wheeler [2005, 2006] for more on cover and tribute bands). This change had effects downstream, such as on musicians' choice of repertoire and the bands to which they dedicate their time—whether they play 'originals' or 'covers' and what styles of music they play (a style that it 'pays' to play, or one that does not). The spatial sphere, where economic fluctuations changed spatial occupation patterns (including decreased integration for some musicians and audience), the social sphere, where patterns of interpersonal interaction underwent change, and the expressive sphere, as musical territory shifted, overlap.

When Etno won the 2008 Battle of the Bands in Gama, their acceptance speech ended with: 'We're proud to be the band from the Pilot Plan that plays most in the satellite cities and the Entorno'. Although underground rock may in some ways reinforce exclusion and maintain subalternity, it has the potential to reconfigure social space in ways that counteract segregating forces in Brasília. Prejudicial perceptions of the satellite cities make it counter-cultural for youth from the city's two moieties to join the same tribes, but underground rockers are among the most mobile of demographics, travelling everywhere possible within and beyond the borders of the Federal District searching for places to play, organising and attending shows, regularly exceeding socially circumscribed spaces and strengthening co-presence, their circulation counteracting the 'rarefaction of the urban fabric' by creating compressions in the socio-spatial medium that increase integration.

The spatial, social and musical interface in places. Sound is the nexus: the blast beat is unorganised, unmeaning or objectionable sound ('noise') in some places and organised and meaningful sound ('music') in others. Hierarchies can be heard, as particular meanings gain ascendancy over others and demarcate spatial boundaries. Music is emplaced, as musicians and fans gravitate to areas of the city according to



musical style, and as rockers search for ‘place to play’. Place is also musicked: *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá* is the rhythm with sonic, demographic and geographic borders, tracing a musical ‘redlining’ (the discriminatory practice of outlining in red city neighbourhoods where loans and services would be more costly, if not altogether denied). The homology has a sound, making audible the battleground of a struggle for place where real resources are at stake.

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