NEGRA DEMAIS: OVERWHELMING PERFORMANCES OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN FEMININITY

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Moving from a repertoire that encompasses film, ritual, protest, autobiography, and digital media, this dissertation examines public performances of cultural memory and identity enacted by Afro-Brazilian women. It identifies in the dominant culture a preoccupation with being overwhelmed by performances of black feminine agency, and this preoccupation is framed under the term "negra demais" which may be understood as so/too black and so/too female. This doubled significance reflects a pull between the pleasure experienced in fetishizing the black female body as a commodity of conquest and the paranoia felt over her potential to assert authority over her spectator. Such potential is taken to task through a study of 20th-21st century women-driven performances.

Chapter One addresses a fixation with the black female subject through a close reading of Glauber Rocha's directorial debut, *Barravento*. This chapter stresses the film's concern with the feitiço, or spell, exacted through the faith of Candomblé, citing an analogous tension in the film's visual and narrative management of female figures. Chapter Two studies public representations of Carolina Maria de Jesus that framed her as a symbol of Brazil's race and class divide. This chapter traces how Jesus "created scenes" across Brazil's unsteady political landscape. Her eccentric and nonconformist

performance of everyday life offers a counter-normative model that transgresses the limits of all categories assigned to her. The third chapter focuses on a movement against FIFA's 2014 World Cup and the exclusion of a Salvador's traditional street vendors, the baianas de acarajé, from Salvador's Fonte Nova Stadium during the events. The methods of protest and mobilization employed in this movement are held against those of concurrent social uprisings to highlight the baianas' sense of embeddedness in the public spaces and the cultural fabric of their trade. The final chapter focuses on the reiterative nature of performance and visual returns to spectacular acts of violence exacted against black bodies. This chapter addresses the March 16, 2014 shooting and public dragging of Claudia Silva Ferreira by military police. The viral circulation of cellphone footage of Ferreira's murder and a social media memorial project titled *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (*One Hundred Times Claudia*) shapes this analysis of the methods employed by resistant artists, performers, and media activists.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Honey Crawford is a native of Chicago, Illinois. She holds a BFA from The Theatre School at DePaul University (The Goodman School of Drama), an MFA from California Institute of the Arts, and a PhD from Cornell University. She is a past New York Council for the Humanities Public Humanities Fellow, and her work on twentieth-century performance has appeared in *Black Camera Journal* and *La Verdad: An International Dialogue on Hip Hop Latinidades.*

To my father who sees me through this work

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I had the good luck to be born into a family that celebrates intellectualism and encourages the non-conformist aspirations of fierce women. I thank my brilliant and loving siblings for hearing me out and talking me through many blocks. I thank my mother who made scholarly inquiry a daily practice in our home. Finally, I thank my father who taught me to think, live, and create on my own terms. I am eternally

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

> A próxima canção é um clássico do que ninguém esquece, e que todos nós amamos muito. Mas é uma canção que sempre me deixou uma pulga atrás da orelha. Uma tremenda pulga, imensa pulga atrás da orelha, porque é uma canção... de... de afirmação da classe média letrada contra os sambas do morro e próximos do Candomblé. Basicamente é uma canção racista.
> E é chocante dizer isso porque é uma canção do Noel... e Noel é um dos nossos pais fundadores.[1]
>
> Caetano Veloso, 2008

In a 2008 performance, Caetano Veloso introduces his interpretation of Noel Rosa's *Feitiço da Vila* with a thoughtful contemplation on what he identifies as the song's racially charged subtext. He is careful with Rosa's canonical samba, acknowledging the trouble he might raise in speaking critically of the composer's lyrics as he educates the audience, pausing frequently to allow the word play to resonate. *Feitiço da Vila* (1934) is a spirited homage to Rio de Janeiro's Vila Isabel neighborhood known for its rich samba history. Veloso talks the audience through Rosa's poetry, verse by verse, highlighting some subtle slights with references to class and education associated with this middle-class area. He reminds the audience of Rosa's rivalry with Wilson Batista that marked both artists' compositions of the time. Veloso is especially resolved on his understanding of the song's most problematic lyric:

> A Vila tem um feitiço sem farofa
> Sem vela e sem vintém

[1] The next song is an unforgettable classic, and that everyone loves very much. But it's a song that always makes me smell a rat. A tremendous rat, an immense rat because it is a song… that… that affirms the educated middle class over the samba of the hill and related to Candomblé. Basically, it is a racist song. And that's shocking to say because it is one of Noel's songs… and Noel is one of our founding fathers. (All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.)

Que nos faz bem
Tendo o nome de princesa
Transformou o samba
Num feitiço decente
Que prende a gente[2]

He continues with a playful decoding of the song, slowing down his pace on the most pointed words— um feitiço sem farofa, sem vela, sem vintém. He pokes fun at this attack on cultural elements associated with Candomblé offerings, and the notion that a spell, or feitiço, without farofa, vela, or vintém "faz bem" strikes a chord. [3] Veloso quips, "O outro faz mal, ne?"[4]

A video of this performance shared through Veloso's blog with an accompanying discussion sparked controversy with many arguing that Veloso's critique of the beloved samba took Rosa's work out of context, imposing racial politics on a sincere expression of pride in the local culture. In Rosa's words, "São Paulo dá café, Minas dá leite, e a Vila Isabel dá samba," and the complexities of the phrasing must be understood as part of the cultural convergence that nurtured Rio de

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[2] The Vila has an enchantment without farofa
without candles without vintém
that is good for us
Having the name of the Princess
it transformed the samba
into a decent enchantment that arrests us
Farofa is cassava flour associated with Northeastern cuisine and Candomblé offerings. Vintém are now obsolete coins associated with Candomblé offerings. The Princess referenced here is Princess Isabel, for whom Vila Isabel is named. Princess Isabel, "the redemptress" is credited with signing the Lei Áurea that abolished slavery in 1888.

[3] Feitiço is defined as witchcraft, enchantment, or conjuring. I do not translate this term throughout this study to help maintain its culturally embedded significance which can connote quotidian "ways" of trickery, spell-casting, enchantment, and afro-derived mysticism.

[4] And the other is bad for us, eh?

Janeiro's, and specifically Vila Isabel's, samba traditions.[5] Ethnomusicologist Carlos Sandroni took the charge as Veloso's most prominent critic in this debate, and his 2012 analysis of the formation and transformation of Rio de Janeiro samba, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações do Samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917-1933)* would anchor itself around this discourse, largely excusing what Veloso interpreted as the xenophobic subtext in Rosa's words. In Sandroni's argument, the lyric reveals an admirable familiarity with the traditions of the morro[6] (Vila Isabel being a hill community itself), and signaled an embrace of afro-derived practices in popular culture. In this sense, *Feitiço da Vila* delivers a message akin to that of Veloso's 2002 *Feitiço* where he overtly challenges Rosa's suggested extraction of black practices. In a salute to abundant intercultural exchange, Veloso's *Feitiço* teases the listener with his description of a "feitiço *in*decente" singing:

> Nosso samba
> Tem feitiço,
> Tem farofa
> Tem vela e tem vintém
> E tem também
> Guitarra de rock'n'roll, batuque de candomblé
> Zabé come Zumbi
> Zumbi come zabé
> Tem mangue bit, berimbau
> Tem hip-hop, Vigário Geral
> Tem reagge pop, fundo de quintal
> Capão Redondo, Candeal
> Tem meu Muquiço, meu Largo do Tanque
> Tem funk, o feitiço indecente
> Que solta a gente[7]

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[5] São Paulo gives coffee, Minas (Gerais) gives milk, and Vila Isabel gives samba. This line references the respective industries of each region.
[6] Hill community
[7] Our samba
has enchantment

The samba that Veloso proposes with "nosso samba" ups the stakes of inclusion, revels in the intermingling of cultural performance, and promotes Oswaldo Andrade's worldview of anthropophagy. Veloso's samba trades decency for a spell that when cast upon its public promises to set them free.

I rehash this exchange between Veloso and Noel Rosa's *Feitiço Decente* with little interest in resolving the question of racism embedded in Rosa's lyric or even in his character. The more fruitful line of inquiry that I draw from Rosa's fantasy of a "decent spell" devoid of afro-centricity is rather found in the disquieting specificity of the verse that gave Veloso such pause. The "pulga atrás da orelha" that Veloso experiences when hearing the verse, the rat that he smells, reflects the simultaneous draw/distrust of afro-Brazilian performance that Rosa's decent enchantment imagines.

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has farofa
has candles and vintém
and it also has
rock'n'roll guitar, Candomblé rhythms
Zabé eats Zumbi
Zumbi eats Zabé
It has mangue bit, berimbau
has hip hop, Vigário Geral
has pop reggae, backyard samba
Capão Redondo, Candeal
Has my Muquiço, my Largo do Tanque
Has funk, the indecent enchantment
That sets us free

Zabé is short for Isabel, and Zumbi references Zumbi dos Palmares who escaped enslavement to become the heralded leader of the Quilombo dos Palmares. Mangue bit (manguebeat) is a musical movement formed in Recife in the early 1990s that blends hip hop sampling with maracatu. Vigário Geral, Capão Redondo, Candeal, Munquiço, and Largo do Tanque are regions of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Bahia that are associated with the periphery.

This troubling reference speaks to a larger ambivalence towards Candomblé ritual practices where even the lover of samba and its intersections with Northeastern and West African culture approaches with trepidation. The preoccupation with the trappings of Candomblé in the anecdote between Caetano Veloso and Noel Rosa's *Feitiço Decente* speaks to an ambivalence in relation to contemporary afro-Brazilian performance that I understand as the affective state of feeling/being overwhelmed. I additionally recognize the practices of Candomblé as falling under a network of matriarchal authority and a "ritual life" that, as Ruth Landes elaborates, "mirror(s) the economic and social autonomy of the women and the female-centeredness of afro-Brazilian households of Bahia."[8] I associate these overwhelming performances of afro-centricity with the female-centeredness that Landes describes, and I identify the power either perceived or actively projected from these performances under the term *negra demais*.[9]

Overwhelming performances of afro-Brazilian femininity are read through the subjectivity of individiual perspective in that the state of feeling overwhelmed in the presence of a perceived act of negra demais would differ from the act of overwhelming the spectator while engaging in performances of negra demais. Feitiço, translated as enchantment, sorcery, or the spell, connotes in this context the workings and behaviors of Candomblé, Umbanda, and afro-derived cosmology. In the context of Rosa's samba it speaks to the broad workings and regalia of afro-Brazilian faith. I suggest that feitiço is best captured as the labor of transformative ritual; these

[8] Ruth Landes, *City of Women* (New York: Macmillian, 1947), xii.
[9] So/too black

behaviors performed in ceremony are understood to hold the capacity to enact change. The instance of being transfixed by feitiço might either indicate falling under the effects of a targeted action or becoming enchanted by a certain fascination with the perceived power that these behaviors represent. Both equations, fixation under the spell or fixation with the potential that the spell holds, fuel the state of feeling/being overwhelmed that frames this research. I illustrate the subjectivity of perspective in encounters of negra demais with the following two examples. The first addresses the outward perception of phenotypic blackness in samba performance, and the second is a clearly articulated assertion of negra demais in carnival performance.

Two perspectives of negra demais

In late 2013 Brazil's Globo network named Nayara Justino its annual muse of carnival. The up-and-coming actress and model won this title in the network's first public competition to fill the hyper-sexed role of the "mulata globeleza" as part of a custom established in 1992 where a nude brown woman is showcased during transitional segments of the broadcast, painted in strategically placed colorful ribbons and showing off her samba no pé talents.[10] Justino won the competition by a margin of fifty-three percent, and met no controversy until the Globo network released promotional materials. These images and videos were quickly flooded with an especially vile assortment of racial epithets directed at the model's complexion, hair,

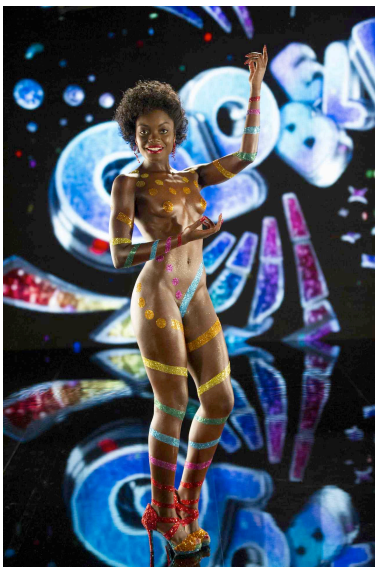
[10] Samba no pé refers to a freestyle showcase style of samba associated with carnival and feathered "passista" costuming.

and facial features.[11] Soon after Globo retracted Justino's title without explanation, and the 2014 Globeleza carnival broadcast featured a dancer of a lighter complexion whose features were more in keeping with previous representations of the dancing mulata. After a short documentary on Justino's story produced by *The Guardian* brought international attention to the Globo network's retraction of her title, numerous mainstream news outlets questioned the ethics of this decision asking if Justino was dismissed "por ser negra demais."[12]

The racism and colorism that showed itself in this controversy (many of Justino's critics were identifiable as afro-descended themselves) is unsurprising, and I read the violent public backlash against the promotional videos showcasing Justino dancing against the Globeleza backdrop and (un)dressed in the uniform of glitter paint as a reaction to her blackness that surpasses any hatred or self-hatred over her skin and

[11] See: "Negra demais' para o posto, ex Globeleza se diz, 'usada' pela Globo." Last modified June 2, 2016, http://veja.abril.com.br/entretenimento/negra-demais-para-o-posto-ex-globeleza-se-diz-usada-pela-globo/.
or English option: "Brazilian Beauty Queen Says She Was Dethroned For Being 'Too Black." Last modified December 2, 2016, http://veja.abril.com.br/entretenimento/negra-demais-para-o-posto-ex-globeleza-se-diz-usada-pela-globo/.

[12] for being too black



Nayara Justino, 2014 Miss Globeleza

physical characteristics. I argue that the broadcast of Justino's Globeleza dance rather triggered a bitter response to the insertion of a less diluted prototype of black uber-femininity into a template of national pride that had been formatted to hold an understood limit of afro-centricity. Justino's samba is playful, fluid, and technically on par with both her predecessors and her replacement, and the uniformity of Gobeleza's production creates a unique circumstance where the selected body performing each year measures an understood range of blackness, operating as a placeholder of afro-descended beauty. The question that Globo's extraction of Justino opens is, how much blackness is too much to hold the enjoyment of the public eye? In Justino's case negra demais signifies the weight of ambivalence projected from the spectator towards performances of afro-Brazilian femininity. It does not suggest that the performance actually exceeds some imagined or understood boundary of acceptance; in fact, negra demais in this example captures the irrationality of this preoccupation emanating from the dominant gaze.

My second example of negra demais contemplates active assertions of feminine authority that threaten to overwhelm as a mode of resistance. In 2016 samba academy Estação Primeira da Mangueira was named the champion of Rio de Janeiro's Carnaval with a tribute to singer Maria Bethânia titled *A Menina dos Olhos de Oyá*.[13] The procession celebrating Bethânia's fifty-year career took the Bahian singer's nickname, given by the legendary Mãe Menininha do Gantois, as its title in a mutual homage to Bethânia's ruling deity, Oyá (Iansã).[14] Bethânia composed the procession's enredo, or thematic song, entering with the chorus:

> Quem me chamou? Mangueira!
> chegou a hora, não dá mais pra segurar
> Quem me chamou, chamou pra sambar
> Não mexe comigo, eu sou a menina de Oyá!
> Não mexe comigo, eu sou a menina de Oyá![15]

The warning to the spectator, don't mess with me I am Oyá's girl, is the first in a series of references to Bethânia's legacy that also flaunt the power and protection of Oyá and the pantheon of Candomblé.[16] In her 2012 single "Carta de Amor" Bethânia issues the warning "não mexe comigo que eu não ando só" followed by a poetic explanation of the various spiritual forces she carries with her. This adaptation of the

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[13] The girl with eyes like Oyá.
[14] I reference Mãe Menininha do Gantois, the late iyalorixá of Terreiro do Gantois. She was one of the most respected leaders of Candomblé, leading for 64 years before her passing. Mãe Menininha was intstumental in building connections between Candomblé and academia most notably through her work with Ruth Landes. She is referenced extensively in popular music and culture.
[15] Who called me? Mangueira!
The time has come, there's no sense holding out
Who called me, called me to samba
Don't mess with me, I'm Oyá's girl!
Don't mess with me, I'm Oyá's girl!
[16] don't mess with me because I don't walk alone

lyric is decidedly precise, citing Oyá as the primary source of protection. Oyá is exalted with a fervor that is typical of carnival enredos, and the practices of Candomblé rituals are affirmed with a sense of pride that confronts recent waves of religious intolerance, including the stoning of eleven-year-old Kailane Campos in 2015.[17] Similar to Rosa's *Feitiço Decente*, Bethânia is explicit in detailing the material of Candomblé ritual, the sensorial experience, and the gestures of ceremonial practice. Through the barrage of details Bethânia's lyric affirms the overwhelming potential of this culmination.

> Vou no toque do tambor… ô ô
> Deixo o samba me levar… Saravá!
> É no dengo da baiana, meu sinhô
> Que a Mangueira vai passar.. vai passar![18]

The participatory format of the samba enredo, employing traditional call and response along with the process of the full community learning and rehearsing the lyric, performs a collective affirmation of Oyá's capabilities. The song calls for both participants in the procession and spectators to surrender to the possibility of being overtaken by the channeled authority and the repeated threat of the chorus—don't mess with me, I'm Oyá's girl— asserting an implied "or else."

Bethânia's composition challenges Noel Rosa's proposal of a "decent enchantment" by brandishing elements of Candomblé in abundance, and she defends

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[17] Kailane Campos, the granddaughter of a Mãe de Santo in Rio de Janeiro, was attacked after a religious gathering by two men who shouted religious epithets while throwing large stones at her head. Campos was eleven years old at the time of the assault.

[18] I go with the beat of the tambor… oh oh
Let the samba carry me away… saravá! (greeting)
It's in the baiana's sweet care, my lord
That Manguiera will pass through… we're coming through!

this display with the warning of Oyá's protection. Mangueira's procession further amplifies Bethânia's challenge through spectacle, opening with the comissão de frente performing a theatrical choreography titled "A Mãe do Entardecer: O Balé das Guerreiras Oyá."[19] This West African choreography with exaggerated afro-centric costuming that was performed by a group of women who Globo's commentator described as "doze negras, e tão escuras" set the tone for a parade of heightened projections of afro-Brazilian beauty, faith, and culture.[20] Mangueira's porta bandeira, or flag bearer, delivered a highly praised performance costumed in an interpretation of Candomblé initiation attire with painted linares and a

Mangueira Comissão de Frente and Porta Bandeira, Squel Jorega Ferreira, 2016

simulation of a shaved head. To be clear, displays of afro-centricity are integral to Rio de Janeiro's carnival tradition, and the impact of Estação Primeira da Mangueira's 2016 procession as an act of negra demais should not be attributed to the parading of afro-centricity alone. It is rather the convergence of Bethânia's challenge to the

[19] The comissão de frente is the opening wing of a procession. This is a mandatory element made up of a group that performs a theatrical dance or scene that establishes the theme of the procession.

[20] Twelve black women, and very dark
"Reveja todos os desfiles das escolas do Grupo Especial do Rio de 2016," last modified February 10, 2016, http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/carnaval/2016/noticia/2016/02/reveja-todos-os-desfiles-das-escolas-do-grupo-especial-do-rio-de-2016.html .

onlooker wielding the authority Candomblé, and bolstered by the excess of carnival, that shows an awareness of the projected paranoia associated with performances of black feminine power. Like her brother Caetano Veloso's *Feitiço*, Bethânia's composition flaunts negra demais calling on Oyá, the bringer of tempests, of violent transformation, and insurmountable feminine power as her ally.

The irony of Maria Bethânia herself being visually read as something other than negra is not lost here, and this paradox serves as an opportune example of how negra demais as a mode of resistance is not necessarily tied to the racial makeup of any individual. I rather stress negra demais as a mode of performance that carries with it the immeasurable totality of a worldview. In framing this, I take direction from Margaret Drewal's insight on the semantics of performance through the Yoruba language where the terms ritual, festival, spectacle, play, and improvisation hold overlapping and at times interchangeable significance.[21] The practices of Candomblé are read throughout this research for the theatricality that is intrinsic to their methods. Per a Yoruba worldview that positions lived experience within a larger envelopment of the "otherworld," I accept Drewal's explanation that "Yoruba conceive spectacle as a permanent, otherworldly dimension of reality which, until *revealed* by knowledgeable actors, is inaccessible, to human experience."[22] This research casts a wide net, seeking what is to be revealed in productions that without refute *are*

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[21] Drewal explains her open and interchanging use of the words festival, spectacle, and play in keeping with their overlapping significances in the Yoruba language. Drewal argues for this overlap in language of performance in order to protect the inclusivity of of Yoruba cultural concepts, particularly in relation to improvisation.
Margaret Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press),13.
[22] Ibid.

performance as well as events and experiences that may be read *as* performance.[23] Both perspectives of negra demais, the outward preoccupation imposed upon performances of afro-Brazilian femininity and the resistant expression of an immeasurable power, fall under the valance of performance and further demonstrate the revelation of a transformative power.

Overwhelming femininity

Overwhelming as an action and being overwhelmed as an affective state usher the question of how much blackness is perceived as too much. Focusing on female driven performances, I frame this study with the term negra demais to play on casual expressions of pleasure and approval such as "lindo demais*"* or "bom demais" – so/too beautiful or so/too good— asking where pleasure and approval meet their respective brinks. Negra demais not only suggests the existence of a limit, but also inquires into the terms of the acceptance of black femininity in the public sphere. How, and more importantly why, does the same sphere of Rio de Janiero carnival that selected Nayara Justino to portray the sexualized muse of Globeleza by popular vote violently attack her appearance as exceeding the limit of blackness? How and why would the same public celebrate the decadence of black bodies, black culture, and assertions of black authority in Estação Primeira da Manguiera's procession two years later? If Dona Ivone Lara's famous samba, *Sorriso Negro*, is accurate in proclaiming "um sorriso negro, um abraço negro, traz felicidade,"— if a black smile and a black hug in fact spread happiness, then we can read negra demais as an expression of

[23] Schechner, *Performance Studies: an Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 29.

ecstasy.[24] But if the public's relationship to black female bodies is better depicted by the love/hate relationship that Carolina Maria de Jesus navigated with the public sphere first as a garbage picker, then as a bestselling author, and finally as a vilified eccentric who refused encapsulation, then we should read negra demais as a warning of what resists containment and threatens to overwhelm.

In this study of overwhelming performances of afro-Brazilian femininity I do not claim to, and will not attempt to, frame a comprehensive representation of female experience with its boundless nuance and individuality. I rather understand femininity here as genre, in line with Lauren Berlant's "form of aesthetic expectations with porous boundaries."[25] The performances that shape this analysis fit into the aesthetic structure of femininity that "absorbs all kinds of variations or modifications while promising that the person transacting will experience the pleasure of encountering what they expected."[26] And the normative expectations of femininity help mediate the non-normative performances of this study that test the porosity the genre, such as Chapter Two's analysis of Carolina Maria de Jesus transgressing gender and class expectations through her performance of everyday life. All the performances that shape this study, in fact, push against boundaries and exclusion from a mainstream feminine public. From the study of Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* in Chapter One, Carolina Maria de Jesus's documentation of self in Chapter Two, the protesting baianas de acarajé in Chapter Three, and (re)visions of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's image

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[24] Lara, Dona Ivone, "Sorriso Negro." *Sorriso Negro*.1981. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVtowndTTiE

[25] Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: the Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 4.

[26] Ibid.

in Chapter Four, all performances address outward impulses to contain and control the terms of inclusion in the public sphere. This research thus takes on the additional element of public performance dealing consistently with the weight of the dominant gaze and reflexive gestures of resistance.

Field research and alliances

Much of this study is inspired by field research conducted in 2014 and 2015, primarily in Rio de Janeiro but also working from archives and institutions in Salvador and São Paulo. While in Rio de Janeiro, I resided at the Vila Isabel headquarters of Coletivo Mariachi, a respected media activist group that describes itself as "um coletivo mídia-ativista, independente, fundamentado no princípio da liberdade individual, na busca pela emancipação coletiva e do respeito à pessoa humana."[27] Coletivo Mariachi's mission "incentivar conteúdos que promovam a libertação do homem, nas esferas material e subjetiva; o pensamento crítico e dialético e; a amplificação da voz do oprimido" is realized through the documentation and dissemination of state abuses against the public.[28] Through the influence of Mariachi's founding member, the late Daniel Cruz, my work in Rio de Janeiro focused in part on the Movimento Contra Copa of 2014 (MCC) and systematic removals of peripheral communities.

[27] an independent media activist collective based on the principle of individual freedom in the search for collective emancipation and a respect for humanity.
[28] prioritize content that promotes personal liberation, in the material and subjective spheres, critical and dialectical thinking, and the amplification of the voices of the oppressed.

The prominence of media activist collectives throughout Brazil is unlike anything I have witnessed in the United States, with groups such as Coletivo Mariachi, Mídia Ninja, and Mídia Independente Coletivo (MIC) gaining both national and international recognition for their dessimination of dynamic footage during the 2013 uprisings. These videos and photographs circulated through YouTube and social media drew media activism into conversation with mainstream media and scholarship, evident in publications such as David Harvey's 2016 anthology, *Cidades Rebeldes*, relying on the testimonies and visual contributions of media activist collectives as integral elements of discourse.[29] Cruz invited me as a tag-along of sorts in his ongoing documentation of a neighboring favela, Metrô Mangueira, which had been subjected to several years of forced removals at the time of my arrival. Being immersed in Vila Isabel, adjacent to Metrô Mangueira and the Maracaná Stadium preparing to host the World Cup, I naturally positioned my work at the convergence of samba traditions, the spectacle of protest, and culturally embedded modes of resistance enacted by the marginalized. Although Chapters Three and Four most directly reflect these experiences, I carry the influence of my work with Coletivo Mariachi throughout this dissertation. I recognize that at moments my work seems to fall somewhere along the edge of ethography, and I am careful to acknowledge that the chapters that deal most direcly with these events employ the published works of respected media activists, Daniel Cruz and Carlos Pronzato.

[29] Carlos B. Vainer, *Cidades Rebeldes: Passe Livre e as Manifestações que Tomaram as Ruas do Brasil*, (São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 2013).

There was much discussion in mainstream media at the time around the absence or invisibility of the people of the "morro" in these protests, and although I found through my participation in protests that this estimation was somewhat exaggerated, I could not avoid the question of a disproportionate presence of protesters who were not visually read as afro-descended. In my discussions with activists and friends about the under-representation of the black populations, I typically faced two arguably dismissive responses. Some would challenge these questions of afro-Brazilian representation with questions of mixture— Who is black? or Why focus on blackness? Others would offer quick summations that "o povo," or the people, who I sought were largely uneducated and thus not in a position to mobilize. While both responses were unsatisfying, the first at least prompted me to consider my own perspective as a black woman of the United States to be a contextual imposition of which I should remain conscious. The second response was unsatisfying in that it did not reflect the truth of my day-to-day experiences and conversations with friends who identify somewhere on the spectrum of blackness, and whose opinions on the movement were charged with the urgency of direct consequence.

This frustration led me to look critically at the works of activists, radicals, and progressives who have labored on behalf of afro-Brazilian women. My interest in the relationship between performances of black feminine authority and the good intentions of allies forms its own thread throughout the following chapters. From Glauber Rocha's petition on behalf of the people of Bahia in Chapter One, leftist intellectual interests in Carolina Maria de Jesus in Chapter Two, the Movimento Contra Copa's conflicted relationship to the Movimento Libere as Baianas in Chapter Three, and

media activism in memory of Cláudia Silva Ferreira in Chapter Four, there is a consistent heavy handedness in studying the works of cultural producers whose talents and commitment I genuinely admire. Similar to Caetano Veloso's hesitance to criticize Noel Rosa's composition, I process this research in good will while also not avoiding critical accountability. More importantly, I include myself (and my research) as part of this question of the well-meaning outsider, and I hope the same weight of implication will be ascribed when reading this text.

Overview

In this study I address various modes of performance— film, ritual, protest, samba, and cyber activism, and I engage theories of performance studies, postcolonial studies, feminism, and affect. Considering the complexity of racial identification and mixture imbedded in Brazil's socio-historical context, the works and subjects included in this study qualify as radical or at least resistant to pervasive notions of how afro-descended women should navigate communal spaces. If the public sphere can be read as "a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted," then I ask, what are the methods of rehearsing and staging black female agency?[30] How do the backdrops upon which these performances are projected relate to the aesthetic choices of the players? To what lengths may a female body act out in public spaces that threaten and overpower her physical makeup?

[30] Fraser, Nancy, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text* 25.26 (1990) : 56-58.

By locating the public gaze in Brazil's urban centers and asserting that the historic and social infrastructures of these spaces hope to minimize the visibility of black women, a being who consciously amplifies the constructs of "black" and "female" places herself in contrast, and therefore in conflict, with authority. She then stages resistance. She assumes risk. The high stakes of amplifying her racialized presence in the public sphere are essential to my analysis as the texts and performances of this study will show that her vulnerability and sentience are continually denied in popular culture. I argue that prominent works of Brazilian performance rather target black female identity as spellbinding, hyper-visible, and threatening. The notion of a subjugated individual being "fixed" under the sovereign gaze is then inverted, and the sovereign subject projects his own fixation upon the black female body.[31] This study will address the ways in which afro-Brazilian femininity is doubly marked as object and aggressor in the public imaginary.

Taking a very direct cue from the opening that Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* provides in releasing cultural studies approaches to black culture from nationalist limitations, I move from the given assumption that black culture and black performance are transcendent, mobile, and temporally elusive.[32] I root my work in a country whose black body-public takes part in the flow of black cultural production, but escapes inclusion in Gilroy's pivotal text as well as other scholarship that speaks in conversation with matters of black diasporic

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[31] Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks* trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 109.

[32] Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993)

performance. By anchoring this research in the afro-Brazilian performance repertoire, I hope to add an alternate context that might serve as a foil to the logic employed in theorizing constructs of blackness that are more visible in academia.

I study afro-Brazilian performances as overwhelming acts, and in doing so I identify political agency and subversive activism in public spectacles that may otherwise be taken as apolitical. The task of this research is to examine gestures of racialized feminist identities in measuring the stakes involved in projecting a surplus of *negra* upon the spaces where various groups congregate. Through this inquiry I hope to uncover an understanding of the performative methods involved in activating a social mass that has been politically diffused through slippery assignments of racial identity and subsequent denial of the existence of race and racism. Projecting a performance of excessive blackness aspires towards a public body marking itself in kind. Female descendants of the transatlantic slave trade rely on the colonial construct to renegotiate and reenact blackness under postcolonial terms. I frame the designs of these reenactments as works of consciousness, and the gestures employed by these public acts of black consciousness lean on Brazil's legacies of rebellion, escape, and the formation of *quilombo* maroon colonies.

Even with Brazil's black population making up the largest body of African-descended peoples in the Western Hemisphere and the second largest population worldwide, black performance scholarship clearly privileges the United States' afro-American perspective as *the* African-American experience. Attention to afro-Brazilian culture is also often isolated in discussions of afro-Latin performance due to language difference as well as the confounding implacability of Brazil's black population

through strategic assertion of racial democracy. Beyond simply shining light on the presence and import of radical afro-Brazilian performance traditions, I confront an ongoing misconception that has gained new charge in the wake of the revolutionary protests of 2013—the misconception that black, mulatto, and indigenous people of Brazil who make up the overwhelming majority of *o povo*, are apolitical and thus better represented in moments of public outrage by the formally educated and predominantly white middle and upper classes.

Chapter One

Chapter One, titled "Reflexive Fixation and the Turning Wind," addresses an enchantment with afro-Brazilian performance through a close reading of Glauber Rocha's directorial debut, *Barravento* (*The Turning Wind*, 1962). This chapter focuses on the film's concern with the feitiço exacted through the faith of Candomblé, hilighting an analogous tension in the film's visual and narrative management of female figures. Here Rocha's petition for radical social change on behalf of the people of Bahia exposes a crippling ambivalence towards the network of matriarchal authority represented in the local cosmology. Calling on Fanon's "lived experience of blackenss," the occasion of interpellation is complicated by the act of feitiço which leaves the colonial eye spellbound, paranoid, and entranced by the gestures, play, and practices of a matriarchal worldview that will not reduce itself for encapsulation. Beyond reading Rocha's *Barravento* for its expressly patronizing and xenophobic outlook, I use the film's petition against Candomblé and the workings of feitiço to set

the stakes of this preoccupation, with an unspoken potential held within afro-Brazilian performance.

Rocha's *Barravento* as an object to study exemplifies how the cultural practices of black Brazil are regarded simultaneously with trepidation and enchantment, and this tension is what the notion of negra demais illustrates. The film displays an abundance of cultural practice, and it indulges in the pleasures of ritual performance while also struggling with a drive to rein-in and control their potential power. In this sense, *Barravento* provides an explicit example of how negra demais manifests in the production of cultural material. The process of the film's production reinforces this ambivalence with a well-documented creative struggle between Rocha and the film's original director, Luiz Paulino dos Santos, sparked in part by the representation of the local culture of Buraquinho and the traditions protected by the elder women of Candomblé. The shift in the film's direction, from Santos to the novice director, Rocha, is included in this analysis to indicate of a continued dilemma over the depiction of central female figures, the Mães de Santo of Candomblé, the town prostitute, the lone white woman of the village, and the deity of Iemanjá presiding over all social order. The film at once petitions against the cultural practices of Bahia while reveling in its ethnographically styled assemblage of Candomblé ritual, samba de roda, capoeira, and puxada de rede. This irresolute management of performances of afro-Brazilian feminine power, undermining Rocha's polemic, presents a statement on the impossibility of fixing the social practices that *Barravento* attempts to capture.

With this first chapter I set a precedent that continues throughout this dissertation of challenging the work of progressive artists and activists who show a commitment social liberation in their practice. Rocha's trajectory and its unquestionable interest in the needs of Brazil's marginalized, poor, indigenous, and afro-descended proves fruitful in framing negra demais as an intercultural dilemma that is born from the entangled legacies of colonization. Rather than simply reaffirming the existence of prejudice against black women in Brazil's public sphere, this chapter sets the tone for a study that will take adulation and enchantment to task. I begin with this analysis of feitiço to hint that negra demais may not necessarily be a projection against the black female subject, arguing that it may also represent the potential to reflect back against the onlooker as a tool of resistance.

I preface this reading of *Barravento* with background on the film's production process, demonstrating how it carried its own struggle with enchantment and paranoia over the cultural performances of Bahia. As a cornerstone film of Brazil's Cinema Novo as well as the Ciclo Baiano (1959-1963), the ambivalence around women driven afro-Brazilian spectacle falls in context with the wave of interest in "cultura Baiana" of its time. I keep the motivations of *Barravento*'s original director, Luiz Paulino dos Santos, present as the blending of footage shot under his direction with Rocha's final product complicate the portrayal of Candomblé. The shift from Santos's aim to avoid sensationalism to Rocha's polemic against afro-derived cosmology and the recontextualization of key figures adds to the sense that the production itself is struggling against a preoccupation with enchantment.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two, titled "The Self-Documentation of Carolina Maria de Jesus," addresses public representations of Carolina Maria de Jesus that framed her as an iconic symbol of Brazil's race and class divide. As a black female garbage picker, Jesus occupied the lowest rung of her nation's social caste system, yet through documenting her daily experiences she became a reluctant intellectual and commodified sage of the public sphere. This chapter traces how Jesus "created scenes" across Brazil's unsteady political landscape confounding both her admirers and critics by performing and documenting herself beyond the constraints of outward expectations. Two dueling personas, the Carolina who eats from garbage cans and the Carolina who eats in restaurants, mark a social duality that Jesus drafts of herself. I argue that these two versions of Carolina paired with what I describe as the "material double" of her book dodge outward attempts to fix her image according to the desires of a fascinated public. In the content of the diaries, I focus on what Jesus describes as a "mania to observe," a compulsion to document and expose the extremities of poverty and social injustice. It is a mania that enables the Carolina who ate from garbage cans to cultivate an abundant lifestyle from the scarcity of poverty. In this chapter the dominant gaze is positioned against Jesus's mania. Her hyperawareness of being observed by her neighbors, the public she encountered in her daily excursions for sustenance, her editor, and finally the press and politicians, is framed as a "reflexive look" of black femininity in line with bel hooks's analysis.

As Jesus describes the unimaginable destitution that she survives, I draw attention to her awareness of the impossibility of fully representing life in the favela.

More so, the impossibility of her leap from rags to riches, that she first muses on in her diaries and then manifests in reality, ties her methods of self-documentation to Saidiya Hartman's notion of critical fabulation. Under this lens, Carolina Maria de Jesus observes and documents her own lived experience to evade what Hartman describes as "the same fate as so many other Black Venuses." She avoids nameless categorization as an oppressed woman among a mass of oppressed women; she drafts the specificity of experience that Hatrman's Black Venuses were denied. While Hartman's strategy of critical fabulation strikes at telling unimaginable stories, I argue that Jesus's mania for observation documents the unimaginable reality that would otherwise go untold. Jesus creates a new and even less conceivable reality of prosperity from these observations.

Carolina Maria de Jesus's performance of affluence against the ideology of her supporters is read as a transgressive performance of social mobility. Further, her ostracization within the favela as a woman who rejected marriage and a familial structure opens this chapter to a consideration of how the lived experiences of non-normative women exceed the limits of socially inscribed expectations. This is resistant performance that inevitably disappoints the onlooker in its unpredictability and evasion of reduction. I situate Carolina Maria de Jesus among Angela Davis's figures of "Blues Legacies" where her clash with the media of her time falls in the company of brazen, queer, and trailblazing black women whose call to protest manifests in the performances of everyday life. Her eccentricity offers a counter-normative model that transgresses the limits of all categories assigned to her. Living somewhere beyond the limits of female, mother, rich, poor, leftist, conservative, queer, straight, uneducated,

or intellectual, Carolina Maria de Jesus's "too-muchness" clears a path to a nuanced study of afro-Brazilian feminism.

Chapter Three

This chapter, "*Libere as Baianas*: Self-Realizing Performance and the Baiana de Acarajé," focuses on a movement against FIFA's 2014 World Cup and the exclusion of a small collective of traditional street vendors from Salvador's Fonte Nova Stadium during the events. This "Libere as Baianas" movement staged by Salvador's most recognizable figures of tourism and afro-Brazilian culture, the *baianas de acarajé*, shapes an analysis of self-realizing performance. This chapter links FIFA's acts against the baianas de acarajé to more broad strokes at removal, displacing black populations from peripheral communities in an attempt to minimize the presence of Brazil's poor and non-white majority from commercial centers. The methods of protest and mobilization employed in this movement are held against those of concurrent uprisings under the Movimento Passe Livre (Free Fare Movement) and the Movimento Contra Copa (The Anti-Cup Movement) to highlight the baianas' sense of embeddedness in the public spaces and the cultural fabric of their trade.

The Movimento Libere as Baianas is analyzed as a foil to the summation that marginal communities were not active participants in Brazil's 2013-2014 waves of social uprisings. Being much smaller in scale and less visible than the Movimento Contra Copa, this resistance staged by the National Association of Baianas de Acarajé (ABAM) provides the important model of a movement in the interest of black women of the periphery that is organized and enacted *by* black women of the periphery. I

argue that such a protest is necessarily tied to quotidian performance and the performance of cultural memory. The trade of selling acarajé presents a convergence of theatricality and women's independent entrepreneurship, and this chapter examines how this convergence stakes claim on the public spaces that historically handle black women's bodies as objects of commerce. Diana Taylor's model of the intermediary figure helps contextualize the baianas de acarajé as conduits of the legacies of resistance ebedded in the ritual of their labor. The contrast between the methods of resistance employed by the Movimento Libere as Baianas and their counterparts of the Movimento Contra Copa, one demanding inclusion within a corrupt system while the other professes to tear the system down, exposes the vast gap in social outlook betweent these two demographics.

I incorporate filmaker Carlos Pronzato's documented testimonies from active members of ABAM to clarify how the attempt at removing the baianas de acaraje from their established place of business mirrors the widescale removals of favela communities. The baianas' attachment to the Fonte Nova as a "scene of desire" expresses a more complicated insistence on inclusion and access to a system that strategically dismantles her larger community. This chapter asks, "what is it about the baiana" in line with Dorival Caymmi's famous samba, in locating the ungraspable "something" about the baiana de acarajé that stuns and intimidates her onlooker. The materiality of her costuming is further explored through Robin Bernstein's model of "scriptive things," suggesting a challenge posed to her onlooker to engage with the potentially overwhelming performance of her trade.

Chapter Four

The final chapter, "Radical Re-vision: Into the Public Lives of Others," focuses on the reiterative nature of performance and visual returns to spectacular acts of violence exacted against black bodies. This chapter addresses the March 16, 2014 shooting and public dragging of Cláudia Silva Ferreira, a resident of the Madureira favela in Rio de Janeiro, by military police. The viral circulation of cellphone footage of Ferreira's murder and a social media memorial project titled *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (*One Hundred Times Cláudia*) shapes this analysis of the methods employed by resistant artists, performers, and media activists. The use of Ferreira's image here reflects a compulsion, albeit well-meaning, to return to the 'sight' of violence against black bodies and present what this chapter frames as radical (re)visions of the original act. The ethics of hegemonic spectatorship are futher explored through Spike Lee's viral "mash-up" of Eric Gardner's murder against the fictional death of Radio Raheem. These reiterations and (re)visions of violence as methods of social dissent finally open the analysis to the (re)vision of radical social uprisings in conversation with #blacklivesmatter movement and the Brazil's 2015 wave of protests that ushered a conservative overthrow of government.

This chapter moves beyond the previously established questions of how negra demais is conjured either in the perceptions of an on-looking public or the conscious choices of resistant women, and takes these anxieties around how public projections of afro-Brazilian femininity are managed as a given. I turn to the cyber-sphere as an evolving 'space' of performance that poses its own complexities upon the afro-descended subject. In line with the previous chapters, I confront the works of

progressive and essentially well-meaning artists in a study that encourages self-criticism and a collective sense of accountability through the notion of radical (re)vision. I argue that the onus of these well-intended reiterations of spectacular violence lies in the reiterative nature of performance, and this chapter speaks in tune with foundational theories of performance studies that signal performance's problematic tendency to produce what Richard Schecner dubs "multiplying alternatives" that frequently pair "the violent with the erotic."[33]

With radical (re)vision I point to an excess of interest in witnessing the most traumatic instances in the lived experiences of others. I argue that cyber culture, social media activism, and the drive for viral exposure feed these voyeuristic impulses. Activism that is mediated through the cyber-sphere ultimately redrafts source events under the patriarchal systems that promote erasure, normative impositions, and further marginalization against othered bodies. The spectator of digital interface is consequently desensitized to the incidents as extreme as public lynchings and the sentience of the victims of these injustices is extracted through the process of (re)vision. With this, activists of the cyber-sphere may inadvertently feed the demands of state authority and and further objectify victims and survivors of spectacular violence.

The methods of cyber activism hold central focus in this chapter with two pivotal events occurring during the 2013-14 Movimento Contra Copa in Rio de Janeiro setting the context. I first address the dragging death of Cláudia Silva Ferreira,

[33] Richard Schechner, *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 234.

a gruesome act of inhumanity acted out by Rio's military police. The incident, caught on a cellular recording and circulated virally, introduces the notion of (re)vision as reiterative returns to the sight of such violence. This video further poses a series of questions around the ethics and implications of cyber spectatorship in relation to oppressed communities. I build much of this chapter around *Cem Vezes Cláudia*'s invitation for all interested participants to draft portaits of Ferreira with more care than she was shown in the incidents of her death to point to ways victims of state enacted spectacles of violence are abstracted and (re)vised towards reconciliation.

CHAPTER ONE

Reflexive Fixation and the Turning Wind

> Barravento é o momento de violência quando as coisas de terra e mar se transformam, quando no amor, na vida, e no meio social ocorrem súbitas mudanças.[34]
>
> *Barravento*, Glauber Rocha (1962)

In preface to his 1961 film, *Barravento*, director Glauber Rocha speculates on the social-cultural condition of his native Bahia, a people predominantly composed of descendants of the transatlantic slave trade, a people whom Rocha introduces as "dominado por um misticismo trágica e fatalista."[35] As he defines the film's title and primary thematic thread — the barravento or turning wind, Rocha situates within the afro-descended of Bahia the dueling aspects of sudden social change and obedience to cultural tradition.[36] In Rocha's words, the barravento is "the moment of violence when elements of land and sea transform, when sudden changes occur in love, in life, or in the social sphere," and the film in its final composition beckons this brutal transformation as an essential and inevitable element of natural order. Under Rocha's thesis, the afro-descended are perpetually enslaved by exploitative economic practices and must seize the barravento as an opportunity to release themselves from the complacency that ritual and the religious performance instill.

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[34] The turning wind is the violent moment when elements of earth and sea are transformed, when sudden changes occur in love, life, and society.
[35] a people dominated by a tragic and fatalistic mysticism.
[36] The term barravento, meaning the turning wind, has multiple cultural significances particularly within the afro-Brazilian context. *Barravento* is a rhythm of Candomblé, Umbanda, and also capoeira that signals a shift or transition that usually marks a more rapid tempo and a rising energy. It often marks the arrival of an orixá.

This, Rocha's first feature-length film, plants a trajectory that would position him as an inexhaustible radical and singular visionary of Brazil's Cinema Novo. His portraits of rural and marginalized communities would evolve to an even more overtly polemical trilogy composed of his 1964 *Deus e o Diablo na Terra do Sol* (*Black God, White Devil*), 1967 *Terra em Transe* (*Entranced Earth*), and 1969 *O Dragão da Maldade Contra o Santo Guerreiro* (*Antonio das Mortes*). In Rocha's works the respective faiths of the oppressed often hold a central thematic space, operating more intimately against the plight of the marginalized than any outside authority. At the heart of each film, *Barravento* notwithstanding, Rocha grapples with the spiritual beliefs and practices of the oppressed where dichotomies of power such as state versus subject, capitalism versus sustainability, or elite versus underclass are, through Rocha's narratives, opened to a triangular tension between oppressor, oppressed, and religious customs. Faith and tradition consistently stand in the way of the sudden change for which Rocha petitions, where religion acts as an alternate channel of oppression. As he situates the spectator in this preface to *Barravento*, Rocha plays cultural liaison advising the spectator on the ways of this small fishing community along the coast of Bahia. He explains:

> No litoral da Bahia vivem os negros pescadores de "xareu" cujos antepassados vieram escravos da África. Permanecem até hoje os cultos aos Deuses africanos e todo este pove é dominado por um misticismo trágico e fatalista.

> Aceitam a miséria, o analfabetismo, e a exploração com a passividade característica daquêles que esperam o reino divino.[37]

This preface introduces Rocha's spectator to the paternalistic vision of his direction even before the film's establishing shot. Per Rocha's interpretation, the subjects of the film are not only poor and at the mercy of their trade, but also tragic, backwards, and stifled under the authority of their afro-derived beliefs and practices. *Barravento* visually and rhetorically elaborates on this impenitent stance that Candomblé and indigenous faiths act as counter-revolutionary obstacles standing in the way of social upheaval, that the black and native underclass of Brazil must let go of their reverence to deities such as Iemanjá in establishing social autonomy. More broadly, in imagining a progressive future for the citizens of Brazil, Rocha reveals a profound ambivalence for what he frames as the antiquated and naïve worldview furnished by West African cosmology. For Rocha, the Yoruba worldview houses both the splendor of afro-Brazilian ritual performance and the constraint against which his turning wind beats.

Aspirational narratives of sudden progress hold a central position in the artistic and social traditions of Brazil from Jorge Amado's iconic *Gabriela Cravo e Canela* to Jucelino Kubitzchek's presidential platform of *Cinquenta anos em cinco*.[38] The

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[37] On the coast of Bahia, there live the black cavalla fishers whose ancestors came from Africa as slaves. Until this day they worship African gods, and they are still dominated by a tragic and fatalistic mysticism. They accept misery, illiteracy, and exploitation with the passivity that is characteristic of a people who await the divine kingdom.

[38] I note Jorge Amado's 1958 novel *Gabriela Cravo e Canela* (*Gabriela Clove and Cinnamon*) as another narrative, also set in Bahia in the town of Ilheus, to stress the drive for progress in industry as well as the drive toward defining a sense "Brazilidade" in the cultural material of Bahia. This compounded with Juscelino Kubitschek's 1956 Plano de Metas (Goals Plan) that boasted to fit fifty years of

ultimate "goal of progress" is as central to the national imaginary as the Brazilian flag's motto, inspired by Auguste Comte's positivist outlook, of *Ordem e Progresso*. This focus on forward development and drafting a way of life that competes with other western modernities while remaining inherently Brazilian celebrates a revolutionary spirit and welcomes rapid transformation. The barravento or turning wind that Rocha beckons transforms status quo with violent immediacy. It strikes against the powerful opponent of capitalism but also seeks to obliterate the historically marginalized practice of afro-Brazilian religion. Closely read, Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* loses sight of the prize of progress and turns to a fixation with the perceived impositions of Candomblé. This fixation with afro-Brazilian faith shows itself on multiple valences, through the behavior of his performers, editing, sound, narrative, and cinematography. The film becomes wholly spellbound by the goddess of the sea, Iemanjá, Mães de Santo who negotiate her reign, and the intangible power that black women's sexuality holds over the community and the business of harvesting fish.[39]

This state of spellbound fixation illustrated in Rocha's *Barravento* is indicative of a broader preoccupation with overwhelming or becoming overwhelmed in performances that address afro-Brazilian femininity. The film's enchantment with the afro-descended feminine agency matched with an overt plea to extinguish the matriarchal authority of Candomblé provides an explicit illustration of Brazil's conflicted desire to enjoy and objectify black womanhood while operating from a

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progress in five years promoted as Cincuento Anos em Cinco (Five Years in Five) speaks to the atmosphere of rapid progress that preceded *Barravento*.

[39] Mãe de Santo, or Mother of the Saints, is the title given to the high priestesses of Candomblé and Umbanda. It is a translation of the Yoruba title, Iyalorishá meaning mother of the orishá.

position of stunned suspicion over a potential power rooted in her essence. The spectator sees through Rocha's fixation a looming possibility of being overcome in the presence of too much negra as the film alarms the spectator about her craftiness, of her dealings in feitiço. The ultimate stake of this fixation with black femininity is national progress itself. As the preface alludes (even if in condescending and xenophobic form), the matriarchal order of afro-descended practices stands against the turning wind with an even more authoritative power than Rocha's desire for sudden progress.

This chapter develops the notion of a spellbound enchantment with women-driven afro-Brazilian performance through a close study of *Barravento*'s depiction of cultura Baiana, specifically focusing in on the film's management of feitiço. An analysis of feitiço as both a measurable preoccupation and as a legitimate tactic of performance must pay attention to the subjectivity of perspective, acknowledging the position from which the spell is either enacted or perceived. To that end, this chapter adopts the colonizer/colonized binary moving from discourse of Caribbean and postcolonial studies to assume first the colonizer's desire to fix the subject of his violence before turning in the following chapters to the perspectives of afro-Brazilian women. The vantage point of the colonized demonstrates a resistant gesture in the feitiço—the spellbinding enchantment reflected back at an outward authority. I begin with this reading of the fixation with black femininity in Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* in order to establish the premise for what I frame as overwhelming performances of afro-Brazilian femininity under the term negra demais.[40]

[40] Negra demais can be translated as "so/too black," and here the gendered adjective specifies, "so/too black and so/too female." As I establish in the introduction, negra

The psychological violence inflicted upon afro-descended peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America can be read as a performative occasion that occurs at the moment of confrontation between colonized subject and the ever-present dominant gaze. It is a performative exchange in that the reality of an individual's lived experience is not only illuminated, but a social and political reality is also solidified. This event is negotiated visually, as a tension between the authoritative European's desire to solidify and capture a being, and the being's desire to transcend, evade, or dupe objectification. The colonial gaze in this equation, as Fanon argues, is "the only valid one;" it is the one empowered with the capacity to conjure "a new type of man, a new species. A Negro in fact!"[41] This instance of becoming fixed as the object of colonial desire suggests a unidirectional transfer of power that ends with the "reified" subject made into the fetish. Such is the structure of the event of interpellation, with the hailing of the subject into her awareness of an always already existing ideology.

What, then, is revealed by anticipating this instance of interpellation, acknowledging first a fetishistic desire moving from the colonizer towards his perceived "other" and then considering a residual fixation emanating from the exchange? In other words, if the afro-descended woman is made fetish as she is gazed upon, she is also imbued with the enchantment and sorcery of the feitiço. This logic is underscored etymologically with the fetish, or "material object regarded with awe as

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demais plays on casual expressions of pleasure and approval such as "lindo demais" or "bom demais" – so/too beautiful or so/too good— asking where pleasure and approval meet their respective brinks. Negra demais not only points towards this space of "too-much-ness" but also questions the extent and terms of the Brazilian public's acceptance of black femininity.

[41] Fanon, *Black Skin,* 96.

having mysterious power," drawing from the Portuguese term for "charm, sorcery, or allurement." However, this reflexive fixation that binds the colonial eye, which I frame here as feitiço, is not limited to discursive and linguistic significance. In the case of afro-Brazilian femininity, this reflexive fixation plays out most comprehensively through cultural interaction, lived experience, and performance.

From the position of the dominant gaze cast upon otherness, and specifically female otherness with the desire to solidify or make static her "being for others," the event of fetishization is met with a unique resistance.[42] Whether imagined or legitimately perceived, the feitiço represents a resistant counter to the violence of being "fixed" where the afro-Brazilian woman is bound to the colonizer through violence, geography, or a slave economy. The feitiço leaves the colonial eye spellbound, paranoid, and entranced by the gestures, play, and practices of a matriarchal worldview that will not reduce itself for encapsulation. The notion of negra demais reveals how performances of afro-Brazilian femininity have, wittingly or not, bound the oppressor through the seriousness of ritual and play.[43]

Background: the two turning winds

The history behind *Barravento*'s production is itself steeped in conflicted sentiments around the efficacy of afro-Brazilian ritual as either a shackling weight or a

[42] Ibid., 89.
[43] Here I allude to Victor Turner's foregrounding work on ritual performance, ceremony, and play in the generation of "something new." Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982).

mobilizing force. The film, originally conceived and directed by Luiz Paulino dos Santos, endured a conceptual battle of wills between Santos, producer Rex Schindler, and its original executive producer, Glauber Rocha, before Santos ultimately walked away from his own script and preliminary footage shot under his direction. Santos found inspiration for the original screenplay upon introduction to the preeminent Mãe de Santo, Maria Bibiana do Espírito do Santo or "Mãe Senhora," through his friendship with Bahian author, Vasconcelos Maia.[44] Per Mãe Senhora's direct request, Santos resolved to create a film about Candomblé "que não chocasse, que (não) foi sensasionalista."[45] This original intention in Santos's *Barravento* is evident in the ethnographic aesthetic of the final product recognized by both Santos and Rocha as a dominant mode of vision.[46] The spectator is invited to peer down upon a stylized interpretation of social performances, sounds, and practices of this fishing community in an assemblage of cultural material that trumps visual or sonic continuity or any commitment to the films fractured narrative.

Even as Rocha's final draft promotes an agenda to free the uneducated and marginalized from the constraints of their own cosmology, the camera and sound editing submit to the visual and sonic pleasure of experiencing the coded systems of

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[44] Raquel Pereira Alberto Nunes's research on the Luiz Paulino dos Santos's involvement in *Barravento* describes Vasconcelos Maia as a frequenter of the terreiros of Salvador who facilitated Santos's access to Mãe Senhora.
Raquel Pereira Alberto Nunes, "O Barravento de Luiz Paulino dos Santos." *Revista Brasileira de História das Religiões,* no. 05 (2009): 14.

[45] that wasn't shocking or sensationalizing
José Gatti, *Barravento: A Estréia de Glauber* (São Paulo: Universidade de Santa Catarina, 1987), 38-9.

[46] A 2008 special edition DVD release of *Barravento* includes individual testimonies from Luiz Paulino dos Santos and Glauber Rocha where both directors acknowledge an ethnographic aesthetic that influenced their methods of shooting on location.

Candombé, capoeira, puxada de rede, and samba de roda.[47] As a the film promotes indulgence in black bodies merging work with choreography, leisure with embedded ritual, and the performance of faith with sexual desire, the dialogue presents a rhetoric of undoing these performed systems. The jump from Santos' original goal to avoid shock and sensationalism in conceiving a cinematic homage to Candomblé to Glauber Rocha's propaganda oriented plea against tradition is indicative of a baffling ambivalence around afro-Brazilian practices. This ambivalence is perhaps best captured in the moment of the film's climactic shift where the character of Firminho (Antônio Pitanga) sounds a warning call against Candomblé's immobilizing qualities. As Firminho appeals to the residents of this his community that "feitiço é negocio de gente atrasado," that "é preciso acabar com isso," Rocha's critical agenda is solidified.[48] Yet Firminho and his narrative arch under Luiz Paulino dos Santos's original rendering would have rather functioned as an Exú figure interloping among the residents of his native community with seductive tales of life in the city. Firminho would, per Santos, trouble the network of this village in order to showcase the interdependence and interconnectedness of performed rituals, commerce, faith, sex, and festivity.

The re-contextualization of Firminho, from Santos's vision as an antagonizing figure who returns to his home village determined to unsettle the local communitas with boastful talk of city life to Rocha's depiction of an aggressive interventionist

[47] Puxada de rede, translated as the pulling of the net, is a theatrical dance performed in the contexts of Candomblé and capoeira that tells the story of a fisherman lost at sea. A group of men perform the pulling of a fishing net while mourning his death and paying homage to Iemanjá.

[48] Sorcery is the work of backwards people! It must be stopped!

drawing the locals into consciousness of their subjugated state, is but one example of Rocha's politicized revision of *Barravento*.[49] In Santos' words:

> …o essencial político em *Barravento* é o sentido coletivo, não o individual. O personagem Firmino não representa uma força maior, como se faz transparecer no filme pronto, um ideal de líder. Isto é um equívoco. A força maior é a união da comunidade numa mesma causa. A causa da igualdade, da fraternidade, da sua liberdade.[50]

In Rocha's draft the individual, represented by Firminho, stirs the wind of change unsettling and undermining the desires and needs of the community. By focusing on the desires of the individual Rocha finds a vehicle for his leftist anti-capitalist agenda, politicizing a people whom he reads as apolitical. Perhaps the greatest misstep in Rocha's logic is this failure to identify the social power enacted through collective performance. This understanding of resistance embedded in the performance of Yoruba practice aligns with Santos' understanding that Candomblé "era capaz de absorver os valroes religiosos dominantes em função de sua concepção animista."[51] By steering the film toward his political agenda Rocha not only sacrificed narrative

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[49] I reference Turner's notion communitas, the unstructured balance of power distributed across the collective, to stress underpinnings of this social order that Firminho mocks—representing cultural order that is carefully developed through ritual play.

[50] The turning wind's political essence lies in the sense of the collective, not the individual. The character Firminho doesn't represent some greater force, as he was depicted in the film itself, an ideal leader. That is a mistake. The greatest force is the community's unity in a common cause: the mission of equality, of brotherhood, of liberation. Mãe Senhora.
Nunes, "O Barravento de Luiz Paulino dos Santos," 64

[51] was able to absorb the dominant religious values by way of its animistic understanding.
Ibid., 57

continuity but also contradicted the worldview of the film's context which celebrates matriarchal collectivism over patriarchal savior narratives. The film's fixation with the predominant cosmology of afro-descended peoples of Bahia extends to Iemanjá, the mother of the seas, the elder women of the terreiros, and the over-sexualized representation of black femininity depicted in the character of Côta (Luiza Maranhão). Each of these feminine aspects, the primary female deity, the matriarchal leadership, and the representation of black female sexuality are activated and employed through feitiço.

Raquel Pereira Alberto Nunes foregrounds the existing scholarship on these dueling conceptions of *Barravento* in her essays "Barravento: Um Filme Duas Historias" and "O *Barravento* do Luiz Paulino dos Santos." As Nunes accounts the friendship and creative partnership between Santos and Rocha that were severed in the production of the film, she identifies *Barravento*'s position in a larger cinematic cycle, O Ciclo de Cinema Baiano— a precursor to Cinema Novo that drew key cultural players such as Rocha, Santos, Pancetti e Caribé, and Dorival Caymmi together in an artistic surge that generated works such as *Redenção* (Pires, 1959), *Um Dia na Rampa* (Santos, 1959), *A Grande Feira* (Pires, 1961) and *Barravento* (1962).[52] Nunes recognizes in the works of the Ciclo de Cinema Baiano a pattern of eurocentric interest in immersive explorations of Bahia's rich afrocentric customs where informants from the elite artist community would facilitate access to protected spaces

[52] O Ciclo Baiano (The Bahian Cycle) references a cycle of films produced between the late 1950s and early 1960s rooted in the sociocultural ways of Bahia.

such as the terreiros of Candomblé.[53] Luiz Paulinho dos Santos' introduction to Mãe Senhora facilitated by Vasconcelos Maia is an obvious example of this phenomenon that anthropologist Antonio Risério also supports in his *Avant-Garde na Bahia*. Risério writes:

> … os europeus que aqui desembarcam, inclusive os franceses [vide Pierre Verger, Roger Bastide], voltam-se principalmente para as manifestações culturais negromesticas, o que acabou contribuindo para um recente processo de aculturação da elite 'nativa,' que se viu como que obrigada a frequentar terreiros-e-oloduns, na esperança de não correr risco de vir a ser considerada estrangeira em sua própria terra… o paradoxo de uma cultura que, embora não sendo dominante, converteu-se em hegemônica.[54]

Through these artistic engagements within the terreiros of Candomblé, cultural players such as Santos and Rocha harvested their own sense of authenticity. The paradox that Risério notes, that a marginalized culture transformed itself by proxy of euro-descended artists into a position of dominance, is the very paradox that *Barravento*'s conflicted fixation with Candomblé projects. Santos's reverent homage to folk tradition in the original draft is reworked by Rocha under his anti-capitalist fever, shifting the marginalized tradition into the position of oppressor. How this happens

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[53] Ibid., 55.

[54] the Europeans who arrived here, including the French [see Pierre Verger, Roger Bastide], turned mainly to afro-mestizo cultural demonstrations, which eventually contributed to a recent acculturation process among the 'native' elite that was seen as almost requisite, frequenting terreiros and oloduns, with the hope of not running the risk of being considered strangers in their own land… the paradox of a culture who, although not dominant, became hegemonic.
Antonio Risério, *Avant-Garde na Bahia* (São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P M Bardi, 1995), 55.

and what authority allows this counterintuitive shift to develop lies in the transformation that occurs when, as Risério puts it, a process of acculturation among the 'native' elite entitles artists such as Rocha to absorb the perspective of the other, staking their own claim to Brazilian indigeneity.

On a national scale, cultura Baiana as documented and aestheticized through the Ciclo de Cinema Baiana fed into national campaigns for rapid development in politics, industry, arts, and cultural archiving. With Juscelino Kubitschek's "Plano de metas" pitched under the successful electoral slogan of "Cincuenta anos em cinco" in 1955, the nation was primed for its own turning wind of change, and the city of Salvador played an essential role in the development of national tourism through investments in cultural events showcasing Bahian culture and regional arts. Afro-derived practices were then absorbed into a national projection of "Brasilidade," once again enacting the paradox of the marginal strategically shifting into hegemonic inclusion.

Santos hit an insurmountable roadblock with *Barravento*'s production team when his motivation to capture the essence of these traditions was pushed towards a more commercially viable narrative of social progress. In André Sampaio's 2008 documentary on Luiz Paulinho dos Santos' career trajectory, the artist reflects on his departure from Barravento as such:

> … mas como o filme implica em muitas coisas, recurso aqui, recursos técnicos, recursos de dinheiro, fui preciso se associar a uma pessoa, sim, de economia Baiana, né. E essa pessoa evidentemente que era uma pessoa bem colocado, sim, nos meios económicos da Bahia, né. Então ele tocou que o filme estava

> valorizando a religião de um povo atrasado como ele disse, eu não disse, ele o outro disse— São um povo atrasado, um povo pagão. E esse filme vem valorizando isso quando a Bahia tem uma tradição religiosa, Católico, Apostólica Romana, as grandes igrejas, e grande isso. E esse como o primeiro filme Baiano, não deve o primeiro filme de que mal negativo. Não, isso era o primeiro filme ter quadrado a cultura baiana, ne? Então esse passava, a surgir que se fiz isso— uma confrontação politica.[55]

The well-connected figure implicated here is producer Rex Schindler who along with Rocha pressed to shape the film as a "political confrontation." Yet even as Santos resisted this drive to politicize *Barravento*, his own understanding of the cultural material captured on film was far from apolitical. Santos rather recognized radical methods of resistance already present in these performances. As an homage to Bahian culture, Santos assumed the direction of *Barravento* not as a polemic vehicle, but as a fictionalized documentation of an alternate social system that resisted absorption into western hegemonic agendas.

Luiz Paulinho dos Santos's affirmation of Candomblé's resistant underpinnings falls in line with Édouard Glissant's argument for the right to opacity,

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[55] but, as the film implies in many ways… resources here and there, technical resources, financial resources, we needed to align with someone, yeah, someone in Bahian economy, you know. And this person, and this person who evidently was very well connected, yes, in the economic sphere of Bahia, right. So he decides that the film was glorifying the religion of a backwards people, as he put it. I didn't say that; he, the other person said that. They're backwards people. A pagan people. And this film is glorifying this when Bahia has a religious tradition, of Catholicism, of Roman Apostolic, the great churches, all of that. And this as the first Bahian film should not promote negativity. No, this was the first film based on Bahian culture, you know. So that happened, the suggestion that we do this— a political confrontation.
André Sampaio, *Estafeta* (2008; Ouro Preto: Carcará Filmes).

moving from the given that recognition under the western gaze is dependent upon the ability to be understood, measured, reduced, and solidified based on a framework that presupposes the western perspective as privileged and authoritative. This gauge for acceptance warrants and rewards stasis and transparency over relationality. Rather than tout difference as a counter to this hierarchy, Glissant undermines the framework itself. So, as western design patronizes the Caribbean subject with, "I admit you to existence, within my system. I create you afresh," opacity encourages her to "displace all reduction," to do away with the "scale."[56] As Glissant argues, opacity offers the alternative of "subsistence within an irreducible singularity," a self-celebrating autonomy that reorganizes coexistence as errant, rhizomatic, and interwoven.[57] Candomblé evades reduction in the film similarly to its resistance to absorption and dilution into a euro-centric system of religious syncretism that privileges Catholicism as the more visible practice. Santos argues that Candomblé further wields the capacity to overwhelm the system itself. In his understanding Candomblé is "capaz de absorver os valores religiosos dominantes em função de sua concepção animista."[58] While analyzing Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* (which formally credits Santos for the original concept and early direction) it is essential to keep Luiz Paulinho dos Santos's perspective present as an additional lens through which the assembled footage may be read. This chapter offers Santos' understanding of Candomblé as a practice of resistance, an alternate perspective to brush against Rocha's agenda.

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[56] Édouard Glissant. *Poetics of Relation.* trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997),190.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Nunes, "O Barravento do Luiz Paulino dos Santos," iii.

As feitiço becomes the central action of the community and the primary narrative device of *Barravento*, the representation of Candomblé is solidified as a matriarchal system and a feminine entity. Rocha traces Firminho's reentry into town with the establishment of three focal elements of black femininity that demonstrate the tug-of-war between the film's aim to harness black femininity and its ultimate fixation with its material of study. These three elements— ritual authority, sexual authority, and spiritual authority— are managed primarily by the female figures of this narrative. The spectator first sees the ritualistic aspect of woman-centered authority in the tias and Mães de Santo of the terreiro. Even the irreverent Firminho halts to offer and receive a blessing from the tias as he enters the story. The camera then moves directly to the sexual aspect in the introduction of Côta (Luíza Maranhão), a beauty who will hold the space of all sexual desire in the film's narrative. Rocha then cuts to the image of Naína (Lucy Carvalho), the only white woman of the village sitting dazed and enchanted by the deity, Iemanjá, presenting the final element of black feminine authority – afro-Brazilian cosmology.

Respeito! Respeito! undoing the matriarchy

Barravento's opening sequence establishes the ethnographic aesthetic of the film with camera placement approximating a sense of timidity and conditional inclusion in this isolated fishing village. Rocha assembles a series of shots with blunt cuts between the landscape, opening credits, and primarily male bodies engaged in the labor of fishing. Over these images, the spectator takes in a collage of traditional music relating to faith, play, and work—a hymn to Iemanjá, an Ijeixá rhythm played

on the atabque, several capoeira de Angola songs evoking returns to Luanda and escape from enslavement in the region of Rio Paraná, and work songs in the puxada de rede tradition.[59] Rocha places the film's two principal male characters within these simulations of anthropological documentation. The village's heroic lead fisher, Aruã (Aldo Teixeira), is woven into a line of locals stepping in time while drawing a harvest of fish from the sea as the antihero, Firminho, staggers into frame over a rocky ledge in his return from the big city.

Firminho's reentry to the village is stylized to suggest a sense of otherness, displaying in his gait and his dress the swagger of a man exposed to urban ways. His clean white suit, tie, shoes, and hat mark him immediately as a malandro of sorts, and this folkloric caricature is reinforced by an old capoeira corrido sung over his stammer.[60]

> Olha é tú que é moleque
> Moleque é tú
> Cala a boca moleque
> Moleque é tú[61]

The song, which in its entirety challenges a master— não me chame de moleque / que moleque não sou eu / olha quem me chamou de moleque foi Bezoro Preto já morreu— introduces Firminho's central motivation to affirm his manhood against patriarchal

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[59] Atabaque refers to a tall goatskin drum played in both religious and secular contexts. Ijexá refers to a common rhythm played in Candomblé ceremonies as well as secular traditions that are influenced by Candomblé.

[60] Malandro refers to a folkloric character represented in samba and afro-Brazilian traditions as a sharply dressed man in a white suit and fedora hat. The malandro present a stereotypical character of a rascal and womanizer who gets by off his wits.

[61] Look, you're the one who is a boy
You're the boy
Shut your mouth, boy
You're the boy.

power.[62] Rocha intercuts the theatricality of Firminho's entrance with an abundant crop of fish pulled from the sea as men beat drums and sing. The collectivity of their labor and the cultural traditions that bind and order their economy prove fruitful in this opening. Firminho in turn busies himself with undermining the village's communal structure with boastful tales of his autonomous lifestyle in Salvador and imaginings of an urban existence. His banter, while playful, digs at the men reminding them of the scarcity of their reality pulling fish from the sea "pra meter dinheiro na barriga de branco." [63]Yet even as Firminho sets out to stir disorder, Rocha punctuates the scene with a sudden hush and a call for silence among the cacophony of rowdy men. Once again the camera retreats to the position of outsider peering in on the village as two elder women dressed in typical "baiana" attire of full white skirts, tops, and head wraps, enter the frame. The presence of these women and their capacity to punctuate the chaotic revelry that swells in this opening sequence introduces an alternate authority that at least contends with the patriarchal weight of the "barrriga de branco." Without gesture or dialogue these two women in passing command pause, and Firminho's nonconformist bravado succumbs to their presence. Firminho hushes the crowd with—Peraí… Respeito. Respeito. Benção, minha tia. Um abraço. Benção, minha tia. Outro abracinho.[64]

Bowing, kissing the hands of the tias, offering hugs, in this moment Firminho displays a flash of reverence for tradition before breaking the sobriety of the moment

[62] Don't call me boy / because I'm not a boy / look, the only one who could call me boy was Bezoro Preto— who is dead.
[63] to deposit money in the white man's belly.
[64] Hold up… Respect. Respect. Blessings, my aunty. A hug for you. Blessings, my aunty. Also a big hug for you.

with a call for cachaça all around. The behavior of the passing tias displays no pretense of sorcery or spiritual know-how, yet the power of feitiço is in this moment implied. Within the diegesis of the film, the spectator is alerted to these elder women holding in their presence the only exception to Firminho's antics against the ways of his native community. This is coupled with the camera's careful retreat into the eye of ethnography, as the spectator is pulled in synch with the film's hegemonic vision maintaining suspicion and hesitance when attempting to capture these elders of the terreiro.

If the dominant gaze cast upon the afro-descended of Brazil is fixated with the possibility of becoming suddenly overwhelmed by the unfixable power of feitiço, then the Tias and Mães de Santo of Candomblé are imbued with guardianship of this power. This preoccupation is reinforced in popular culture with Noel Rosa's *Feitiço da Villa* dreaming up a "feitiço decente" without the trappings of Yoruba ritual—"sem farofa, sem vela, sem vintém." It is playfully addressed in Dorival Caymmi's *La Vem a Baiana* describing the approaching figure of the baiana in all her costumed charms as the singer resists getting too close to her unspoken powers—"não vou, não vou, não vou nem amarrado porque eu sei se ela samba … mmm… mmm… mmm." The position of authority that women of Candomblé carry within their own social structure is well accounted, and perhaps the intangible power of the feitiço could even be justified in her role as intermediary between the deities and the mortal world. Ruth Landes most notably tackles feminine authority in the social system of Candomblé in her seminal text, *Cidade das Mulheres*. Landes' assertion of matriarchal authority (to the extent of minimizing cis-male participation to playing percussion, slaughtering

sacrificial animals, and contributing financially) proposes an essential theory of the undeniable predominance of women in the performances, maintenance, and leadership of Yoruba traditions in Brazil. As Landes anchors her premise around the notion of orixás descending upon the performers or "mounting" the participant, she quotes her principal informant, Edison, describing this phenomenon as such:

> A great difference between candomblé (sic) and Catholic practices is that the Africans try to bring their gods down to earth where they can see and hear them. And that is the most sensational job of the women who are priestesses of the temple. A temple woman becomes possessed by a saint or god who is her patron and guardian; they say he—or she—'*descends into her head and rides her*,' and then through her body he dances and talks. *Sometimes they call a priestess the wife of a god, and sometimes she is his horse*. The god gives advice and places demands, *but often he just mounts and plays*.[65]

Per Edison's description of the process of calling deities to earth, the performance of Candomblé privileges women in that "no upright man will allow himself to be ridden by a god." In another paradox of unusual power bestowed upon the oppressed, the notion that "manhood" is above submission to an outside entity provides an opening for women and gender-fluid men to harness and maintain a position of dominance in Candomblé's hierarchy.

Barravento's representation of religious practice within the terreiro of Mãe Dadá (Dona Hilda) evidences this with all male players restricted to beating atabaque*s* along the perimeter of the grass-lined hut. The first time Rocha gives the spectator a

[65] Landes, Ruth, *The City of Women* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 37.

view inside the terreiro Firminho turns to Mãe Dadá as his first recourse in settling a childhood score with Aruã who embodies the total reverence to Candomblé that locks the community in an eternal state of complacency. The fact that Firminho, who later proclaims, "Já larguei esse negocio de religão! Candomblé não resolve nada, nada, não!" first turns to Mãe Dadá captures the conflicted sentiments of the non-believer.[66] Even in his cynicism, Firminho grapples with the belief that feitiço's workings may overpower his own intellectual and social abilities. In this scene and throughout the film, Firminho serves as a vehicle for the xenophobia articulated in the film's preface. He further carries *Barravento*'s spellbound anxieties in managing a repertoire of performance that escapes western understanding. Appearing before Mãe Dadá, perched under a bright white light that stresses her pristine costuming, Firminho kneels with pantomimed gestures of desperation mouthing words that are completely muted. Only Mãe Dadá is audible as she shuts down Firminho's silent plea chastising him with, "Você não sabe que ele é protegido? Aqui não se faz nada contra gente de Iemanjá. Saia dessa casa, saia logo!"[67]

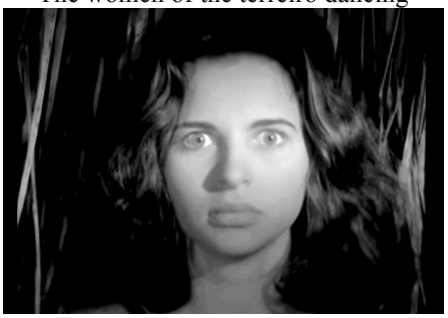
In this moment as Mãe Dadá drives Firminho from the sacred playing space thrusting her arms at him while ringing an agogô in time with a circle of dancing women at practice, Luiz Paulinho dos Santos's reading of Candomblé survives the film's petition against afro-Brazilian tradition. This is the first in a series of appearances from the women of the terreiro where the ethnographic mode of vision

[66] I'm done with this religious nonsense! No, no, no! Candomblé doesn't resolve anything!
[67] Don't you know that he is protected? Nobody does anything against tIemanjá's people here. Get out of this house! Go— now!

established by Santos and adopted by Rocha helps preserve the original intent of *Barravento*—to represent the resistant capacity of Candomblé without resorting to propaganda. In this moment a cultural system that favors relationality over Rocha's individualistic and unidirectional logic of social progress prevails. In the spectator's sensorial experience, the elder women impose upon the film's narrative with a swelling drive to harness the turning winds in favor of communal order. As Rocha attempts to privilege the individual over the collective through the character of Firminho, he fails to encapsulate Candomblé ritual as an object of study. The spectator's attention is rather drawn to these ritual performances that demonstrate a more shrewd understanding of the environment, both natural and political. These women of the terreiro who in Rocha's telling are "dominado por um misticismo trágico e fatalista," who "aceitam a miséria, o analfabetismo, e a exploração com a passividade característica daquêles que esperam of reino divino," present as cultural players and respond to crisis unscathed, negotiating the ever-shifting climate toward renewal. Margaret Drewal's analysis of Yoruba ritual as the enactment of transformative, reflexive, and ultimately progressive journeys gleams through these demonstrations of cultural play that refuse reduction. As Mãe Dadá shoos Firminho from the play space and gracefully falls in line with a circle of dancing Mães de Santo, she affirms both her position of authority and the transformative agency that Drewal places within the actions of human participants. The narrative develops around the questionable power of feitiço with Firminho unsuccessfully pursuing Aruã's demise by attempting his own spell with the help of a local medicine man, all principal characters are implicated in the question of feitiço's legitimacy.

Barravento's lone white female character, Naína (Lucy Cavalho), displays the most corporeal relationship with feitiço, and she is promptly marked as being herself enchanted by the deity, Iemanjá. Through Naína, a dazed cultural outsider, the film channels its most embodied curiosities towards Bahian culture. In her first presentation, Rocha shows her sitting seaside, disoriented and lamenting her elderly father's profession as a fisherman. Shortly after, she crosses paths with a tia who instantly identifies the cause of Naína's state of mind—isso so pode ser coisa feita—and escorts her to Mãe Dadá for counsel. Rocha stages this visit to the terreiro following Firminho's exit with the bewildered Naína stumbling into Mãe Dadá's restorative dance, and it becomes the first in a series of interventions where the cultural play space of the terriero showcases Rocha's most stylized renderings. With sharp cuts between dance, percussion, sacrifice, and close-ups of Naína's face desperately wagging against the draw of these Northeastern practices, the film grapples with a pull towards its objects of study and a fear of falling under the spell. Again, Rocha's lens hovers above the scene as blunt editing dodges sustained engagement with any one element of the ritual. *Barravento*'s encounter with negra demais here plays out though Naína's body, a female form that excuses patriarchal eye from direct implication. The spectator witnesses Naína compelled to meet Mãe Dadá and settle the terms of her enchantment, yet astounded by the abundance of afrocentricity enacted in this space. In Rocha's assemblage the spectator is invited to partake in the act of fixation.

The women of the terreiro dancing



Naína's reaction

Naína's reaction

Naína overcome by the spirit

Similar to Ruth Landes' understanding of male participation in Candomblé, Rocha indulges his interest in Yoruba ritual play from a protected and peripheral position. He evades submission to ultimate feminine authority, Iemanjá, by offering Naína's body as a substitute. Lucy Cavalho as Naína appears in these scenes as a

surrogate form by which the directorial eye tests the bounds of Yoruba initiation practices. She is mounted by the governing diety, Iemanjá, as the women of the terreiro play upon her body in a simulation of initiation that clears an undetermined possibility for actual enchantment. This uncertainty returns to the implication posed of what will come of the onlooker if the Baiana comes to close—se ela samba… hum… hum… hum— a preoccupation that anchors the notion of negra demais within the dominant gaze cast upon the black female body and its resistant behaviors. This is where popular culture of Brazil repeatedly attempts to fix its object of fixation in samba lyrics, carnival procession, and here in Rocha's *Barravento* through the cinematic form. Following Laura Mulvey's identification of a fascination in Hollywood cinema with capturing the female form as a "signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning," this desire to capture, investigate, and neuter the uncertain power of feitiço is bound to a larger desire to free patriarchal authority from a perceived impotence in the face of the afro-Brazilian woman's power.[68]

With the social agency of afro-Brazilian women historically tied to hyper-sexualization and legacies of miscegenation, this perception of the feitiço reflecting back at the patriarchal eye and the need to neuter afro-Brazilian feminine authority carry particular weight. The lengths that *Barravento* takes in attempting to hold afro-

[68] Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16.3 Autumn (1975).

Brazilian femininity in place, to possess her either as a sexual fetish or as a neutralized object are particularly relentless. Across the spectrum of cultural tropes, the antithesis of the Mãe de Santo's social imprint would be that of the sexually ravenous mulata. The following section turns to the stereotype of the mulata as the fetish object who, through her perceived knowledge of feitiço, resists containment. Her body under this gaze is employed as object towards three identifiable ends—as the object of sexual aggression, as the object of spiritual manipulation, and finally as a neutralized object of sacrifice.

A carne é minha, e quem faz preço sou eu

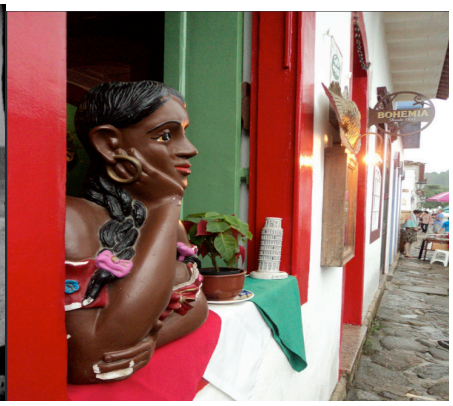
Barravento rehearses the relationship between sexual agency and feitiço most directly through the figure of Côta (Luisa Maranhão), who first appears against Firminho's return to the village. As Firminho passes the revered elder women he finds Côta, in stark contrast, leaning from the ledge of a shack with ample cleavage angled towards him and the camera. She is the town beauty and prostitute who shares a casual bond with Firminho that is both sisterly and sexual. Côta's nonchalant demeanor and posture over the ledge mimics the iconic image of the baiana na janela—the popular souvenir busts of an afro-Brazilian woman in traditional attire with face pressed to palm and breasts cradled by her resting arm.[69] Here and throughout the film, the character of Côta functions, like the baiana na janela, as an object of the open market

[69] Baiana in the window—This refers to popular ceramic busts sold especially in shops and open markets of the Pelourinho neighborhood of Salvador Bahia. They replicate a beautiful black woman resting along a window ledge as if sighing with her face resting in the palm of her hand.

with the camera's dedicated adherence to her curvy frame and the narrative's explicit use of her body as a plot device.

Luisa Maranhão in the role of Côta is the fetish itself, and Rocha's managing of her body visually and narratively projects the preocupation with negra demais, where the fetish object is beheld as if carrying a reflexive and spellbinding authority. As she and Firminho greet each other with playful banter he offers trinkets from his travels to the city and marks Côta as pseudo artifact. Firminho taunts Côta with a lipstick tube, grasping her by the jaw and drawing a simulation of tribal markings on her left cheek. If Naína's body serves as the vessel by which *Barravento* experiments with Candomblé ritual while protecting the directorial eye from being overwhelmed, then Côta's body becomes the object upon which *Barravento* exacts fantasies of black femininity. Côta must first be fixed as the film's primary site for sexual power, manipulated in the interest of the film's narrative, and finally sacrificed in projecting the film's message of social progress.

Côta and Firminho reacquainting



Baiana na Janela, Salvador

Côta's objectification that I will map here is best understood under Marx's definition of commodity fetishism, and the irony of Rocha's investment in promoting a Marxist ideology of social liberation while inadvertently peeling back the layers of

his own paternalism is worth noting. *Barravento*'s troubling gaze upon afro-descended femininity reproduces the imperial oppression that the film criticizes explicitly by establishing Côta as an object of white male birthright, as a product of the violent labor of colonization handed down, as an exchangeable commodity. In its agenda to liberate the "backwards people" of Bahia from their seemingly complacent practices, *Barravento* holds fast to this white male claim upon the black female body. Taking Marx's description of commodity, "an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another," the production's relationship to Côta (and Luiza Maranhão as actor) plays with a relentless drive to construct and possess this figure of black femininity towards the desires of her patriarchal gaze.[70] The script in its original draft under Luiz Paulinho dos Santos' direction centered around a love triangle between Firminho, Aruã, and the culturally alienated Naína. It was revised in preproduction to satisfy producer Rex Schindler's request. In Santos' telling of the production history, "Côta é uma idéia do Rex Schindler, esse personagem não existia. Existia de uma maneira muito... Rex queria colocar uma negra bonita no filme … desenvolver outros conflitos… tornar o filme mais commercial."[71] Côta is not only managed as a commodity within the narrative, but she also carries the weight of making the production commodofiable. Luiza Maranhão's performance as Côta has been historicized accordingly with most recollections of her and her performance noting first her appearance and her body. In Rocha's words, Côta "era uma negra

[70] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: a Critique of Political Economy.* ed. Freidrich Engels (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.), 125.
[71] Côta is one of Rex Schindler's ideas, this character didn't exist. She existed in a very… Rex wanted to put a very beautiful black woman in the film… to develop other conflicts… to make the film more commercial."

muito bonita. Era chamada a Sofia Loren negra do Brasil."[72] Envisaged under the trope of the oversexed mulata*,* she is reduced to a material form; she is drafted as the "negra bonitona e sensual, corpo com as partes bem acentuadas" of Santos's imagination.[73]

Per Marx's analysis, Côta is constructed and perceived as the product of *Barravento's* creative labor. She is the material product of colonial oppression harnessed and exchanged to feed the appetite of white male desire. Côta's commodification limits and measures her presence; she is perceived solely by her utility in service to these fantasies. More so, she as a commodity exposes both the "social character" of her labor as a prostitute and the "social relations between (her) producers."[74] All players in the development of *Barravento*, even under the cloak of their progressive ideology, show vested interest in the possession and exchange of black femininity, specifically black female sexuality. It is this attachment to the afro-descended woman's sex that drives such demonstrations of fetishism, and *Barravento*'s fixation falls in line with a well-developed legacy of works aimed at solidifying black womanhood as the quintessential fetish object of Brazilian performance.

Barravento's visual management of Côta's diverges from the consistent pattern of overhead and long shots that set the film's ethnographic mode. Her body repeatedly overpowers the camera, angled from below, exaggerating her proportions. These low

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[72] She was a very beautiful black woman. She was called the black Sofia Loren of Brazil.
[73] the sexy and sensual black woman, the body with well accentuated parts. Nunes, "O Barravento do Luiz Paulino dos Santos," 6.
[74] Marx, *Capital Volume 1,* 165.

angle shots disorient and captivate, showcasing Maranhão's beauty while creating the effect of her body towering over her spectator. This method is most evident in the film's samba de roda scene that begins with a playful tussle between Firminho and Côta. A circle of townsfolk congregate around the pair and establish the traditional samba circle associated with capoeira. Capoeirista Osso Bruno leads the roda playing a caixinha while accompanied by two pandeiro players. When Côta is called into the circle with an umbigada from one of the elder women, Osso Bruno shifts the song to mark a change in energy.[75] The call and response moves from "Olha a flor da mangueira… Oló Bahia!" to focused salute to her beauty:

> Que mulata bela
> Ai que natureza
> E se eu casasse
> É uma beleza
> Torno a repitir meu amor, ai ai ai[76]

With this call the camera's lens shifts dramatically, approximating the vantage point of a kneeling admirer. Côta is framed against the sky and the tops of palms just bushing the height of her natural waist, with arms swaying with the rhythm. This image of her head tilted back in enjoyment, swinging her breasts to the upcast camera is only broken for a shot angled down upon her hips shifting in time. As she twirls and rocks her body in the samba rhythm, her character becomes an assemblage of parts.

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[75] Umbigada, meaning an invitation from the current person dancing in the circle for a new participant to jump in, is demonstrated with rasing the arms before somenone and pressing belly button to belly button.

[76] What a beautiful mulata
Oh, what a thing of nature
And if I were to marry her, that would be a thing of beauty
I'm going to repeat my love, ai ai ai

Côta dancing samba

Firminho follows her into the roda prompting a transition in Osso Bruno's call. He sings:

> Não é assim, não é assim, assim não é
> Não é assim que se maltrata uma mulher[77]

This lyric, associated with Exú's feminine counterpart in the Umbanda faith, Pomba Gira (Maria Padilha), may cue a number of responses including the variations "é Maria Padilha, ela faz tudo que ela quer," or "ié, vamos pra frente, que lá traz tá vindo a gente. Ela é Maria Padilha, e encomoda muita gente!"[78] The crowd is rather prompted to sing a simple "ô le le, ô la la" as Firminho, the town's Exú figure, dares to play with the dangerous woman. The connotations of Pomba Gria that are awoken in this song and dance include feminine sexual power, ravenous desire, vulgarity, and a relentless wrath. More precisely Pomba Gira connotes knowledge of sorcery that may at any point be exacted against her admirer. The combination of her disinterest in societal constraints, her sexual allure, and skill for sorcery that, in the context of Umbanda's syncreticism, is harvested from her connection to the Kongo crosssroads, conjurs the image of a volatile beauty who epitomizes the irresistible pull and trepidation of negra demais. This ambivalence is rooted precisely in Pomba Gira's aptitude for West African witchcraft, or feitiço. As Kelley E. Hayes elaborates with *Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and Black Magic in Brazil*:

> (The) connection with the hidden or illicit dimensions of human desire and with the rituals intended to realize these desires links Pomba Gira with

[77] That's not the way, that's not the way, that's not the way.
That's not the way to mistreat a woman.
[78] It's Maria Padilha, she does whatever she wants… Hey, come on! She sees us from over there. She is Maria Padilha, and she messes with a lot of people!

> macumba or quimbanda, pejorative terms for those Afro-Brazilian spiritual practices that outsiders classify as immoral or malevolent— that is, black magic. As a result many people distance themselves from Pomba Gira and her devotees. Yet for those who claim to work with these spirits, receiving them in possession trance, Pomba Gira can be an efficacious if ambivalent ally. A marginalized figure herself, Pomba Gira speaks to many of the lived realities of her devotees. At once reviled and celebrated, demanding and dangerous, she embodies the volatility and stigma of life on Brazil's urban margins.[79]

Côta as Pomba Gira in this samba roda shows off her finesse and successfully lures Firminho in as a competent partner. This partnership between Firminho and Côta proves to be the efficacious alliance that Hayes describes, and like the Pomba Gira effigy crafted to material fetish in practice, *Barravento* constructs in Côta an object of adoration and contempt tapped for her expected use value.

Here the threat of negra demais exposes an anxiety with maintaining possession of and control over the exchange of black femininity as the national fetish. The question brooding under this anxiety begs— what becomes of us when the black woman, the handiwork of our fantasies, harnesses the power imbued into her form? As the town prostitute, Côta is poised to tease this preoccupation. She proclaims her capacity to follow though on the threat in one pivotal confrontation with Firminho where she counters a blow to her face with, "Eu me viro na hora que bem quero. A

[79] Kelly E. Hayes, *Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and Black Magic in Brazil*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 7.

carne é minha e quem faz preço sou eu."[80] Suddenly the spectator is made aware of the potential for a sexually assertive woman to set her own terms of exchange. I locate the implicit danger of Côta's sexuality in the legacies of prostitutes and "loose women" that Debra A. Castillo traces through modern Mexican literature. Castillo pinpoints the uniquely subversive threat that a woman's commodification of her own sexuality poses to "a national culture in which presumed gender boundaries for women and the transgression of these boundaries are deeply embedded features of the social fabric."[81] Per Castillo's analysis, a figure such as Côta claims immeasurable power when wielding the sexual rights and privileges of men, and her promiscuity unsettles the gender and class-based norms of her community. When Côta identifies her fetishized position and asserts possession of her own flesh—the carne that belongs to her, she may then employ her sex either for personal gain or towards the undoing of a social system that was built against her favor.

An essential factor to consider in reading the figure of Côta drafted as *Barravento*'s object of fetish is her position as a fixture of the public sphere. Always impeccably groomed and styled to suggest a connection to urban ways that the other women of her village lack, Côta is never associated with private or domestic spaces. She professes respect for the ruling deities of Candomblé, yet the film denies her access to the sacred space of the terriero where even Naína and Firminho are allowed. Throughout the film Côta rather saunters about the rugged landscape of her village, entering the frame as if in passing and implicating herself into Firminho's

[80] I work whenever I want. It's my meat, and I set the price.
[81] Debra A. Castillo, *Easy Women: Sex and Gender in Modern Mexican Fiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 3.

revolutionary antics. When she attempts to distract Firminho from his obsession with Aruã by proposing a life together, she does not paint an image of domesticity with a shared home, marriage, or children; she rather muses on taking her savings and boat to begin an even more transient existence. I highlight Côta's presence in the public sphere to stress the relationship between female sexual agency, in this case sexual labor, and public projections of feminine identity. Castillo draws a clear and imperative connection between these two elements in her analysis of the "sliding category" of "loose women, easy women, public women, 'locas', and prostitutes," arguing that women who live public lives and further claim a role in commercial exchange are often comprehended under a patriarchal gaze as prostitutes.[82] In the context of afro-Brazilian femininity, public projections of sexual agency enable the commodified subject to manage the distribution of her own flesh. The fetish object exacts her own feitiço, and black women stake claim on the public spaces or open-air markets that once set the stage for their dispossession.

The promiscuous woman holds a pivotal position in works such as *Barravento* as well as the narratives of lived experience in that she may assume the role of "texual fulcrum," in Castillo's words, she may "bring her goods to market… eliminate the middle man," and thus embody the turning wind in and of herself.[83] Rocha's use of Côta exemplifies this phenomenon, and it is her seduction of Aruã, not Firminho's fumbled attempts at feitiço, that ultimately breaks Iemanjá's protection over the town's fishing practice. More so, *Barravento* plays out the ritual of doing away with

[82] Ibid., 4.
[83] Ibid., 34.

the fetish object and destroying the effigy. Côta's body is suddenly nullified and made obsolete with her inexplicable drowning death. In the midst of Iemanjás jealous wrath that comes as a direct response to Aruã breaking his chastity, Côta charges towards the sea, hurling herself into the torrent, and drowns. Her death is not acknowledged in the film's dialogue and she is never mourned. Rather, upon Côta's death a sense of calm and restoration returns to the village.

Côta's drowned body is what Joseph Roach describes as "a performance of waste, the elimination of a monstrous double, but one fashioned by artifice as a stand-in, an "unproductive expenditure," that both sustains the community with the comforting fiction that real borders exist and troubles it with the spectacle of their immolation."[84] Côta as the "monstrous double" of her community is the film's most "sacrificeable" figure. She is an excess of sexual authority, an unruly fetish, the object of desire that evades fixation. In keeping with Roach, Côta is suited for sacrifice in that she is "neither divisive nor trivial, neither fully part of the community nor fully outside of it," and through her unwarranted drowning an illusion of safety from transgressive behaviors such as her unwieldy sexuality reset the film's charge to neutral. As Côta runs into the barravento and drowns, she becomes the turning wind that provides a compulsory quiet after the storm; the film resets to its tidy message of social change and its narrative of progress. *Barravento*'s return to neutral through the destruction of a black female body warrants attention in order to understand the latent motivations that underscore this study of Bahian culture, but more essentially it

[84] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 41.

reveals violence as a restorative phase that follows the wary enjoyment of negra demais. This compulsion to inflict violence upon the afro-descended woman's body is directly correlated to a frustration with the unfixable nature of her being.

Saravá Iemanjá! the ephemeral spell

The capacity to fixate on Côta's sexuality and thus fix her as a malleable and destructible object is contingent on her corporeality. Unsurprisingly, the most voiced paranoia over negra demais in *Barravento* comes in response to the element of afro-Brazilian performance that is as ephemeral as it is mesmerizing. The cosmology of Candomblé fuels the anxieties over negra demais by presenting modes of being that exceed the outsider's physical grasp and also escape the grasp of the outsider's comprehension. The question of a matriarchal cosmology that cannot be accessed without provided entry and will not be contained or channeled for its use-value is at the core of these questions of overwhelming feminine power. It is the unspeakable thing that inspires question— o que é que a Baiana tem? *Barravento* again concedes this preoccupation with negra demais in reducing the complex pantheon of Candomblé to a collective reverence of the single deity of Iemanjá. Although oversimplified, the logic of this interpretation is clear. Iemanjá, mother of the seas, is also the ruler and protector of fishermen. She is the figure of maternity across diasporic communities of Ifá who is celebrated with pronounced visibility along the coast of Bahia. The film's depiction of Iemanjá, presenting her as the ultimate power imposed upon the "backwards people" of Rocha's preface, draws attention to the core dangers of negra demais—the impossibility of her containment and the opacity of the worldview in

which she is imbedded. It is not simply the authority that she holds over this village that unsettles the eye of the film. It is the lack of entry, the inaccessibility and inability to collect, commodify, and redistribute her power that agitates and unsettles the other.

An analysis of Iemanjá's representation in *Barravento* must first acknowledge the totality of her presence in the film. She is taken in visually, sonically, and narratively as the ever-present backdrop of the sea crashing against the shoreline, foreshadowing crisis and negotiating the village's central challenge of how to sustain a fishing trade that is dependent upon her protection. She is evoked in various songs edited throughout the film as professions of her power and the puxada de rede ritual performed as a petition for her mercy. She stirs Naína as the spirit resting about her mind causing a daze that could only be a "coisa feita." She is the invisible protector and jealous lover of Aruã who insists upon his chastity in exchange for her favor. Iemanjá seeps into all aspects of *Barravento*'s petition for sudden and radical change, and the film pinpoints her as the true antagonist of the story, the disembodied embodiment of this "tragic and fatal mysticism" that it cites. This consumption with Iemanjá draws forth an ire that exposes as sense of impotence and indignation felt in the face of her elusive presence. At the crux of this fixation with overwhelming black femininity, after all, lies the denial of eurocentric and male privilege. Here the desire to fix the ephemeral takes on the brutality of conquest, what Glissant describes as assuming the intolerance of rootedness over the movement and relationality of errantry.[85] The stakes of this drive for rootedness, in fixing a culture that celebrates motion and transformation, point to a desire for power—even if it is a well-meaning

[85] Glissant, *Poetics of Relation,* 11.

plea for power to the marginalized. This refusal is more pointed and more layered than reactionary xenophobia; the film's intolerance for the cosmology of the community upon which it intervenes can be understood as protestation against the right to opacity. It laments access at times, and at times admits belief. This displeasure is assigned to the intangible figure of Iemanjá to provide a target, at least in name, upon which to rail the cultural outsider's frustration.

Afro-Brazilian cosmology here, represented through the mother of the seas, may be read analogously to performance in that it brandishes both presence and ephemerality as core elements of its ontology. As Peggy Phelan demonstrates, performance "becomes itself through disappearance,"[86] and I argue that the notion of negra demais is always intrinsically tied-up in performance. The uniquely feminist mode of resistance enacted in the denial of visibility and availability of the female form that Phelan identifies can be applied to negra demais which ultimately makes itself known through elusion. This is evident in *Barravento*'s depiction of Iemanjá, only visible through the enchantment of the bodies that she mounts and the body of water over which she presides. Similarly, negra demais as a mode of performance rescues black female subjectivity from the entitlement that the onlooker claims upon her form. It "uses the performer's body to pose a question about the inability to secure the relation between the subject and the body."[87] To offer a potential answer to Caymmi's question—O que é que a Baiana tem?—that inexplicable thing about the Baiana may have less to do with enchantment of the other and more to do with the

[86] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993), 147.
[87] Ibid., 68.

release that follows this possession. This release or disappearance is also a subversive method of dodging fixation under the other's gaze. So when Iemanjá mounts Naína's body in Mãe Dadá's terriero, the spectacle of her presence seen through Naína's convulsions offers an image upon which Rocha's lens may attach, and the spectator is able to indulge in the panic/pleasure of being overwhelmed. It is in the act of release, however, where Naína is carried away to discharge the spirit that Iemanjá's fleeting presence is affirmed through a game of buizos, and the narrative submits to the legitimacy of the cosmology it criticizes.[88] I do not argue that the notion of negra demais seeks legitimacy in the outward gaze. Rather, it shows a performative capacity that is activated in the moment of disappearance and recognition. In Phelan's words, "to see the other's absence one must acknowledge the other's presence," and elusion as a device punctuates these performances with an agency that, real or imagined, is assigned to spectacles of afro-Brazilian femininity.

Barravento trips between petitions against the ephemerality of negra demais and a narrative that concedes faith in its power. In the pivotal sequence where Côta seduces Aruã the film hinges all potential for rapid and revolutionary change on Iemanjá's temperament. Rocha's logic suddenly bows to her presence being the true turning wind as Côta offers her fetishized body masking herself as Iemanjá. Undressed and immersed in the sea, her physical beauty merges with ethereal power and skews Aruã's delineation between material and spiritual realities.

[88] Buizos refers to cowrie-shell divination, a ritual practiced throughout West African-derived cultures where shells are tossed and read by a priest/ess and read in advising an individual on her spiritual path.

Côta masking as Iemanjá

Côta is not mounted by Iemanjá in the way of Naína's incantation. She rather seizes upon and flaunts an evanescent authority that exists both within and beyond herself, the Pomba Gira beauty/volatility that is cued in her samba. She is, of course, successful in her seduction, and the pageantry of her disguise awakens the wrath of the mother of the seas.

The display of negra demais that Côta performs in this sequence, dressing herself in Iemanjá's waters as if certain that her male onlooker would succumb, poses a question that the three following chapters will pursue. How is the notion of negra demais, conjured in the imagination Brazil's dominant patriarchal structure, assumed and activated by afro-descended women as a legitimate weapon of resistance? Côta's seduction of Aruã takes up all angles of *Barravento*'s preoccupation with this

potential— modes of tradition, sexual agency, and cosmology—in a way that suggests that fixation may reflexively turn towards the other's gaze as the enactment of feitiço.

Conclusions

The ambivalence that surrounds Barravento's production history, the narrative's polemic, and the management of Bahian culture feeds an overall impression of irresolution. The film fights against the performance traditions of a so-called backwards people while it also indulges in the experience of these practices. Further, the narrative that opens with a warning against the ways of Candomblé ends with a restorative procession enacted by the elder women of the terreiro and Naína's full conversion under her head deity, Iemanjá. The cost of this pervasive ambivalence is narrative continuity, but in compromising the reliability of the narrative the film is afforded an abundance of visual and sonic pleasure that fills gaps and propels the story under an alternative logic. I argue that ambivalence here not only marks the presence of dueling sentiments but additionally demonstrates the tension between conflicting needs. The drive to liberate the afro-descended of Bahia through sudden radical change clashes against a coexisting need to maintain a paternalistic hierarchy, and in this clash feitiço is naturally vilified because it denies the cultural outsider who demands liberation on behalf of the "other" the privilege of comprehension. More so, feitiço rejects the "admission" to existence within a western system that Glissant details. Opacity as it applies to negra demais is regarded as a threat rather than a right, and the desire to break the feitiço suggests a desire to deny the employment of opacity.

The spellbound fixation that I describe in this chapter can be understood as an amplification of ambivalence that nears paranoia over the cultural and social autonomy projected in the performances of Candomblé. If Candomblé is in fact "capaz de absorver" dominant religions as Luiz Paulino dos Santos argues, then this paranoia might reflect the high stakes of undoing privilege and repositioning the ethnographic eye. *Barravento*'s rail against feitiço is read, then, as a proclamation that liberation cannot resemble autonomy, and that paternalism, even in the outlook of the radical interventionist, must not be undone. Like the male participant in embodied Candomblé ritual that Ruth Landes describes, who maintains peripheral engagement to avoid being mounted or overcome by a female entity, the overall petition of *Barravento* is undermined by this resistance to absorption by a counterpublic of the colonized. It refuses a repositioning of outlook and skirts the experience of being overwhelmed. This is most sensually evident in Naína's paralyzing terror that ultimately compels her into initiation. As a stand-in for western paranoia, Naína's convulsions, first in fear and then in the process of receiving and releasing the spirit, are the corporeal representation of *Barravento*'s ambivalence, of the enchantment that wavers, resists, and ultimately gives in without clear resolution. Her body is offered to test the waters of proximity to feitiço, and as a figure of sacrifice both Naíana and Côta ensure the maintenance of paternalism. Feitiço ultimately signifies an uncontrollable power that stuns the dominant gaze for both its activation of an African cosmology and its place within the performative genre of femininity. And this angst, exercised and exorcized through figures of black feminine power—the matriarchal

order of the terreiro, Côta's sexual self-governance, and the elusive power of Iemanjá— legitimizes the potency of negra demais.

CHAPTER TWO

A Manic Witnessing: the Self-Documentation of Carolina Maria de Jesus

> Today I had lunch at a wonderful restaurant and a photographer took my picture. I told him, "Write under the photo that Carolina who used to eat from the trash can now eats in restaurants. That she has come back to the human race and out of the garbage
>
> Carolina Maria de Jesus, 1962

In a 1962 television appearance Carolina Maria de Jesus juxtaposes the two disparate identities cast upon her.[89] Carolina, the best-selling author in Brazilian publishing history and political muse sits before the camera, "well-dressed and well-fed," reminding its lens of another Carolina— the black garbage picker, the "Carolina who used to eat from the trash can."[90] She dictates the caption to her interviewer, updating the readers of her 1960 memoir, *Quarto de Despejo*, of her return to humanity.[91] No longer scavenging for sustenance in her São Paulo favela, Carolina Maria de Jesus made a career of observing, documenting, being gazed upon, and actively gazing back. The immense gap between her social realities became the site of an ongoing conflict between outward attempts to manage the construction and consumption of her likeness and her desire to design her own public impression. A performance driven investigation of this conflict, the face-off between Carolina Maria de Jesus and the media of her time, reevaluates the weight of her lived experience of class transcendence for its revolutionary import. Cast as an unwitting intellectual and

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[89] Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Child of the Dark* trans. David St. Clair (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962), 15.
[90] Ibid.,16.
[91] Quarto de Despejo translates to "the garbage room," and the English publication cited here was published as *Child of the Dark.*

tragic eccentric, Jesus's performance of social mobility disrupted the fantasy of a shrewd black peasant woman that initially attracted her audience. Through self-documentation, the performance of class shifting, and a defiant gaze upon public speculation, Carolina Maria de Jesus "created scenes" across Brazil's unsteady political landscape.[92] The consequence of such public scenemaking warrants a consideration of de Jesus' documentation and representation of self as a spectacle of transgressive feminist authority.

The story behind the publication of *Quarto de Despejo* as told by her editor, Audalio Dantas, begins fittingly with an act of political pandering towards the underclass of São Paulo. In April of 1958 Dantas, a young reporter with the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper, happens upon a "tall black woman" while covering the inauguration of a playground near Jesus's favela. The preface to *Quarto de Despejo's* English translation, *Child of the Dark*, notes, "When the politicians had made their speeches and gone away, the grown men of the favela began fighting with the children for a place on the teeter-totters and swings. Carolina, standing in the crowd, shouted furiously: "If you continue mistreating these children, I'm going to put all your names in my book!"[93] In Jesus's mind the publication of her book was predetermined to manifest. At the time Dantas found her issuing threats of her own reporting capabilities, she had accumulated over twenty-six notebooks filed with poems, fictional stories, and most notably collected scraps of paper on which she documented daily observations of quests to feed her children under the conditions of São Paulo's

[92] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Book, 1959).
[93] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 13.

Canindé favela. Dantas convinced Jesus to share these assembled bits of her daily experiences, and the following day published a lengthy excerpt from her diaries in the *Folha* newspaper. This publication marked the beginning of a contentious relationship with Brazil's news media and the first official piece of "documentary evidence" that she, who lacked any identification or legal documentation, was an engaged citizen of Brazil.[94]

Two years after their playground encounter, a collection of her diaries, *Quarto de Despejo*, was published, selling out its first 10,000 copies in three days and 90,000 copies in Brazil alone within six months.[95] The tall black garbage picker of the favela became without warning the resounding voice of Brazil's underclass. Her curt accounts of life's most mundane tasks, feeding and bathing her children and neighborly interactions from her position at the bottom of society, told insightful tales of political handling, pervasive hunger, and contemptuous interdependence upon her neighbors. Jesus attracted in the years following her first publication the international attention of radio, television, politicians, and intellectual discourse. She became a darling of the populist reform movement, even nudging Jean Paul Sartre out of the distinction of São Paulo Law University's "Honorary Member" when students argued that she was, "far worthier in the fight for freedom."[96] International representation of Carolina Maria de Jesus presented her as a symbol of Brazil's race and class divide.

In this chapter I reposition the vantage point of my analysis, taking the colonized individual's recognition of an outward gaze cast upon her and exploring the

[94] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self,* 1.
[95] Jesus, *Child of the Dark,* 5.
[96] Ibid., 15.

reflexivity of her look back. If in Chapter One negra demais is presented as a preoccupation, paranoia, or a questionable potential emanating from a privileged interventionist, then Carolina Maria de Jesus's performance of negra demais resituates this potential within the motivations and actions of the afro-Brazilian woman. Overwhelming is revealed to be a weapon of resistance actively brandished against authority in this confrontation between the marginalized afro-Brazilian woman and the dominant gaze. This chapter focuses on Jesus's methods of observation, her act of self-documentation, and her performance of social mobility. As with the analysis of feitiço in Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* and the public's fascination with the image of the baiana de acarajé in the Libere as Baianas movement, this exchange between Carolina Maira de Jesus and her public plays out most explicitly through the mode of vision. Her employment of the oppositional gaze, which Jesus describes as "a mania to observe everything, tell everything, and note down the facts," affirms bell hooks' assertion that the gaze is "always political" in the lived experiences of black women. Jesus charges her reflexive look with the threat of relentless scrutiny. As she assumes the title of "idealist of the favela," the "spectator who sees and notes the tragedies that politicians inflict on the people," she gathers her observations towards the drafting of an alternate self. The accumulation of theses manic observations in her published diaries, then, rescue Jesus from reduction and enable her transcendence from poverty, seting the stage for a "new Carolina."

Critical fabulation and the documentation of self

> … E as lagrimas dos pobres comove os poetas. Não comove os poetas de salão. Mas os poetas do lixo, os idealistas das favelas, um expectador que assiste e observa as trajedias que os politicos representam em relação ao povo.
> Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Quarto de Despejo*[97]

> What else is there to know? Hers is the same fate as every other Black Venus: no one remembered her name or recorded the things she said, or observed that she refused to say anything at all. Hers is an untimely story told by a failed witness. It would be centuries before she would be allowed to "try her tongue."
> Saidiya Harman, "Venus in Two Acts"

Photograph by George Torok, 1960

Carolina Maria de Jesus and her book, shoulder to shoulder, create the outline of two schoolgirls striking a sisterly pose. Her smirk proposes with a girlish sass that the viewer take them both at face value— the face of her book, *Quarto de Despejo,* the "garbage room," and her face, a consumer, collector, and cultural embodiment of Brazil's garbage. For the public, this composition balances the desired elements of the favela resident standing proud before her shack while showing off her published

[97] The tears of the poor stir the poets. They don't move the poets of the living room, but they do move the poet of the garbage dump, this idealist of the favela is a spectator who sees and notes the tragedies that the politicians inflict on the people… I have a mania to observe everything, tell everything and note down the facts.
Carolina Maria de Jesus. *Quarto de Despejo: Diário de Uma Favelada*. (Rio de Janeiro: F. Alves, 1983), 57.

testimony. The image feeds the spectator's appetite for authenticity while marking the Cinderella turn in her story. Yet the reflexive gazes of Carolina and her double, the book— two spaces for garbage— resist fixation by bouncing the viewer's focus between them. The public must ask when viewing this photo— in which body does my craving for an authentic look into favela life lie?" Does it reside in the shape of the black "favelada" herself, dressed in worn clothing yet standing on the cusp of fame? Or would such craving for the truth of poverty belong to *Quarto de Despejo*, the published documentation of her brutal reality? Carolina Maria de Jesus's skill at dodging fixation would be tested in the years following her first publication as her doubled self mingled with Brazil's elite.

A self-defined maniac of observation, Jesus holds a deliberate and focused stare into photographer George Torok's lens. With her best-selling memoir seemingly perched upon her right shoulder, she brandishes an accumulation of over four years of observation. The photograph, captured on the day of her initial departure from the Candidé favela, marks an emancipatory moment and the culmination of a plan several years in the works. She would observe her environment. She would write what she saw on scraps of collected paper, her primary source of income. She would get these scraps to a publisher and expose to the world Brazil's filthy "backyard"—the favela.[98] The photo also represents a violent rupture from her community. Amidst press documentation of her move, staged enactments of reporters helping to pass bundles of her belongings from the window of her shack, the review and signing of contractual

[98] This is another element of Jesus's metaphor on social class and political power where the politicians occupy the living room, the poor are represented in the backyard, and favela residents are cast away in the garbage room.

documents while standing outside with her editor, Jesus's neighbors responded with both awe and contempt. It was a conflicted response to the sudden exposure of their inhumane conditions that led to a collective stoning as she was driven away with her children. Carolina accounts:

> … the *Folha* reporter, appeared, to photograph my move. Sr. Paulino helped me hand my stuff through the window so it could be filmed and photographed. I went back to signing books when Sr. Pompilio Tostes came to film me. He filmed the shack from the outside. Then he went inside, but there wasn't enough light. João climbed on the roof to remove some shingle boards so that light would come through. The curious people of the favela were standing around and children surrounded the shack. They did not help me… I breathed a sigh of relief when the driver came, Sr. Milton Bitencourt. He started to get second thoughts when he saw the crowd of favelados standing around the shack. I asked him to carry my junk to the truck. [More] newspaper people were arriving to film my departure from the favela… Leila came forward, walking with difficulty. She came to incite the favelados against me. The driver turned on the ignition and started to move the truck. The favelados began to throw rocks. Leila became agitated and threw a stone onto the truck. I watched the rocks and became frightened that they would strike Vera and José Carlos in the eye; they were already injured. What a mess! [99]

[99] Carolina Maria de Jesus, *I'm Going to Have a Little House*. trans. Melvin S. Arrington Jr. and Robert M. Levine (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paulo Azevedo Ltda., 1961), 30.

With this diary entry from her second memoir, *Casa de Alvenaria / I'm Going to Have a Little House*, Carolina Maria de Jesus offers an alternate snapshot of her exodus from the Canindé community. Even as she willingly goes through the motions of shaping Torok's photo essay of her transition being organized and triumphant, she observes. She continues to internally document the happenings around her with the awareness that this staged exit and the international success of her book would in no way end her lived study of the favela. The story as it happened was to continue. As Carolina shows her book to the camera in Torok's portrait the "failed witnessing" that Saidiya Hartman identifies in the innumerable untold stories of enslaved "Black Venuses" is apparent, and Jesus's slight smile paired with her published testament hints at the satisfaction that she, a descendant of the transatlantic slave trade, was determined to ward off "the same fate as every other Black Venus."[100]

Hartman's essay, of course, attempts to specifically rescue the experiences of female survivors (and victims) of the U.S. slave economy, and I stretch this comparison by including the innumerable Carolinas of Brazil's periphery communities. With care not to minimize the precise horrors of enslavement, this comparison highlights the extensive legacies of these violations against nameless black women that Hartman brings to life with *Lose Your Mother: a Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route.* Where Gilberto Freyre's 'casa grande e senzala' metaphor builds the myth of racial democracy around an even more absurd fallacy that Portugal's design of slavery in Brazil was structured around a less violent and more familial system of cohabitation, Carolina Maria de Jesus's metaphor of the "quarto de

[100] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Ax*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2008, 2.

despejo," or garbage room, unravels these myths to chart the ongoing oppression of Brazil's afro-descended. Under Jesus's quarto de despejo metaphor, Brazil's government is represented by the living room and the favela is presented as the garbage room where the marginalized are hidden in plain sight. Jesus and her collected observations represent the untold stories of women who are historically ignored, and her pledge to "observe everything, tell everything, and note down the facts" solidifies the deliberateness of her intentions. These intentions are realized when, like Hartman's Venus, "an act of chance or disaster produced a divergence or an aberration from the expected and usual course of invisibility and catapulted her from the underground to the surface of discourse."[101]

Hartman's attention to the failures of the archive— its crude accounting of life as a tally of perverse offenses exacted upon the black female body, forges a connection between the lost stories of the middle passage and the narratives of slavery's descendants. As she explains, "a history of the present strives to illuminate the intimacy of our experience with the lives of the dead," and Carolina Maria de Jesus manically observes and documents the atrocities of her periphery community in an attempt to rescue the stories of her present from a voiceless past. The strategy of critical fabulation that Hartman proposes and adopts in her work, her method of accessing the inaccessible stories of the voiceless by pairing archival material with the imagined narrations of "stories that are impossible to tell," speaks to similar motivations behind Jesus's act of self-documentation.[102] Just as she describes her

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.,10.

mania to observe and "tell everything," she confronts what Hartman describes as the intention to "both tell an impossible story and to amplify the impossibility of its telling."[103] The obvious difference here is that Carolina Maria de Jesus is a living witness to her own narrative, and the impossibility that she surmounts is rather the lofty notion that "Carolina who used to eat from trash cans" could produce a document through which to amplify her voice.

I liken Jesus's self-documentation to Hartman's critical fabulation to stress the performative gesture that is the impetus for her writing and its consistency with the aesthetics of negra demais. As Jesus ventures through her community and São Paulo at large in search of food, garbage, and scraps of paper upon which to write, her everyday routine becomes the material of her book in both content and substance. Her diary is an account that is dependent upon her physical engagement with an often hostile public. In a July 16, 1955 entry Jesus writes:

> … E vou sair para catar papel. Deixei as crianças. Recomendei-lhes para brincar no quintal e não sair na rua, porque os péssimos vizinhos que eu tenho não dão sossego aos meus filhos. Saí indisposta, com vontade de deitar. Mas, o pobre não repousa. Não tem o privilegio de gostar descanso. Eu estava nervosa interiormente, ia maldizendo a sorte (...) Catei dois sacos de papel. Depois retornei, catei uns ferros, umas latas, e papel. Vinha pensando. Quando eu chegar na favela vou encontrar novidades. Talvez a D. Rosa ou a indolente Maria dos Anjos brigaram com meus filhos. Encontrei a Vera Eunice dormindo e os meninos brincando na rua. Pensei: são duas horas. Creio que

[103] Ibid.,11.

> vou passar o dia sem novidade! ... Aproveitei a minha calma interior para eu ler. Peguei uma revista e sentei no capim, recebendo os raios solar para aquecer-me. Li um conto... O João retornou-se. Disse que havia perdido os melhorares. Voltei com ele para procurar. Não encontramos.
>
> Quando eu vinha chegando no portão encontrei uma multidão. Crianças e mulheres, que vinha reclamar que o José Carlos havia apedrejado suas casas. Para eu repreendê-lo.[104]

In this entry and throughout Jesus's diaries the correlation between her practice of writing, and her journeys into the public— the need for paper and sustenance, ties her self-documentation to a heightened performance of everyday life. Jesus steps out into the drama of her daily tasks fully aware of what awaits her and searching for nuanced experiences. She collects material by which to survive, material upon which to write, and material with which to fill her diaries. Her drive to take note of her mundane duties is rhythmic and compulsive in these entries, and her documentation of her

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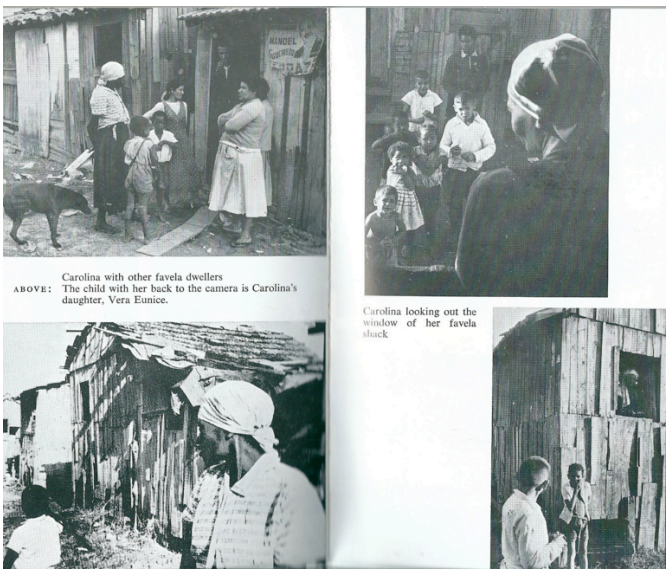
[104] … And I went out to look for paper. I left the children, told them to play in the yard and not go into the street, because the terrible neighbors I have won't leave my children alone. I was feeling ill and wished I could lie down. But the poor don't rest nor are they permitted the pleasure of relaxation. I was nervous inside, cursing my luck. I collected sacks full of paper. Afterward I went back and gathered some scrap metal, some cans and some kindling wood. As I walked I thought—when I return to the favela there is going to be something new. Maybe Dona Rosa or insolent Angel Mary fought with my children. I found Vera Eunice sleeping and the boys playing in the street. I thought—its 2:00. Maybe I'm going to get through this day without anything happening… I took advantage of my calmness to read. I picked up and magazine and sat on the grass, letting the rays of sun warm me as I read a story… João came back saying he had lost the asprins. I went back with him to look. We didn't find them. When I came home there was a crowd at my door. Children and women claiming José Carlos had thrown stones at their houses. They wanted me to punish him.
Jesus. *Quarto de Despejo*, 8-9.

ordinary events opens her public to the extraordinary conditions of poverty. As Hartman describes in her entry into the archives of slavery, "the unimaginable assumes the guise of everyday practice," and somehow the everydayness of Carolina Maria de Jesus's poverty allows her to transcend an unspeakable condition. Jesus's performance of everyday life repositions the unimaginable as she takes aim at the possibility that "Carolina who used to eat from the trash can" could assume the role of elite, that she could transgress the bounds of her social, racial, and gendered existence emerging as Carolina who "now eats in restaurants."

George Torok's photo essay of Carolina Maria de Jesus's departure from the Canindé favela manages a fine balance between offering the viewer a peek into the squalor that she laments throughout her diaries while also presenting a sterilized fantasy of favela life that Jesus's readers may comfortably consume. The images tell a story of scarcity that is controlled and static— Carolina seemingly lost in thought as she holds her open book before rows of strung laundry, Carolina barefoot in tattered clothing gathering with neighbors and her daughter Vera Eunice as if in casual conversation, Carolina looking out through the window of her shack towards a cluster of small children—also barefoot in tattered clothing.



Child of The Dark, 1962 photographs by George Torok

This assemblage of visual context has the task of cosigning the authenticity of Jesus's accounts while pleasing both her national and international audience with a measurable dose of oppression. The images assembled with a series of television interviews build a Cinderella a narrative around her journey and provide the final climactic moment that *Quarto de Despejo* could not tell. Mulvey's theory on visual pleasure surfaces with this display of a female form framed for consumption, and in multiple images Jesus's penetrating stare into the lens underscores Mulvey's assertion that "there are circumstances in which looking itself is a source of pleasure, just as, in the reverse formation, there is a pleasure in being looked at." Carolina in these images is captured for the pleasure of her curious audience; she is packaged as the material of a liberal and progressive craving for the real deal. As her diaries became highly valued primary sources of the inaccessible intimacies of life in the periphery, her depiction in photos and later film supplemented the candor of her memoirs with direct visual evidence, proof for the more privileged that her accounts represented an unfathomable

reality.

Carolina, her agitated neighbors, and the backdrop of the favela displayed as visual evidence of Brazil's swelling underclass are staged to some degree, but appear mostly un-styled. However, the spectator still gleans in these collected images the sense of a well-packaged spectacle. To use Mulvey's term, Carolina Maria de Jesus, already a best selling author when said photos where shot, maintains her brand of "to-be-looked-at-ness." She is bare-foot in a worn striped top and headscarf reminding the lens that she is, on this day at least, still a "favelada." Yet she and her attire also appear clean and refreshed in contrast to both her neighbors and numerous diary accounts of her lack of clean water, soap, and fresh clothing. Her body before the camera becomes an object of male design as she is arranged in her "simultaneously looked at and displayed, with [her] appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact."[105] The favela with Carolina positioned as its leading lady feeds the outsider's appetite to peer at oppression intimately while maintaining safe distance. This spectacle foreshadows the contemporary phenomena of favela tourism and blockbuster films such as *Cidade de Deus* and *Tropa de Elite* feeding public desire for sensationalized images of favela violence and destitution. Yet unlike Mulvey's female subject of classical Hollywood film, Carolina Maria de Jesus is the subject of her own reality. She is an active player in the staging of her public identity as she stares back at Torok's lens with the face of her publication, the reflexive visage of this collection of manic observations.

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[105] Laura Mulvey. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16.3 Autumn (1975): 6-18.

In her elaboration on the oppositional gaze bell hooks argues that, "the 'gaze' has been and is a site of resistance for colonized black people globally"[106] hooks notes how in oppressive systems subordinated groups adopt a "critical gaze," a defiant stare that "looks' to document." For blacks of the United States, pre and post slavery, this oppositional gaze was a tool that came with potentially fatal consequences. A sustained look towards a slave owner, direct eye contact with a white woman in the Jim Crow South, a child's cutting look of frustration towards any authority figure, qualify as justification for state sanctioned spectacles of violence. Brazil's unofficial black female saint, Escrava Anastácia who was muzzled and forced to wear a heavy copper collar which according to folklore caused her death from tetanus, was tortured for numerous reasons including the stare of her "piercing blue eyes."[107]

Yet historically and across the diaspora colonized people of African descent employ the oppositional gaze with great strategic effect. As hooks argues, "all attempts to repress our/black peoples' right to gaze produced in us an overwhelming longing to look, a rebellious desire." She continues, "not only will I look, I want my look to change reality."[108] Carolina Maria de Jesus was undoubtedly hip to the gaze of the Brazilian media upon her. She was also quite aware of the power of her oppositional gaze and its ability to document and shift her social reality. In an entry dated May 22nd, 1958, Jesus describes her trip to a social services office seeking

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[106] bell hooks. *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992),116.
[107] Escrava Anastácia, a popular Brazilian Saint, is unrecognized by the Catholic Church. She is nonetheless venerated by Catholics as well as members of the Umbanda, Quimbanda, and Candomblé faiths. She is commonly depicted with bright blue eyes, a metal mask, and the words "Eu não sou escrava" (I am not a slave).
[108] Ibid., 116.

medical help. Frustrated with spending the little money she had on transportation to various offices, she was detained after speaking out towards one Sr. Alcides. Jesus writes, "Não me deixaram sair. E um soldado pois a baioneta no meu peito. Olhei o soldado nos olhos…"[109] Here, with a weapon, both knife and gun, pressed to her chest, Jesus describes no flinching or physical resistance. She responds with a look at the soldier. She continues, "Olhei o soldado nos olhos e percebi que ele estava com dó de mim."[110]

The incident is quickly resolved and Carolina is driven home. Soon after when she describes her response to a violent neighbors' threats on her life with, "Eu tenho uma habilidade que não vou relatar aqui, porque isto há de defender-me," the reader must wonder if she is hinting at the reflexive power that lives in her eyes, the power she called on a week earlier with her stare of defiance.[111] Undoubtedly, Jesus wielded her recorded observations as a weapon of defense against all who crossed her or caused disorder in her favela. It was through her repeated threats to include the names of her neighbors in her book that she caught the attention of Audalio Dantas on the playground and manifested her dream of literary fame. The agency that Carolina Maria de Jesus articulates here in her reflexive gaze upon both the favela and the economic system that perpetuated the favela's existence enables her to shift from a

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[109] They wouldn't let me leave. A soldier put his bayonet at my chest. I looked at the soldier.
Jesus. *Quarto de Despejo*, 43.
[110] I looked the soldier in the eyes and saw that he had pity on me. I told him. "I am poor. That's why I came here.
Ibid.
[111] I have an ability that I'm not going to talk about here, because it has to defend me
Ibid., 51-2.

stance of subjugation to a place of unspoken power. Her look offers mobility as she dodges any attempt, be it figurative or literal, to pin her defiant body down.

It is important to note that Carolina Maria de Jesus's reaction to the dominant gaze differs widely from the Fanonian response to the event of interpellation that I address in the previous chapter. The disorientation and paralysis that Fanon describes with —"I stumbled, and the movements, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye," diverge from the resolute stance that Jesus assumes in both her writings and Torok's images.[112] While Fanon acknowledges a resulting defiance, rupture, and restructuring into "another self," the fixedness that he paints in this instance of exposure to the other resonates. Perhaps highlighting a particular difference in the diasporic experiences of afro-Brazilians and afro-Antilleans, Fanon's sudden encounter with the white man carries a crystallizing or congealing effect as he describes having "lived among his own in the twentieth century, and suddenly faced with the defining occasion of encountering "the white man's eyes."[113] Perhaps Brazil's unique stroke at managing a massive afro-descended population through the promotion of miscegenation and the proposition of racial democracy complicates the suddenness of this confrontation with the dominant gaze. A slavery culture constructed with "a very special type of racism, an exclusive Luso-Brazilian creation," that held oppressed black bodies in close and entangled relation with the oppressor would then accustom Carolina Maria de Jesus to

[112] Fanon, *Black Skin,*109.

[113] Ibid.,110.

the constant weight of the colonizer's eyes.[114] More significantly, the cultural entanglement of strategic miscegenation accustoms the afro-Brazilian female subject to a steady awareness of an historical and epidermal selfhood in the presence of the other.[115] This "subtle, diffuse, evasive, asymmetrical, but also persistent and so implacable," brand of racism might then nurture subtle, evasive, persistent, and implacable notions of subjectivity, and thus modes of resistance.[116] I argue that Carolina Maria de Jesus's elusive and unmanageable form was well trained by her cultural context. She flexes these muscles in Torok's portrait by offering the face of her book as an alternate body, a double of herself. Through such spectacle she deflects a disturbing variation of poor black femininity towards her spectators. This variation of her supposed reality, the possibility of transcendence into the exclusive experience of the educated white elite, would grate against the public's understanding of her.

Social transcendence and quotidian performance

The face-off between de Jesus's physical presentation and the glare of her collective audience call attention to Goffman's "techniques of impression management." Opposing visions of how this marginalized critic of social inequality should have presented herself once thrust in the spotlight created a public discord that questioned both the authenticity and authority of Jesus's self-presentation. As Goffman describes, "when the individual is in the immediate presence of others, (her)

[114] Abdias do Nascimento, *Brazil, Mixture or Massacre?: Essays in the Genocide of a Black People* (Dover: Majority Press, 1989), 2.
[115]Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

activity will have a promissory character."[117] The impression that Carolina Maria de Jesus "gave off" in Torok's marketing photographs maintained the promise that Audalio Dantas set forth in publishing her scraps of writings. The public impression of Carolina Maria de Jesus would be that of "Carolina who used to eat from the trash can."[118] In the eyes of her audience, the reliability of her voice and her social commentary depended upon an image of a barefoot woman passing a sack of her meager belongings from a plywood shack. The extremity of de Jesus's marginalization questions Goffman's notion of self-presentation by drawing attention to the fact that she deemed her previous self wholly excluded from the human race. If Goffman's "front stage," for example, is the area of everyday performance where one expresses an "effort to give the appearance that (her) activity in the region maintains and embodies certain standards," and the "backstage" is the region where "the performer can relax, can drop (her) front," then where might we locate the region of total societal ostracization? Where would we locate the quarto de despejo, the garbage room where Carolina Maria de Jesus honed her craft?

Perhaps de Jesus's "mania to observe everything" was a conscious faceoff with invisibility. Similar to hooks' "critical gaze" that "looks to document," Carolina "who ate from the garbage cans" adopted a method of performance that skirted self-presentation for lack of an acknowledged stage. She rather employed self-documentation to assemble an alternate self, materialized in the scraps of waste that housed her poetry, stories, and daily reflections. The promise of someday publishing

[117] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self,* 2.
[118] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 16.

this documented self in the form of a book carried with it the promise of realizing her unacknowledged (and legally undocumented) being. "Carolina who ate in restaurants," however, was a contracted member of a team, and her projection of self after the publication of *Quarto de Despejo* was, as Goffman describes, "an integral part of a projection that (was) fostered and sustained by the co-operation of more than one participant."[119] Jesus's cynicism in humoring her public when it suited her and then "creating scenes" when she pleased executed social "faux pas" with skill and artistry.

Carolina Maria de Jesus's purpose in the Brazilian limelight was to feed an elitist appetite for proximity to the nation's filthy back yard, and this is only reinforced by her audience's disappointment with the her access to affluence. Within a year her book was translated in thirteen languages and she became Brazil's best-selling author of all time. Although the management of her royalties eventually came under question, her plywood shack was abandoned for a brick house on Rua Alvenaria, something she dreamed of in her early diaries. The abrupt shift of her social status and living conditions left many of her onlookers dissatisfied. In a 1992 essay on her fast rise and fall titled, "The Cautionary Tale of Carolina Maria de Jesus," biographer Robert M. Levine notes, "the media, reflecting the values of its elite clients treated her as a side-show performer. They judged her continually, commenting on her manners and on her clothing, and expected her to appear in public, accompanied by her daughter Vera in a starched white dress with ribbons in her hair, with docility."[120] The Brazilian media was dissatisfied with its inability to solidify and in turn objectify Jesus's image, and

[119] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 78.
[120] Robert M. Levine, "The Cautionary Tale of Carolina Maria de Jesus." *Latin American Research Review* Vol 29, No. 1 (1994) : 62.

her spectators needed the "doll" of Carolina to handle, to help script their own interactions with favela existence. Bernstein argues, "at the deepest ontological level… performance is what distinguishes an object from a thing,"[121] and in asserting authority over her quotidian performances, Carolina dodged objectification, offering her book as the object and her projected impression as the "utterance of thoughts that cannot be expressed in words."[122] As photographs of Jesus and her children shifted from images of poverty to images of affluence, the pleasure of gazing upon Carolina diminished. The attractiveness of her image depended on her maintaining the position of passive, malleable, and poor.

It is no surprise that the styling and coding of Carolina Maria de Jesus's figure and that of her daughter Vera Eunice drew intense media scrutiny. Early images of Carolina dressed to match the extreme poverty she heralded in her book were an erotic spectacle for her onlookers, and the presence of this new Carolina who no longer ate from a trash can clashed with the public's fantasy. If George Torok's images of Jesus propped against the favela were pin-up shots of sorts for reformist politicians, Marxist intellectuals, or a curious upper and middle class, Carolina's performance of her new self left these spectators hostile and unsatisfied. On March 10, 1961 *O Globo* newspaper reported the following:

> She lives in a government-financed house in industrial Santo André, she spends her days in the city, sometimes at the "Fasano" tea parlor frequented by the elegant people of Avenida Paulista… With mascara-painted eyelashes and

[121] Robin Bernstein, "Utopian Movements: Nikki Giovanni and the Convocation Following the Virginia Tech Massacre." *African American Review* 45,3 (2012): 83.
[122] Ibid., 82.

> wearing high-heeled shoes, dressed in silk and elegant accessories from the best downtown shops, Carolina, accompanied by her three children, strolls twice weekly on Avenida Itapetininga, where paulistas descended from the colonial elite also walk.
>
> Playing the part of a fashion model, the formerly-humble chronicler of urban misery addressed Governor Carvalho Pinto himself with a sense of superiority, according to a social columnist, during a visit of cultural figures to the governor's Campos Elisios palace, she did not take the initiative to greet him. Instead, when he went over to her at the end of the session, she said to him: "Ah, were you here?"[123]

According to the news media, Carolina, the sage everywoman of the favela*,* had recast herself as an "uppity" negra. She who used to wander through the streets of Canindé collecting paper, metal, and discarded food, was suddenly marking the steps of her historic oppressors. A surface reading of her leisurely strolls sees a woman enjoying her move from rags to riches. But if we return to Goffmans's structure of impression management, these strolls are charged with the intent of a stylized public performance that overtly breaks the contract of "dramaturgical loyalty."[124] Her critic in this article mockingly accuses Carolina of "playing the part of a fashion model," stressing the irony that a black woman from the underbelly should fancy herself elegant and beautiful in Brazil's color-coded culture that even today erases the presence of dark-skinned beauty from fashion media. But if we take this writer's snark seriously for a

[123] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 62.
[124] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self,* 212.

moment and consider the possibility that Carolina was in fact, "playing a part" in these glamorous strolls, we are reminded of the wit and impeccable spatial awareness found in her diaries.

One must consider her creative intentions in staging such acts. Carolina "who eats in restaurants" subverts and upstages her handlers in committing the faux pas of "betray(ing) the secrets of the team."[125] In a diary entry marked June 16, 1958 Carolina Maria de Jesus describes her theatrical aspirations. She explains:

> Eu escrevia peças es apresentava aos diretores de circos. Eles respondia-me:
>
> –É pena você ser preta.
>
> Esquecendo eles que eu adoro minha pele negra, e o meu cabelo rustico. Eu até acho o cabelo de negro mais educado do que o cabelo de branco. Porque o cabelo de preto onde põe, fica. É obediente. E o cabelo de branco, é só dar um movimento na cabeça ele já sai do lugar. É indisciplinado. Se é que existe reencarnações, eu quero voltar sempre preta.[126]

When her diary was published two years after this entry Carolina experienced her reincarnation. Indeed, she identified her new lifestyle as a reincarnation in 1962 when she dictated the caption of a reporter's photograph telling him, "Write under the photo… that [Carolina] has come back to the human race and out of the garbage

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[125] Ibid.

[126] I wrote plays and showed them to directors of circuses. They told me: -- It's a shame you are black. They were forgetting that I adore my black skin and my kinky hair. I even think black hair is more educated than white hair. Because black hair, wherever you put it, it stays. It is obedient. And white hair, just give it a little movement of the head and it falls out of place. It is undisciplined. If reincarnation exists, I always want to come back black.
Ibid., 69.

dump."[127] In her return to the human race Jesus relished both her wealth and her blackness with a decided flair that unsettled spectators. Carolina Maria de Jesus's sudden wealth and fame stirred comfortable connotations of poor black femininity with such an image— black, wealthy, female, and indulgent. Moreover, the gesture of Jesus parading such blackness, femininity, and indulgence amongst the elite European descendants of Sao Paulo was a strident act of political dissent. Carolina in her expensive fabrics with painted eyelashes disturbed the "to-be-looked-at-ness" that George Torok and her publishers carefully composed.

Brazilian media preferred to keep her image 'fixed' in service of the white imagination, but Carolina Maria de Jesus, unlike her well-educated Negro hair, was neither loyal, obedient, nor placeable. Although she allowed herself to be appropriated by various political interests, the terms of her appropriation were always her own. She accepted invitations to be photographed with powerful figures such as President Jânio Quadros who arranged a photo of himself "embracing her" shortly before his successful run for the presidency. But Quadros like most politicians would not pin down a consistent show of endorsement from Carolina. She would "pose with politicians frequently, permitting herself to be used, in essence, to further their careers," but she negated the value of these poses by expressing political ambivalence in the media and offering her image to competing political entities.[128]

The shiftiness of Carolina Maria de Jesus's loyalties paralleled a resistance to the reproducibility of her likeness as a public object. Jesus was generous and

[127] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 39.
[128] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 63.

forthcoming with descriptions of her life as a scavenger of the favela, but as Peggy Phelan explains, "the description itself does not reproduce the object."[129] The initial objectification of her likeness in Torok's photographs as Carolina "who eats from trash cans" was actively erased through her everyday performances. Phelan argues, "descriptions remind us how loss acquires meaning and generates recovery—not only for the object but for the one who remembers. The disappearance of the object is fundamental to performance; it rehearses and repeats the disappearance of the subject who longs always to be remembered."[130] An elusive public projection released Carolina Maria de Jesus from the impression that Torok captured and the persona that politicians attempted to encapsulate. She would perhaps lend her likeness as a prop, but certainly not as a puppet, and her appropriators soon grew contemptuous when faced with her insistence on being a prop of her own design. Robert Levine notes, "neutral politically and temperate in her criticism, she nevertheless offended Brazilians because she would not conform in her personal behavior."[131] This statement begs the question, what exactly were Carolina Maria de Jesus's acts of nonconformity? Were her extravagant tastes in clothing or penchant for tea dates with her children somehow inharmonious with the ways of her new neighbors in Santo André? Were her temperate criticisms and political neutrality acts of resistance?

Brazil's promotion of miscegenation accustomed close daily interaction between racial groups, and her mere presence as a black woman would not trigger the same politicized tension that it would in the then segregated United States. It was not

[129] Phelan, *Unmarked,*147.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 63.

soley the disaffected presence of her black body that generated growing agitation from the media and public. The tension rather lied in the combination of her blackness and her steep climb from scavenger to socialite. Carolina performed this class jump unapologetically as if rubbing her sudden wealth in the faces of those who were previously turned on by her poverty. While Brazil's white upperclass was used to seeing closeups of blackness, they were neither ready for nor receptive to the spectacle of a black female body transcending the gaping class divide. As Fanon argues, "decolonization never takes place unnoticed," and with her tea times and expensive trappings, Carolina had incited a solitary process of decolonizing her own subject.[132] The iconic image of a Carolina dressed in rags with a kerchief on her head would have been better welcomed in her new social circles. Her unpredictable political sound bites would have been digested as simply more of the poignant candor that made her an object of fascination in the first place. But her performance of two polar opposites of social class carried with it the narrative of a history that enabled the possibility of such extreme division. The "favelada" Carolina dressed up as a woman of high society, even in all her beauty, was a hideous sight for white Brazil to gaze upon. In holding the new Carolina under the gaze, Brazil caught a reflexive look at how its own economic reality was formed. Carolina Maria de Jesus, mingling among "the elegant people of Avenida Paulista," reminded her gazing public of Brazil's indebtedness to black womanhood, and more crucially of the potential for black female social mobility.

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[132] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth,* trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1966), 36.

Blues legacies

Audalio Dantas prefaced the first excerpt from Carolina Maria de Jesus' diaries in the *Folha de São Paulo* with the clarification, "I am not bringing you a newspaper story, but a revolution."[133] It seems Dantas understood the urgency and timeliness of Carolina's diary entries, but although her work was introduced to Brazil as a revolution, history would waver in its stance. Robert Levine's first published work on Jesus, "The Cautionary Tale of Carolina Maria de Jesus," described her as "fiercely proud," yet framed her story as a warning of how not disappoint the expectations of the public eye. In arguing that her story "embodies a cautionary tale," Levine reinforced implications that the Brazilian media imposed in its scrutiny of her personage— be careful lest you get too "uppity." This mode of historicizing, of course, oversimplifies the design of Jesus's provocative play with celebrity, posthumously stripping her of the agency that she claimed in her lifetime. Further, a "cautionary" look at Carolina Maria de Jesus sounds a counter-revolutionary message to the marginalized, suggesting the oppressed are ill equipped to transcend poverty or negotiate life outside of the slums. Levine's account of her supposed rise and fall, however, shows more careful consideration than some. Her editor, Audalio Dantas, would explain her resistance to his "handling" by calling her, "drunk with success," and after her death Dantas publicly discredited the clear technical improvement of her later writing by stating she, "was a person subject to highs and lows… likely resulting

[133] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 59.

from a process of insanity, or mental overexertion brought on by all of the misery through which she had passed."[134]

Carolina Maria de Jesus falls in line with legacies of unmalleable women, and particularly black women, who are summarized as aggressive and insane in their rejection of normative expectations. Angela Davis reminds us in *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* that accentuating the feminist contributions of working class and poor black female artists reveals a great deal about the "the quotidian expressions of feminist consciousness," and in line with Davis's analysis, Carolina adapted to public scrutiny by becoming an artist of everyday feminist gesture. [135] Just as her diaries spelled out economic and racial inequalities through documenting the motions of her mundane routines, the quotidian gestures of the new Carolina, the "Carolina who ate in restaurants," struck against assumptions of how a grateful black woman should behave under her patronizing limelight. Her nonchalance towards powerful political figures reinforced attitudes from her diary entries. So when "the formerly-humble chronicler of urban misery addressed Governor Carvalho Pinto himself with a sense of superiority," she articulated through the physical and verbal statement of, "Ah, were you here?" her awareness and rejection of hollow shows of political pandering.[136] Carolina's "Ah, were you here?" reduces the governor to a state of transparency and invisibility at once. She articulates the unimaginable notion that she, a black woman, a garbage picker, could deem him, a white male head of state, invisible. She further

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[134] Ibid., 70-1.
[135] Angela Y. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1998), xvii.
[136] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 62.

articulates that, as a social critic, she saw through and understood the political posturing at play in this situation.

On May 18, 1958 Carolina de Jesus wrote:

> Quando um politico diz nos seus discursos que está ao lado do povo, que visa incluir-se na politica para melhorar as nossas condições de vida pedindo o nossos voto prometendo congelar os preços, já está ciente que abordando este grave problema ele vence nas urnas. Depois divorcia-se do povo. Olha o povo com os olhos semi-cerrados. Com um orgulho que fere a nossa sensibilidade.[137]

Jesus's use of the word "divorce" here analogizes Brazil's oppressive political and economic system to the oppressive experience of a poor and single mother. Politics had divorced and abandoned the favela just as the fathers of Carolina Maria de Jesus's children had abandoned her. She bore a similar hurt from the "half-closed" stares of both male entities. Her oppositional gaze towards Brazilian politics and social norms bore a "look of lust" as Fanon describes, expressing, "dreams of possession—all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible."[138] Carolina would play out this lust upon the settler himself, telling of passing conquests with various white men. Her lifestyle of fierce independence and distrust of any male empirical force was more than a casual matter of fact; it was a

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[137] When a politician says in his speeches that he is on the side of the people, that he only included himself in politics to improve our living conditions, asking for our votes, promising to freeze prices, he is well aware that by touching upon these grave problems he will win at the polls. Afterward, he divorces himself from the people. He looks at the people with half-closed eyes. With a pride that wounds our sensitivities. Ibid., 38.

[138] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 39.

firm rejection of the familial unit and the paternalistic government, both of which placed her in a subjugated position by default.

In her first collection of diaries we see Carolina Maria de Jesus entertain affairs with numerous men, rejecting all proposals of marriage and cohabitation even with the promise of a more comfortable lifestyle. Jesus explains, "Não casei en não estou descontente. Os que preferiu me eram soezes e as condições que eles me impunham eram horriveis"[139] After her success, Carolina maintained her stance against marriage. In her second collection, *Casa de Alvenaria,* Jesus tells of more proposals, including the suggestion that she marry her translator, David St. Claire. Carolina again asserts an unwavering and universal distrust of men. She offers the following candid assessment of male/female partnerships:

> … all the men who asked me to marry them disappointed me. Some of them wanted me to steal for them, others wanted me to sell my body to others. Men who asked me to marry them were not worthwhile people. (…)! I was horrified by their proposals and I went on alone. Women's lives are filled with delusions about men.[140]

Here Jesus echoes her nonconformist female counterparts of the blues tradition in the United States. Davis argues that the works of Gertrude "Ma" Rainey and Bessie Smith, "constituted historical preparation for social protest," and further, "foreshadowed a brand of protest that refused to privilege racism over sexism, or

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[139] I never got married and I'm not unhappy. Those who wanted to marry me were mean and the conditions they imposed on me were horrible.
Jesus, *Quarto de Despejo,* 12.
[140] Jesus, *I'm Going,* 131.

conventional public realm over the private and preeminent domain of power."[141] In the instance of early female blues songwriters, poor and working class values pardoned them as artists from the more rigid morals and norms of middle class upwardly mobile blacks. Carolina, an outsider even among her marginalized neighbors, carried no burden to perform a traditional subservient female role. Like Rainey and Smith, Carolina Maria de Jesus in her writing and her public image claimed indebtedness to no man and no institution, and by applying this undiscriminating resistance to her own life, she proclaimed what middle class white feminists would later articulate, that the personal is indeed political. Davis identifies the, "politicalization of the 'personal' through the dynamic of 'consciousness raising" in the lyrics of these blues artists. Consider Bessie Smith's "Young Woman's Blues,"

> I'm a young woman,
> and aint done runnin' round
> I'm a young woman,
> and I aint done runnin' round
> Some people call me a hobo, some call me a bum
> Nobody knows my name, nobody knows what I've done
> I'm as good as any woman in your town
> I aint no high yeller,
> I'm a deep killer brown
> I aint gonna marry, aint gon' settle down
> I'm gon' drink good moonshine and rub these browns down

Smith addresses classism, racism, heteronormativity, and sexism on an equal plane, affirming her value, beauty, and independence against the contrasting norms of her nation. Davis stresses the import of revealing the revolutionary aspects of these artists

[141] Davis, *Blues Legacies,* 43.

and highlighting, "the way their work addressed urgent social issues and helped to shape collective modes of black consciousness."[142]

There was certainly risk at play for Carolina Maria de Jesus in maintaining her unruly convictions. She, a woman enacting a solitary act of decolonizing the self, knowingly locked eyes with the bitter glances of her public. She held little agency over her own financial dealings. Having no legal documentation to open a bank account, her contract allowed Audalio Dantas to share and manage her earnings. More importantly, Carolina was aware of the unstable and often volatile aspects of Brazilian government at the time she wrote her early books. Her first diaries begin in 1958, shortly after Juscelino Kubitscheck took power in the wake of Vargas's suicide. Kubitscheck's successor, Jânio Quadros, who arranged to be photographed with Jesus during his election was forced out of office after only eight months of service by the Brazilian military. The regime of 1964 restricted civil liberties and openly suppressed any opposition, yet Carolina displayed through her later books and personal interactions a fearless candor in directly addressing Brazil's neglect of the poor. Her daughter, Vera Eunice, would later recollect:

> That's the true writer, always creating polemics. It might be with Leonel Brizola, Jângo, she didn't care. She was there in the middle making a big shebang! They were acquaintances of hers during that time, Adhemar de Barros, Jânio. The ones who had their rights canceled by the military regime, right? It was one argument after another… they never stopped. They would

[142]Ibid., xiv.

> talk about the farm workers' disputes, Lenin, Getúlio Vargas. She was an excellent debater—an artist and an activist at the same time.[143]

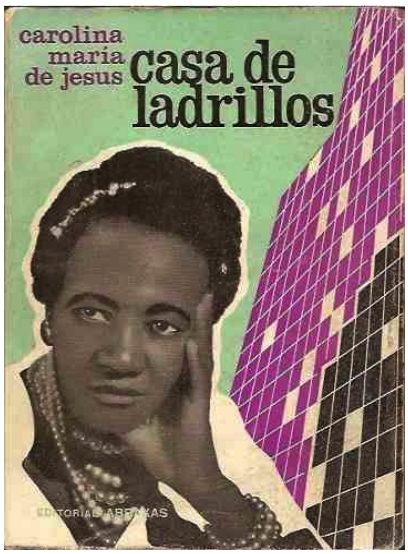
Her daughter here acknowledges the inconsistently accredited fact that Carolina Maria de Jesus was a pivotal thinker and revolutionary activist of her time. Reframing the role of Carolina Maria de Jesus's writings as well as her performed public persona helps reveal a larger unacknowledged tradition of feminist engagement among subjugated women of color throughout the Americas. Furthermore, underscoring Carolina Maria de Jesus as a revolutionary rather than a tragic figure, encourages her performance of resistance to join in conversation with afro-diasporic and global notions of feminism.

Conclusions

Carolina Maria de Jesus' second collection of diaries, *Casa de Alvenaria*, was published in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile in 1963 as *Casa de Ladrillos* (The Brick House). The cover of this publication showed an image of the new Carolina who "eats in restaurants" with chin in hand gazing to the right. She is glamorously made up, and dressed with numerous strands of pearl necklaces and bracelets as well as jeweled clips in her hair. Layered before a modern design of a brick skyscraper, her image shows off conspicuous affluence with a massive institution looming behind her. She plays the part of a demure society lady, and the cover's composition serves all the

[143] Robert M. Levine, Sebe Bom Meihy, and José Carlos. *The Life and Death of Carolina Maria de Jesus* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 126.

elements of Jesus's public persona that confounded and agitated her spectators: that an impoverished woman



Casa de ladrillos cover, 1963

from the favela should flaunt such wealth, that a black woman should parade her beauty, that a vocal critic of social inequality should indulge in materialism, and that her disaffected gaze to the right should show such nonchalance to the institution that hovered behind her. Casa de Alvenaria did not find the success of her first book and was deemed a "failure" selling only 3,000 of its first edition.[144] The global public did not find the same satisfaction in gazing upon this new Carolina, and by 1967 she was photographed by *O Globo* newspaper picking garbage again to feed herself and her children. Jesus died a poor woman in 1977 and was buried in "a pauper's cemetery."[145]

It is important to recognize the conscious risks that Carolina Maria de Jesus took, that pulled her voice to the forefront and later left her neglected and ostracized,

[144] Levine, "The Cautionary Tale," 69.
[145] Ibid., 79.

as acts of courage. Her final years, although tragic, did not mark her as a tragic figure but as a true revolutionary willing to suffer for her convictions. As Carolina Maria de Jesus wrote in an early diary entry, "The politicians know that I am a poetess. And that a poet will even face death when he sees his people oppressed."[146]

[146] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 46.

CHAPTER THREE

Libere as Baianas: Self-realizing Performance and the Baiana de Acarajé

> A principal cartão postal de Salvador é nossas baianas de acarajé. Tudo mundo quer uma baiana no seu evento, no seu congresso, seja lá onde for. Então, nada mais justo estamos aqui juntas revindicando esse dereito. Por que não estamos dentro da Fonte Nova? O que nos leva não estarmos lá? Tá tudo errado. E a cultura, e o patrimonio material que é a baiana de acarajé fica onde dentro dessa história? É um evento mundial. O mundo enteiro vai estar assitindo isso. E a peça principal desse evento, dentro da Bahia, é a baiana de acarajé.[147]
>
> Jaciline Monteiro, Baiana de Acarajé

> She knows how to navigate among sources and types of knowledge and facilitates their circulation. Her body is not simply a metonym for the city and the larger social network. Rather, her embeddedness in her environment, the way her consciousness is bound up with the psychic pulse of the city, might suggest that each is the product of the other's performance.
>
> Diana Taylor, Archive and Repertoire

The 2014 FIFA World Cup hosted across twelve Brazilian cities opened on the tail of twelve months of consistent social unrest. Demonstrations drew crowds topping 100,000 into the streets of Brazil's urban centers to confront social issues including a twenty-cent increase in bus fare, police brutality, and rampant fiscal corruption.[148] This wave of protests which came to be know as the Movimento Passe Livre (Free Fare Movement, MPL) channeled its momentum in the months leading up to the

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[147] The primary postcard of Bahia is the baiana de acarajé. Everyone wants a baiana at their event, at their conference, anywhere. So, it is only right that we are here united claiming that right. Why aren't we inside the Fonte Nova? Why is it that we aren't there? It's completely wrong. And the culture, and the material of heritage that is the baiana de acarajé, where does that fit within this story? This is a global event. The entire world is watching. And the showpiece of this event—within Bahia, is the baiana de acarajé.
Carlos Prozanto. *Copa do Mundo da FIFA 2014 Sem as Baianas de Acarajé?*. 2013, Lamestiza AudioVisual.

[148] These demonstrations peaked on June 17th, 2013 with reports of over 100,000 participants in Rio de Janeiro and an estimated 250,000 nationwide.

World Cup into the Movimento Contra Copa (Anti Copa Movement, MCC) where the public called out FIFA along with local and federal government for launching urban development projects aimed at previously neglected host cities at the expense of Brazil's most impoverished communities. Among the most brutal encroachments upon the poor were numerous state sanctioned "removals" or mass evictions in periphery communities, or favelas, opening real estate speculation for tourist housing while also displacing large segments of poor black and brown residents to less central, and thus less visible, locales.

Critics of the Movimento Passe Livre and the Movimento Contra Copa argued that the majority of participants comprised a cross-section of young, educated, and middle class leftists with a loosely framed agenda and anarchist intentions. This assertion also drew attention to the racial implications of class and education as the masses who took to the streets at least appeared to be predominantly white—a disproportionate representation of Brazil's second largest afro-descended population worldwide. In addressing the arguable homogeneity of these demonstrations, both mainstream and alternative media took up the question of black invisibility in Brazil's public protests. And while the names of people of color such as Amarildo Dias de Souza, Cláudia Silva Ferreira, and Rafael Braga gained iconic recognition in street demonstrations, the apparent absence of the povo negro seemed to reinforce stereotypes of disengagement among Brazil's afro-descended population at times of political and social action.[149] As participants in the MPL and MCC paraded banners

[149] I reference three black civilians who were not involved in the protests of these movements but became poster children of sorts in the outcry against police violence.

and photos of disappeared Rochina favela resident, Amarildo de Souza— branding the slogan Cadê o Amarildo? (Where is Amarildo?), the underlying question of "Where is black Brazil?" persisted.

Filmmaker Jorge Coutinho takes this question of black invisibility in contemporary Brazilian uprisings to task with his 2013 short film, *E aí comunidade?* (*What's Up Community?*), where he offers the simple premise of a young black woman strolling through Rio's empty Sambadrome post carnival asking – Where were the people of the "communities" or favelas during the concurrent street protest? Coutinho's protagonist flashes between memories of collective festivity, rehearsing choreographies, learning the annual enredos, and building costumes with her community, the "morro."[150] She laments the lack of this cultural and social unity in her experiences as an alienated black woman of the hill in predominantly white middle-class crowds. In reminding his audience of the centrality of black cultural performance in public spectacle, Coutinho also brings attention to the relationship between public expressions of dissent and modes public festivity such as carnival. The

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Amarildo de Souza was the first case with his disappearance on June 13, 2013 from the Rochinha favela after last being seen in police custody. Souza was never found, and the question "Cadê o Amarildo?" or "Where is Amarildo?" resounded throughout the 2013 protests. Cláudia Silva Ferreira was a resident of Rio de Janeiro's Madureira favela who was struck by a stray bullet in a police shoot-out. Officers placed her in the trunk of their vehicle as they drove away, and cell phone documentation of her falling out of the trunk and being dragged alive through the street gained viral attention. Rafael Braga is resident of Rio de Janeiro who was living on the streets during the 2014 MCC protests. He was arrested among a group of protesters for using a bottle of pine cleaner to wash a spot of pavement to sleep— under the accusation that he wielded a Molotov cocktail. Braga was the only person among those arrested to remain imprisoned.

[150] Morro— meaning "the hill" or the favela community. Enredo— refers to the annual songs composed by samba schools that set the theme of each community's carnival procession.

invisibility of black Brazil in the MPL and the MCC seems especially striking considering the public sphere has historically served as the space where afro-derived masquerade and performance also channel spectacular gestures of release, transformation, and resistance.

While participants who may have identified as white were disproportionately visible in these demonstrations, it is important to acknowledge that protesters who may have identified as negro, preto, pardo, mulato fall subject to erasure through the generalizations that this debate allows. I propose as a counter to this quantitative evaluation of afro-Brazilian engagement in the 2013-14 Brazilian uprisings the argument that in many instances the contributions of black protesters acted as lighting rods, illuminating the poignancy of issues such as police brutality and complicating the assertions of their fellow activists. James Holston's study of street posters during the MPL highlights this friction between the middle-class and the periphery citing the following examples:

> One image portrays a person (deemed middle-class by formulaic associations of dress and physiognomy) carrying a poster that says, "Brazil [or, the giant] has awoken." Juxtaposed to it is an image of another person who carries a sign that refutes this claim directly by asserting, "You woke up now. The periphery never slept." In another set of images, a banner reads, "It's not about 20 cents, it's about rights." Juxtaposed to it is the sign "It's the fucking 20 cents damn

it" (É os 20 centavos pôrra), carried aloft by an enraged (often brown) body. (890)[151]

This chapter examines how marginalized communities challenge oppression in ways that reveal the entanglement between social resistance and self-preservation. Where the notion of taking to the streets implies divergent stakes based on markers such as class, sexuality, gender, or race, I call attention to protest performance that falls in line with methods of self-preservation and ultimately self-realization. This study traces how public demonstrations and culturally embedded spectacles enacted by networks of afro-Brazilian women serve as acts of self-realization, reminding more privileged communities that some legacies of resistance have "never slept" and have always been about "the fucking 20 cents."

In a confrontation that was dwarfed in scale by the MPL and the MCC, a small collective of Salvador's iconic figures of culture and tourism, the baianas de acarajé, also pressed back against FIFA's tactics of removal in preparation for the 2014 World Cup.[152] Roughly eight months before the opening ceremony, FIFA announced that the exclusively female and almost exclusively afro-descended baianas de acarajé would not be allowed to exercise their trade as vendors of traditional cuisine within Salvador's newly inaugurated stadium, the Itaipava Arena Fonte Nova. The baianas were further restricted to selling outside of the arena at a radius of two kilometers from entry turnstiles. Under the leadership of the Associação Nacional das Baianas de

[151] James Holston. "Come to the Street!: Urban Protest, Brazil 2013." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, 3 (2014): 890.
[152] Baianas de acarajé are popular street vendors of traditional cuisine of Brazil's Northeastern region.

Acarajé (ABAM), this small collective of black women entrepreneurs who had sold acarajé inside the previous Estadio Fonte Nova for sixty years refused exclusion from the event. The final decision to allow six baianas de acarajé and support staff to conduct business just inside the stadium's entry was the result of an extensive negotiation process and several public demonstrations organized under the slogan "libere as baianas."

The contrasting methods of mobilization and desired outcomes between this Libere as Baianas movement and the MCC underscores the entangled relationship between protest and self-realization that grounds this chapter. While vinegar-soaked handkerchiefs and gas masks became the trademark costuming of MCC protesters and black bloc factions (signaling their awareness of imminent police violence), the baianas de acarajé paraded in traditional white skirts and turbans, dancing and offering free acarajé to passersby. While the masses of the MCC flooded streets and social media under the threat "Não Vai Ter Copa," ABAM and its supporters demanded that there should in fact be a World Cup and further insisted upon their own inclusion.[153]

A likely misstep in understanding these conflicting approaches in anti FIFA protests would be to assign a politically moderate outlook to ABAM— to read the baianas' demand for inclusion as compliance with a system that struck most violently against their own communities. I rather frame the actions of the baianas de acarajé as especially radical and high-stakes. The Movimento Libere as Baianas falls in line with a continuum of culturally embedded resistance where the understanding of one's outwardly constructed subjectivity inspires performances that activate the construct

[153] There won't be a Cup!

toward a renegotiation of selfhood. Under the term self-realizing performance I frame such modes of resistance as active engagement in the negotiation of one's visibility under the otherwise limiting gaze of authority. Through performances of self-realization, the marginalized, the colonized, and specifically in this study the afro-Brazilian woman confronts her oppressor "putting the white man back in his place" as Fanon argued, and issuing the challenge— "accommodate me as I am."[154] The question of *how* this negotiation plays out, what tactics are employed either deliberately or intuitively, is central to the analysis of afro-Brazilian performance and cultural material. How does one generate in the eyes of the other the image that she demands for herself— as transcendent of the rooted constructs of colonial expanse, as transcendent of the psychological weight of eurocentrism? What are the ethics or strategies for such performance? These questions are as practical as they are discursive, and perhaps most legible through performances of cultural memory such as the trade of selling acarajé.

The baiana de acarajé's trade sets the neighborhood of Pelourinho as the central playing space for her spectacle. With Salvador being the first colonial capital of Brazil, and Pelourinho being Salvador's original city center, this historic district named for the pillory, or whipping post, places the torture of black bodies center-stage in Brazil's founding narrative. This site of public punishment for the supposed transgressions of enslaved people is at once preserved and reinvented in the staging of cultural memory through the baianas' daily negotiations. Here against the former backdrop of human trade, her performances of self-realization uphold a steady demand

[154] Fanon, *Black Skin White* Masks, 110.

for proximity while also triggering outward preoccupations with the possibility of being overwhelmed. The open market of Pelourinho's Praça da Sé further opens her image to commercially driven masquerades. Less authentic presentations of the baiana, usually performed by younger women in brightly colored costumes, invite tourists to pay for photographs, trinkets, and colorful "lembrança" ribbons tied around the wrist for good fortune. The haggle of this exchange mirrors the relentlessness of social exploitation. Her performance must continually push for more as she profits off the public's fascination with negra demais.

Moving from Diana Taylor's analysis of the embodied performance of cultural memory, the baiana de acarajé functions in this study as an intermediary figure activating her body as "the receptor, storehouse, transmitter of knowledge that comes from the archive and from the repertoire of embodied knowledge."[155] I study her performance of cultural memory as an act of self-realization, employing her right to opacity while demanding visibility under the dominant gaze. The final questions posed in this analysis, "What is it about the baiana?" and "What is it that the baiana has?" are inspired by Dorival Caymmi's famous samba, "O que é que a baiana tem?" I offer two translations of this question, the implied and the literal, to guide a study of the intangible excess of her performance and the material engagements that her image invites.

O Movimento Libere as Baianas: Self-realization through Cultural Memory

[155] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 81.

Diana Taylor establishes a model for understanding how cultural memory is housed in both the material and mental spaces that groups share through her elaboration on the figure of the intermediary in the third chapter of *The Archive and the Repertoire*, "Memory as Cultural Practice." Using Emilio Carballido's character in *Yo también hablo de la rosa* (1965), Taylor identifies in the intermediary a convergence of knowledge harvested from the past, the present, and imaginings of the future that is interwoven with the spaces where culture is enacted.[156] In the case of Carballido's intermediary, her body becomes more than a metaphor for the knowledge that she transmits to her passersby and more than a metaphor for the city that houses these memories. She rather corporealizes her environment making space and history selfsame with her heart—the organ that houses memory in her worldview. In 'fleshing out' this entanglement between urban space, cultural memory, and corporeality, Taylor poses the question, "How does one come to inhabit and envision one's body as coextensive with one's environment and one's past?"[157] It is a question that can also be posed in relation to the baiana de acarajé. More specifically, the act of social removal exacted by FIFA's displacement of black bodies preceding the 2014 World Cup warrants the converse of this question—how does one come to *vacate* and *disregard* her body from an environment and past with which she holds a coextensive relationship?

When Jaciline Monteiro speaks out against her removal from Salvador's Fonte Nova during a Libere as Baianas protest, this anxiety over the entanglement of her

[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid., 82.

body, her environment, and history surfaces. She first affirms the role of the baiana de acarajé as "a principal cartão postal de Salvador."[158] With her relationship to a larger history of afro-descended women's performance in the public sphere undermined by FIFA's tactics, Monteiro responds along the lines of Diana Taylor's logic asking, "e a cultura, e o patrimonio material que é a baiana de acarajé fica onde dentro dessa história?"[159] This question of where the baiana de acaraje belongs (historically and spatially) once disallowed her customary position at Fonte Nova not only reinforces her institutionalized role as "patrimônio material" of Salvador, but it also underscores the indivisibility of her physical presence from the colonial past that her performance recalls.[160] Taylor frames cultural memory as a sensorially inspired mode of performance that connects "the deeply private" with "official" practices. This link between the deeply private gestures of lived experience and the public performance of cultural heritage that the baiana de acarajé projects is essential to understanding her trade as a mode of self-realization. Juceline Monteiro, for example, does not naïvely align herself as a fully enfranchised element of the system under which she labors. She speaks to the handling of her presence with sharp awareness— "Tudo mundo quer uma baiana no seu evento, no seu congresso, seja lá onde for." Yet she protects her right to inclusion in FIFA's brutally planned mega event with a clear sense of pride and authority. In living out her title as the "principal cartão postal do Salvador," the

[158] the primary postcard of Salvador
[159] And where does the culture and the cultural heritage that is the baiana de acarajé fit within this history?
[160] On October 26, 2012 Jaques Wagner, Governor of Bahia officially declared baianas de acarajé "patrimonial material da Bahia"— figures of cultural heritage of Bahia.

baiana de acarajé also employs her body towards the re-presentation and preservation of cultural memory.

The demand for inclusion in state sanctioned events can be understood more broadly as an attachment to a particular "scene of desire" to which the baianas de acarajé hold dubious access. FIFA's mandate to restrict their presence to two kilometers away from the stadium's main gates only underscores the contingency of citizenship experienced in everyday life as individual entrepreneurs who also carry the markers and impositions of gender, race, and class. Participants in the Movimento Libere as Baianas held an especially problematic attachment to the possibilities that mega-events such as the World Cup promise, considering the detrimental impact of FIFA's actions against peripheral communities. I borrow Lauren Berlant's framework here to stress the complexity of these assertions of belonging that Monteiro and her colleagues drove home. This attachment to the "scene of desire" that the 2014 World Cup presented is also particularly tied to the female and colonized experiences. I understand this cognitive dissonance under Berlant's notion of "cruel optimism" in that "the very vitalizing or animating potency" of inclusion "contributes to the attrition of the very thing that is supposed to be made possible in the work of the attachment in the first place."[161] Framing the trade of the baiana de acarajé as an intermediary role uncovers the reconciliatory nature of her activism without diminishing the immediacy of her demand for inclusion. The cruel optimism of her desire to maintain a designated place within the system heightens the stakes of her protest. She defends her right to embody a cultural heritage as this performance is necessarily bound to her livelihood.

[161] Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 21.

At the same inaugural protest, an elder baiana de acarajé (unidentified) similarly contemplates these elements of corporeal presence, cultural practice, and location. Her comments taper off into whispers as if pondering them for herself as much as the interviewer, and conclude with the impossibility of such dis-integration. She shares:

> Eu vendo na Fonte Nova ha 50 anos.
> Eu criei 12 filhos dependente da Fonte Nova.
> Dizem que a baiana vai atrapalhar eles…
> Interviewer: Como atrapalhar?
> Não, não atrapalhamos eles.
> É a sobrevivência nossa.
> E pra eles até bom ter uma baiana de acarajé no estadio.
> Que—
> Onde não tem baiana de acarajé? Não tem nada em frente,
> É isso, não?
> Nos somos tradição… (whispers) da Bahia
> Qual é um evento que não tem uma baiana?
> Não pode. A baiana…
> e agora Fonte Nova sem baiana, come é que pode?
> Não pode.[162]

Media activist Carlos Pronzato, (best known for his 2003 film, *Revolta do Buzu*), documented the inaugural protest cited here where Jaciline Monteiro, the elder baiana, and members of ABAM demonstrated outside Fonte Nova in the height of MCC activity. Pronzato interviewed the protesting baianas to circulate the story across digital platforms, eventually culminating with his short documentary *Copa do Mundo Sem as Baianas*? By the date of this demonstration ABAM had partnered with Change.org and presented a petition with 15,328 signatures calling on FIFA to

[162] I've sold at the Fonte Nova for fifty years. I raised twelve children off my work at Fonte Nova. They say the baiana will interfere with them. (Interviewer) How will you interfere with them? – No, no we won't interfere. It's our livelihood. And it's always been fine for them having a baiana de acarajé in the stadium. What—Where do they not have a baiana de acaraje? They won't have anything in front, is that right? We are tradition… of Bahia. What is an event without a baiana de acarajé? It can't be. The baiana… and now the Fonte Nova without a baiana, how can it be? It can't be.

"garantir espaços específicos ao redor dos estádios na Bahia para as baianas vendedoras de acarajés**."**[163] ABAM President Rita Santos presented the petition to Secretary of Political and Social Relations José Claudionor on behalf of then President Dilma Rouseff, insisting that FIFA's actions threaten their access to *all* games. Santos reminds Claudinonor that "a baiana não come só no dia da FIFA; a baiana come todos os dias."[164] The event and the movement generated a wave of interest, and with the help of this internationally supported petition the protest was well attended by both mainstream and alternative media outlets.

Prozanto's footage shows the protesting baianas de acarajé gathered outside the new Fonte Nova amidst ongoing construction. The women are impeccably styled in traditional white embroidered dresses, full skirts, petticoats, elaborate jewelry, and head wraps. They smile holding signs and banners that read, "FIFA 15,328 assinharam: LIBERE AS BAIANAS nos jogos da COPA 2014."[165] Behind them portable toilets, construction cranes, and a digital counter of the days until the event reading, "FALTAM 433 DIAS PARA A COPA DO MUNDO DA FIFA BRASIL 2014," underscore the timeliness of their cause.[166] Some baianas quietly tend to acarajé behind their tabuleiros, squeezing bean paste into small balls that are fried in hot dendê oil. The majority of the protesting women form a small procession. They sing— olé, olé, olé, olá… baiana vai lutar!— a re-appropriation of the popular soccer chant that rapper Pitbull, Jennifer Lopez, and Brazilian pop star, Cláudia Leitte would

[163] to guarantee designated spaces around the stadiums in Bahia for the baiana sellers of acarajé.
[164] the baiana doesn't only eat on FIFA's day; the baiana eats every day.
[165] FIFA 15,328 signed: FREE THE BAIANAS in the 2014 WORD CUP games.
[166] 433 DAYS UNTIL FIFA'S WORLD CUP BRAZIL 2014

also appropriate in the official 2014 World Cup song, "We Are One (Olé Olá)." Members of the procession wield giant wooden spoons with the word "acarajé" painted in red, the same style of prop used in their trade to pose with customers for a small fee. A few carry large steel pots and ladles, banging the metal in time with their singing.

ABAM protest at Fonte Nova Sadium, 2013

What stands out in this protest is the fine balance between ceremony and dissent that the baianas de acarajé manage. The representatives of ABAM mince no words in expressing their disdain for FIFA, yet they also make it clear that the goal of this movement is not to halt or disturb Salvador's hosting of the event. The women arrange themselves around the active construction in a tight configuration that allows workers and vehicles to function without inconvenience, keeping good on the promise that the baiana de acarajé 'não vai atrapalhar eles.' A crowd of supporters joins in on in the call and response of their song, but not with the charge of coconspirators in a war against FIFA. They rather function as an adoring audience, clapping and professing reverence to the baianas as part of the cultural fabric of Bahia. The show would go on with or without them. And amidst the wave of the MCC's massive

protests aimed at shutting down the event altogether, the baianas and their crowd project a desire to actually see the show go on. Media activists had consolidated most anti-Copa propaganda on social media under the hashtag #nãovaitercopa (#therewontbeacup) and a secondary hashtag, #imaginanacopa (#imaginedurringthecup) that mocked the absurdity and danger of Brazil's neglected infrastructure during waves of tourism. The Movimento Libere as Baianas prompted anti FIFA activists to reconcile the possibility that there could and should be a Copa after all—if only in the interest of the baianas de acarajé's livelihood. More so, this protest challenged those who had cynically imagined catastrophes of infrastructure through the hashag #imaginanacopa to rather imagine the World Cup hosted by Salvador without the baianas de acarajé. The response to such a possibility heard throughout this demonstration was conclusively—*não pode*.

I turn to discourse of the colonized Caribbean subject in reading the Movimento Libere as Baianas to pinpoint two methods of self-realizing performance at play, Édouard Glissant's notion of the right to opacity and Franz Fanon's elaboration on hyper-visibility. Both offer alternatives modes of being, resistant methods of duping fixation under the dominant gaze that are particularly evident in the trade of the baiana de acarajé as well as her protest tactics. Glissant's right to opacity offers the colonized subject a "rightful escape far from any legitimacy anchored silently or resolutely in possession and conquest."[167] Fanon's employment of hyper-visibility rather demands legitimacy, striking out against fixation and "alerting the prolific antennae of the world, standing in the spotlight of the world, spraying the

[167] Glissant, *Poetics of Relation,*189.

world with his poetical power."[168] Recognizing opacity and hyper-visibility as paramount theories in understanding the construction of afro-Caribbean identity, the baiana de acarajé's performance further highlights an entangled relationship between the body, cultural memory, and space that the afro-descended woman negotiates when realizing her own sense of self.

The unfathomable proposition that an event the scale of the World Cup hosted by Salvador would happen without the baiana de acarajé speaks to the irreducibility of a creolized existence. The figure of the baiana cannot conceivably be removed from the equation of Salvador and collective festivity. Exercising the right to opacity offers the alternative of "subsistence within an irreducible singularity;" it offers the baiana de acaraje a self-celebrating autonomy that reorganizes coexistence within the larger scheme as errant, rhizomatic, and interwoven.[169] The baianas' protest did not seek to justify their investment in an oppressive institution and event. Nor did the Movimento Libere as Baianas defer to the strategies of other revolutionary movements past or present. Their demonstrations were careful to maintain the integrity of the customs they practice in the daily trade of selling acarajé and in traditions such as the annual Lavagem do Bonfim, the Dia das Baianas de Acarajé, and carnival. Her performance offers the onlooker the totality of her mode of resistance without decoding or translating the experience for outside comprehension.

On October 2nd of 2013, after finalizing the resolution to allow six baianas and assisting staff to set up tabuleiros inside the Fonte Nova, ABAM hosted a cleansing or

[168] Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks,* 107.
[169] Gilssant, *Poetics of Relation*, 190.

lavagem of the stadium's entry stairway.[170] This ceremony marking their return to the space where several had labored for decades was staged in line with the traditions of the annual Festa do Bonfim where baianas lead a procession to the historic Igreija do Bonfim and perform a cleansing of the stairs with perfumed water. As a restorative ritual, this cleansing signaled the return to their place of practice in a way that challenged the public to expand awareness of the movement to the broad totality of their struggle. In cleansing the steps of the Fonte Nova the baianas de acaraje call on the public to "focus on the texture of the weave and not the nature of its components."[171]

The difference between the Movimento Libere as Baiana's demand for inclusion within the system and fellow anti-FIFA activists' call for a complete shutdown of the system is clearly tied to the fact that the World Cup and similar mega-events provide a means of subsistence to the baianas. The rhetoric of their movement showed no naïveté regarding the racism and sexism exacted in FIFA's removal. Cristina da Silva, a protesting baiana de acarajé, stresses this at the inaugural demonstration arguing: "Baiana de acarajé e profissão de ancestralidade, e mais uma vez eu veijo ahí uma inclinaão, propensão racial dentro de Salvador—cidade de 80% ou 90% por cento de negros. Isso a genten não pode permitir."[172] I suggest that the ability to join in on shutting down of an oppressive system is a luxury that the baianas de acarajé and similarly marginalized communities cannot always afford. Further, the

[170] Tabuleiros are the stands where baianas de acarajé conduct business.
[171] Ibid.
[172] the baiana de acarajé is an ancestral profession, and once again I'm seeing an inclination, a racial bias within Salvador—a city that is 80 – 90% black. We cannot allow this.

choice to demand acknowledgement of one's presence, to impose hyper-visibility against outward impositions, should not be simplified as complacency or selling out.

The argument for hyper-visibility moves from the very personal realization that the black body is "always-already" actively gazed upon, called out, and defined outside of its own perspective. As Silva and her comrades paraded their traditions in the name of inclusion they did not lose sight of their condition as black women. They rather draw attention to it while refusing erasure. Fanon grounds the notion of fixation under the white gaze in practical terms as "the lived experience of the black man," and the Movimento Libere as Baianas reminds the onlooker that resistance is bound up in the brutality of everyday life. Memory becomes the mode of reconciling this state of being objectified, as Fanon writes: "I came into this world anxious to uncover the meaning of things, my soul delirious to be at the origin of the world, and here I am an object among other objects."[173] It is a bleak but empowering realization to come to terms with the fact that, despite one's purest desires, the colonized subject lives through a construct that precedes her creation. To imagine her own desires outside of the constructs of race and gender, she must draw upon memories that exceed the boundaries of her existence. Hyper-visibility as a mode of self-realization exposes the cruelty of this lived experience while relishing in the act of being seen. The trade of the baiana de acarajé flaunts the richness of her traditions, her attire, her sensorial trappings while also making visible the pathology of Brazil's founding narrative. As a performer of cultural memory, the baiana de acarajé refuses the denial of history; she perpetually prompts her public to remember.

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[173] Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks,* 89.

O que é que a baiana tem? Why the Baiana was Demais for FIFA

> Trabalhei com acarajé há 40 anos, a mais de 40 anos trabalho dentro da Fonte Nova. Hoje em dia quero voltar, retornar ao meu lugar de origem que é a Arena Fonte Nova pra vender o acarajé que foi do nosso sustento. É da onde a gente tira nosso sustento. Eles não querem deixar a gente trabalhar la dentro. Eles querem proibir a Baiana. Eles querem botar acarajé congelado pra vender lá dentro. É congelado, mas não querem botar a baiana.[174]
>
> Marijane Bonfim dos Santos, Baiana de Acarajé

The question of why FIFA took such measures to exclude Brazil's most iconic figure of tourism and hospitality from the newly inaugurated Fonte Nova is essential to this analysis of the Movimento Libere as Baianas as it reflects back to issues of outward perception and overwhelming studied in Chapter One. Fonte Nova had welcomed the baianas de acarajé for over sixty years before its reconstruction. As several participants in the movement testified, the arena was the place of commerce that helped many provide a living for themselves and their families without causing disruption to the games or fellow vendors. Marijane Bonfim dos Santos gets to the core of this removal with her summation that FIFA's organizing committee "qurem botar acarajé conjelado pra vender lá dentro… mas não querem botar a baiana." In fact, the menus offered by approved vendors did include ready-made frozen acarajé, and ABAM President, Rita Santos, was careful to cite this fact as she addressed local

[174] I've worked with acarajé for 40 years, more than 40 years I've worked inside the Fonte Nova. Today I want to go back, to return to my place of origin which is the Fonte Nova Arena to sell acarajé which is my livelihood. It is how we make our living. They don't want to let us work inside. They want to ban the baiana. They want to put frozen acarajé inside. Yeah, frozen but they don't want to put up with the baiana.

representative Ronaldo "Fenômeno" Nazário de Lima, Director of Communications Milesi Saint-Claire, and President of FIFA Joseph Blatter in her Change.org petition. Pointing to the insult of FIFA's actions in bold font she writes, **"**Eles 'permitem' os acarajés dentro dos estádios, mas não as baianas."[175] Santos continues with implications that vendors of traditional foods would not meet health and insurance codes necessary for an event of such magnitude. Again, Santos calls out the insult of this suggestion:

> Claro que segurança, higiene e alimentação saudável devem estar entre as preocupações da organização de um evento tão grande e impactante, mas isso não pode ser influenciado por interesses de patrocinadores, como a rede McDonald's. Eles terão espaço garantido para seus hambúrgueres?"[176]

One of the most expressed rationales as to why FIFA removed the baianas de acarajé was the possibility that they would pose viable competition to McDonald's, the cosponsoring corporation that was set to occupy the majority of concession space. If the fight between the baianas de acarajé and FIFA represented a David vs. Goliath paring, then this preoccupation that the baianas de acarajé would pose a threat to McDonald's multi million dollar marketing machine speaks to the amplified power perceived in her presence. Despite their popularity in Salvador's public sphere, the gross imbalance in resources between McDonald's and the baianas de acarajé

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[175] Rita Santos. "Queremos baianas e acarajés na Copa 2014 #baianasnacopa." 2013. https://www.change.org/p/queremos-baianas-e-acaraj%C3%A9s-na-copa-de-2014-baianasnacopa

[176] Of course safety, hygiene, and healthy food should be among the priorities of such a large and impactful event, but this cannot be influenced in the interests of your sponsors such as the McDonald's corporation. Will they have space reserved for your hamburgers?

discredits any notion of a competitive conflict of interest. This question of why FIFA sought to remove the baianas is necessarily trailed by the question—What is it about the baiana that sparks adoration in the streets of Pelourinho, in tourism materials, and as a fundamental wing of all carnival processions but is refused proximity at an event such as the World Cup?

The act of removal, of taking a body of individuals away from the place they previously occupied, implies a perception that this group exists in excess. Either in the quality or quantity of their presence, a community marked for removal is marked as disruptive to the ideal design. FIFA's actions suggest that the baiana de acarajé's labor would unsettle what the organization imagined to be an optimal equilibrium inside the new Fonte Nova. This is analogous to the nationwide removals of favela communities in preparation for the 2014 World Cup, suggesting that large populations of poor black and brown people disturbed the environment that Brazil hoped to offer incoming tourists. It can further be aligned with the disappearances and arrests of young men of color along popular beach strips and shopping districts during the events, suggesting that their proximity to Brazil's most exclusive neighborhoods threatened the safety and balance of consumerism. Abdias do Nascimento credits Brazil's complicated relationship with racial proximity to a slave economy based on "a very special type of racism, an exclusive Luso-Brazilian creation"[177] where enslaved peoples were held in close quarters with their oppressors under the casa grande e a senzala social

[177] Nascimento, *Brazil, Mixture or Massacre?,* 9.

foundation.[178] With Brazil's black population making up the largest body of African-descended peoples in the Western Hemisphere and the second largest population worldwide, the drive to manage and minimize black presence has historically taken such extremes as strategic miscegenation, displacement, incentivized European immigration, and underrepresentation in national media. The problem of too much blackness, of "negrx" demais, has inspired genocidal strokes at social whitening rooted in Portugal's leading role in the transatlantic slave trade with roughly five million enslaved Africans brought to Brazil between 1501 and 1866.

In the case of the baianas de acarajé, FIFA's sudden attempt at removal shows a preoccupation with too much blackness that is just as gendered as it is raced. Brazil's culture of "país de futból" celebrates athletic virility and lends some entry, albeit very contingent, to the visibility of black masculinity.[179] Ironically, Rita Santos, president of ABAM who spearheaded the Movimento Libere as Baianas, is also the mother of Felipe Ventura dos Santos, goalie for Rio de Janeiro's Flamengo team. I point this out to suggest that the exclusion of this group of matronly figures reflects an ambivalence that is uniquely expressed towards black women. More so, FIFA's ban on vendors of traditional fare targeted the baiana de acarajé in a way that targeted the performance tied to her labor. Something about the baiana's performance of cultural identity— the memories of colonial practices she elicits, her preservation of pre-colonial African traditions, her representation of spiritual practices outside of the onlooker's

[178] I refer to Gilberto Freyre's 1933 anthropological study of the formation of Brazilian society based on a plantation system that housed enslaved individuals in close proximity to the ruling minority.
[179] Football country—referring to criticism that Brazil's national obsession with soccer dilutes social engagement.

cosmology— some element or combination of these elements tipped the scale of FIFA's tolerance.

As Judith Butler foregrounds, identity, gender, and subjectivity may be performed through the repetition or imitation of mundane behaviors. But Butler also affirms in her analysis of sexuality an element that escapes performance—that which belongs to one's most authentic experience of self rooted in the unconscious. Butler's notion of psychic excess takes into account the implacable realm of being that cannot be replicated or understood within the bounds of performance.[180] As a product of the occasion of interpellation, Butler locates psychic excess in the overlap between one's truest nature and performable behaviors that are presupposed in line with dominant identities such as heterosexuality. She points out that "social interpellation always produces a psychic excess it cannot control."[181] The relationship between dominant or normative modes of behavior and the realization of an authentic self produces an inevitable conflict of interests. As Butler argues, "the power imposed upon one is the power that animates one's emergence, and there appears to be no escaping this ambivalence."[182]

This notion of psychic excess applied to the baiana de acarajé's performance of race, gender, and most importantly here, cultural memory helps locate that ungraspable something about her that troubles the dominant gaze. Her performance of afrocentric femininity is essentially bound to the violence of colonization that

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[180] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Palo Alto: Stanford
University Press, 1997), 198.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.

"animates her emergence," and at the same time her role as intermediary preserves the psychic excess rooted in the origins of her subjectivity. Just as sexuality cannot be wholly performed because the incongruence between psychic excess and the imitation of socially constructed behaviors would reveal a lack of felicity and truth, the baiana de acarajé's performance exposes truths of cultural memory that exceed her public's desired perception of Brazil's colonial legacy.

The "something" about the baiana that motivated FIFA's removal is a reflection of the public perception of negra demais. More importantly, her projection of black feminine power and cultural memory is a *performance* of negra demais that unmasks harsh social truths through the masquerade of her trade. I relate this to Gerard Aching's reading of Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance*, specifically the character Aldrick's struggle with his annual performance of the dragon dance as he forges a path towards "self-possession." Aching identifies in the masquerading practices of Trinidadian Carnival legacies of "earnest reaffirmation of identity in the face of a history of socioeconomic oppression."[183] The reader gleans through Aldrick's journey tactics of masquerading where cultural tradition reflects back at the dominant gaze in coded and corporeal challenges to the limitations of subjectivity. Citing Errol Hill's analysis of blackening already black skin in the "molasses negro" masquerade, Aching points out the transcendence found in the invocation of pre-colonial tradition where the material of the mask, a mixture of soot and molasses "publicly exposes and denounces the objectification of blacks in the agricultural and

[183] Gerard Aching, *Masking and Power: Carnival and Popular Culture in the Caribbean.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 59.

industrial production of sugar that dominant social classes normally ignored during the rest of the year."[184]

Under the term "demasking," Aching pinpoints the capacity of public cultural performance to trouble revisionist recollections of colonial empire, to transcend constructs of identity that presuppose ones own experience, and to essentially rub the material of socio-economic oppression in the dominant public's face. Aldrick activates his demasking masquerade through the very deliberate construction of his dragon costume using materials and craftsmanship that hold deeply personal significance to his own experience. Aching argues, "Aldrick's dragon becomes an archive of unfulfilled promises, obstinate hope, and the "miracle of their surviving."[185] The baiana de acarajé similarly constructs her performance of cultural memory from the specificity and significance of the materials she employs. Beyond reminding the public of the glitch between their idealized memory of Brazil's imperial times, the trappings of her performance activate her ancestral legacies. The intricate details of her dress— beaded necklaces blessed for protection, charm broaches harnessing personal strength, fabrics wrapped for functionality as well as reverence— interact with her public reflecting negra demais against their curiosities. The question, "O que é que a baiana tem?" famously posed in Dorival Caymmi's 1933 samba can be translated for its implied meaning as "What is it about the baiana" or literally as "What is it that the baiana *has*?" Having explored the first translation in this study of the ungraspable "something" that motivated FIFA's attempt at removal, I turn to the

[184] Ibid., 17.
[185] Ibid., 60.

materiality of her trade and the trappings of her masquerade in a study of Caymmi and Carmen Miranda's collaborative interpretations of the baiana de acarajé.

Todo Mundo Gosta de Acaraje: Material Engagements with the Baiana de Acarajé

> Dez horas da noite na rua deserta
> A preta mercando parece um lamento
> Iê o abará!
> Na sua gamela tem molho cheiroso
> Pimenta da costa, tem acarajé
>
> Ô acarajé é cor!
> Ô lá lá io!
> Vem benzer tá quentinho!
>
> Todo mundo gosta de acarajé
> O trabalho que dá pra fazer o que é
> Todo mundo gosta de abará
> Ninguém quer saber o trabalho que dá[186]
>
> Dorival Caymmi, "A Preta do Acarajé" (1939)

Dorival Caymmi's 1939 samba, "A Preta do Acarajé" ("The Black Woman of Acarajé") expresses similar sentiments to Marijane Bonfim dos Santos' frustration with FIFA's appreciation for frozen acarajé over her body and her labor. The samba, originally recorded as a duet with Carmen Miranda, tells of a lone baiana de acarajé

[186] 10 o'clock at night on the deserted street
the black woman is calling out, it sounds like sorrow
Iê o abara!
She has an aromatic sauce in her trough
African peppers, she has acarajé
The acarajé is ready!
Ô la la io!
Come bless it, it's nice and hot!
Everyone likes acarajé
What work it takes to make it
Everyone likes abará
but nobody wants to know the work that goes into it.

calling out to an empty street. The sensorial pleasures of the dish, its fragrance and spice, are juxtaposed against the baiana's implied exhaustion. "Everyone likes acarajé, what work it takes to make it / Everyone likes abará, nobody wants to know the work that it goes into it." This song stands out among Caymmi's other famous sambas about the baiana for its melancholic and arguably more realistic depiction of her experience. It is the only Caymmi composition that frames the baiana de acarajé's performance as labor and further acknowledges her sentience. In this song the baiana is weighed against her acarjé and abará as simply another object of the public sphere. The tragedy lies in her awareness that the other items presented at her tabuleiro are appreciated with greater nuance than her presence. The public's disinterest in the labor she puts into these products denies her the right to be regarded as a complete individual.

Again, Glissant's right to opacity is reflected against the baiana's embeddedness within a totality that offers only measured understanding of her image. Simultaneously, Fanon's call for hyper-visibility is reflected in her cry to an absent public. The baiana's "Iê o abará! is launched as if projecting Fanon's words, "I want to see reflected in the eyes of the other an image of myself that satisfies me."[187] The baiana de acarajé's resistance to objectification under the dominant gaze is complicated by her public's relationship with the material items involved in her performance. Even as Caymmi empathizes with her arduous labor, the poetry of his lyrics is devoted almost exclusively to the acarajé and the objects involved it its preparation. The only description of the subject of this portrait, the baiana de acarajé,

[187] Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks,* 187.

is "preta," establishing her as just another "object among objects."[188] Caymmi's recognition of everyone's love for acarajé only worsens her state, deeming her an object among *more enticing* objects. Indeed, under Robin Bernstein's analysis of human engagement with the material, the baiana de acarajé's performance "distinguishes" the items of her tabuleiro from objects. Her performance of cultural tradition, religious ritual, and entrepreneurship imbues the "objects" she employs with the agency of "things." If the baiana de acarajé is indistinct here among the material of her self-crafted design, the thing's capacity to "demand that people confront it on its own terms" complicates her performance of self-realization.[189] Her social position as a black woman of the public sphere leaves her "always already" dodging objectification, and her public perceives the material of her trade as possessing an autonomous charge. As seen in the Movimento Libere as baianas, when the acarajé "asserts itself within a field of matter," the baiana is left open to extraction.[190]

Caymmi's most famous samba, "O que é que a baiana tem?" more exhaustively scrutinizes the material elements surrounding the baiana's image. The literal translation of the lyric, "what is it that the baiana has?" is awoken as Caymmi rolls through a list of the intricate trappings of her costume:

> Que é que a baiana tem?
> Tem torso de seda, tem!
> Tem brincos de ouro, tem!
> Corrente de ouro, tem!
> Tem pano-da-costa, tem!
> Tem bata rendada, tem!

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[188] Ibid., 89.
[189] Robin Bernstein, "Dances with Things: Material Culture and the Performance of Race." *Social Text*, no. 101 (2009), 101.
[190] Ibid.

Pulseira de ouro, tem!
Tem pano-da-costa,tem!
Tem saia engomada, tem!
Sandália enfeitada, tem![191]

The song's detailed attention to the baiana's attire followed by the exclamation "tem!" reads as a checklist that confirms the thoroughness of her presentation while also deconstructing her image for the listener's comprehension. This inventory of the baiana's accessories is then followed by a nod to her corporeal talents—the quality of her rolling hips when she sambas and her unparalleled grace. In a lyric that carries doubled meaning Caymmi expresses the conflicted feelings of pleasure and paranoia that capture the preoccupation with negra demais. The song continues:

Quando você se requebrar
caia por cima de mim
caia por cima de mim
caia por cima de mim

Um rosário de ouro
Uma bolota assim
Quem não tem balangandãs
Não vai no Bonfim[192]

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[191] What does the baiana have?
She has a silk sash, she does!
She has golden earrings, she does!
Gold chains, she does!
She has an embroidered shawl, she does!
She has a lace gown, she does!
A gold bracelet, she does!
She has an embroidered shawl, she does!
She has a starched skirt, she does!
Jeweled sandals, she does!

[192] When you wind you hips
you fall on top of me, you fall on top of me,
you fall on top of me.
A golden rosary,
an acorn charm like that,

The baiana's onlooker indulges in the sensuality of her movements, and his fantasy of her falling on top of him exposes a fascination with being overwhelmed by negra demais. The lyric evokes sexual desire, fear, and resistance to the religious aspect of her practice— to fall upon someone in this context is also understood as being mounted by a spiritual entity. As if to reassume the composure of the song's onlooker, Caymmi's final verse breaks the fantasy and returns to taking inventory of the baiana's sacred accessories. This inventory of her costuming deconstructs the totality of her self-realized image. It maneuvers around her assertion of opacity that allows only partial access to each item's significance. Most importantly, it invites the baiana's audience to interact with the material of her presentation in her absence.

This first collaboration with Carmen Miranda marked Caymmi's early rise to becoming one of Brazil's most prized composers of samba and bossa nova. Miranda's performance of the song would also launch her international career and iconic image as "the lady in the tutti frutti hat." Shortly after its original recording in 1939, Miranda immortalized "O que é que a baiana tem" in the musical film, *Banana da terra* (1939), where she bounces the question off a group of male singers dressed in typical malandro attire before a backdrop simulating Salvador's historic Pelourinho district. Miranda, in sequined and embellished approximations of the baiana's traditional dress, points to each accessory with an air of pageantry, drawing attention to the decadence of the complete ensemble. In the song's refrain, Miranda's baiana allows her malandro

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those who don't wear balangandãs
won't go to Bonfim.

onlookers to approach her and touch each item. This camp performance of the baiana de acarajé also parodies the scriptive capacity of the material of the baiana's performance, drawing the onlooker "into an awareness of the self in material relation to the thing."[193]

Miranda's white skin and the white skin of her adoring malandros provide an opening for a low-stakes engagement with the costume. A Portuguese citizen by birth, Miranda founded her iconic baiana masquerade in this performance of "O que é que a baiana tem?" The balance of whiteness and afro-Brazilian material culture that Miranda's baiana delivered pleased her national audience before being successfully exported. Within Brazil, the baiana's blackness had to be removed from the equation to satisfy the dominant culture's whitewashed fantasy of brasilidade. On the international scale, an extraction of the baiana's blackness was also necessary to satisfy interest in a generalized Pan-Latin American feminine identity. With negra removed from the aesthetic of the baiana' s image, camp and whiteness find 'fruitful' engagement with the demais of the baiana's trappings. Stephanie Denison and Lisa Shaw describe Caymmi and Miranda's process of rehearsing "O que é que a baiana tem?" as such:

> It is said that (Caymmi) went to Miranda's house where he taught her the lyrics and suggested appropriate gestures and inflections for her performance. The baiana outfit, with its characteristic turban, frills, and beads was adapted from the black street vendors of Salvador da Bahia, and was already a popular choice of fancy dress for carnival among both men and women. White skinned

[193] Ibid., 101.

> baianas like Miranda permeated Brazil's music hall tradition, and doubtless featured heavily in the first carnival documentaries.[194]

With the help of Caymmi's coaching, Miranda's performance of the baiana de acarajé lent national exposure to an already existing trend of appropriating the baiana's image through material engagement. Miranda's performance of "O que é que a baiana tem?" in *Banana da terra* is credited with bringing terms such as "balagandãn" into mainstream Brazil's lexicon. *Banana da terra* would also be Miranda's last appearance in a Brazilian national film before exporting her baiana performance with tremendous success.

Caymmi's 1947 samba, *Lá vem a baiana*, maintains his investment in the material of the baiana's performance while upping the stakes of her onlooker's paranoia. Caymmi sings the initial verse:

> Lá vem a baiana
> de saia rodada, sandália bordada,
> vem me convidar para sambar
> mas eu não vou.
> Lá vem a baiana
> coberta de contas, pisando nas pontas
> achando que eu sou o seu iôiô,
> mas eu não vou.
> Lá vem a baiana
> mostrando os encantos, falando dos santos
> dizendo que é filha do senhor do bonfim.
> Mas, pra cima de mim?[195]

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[194] Stephanie Denison and Lisa Shaw, *Brazilian National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 52.

[195] Here comes the *baiana* in her full skirt, embroidered sandals, she comes to invite me to samba… but I'm not going. Here comes the *baiana* covered in beads, walking on her tip-toes, thinking that I'm her *iôiô*… (yo-yo and/or Master) but I'm not going. Here comes the *baiana* showing off her charms talking about the saints (orixás) saying she's a daughter of Senhor do Bomfim (Oxalá/Church of Bomfim) but on top of me?

In this depiction, the baiana's image is communicated through the haze of her onlooker's anxiety. This inventory of her material elements projects less fascination than "O que é que a baiana tem," rather expressing increased apprehension a she approaches. Once again, her image is difficult to place. The voice of the song proves unreliable, and the listener is disoriented by the conflicting behaviors assigned to the baiana. Is she approaching the onlooker or is the onlooker approaching her? Is she already there? Is she dancing a samba or is she showing off her accessories and speaking of the saints? The song undermines all of these possibilities when its most overtly paranoid lyric, "pensando que eu sou o seu iôiô," presupposes knowledge of the baiana's thoughts and intentions, suggesting that some or all of her performance may actually play out in the onlooker's imagination. "Pensando que eu sou o seu iôiô" translated here as "thinking that I'm her yoyo" is more precisely understood for its double significance. The terms iôiô and iaiá appear frequently in afro-Brazilian traditional music and culture as abbreviations of "Senhor" or "Sinhá/Senhora"—referencing the slave master and lady of the estate. The onlooker frets that the baiana will toy with him and at the same time fantasizes over the possibility that she will allow him to assume dominance. He repeatedly attempts to quell his angst with the insistence, "mas eu não vou." Again, the threat/fantasy of the baiana mounting the onlooker is present in the question, "mas pra cima de mim?"

In contrast to Miranda and Caymmi's rumored rehearsal of "O que é que a baiana tem" that drew playful tongue-in-cheek engagement with the trappings of the baiana de acarajé, the onlooker of this song feels uncomfortably prompted by the

material of her performance. Considering his limited understanding of the significance and functionality of the baiana's adornments, these "things" do not attempt to script the onlooker's engagement by ordering him to action.[196] There is rather a presupposed invitation built into the baiana's performance. Under Bernstein's analysis of scripted things, the material of her performance blandishes or prompts the onlooker to engage with it, inciting his disorienting struggle between interest and apprehension. He is tempted and frustrated at once, and his reluctance to participate reveals some awareness of the spiritual aspect of her sanctified accessories. To engage with the baiana is to engage with an array of "things" that carry implications beyond her public's full understanding. The song continues:

> Pode jogar seu quebranto que eu não vou…
> Pode invocar o seu santo que eu não vou…
> Pode esperar sentada, baiana, que eu não vou.
> Não vou porque não posso resistir a tentação
> se ela sambar, eu vou sofrer
> Esse diabo sambando é mais mulher
> E se eu deixar, ela faz o que bem quer
> Não vou, não vou, não vou
> nem amarrado porque eu sei
> se ela samba… hmm… hmm… hmm… hum…[197]

The tone of the onlooker's hesitance shifts here to an obstinate insistence that no matter what she does, cast an 'evil eye' or invoke her ruling orixá against him, he

[196] Bernstien, *Dances with Things*, 71.
[197] You can play your witchcraft, but I won't go. You can invoke your saints, but I won't go. You can sit and wait, bainana, because I'm not coming. I won't because I can resist the temptation, that I will suffer… if she sambas. This dancing devil is also a woman, and if I let her she'll do whatever she wants. I'm not going, I won't, I won't even if I'm tied up because I know if she sambas… mmm… mmm… mmm… mmm…

will not risk proximity. A potential shift in power is signaled with the notion of the quebranto acknowledging for the first time a reflexive agency in baiana's gaze. Unlike the spiritual mounting suggested by the possibility that the baiana will fall on top of her onlooker, the quebranto is couched in vision, and specifically an ongoing deeply seated disdain that consumes its target. The baiana's onlooker finally concedes the logic of his reluctance. He doubts his ability to resist temptation. She is not only devilish, but worse, a woman. However, the ultimate stake of proximity to the baiana leaves her onlooker without words. He can only articulate that if she sambas, "hmm… hmm… hmm…" With much attention paid to the unknown something about the baiana that troubles the dominant gaze, I suggest the truly unspeakable threat to her public is her potential harnessing of that unknown something towards a shift in power. The lived experience of the baiana de acarajé also solicits engagement with the material of her performance, but the negotiations of her trade and her activism insist that the engagement happen to her own end and under her own terms.

Conclusions

In contemplating the discord between the Movimento Libere as Baianas and dominant demographic of Brazil's Movimento Passe Livre and Movimento Contra Copa, the question of Black Brazil's participation in the social uprisings of 2013-14 warrants elaboration. Where urban spaces and the cultural intermediaries of these spaces exist as "product(s) of each other's performance," the question is better reconfigured along the lines of— How is black resistance located? Must black mobilization show itself within the established scaffolds of a mainstream public? Or is

black resistance already present in the performance of cultural memory, the embedded and irreducible mingling of history, space, and the body? The two kilometers distance imposed between traditional vendors and the publicly funded stadiums mirrors the historic expulsion of survivors and descendants of Brazil's slave economy to urban peripheries. The removal of the baianas de acarajé from their spaces of commerce also mirrors the concurrent removals of entire peripheral communities in the interest of urban development. If the periphery "never slept," then the baianas de acarajé's demand for inclusion in FIFA's World Cup is an assertion that the self-realization enacted in their daily entrepreneurship would not be put to sleep.

I attended a May 2014 demonstration hosted by ABAM where a large gathering of baianas de acarajé and allies celebrated their success in fending off FIFA's attempt at removal while also affirming ABAM's commitment to community mobilization. On this occasion the women of the Movimento Libere as Baianas lead a procession through Pelourinho's Cidade Baixa carrying minimally designed white banners with statements such as "COM FIFA, JUIZ E IGREJA TÁ DIFÍCIL SER BAIANA," and "SEM BAIANA NÃO TEM LAVAGEM."[198] The overriding message of this event was an acknowledgment of the continued discrimination against women in traditional afro-Brazilian communities. Although an agreement was met with FIFA in November of 2013, the baianas de acarajé reminded the public of their centrality in annual festivals such as the Lavagem do Bonfim and their ability to mobilize in support of other social issues.

[198] BETWEEN FIFA, THE JUDGE, AND THE CHURCH, IT'S HARD TO BE A BAIANA / WITHOUT THE BAIANA THERE IS NO LAVAGEM

ABAM demonstration, 2014

The exchange between the demonstrating baianas and the crowd became interactive when we were invited to sample a serving of acarajé at street-side tabuleiros. This occasion seemed as congregational as it was political, and I found myself most invested in the sentimentality of the exchange. I waited in line before a tabuleiro, having done so frequently on Pelourinho's Praça da Sé without much contemplation. This time I noted a unique sense of communion while waiting. Anticipating my turn to greet the attending baianas and watch their process of drawing a hot fritter from the pan of oil, soaking the excess dendê onto a white cloth before splitting and stuffing it, I fell into an air of gentility that those of us in line seemed to share.

As I settled into the totality of the moment, the songs, the smells, the laughter, and the mass of ornately costumed women interacting on the street. My acceptance and consumption of the acarajé brought up memories of the communion ritual. The entanglement of space and history with corporeal presence was activated in this act of

consumption; in eating the acarajé my body coexisted with the legacies preserved in its preparation and the histories that haunted this public space. Collectively breaking bread, taking in the unquantifiable power imbued in this nourishment, engaging in a bit of cultural cannibalism, I processed this experience as an example of the fluidity with which negra demais is enacted. We ate acarajé as if in agreement with the grand message that this movement projected—that the baiana de acarajé is "bound up with the psychic pulse of the city."[199] We took part in a collective affirmation that Salvador's intermediary figure, the baiana de acarajé, emerges from the cultural fabric of her city just as much as Salvador's vitality emerges from her performance.

[199] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire,* 111.

CHAPTER FOUR

Radical (Re)vision: into the Public Lives of Others

> Cathartic or not, theatre always manufactures substitutes, specializing in multiplying alternatives. Is it accidental that so many of these alternatives combine the violent with the erotic?
>
> Richard Schechner, *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*

> Aware that a historical event was overtaking my capacity to understand it, I too wanted to contain the moment and freeze it for later: tv, window, photo, tv, window, photo, back and forth. Each click of my camera was my own pause/hold, as I entered into the suspended rhythm of the present.
>
> Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*

> Cláudia, eu prometo não esquecer.[200]
>
> Liliana Alves, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* #103

In January of 2014 I began field studies in Rio de Janeiro on the social uprisings preceding the World Cup and the impact of this event on Rio's peripheral communities. While residing with a founding member of the media activist group Coletivo Mariachi the focus of my research turned to widespread displacements of favela residents through organized evictions, or "removals," and mass arrests of young, poor, and most often black or brown citizens. Coletivo Mariachi, along with other prominent media activist groups such as Mídia Ninja and Mídia Independente Coletivo, dedicated their energies to the documentation and dissemination of these state sanctioned atrocities in the context of a larger climate of unrest that the summer of 2013 ignited. Before arriving, I immersed myself in these viral videos of removals,

[200] Cláudia, I promise not to forget.

abject poverty, and police violence circulated through social media platforms. The images were captivating in that they paired uncommon intimacy with their subjects with the remarkable photojournalistic talents of the activists. I found in these documents the simulation of proximity to a pronounced moment of social crisis and access to lived experiences that were otherwise inaccessible. I necessarily questioned my interest in these videos as either earnest witnessing or a safe and voyeuristic brand of spectatorship as I repeatedly peered in on vulnerable instances in the lived experiences of others.

On the 17th of March, 2014, I returned from a small demonstration in Rio de Janeiro's downtown district where activists gathered in the wake of carnival and a subsequent strike enacted by the city's waste collectors. In these weeks following carnival festivities, the city's streets were left with piles of uncollected garbage, a sensorial reminder of the swelling dissatisfaction with national corruption and a crumbling local infrastructure. That evening on my metro ride from Cinelândia to the Zona Norte neighborhood of Vila Isabel, I received several messages and alerts from friends regarding an uprising in the Morro da Congonha, a northwestern favela. I first assumed this to be another protest related to the impending World Cup, but the heading "Mulher arrastada por viatura do PM" compelled me to click on the corresponding YouTube video which would quickly go viral.[201] It was on this congested northbound metro that I first witnessed the dragging death of Cláudia Silva Ferreira.

[201] Woman dragged by the military police

Cláudia Silva Ferreira, a 38 year old woman who worked as a cleaning attendant at a Rio de Janeiro hospital, headed to a grocery around the corner from her home the previous morning to purchase bread and meat for her family. As she walked, her body was struck by as stray bullet fired from military police in part of ongoing "pacification" efforts, leaving her severely wounded but alive. Ferreira's daughter Thaís Lima attested to begging police not to take her mother from the street as they tossed her body into the vehicle's trunk. In Lima's words:

> Um pegou ela pela calça, e outro pela perna e jogou dentro da Blazer. Lá dentro, de qualquer jeito. Ficou toda torta lá dentro. Depois desceram com ela e a mala estava aberta. Ela ainda caiu na Buriti [rua, em Madureira], no meio do caminho, e eles pegaram e botaram ela para dentro de novo. Se eles viram que estava ruim porque eles não endireitaram (sic) e não bateram a porta de novo direito?[202]

The trunk opened again on Estrada Intendente Magalhães where a driver following the police vehicle captured the dragging of Ferreira, approximately 300 meters, on his cellular device. The documentation shows Ferreira already hooked from the open trunk by her dress, her body limp and battered by the asphalt as the vehicle changes lanes. The car finally stops at a red light where officers exit, lift her from the ground,

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[202] One of them grabbed her by her pants and the other by her leg and threw her into the Blazer, just threw her in, whatever way. She was completely contorted. Then they headed down the hill with her and the trunk was open. She had already fallen out at Buritu (street in Madureira), in the middle of the street, and they picked her up and threw her in again. If they saw that it was a bad idea, why didn't they straighten her out and not bang the door again, right?
"Arrastada por carro da PM do Rio foi morta por tiro, diz atestado de óbito," last updated, March 18, 2014, http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2014/03/arrastada-por-carro-da-pm-do-rio-foi-morta-por-tiro-diz-atestado.html.

and dispose her in the trunk again. Medical personnel confirmed Ferreira deceased upon arrival to the hospital. I viewed the video three additional times after this initial witnessing on the metro—once when I arrived home to find my roommate watching news of the incident amidst reports of bus fires and a resulting blackout imposed on the Madureira community. Twice more I viewed the footage alone. These times I watched in horror and with a desperate need to remember that Cláudia was not just the "mulher arrastada" whose death had become a topic of debate. She was also more than the simplified titles of "wife and mother of four" that more sympathetic reports described.

Of course, my returns to the video of Ferreira's dragging failed to eulogize her or offer more complete insight into her being. I was reminded instead of what Saidiya Harman describes as the "ease" with which such violence is reiterated when the target is a black female body. [203] I was, again, alerted to the routineness and casual circulation of imagery of tortured black bodies. In Hartman's refusal to retell the "terrible spectacle" of Fredrick Douglas's Aunt Hester, she frames spectacular violence against the black body as "an original generative act" that drafts subjectivity through the transatlantic slave trade.[204] The enduring legacy of this narrative is also found in the public dragging of Ferreira, the choking murder of Eric Gardner, or the violent arrest of Sandra Bland all made explicitly visible through smartphone technology and social media. I ask then, how viral circulation of such imagery functions either in the maintenance of black subjugation or in the mobilization of

[203] Hartman, Scenes of Subjection, 4.
[204] Ibid., 75.

movements of black power. Or is this question rather representative of what Fred Moten describes as "the inevitablility of such reproduction even in the denial of it"?[205] This chapter assumes Hartman and Moten's dialectical exchange as the basis of an elaboration on performance's kinship with (re)presentation and the stakes of twice, thrice, and exponentially lived experiences of the oppressed. Moving from Moten's question, "is performance ever outside the economy of reproduction," I ask how viral returns to the *sight* of violence against the black female body may honor or uphold the memory of survivors and the deceased without reenacting atrocity or benumbing the viewer.

On January 19th, 2014 feminist blogger Juliana de Faria issued through her *A Olga* blog an invitation for artists, and all invested in rescuing Cláudia Silva Ferreira's image from the "sensacionalismo" projected in the media, to contribute portraits of Ferreira "com mais carinho do que visto nos últimos dias."[206] This invitation for submissions titled *Cem Vezes Cláudia* proposed "quem sabe não chegamos a 100?"[207] Within days the project surpassed the one hundred mark and was followed with a second page titled *Mas Cem Vezes Cláudia* as the project continues to accumulate portraits, tributes, and reimagined testaments to who Cláudia Silva Ferreira was and who she may have lived to become.[208] I center the majority of this chapter around *Cem Vezes Cláudia* and the forty-two second viral clip of her body dragged through the

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[205] Moten, In the Break, 4.
[206] sensationalism… with more care than we have seen in the past days. Think Olga,"100 vezes Cláudia," March 19, 2014, http://thinkolga.com/2014/03/19/100-vezes-Cláudia/.
[207] *One Hundred Times Cláudia*…Who knows, perhaps we will reach 100?
[208] *One Hundred More Times Cláudia* http://thinkolga.com/2014/03/22/mais-100-vezes-Cláudia/

streets. I grapple here with my own drive to *see* what was done to Ferreira in the graphic documentation of what were likely the final seconds of her life, and I relate this to a larger compulsion to *see* public spectacles of violence exacted against black bodies that have troubled my field research and continue to trouble movements of black liberation that are mediated through the digital.

In the way that Robin Bernstein's "Rodney King, Shifting Modes of Vision, and Anna Deavere Smith's Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992" foregrounds a shift in spectatorship towards what she terms the "cybernetic mode of vision" made evident in the courtroom interpretation of the eighty-two second video of Rodney King's beating, this clip of Cláudia Silva Ferreira dragged through the streets marks a shift towards a viral mode of spectatorship. Here repetition, reiteration, and viral consumption of assaults on black bodies reenact narratives of spectacular violence and deny sentience to the victim. The case of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's murder is compounded with her position as a woman, and responses to her death reinforce the impulse to understand assaults against women in the context of domestic duties. I frame this compulsion as viral returns to the *sight* of violence against the afro-descended woman, and I argue that these images circulated as social media content double-down on Bernstein's (and Smith's) warning of a weakened sense of subjective consciousness introduced with the cybernetic mode of seeing. Personal recording devices of the early 90s both exposed the everydayness of police terror and also provided interpretive ways of viewing the assault of Rodney King as segmented, spliced, rewound, and repeated towards a (re)vision of the clip's story into the wrangling of a drug fueled superhuman by a group of timid civil servants. Similarly, smartphone technology enables a global

audience to assume the position of passersby and live out such spectatorship with the ease and convenience of witnessing a lynching-by-dragging while glancing down at a cellphone on a crowded subway. I chime in with the global-wide chorus of witnesses to Cláudia Silva Ferreira's murder who feel compelled as Liliana Alvez in her contribution to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* to call out to Cláudia—*eu prometo não esquecer.* As a participant in the viral returns to Ferreira's death, I affirm the impossibility of forgetting such a sight and further address the excess of my witnessing. I confront the ways in which such excess is bound to blackness and bound to femininity. The notion of negra demais, in this iteration, questions the collective need to see, and see again with numerous (re)visions of Ferreira as a martyr figure reimagined to soothe the public's need for resolution and justice.

Radical (re)vision and theories of performance

Reiteration— the tendency, drive, or inevitable fact of returning to the doing of specific acts— grounds the field of performance studies as a defining element in the ontological understanding of what "is" performance, and as an often-selected framework in the epistemological question of how we read events "as" performance. Richard Schechner privileges reiteration as a compulsory ingredient that extracts and elevates everyday behavior to material for study— it is the notion of the twice-livedness of behavior that restores or reconstructs it *as* performance. As he explains, "performance in the restored behavior sense means never for the first time, always for

the second to nth time: twice-behaved behavior."[209] Through revisiting original acts or "source" behaviors exponentially, performance reveals its capacity "furnish completely" – its transformative nature that strives towards the possibility that "something new may be generated."[210] This transformative potential is central to the craft of theater making, embedded in classical western methods that stress sensorial memory or improvisational techniques such as Spolin's call for the actor to "explore and heighten" an original gesture towards a new end.

Along these lines, public spectacles of state authority return to gestures of whipping, lynching, or rape striving to "furnish completely" the narrative upon which such terror was designed. These perpetual enactments of terror are dependent upon the sensorial experience of witnessing and the recollection of enduring pains cultivated and held within the spectator's body. Thus, the transformation that performance promises through ritual practices, formal staging, or quotidian behaviors should not be taken for granted as unidirectional or progressive. The "something new" that promises to arise from reiteration does not necessarily evolve towards a new ideal. Just as new modes of liberation for oppressed peoples may be rehearsed under Boalian methodologies, old modes of oppression may be re-inscribed through what Diana Taylor identifies as embodied performance's contributions to the "maintenance of repressive social order."[211] The most identifiable examples of such (re)vision, of the old draft reworked towards a new model of sadistic ritual, are enacted against groups whose bodies are marked to take part in public displays of authority – in the "stop and

[209] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 28.
[210] Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, 79.
[211] Taylor, *The Archive*, 22.

frisk" practices of the New York City, in the routine of military police sweeps of public buses transporting large groups of youth from Rio de Janeiro's periphery to popular beaches. These acts of spectacular violence, of course, revise narratives of the slave coffer. However, less investigated examples of performance's capacity to revise the violence of oppression are often camouflaged within the design of resistant performance itself. As evidenced in media discourse around the sight of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's dragging, such torture conjures a coalescence of, in Schechner's words, the violent with the erotic.

Ferreira's mundane task of walking to buy bread and meat immediately became the focus of speculation in posthumous imaginings of her identity either as an implicated element of her environment or a martyr figure. Likewise, whether condemning the military police or defending their actions, reactions to the event stood upon curious and particularly gendered readings of her body— its presence at the scene of the shootout, its task of acquiring nourishment for a family, its exposure to the pavement, its exposure to the cell phone's lens, to the eyes of passing drivers and a global audience. Without offering attention to the mass of voices who responded to the sight of Ferreira's death with pleasure and prejudice (overt or insidious) I study here the responses of participants in *Cem Vezes Cláudia* as an inquiry into the terms of performance's promise to furnish forth something new through visual returns to the spectacle of violence. The good intention of the project in its call for compassionate (re)presentations provides an opportunity to read closely the aesthetics and ethics of striving to activate performance's transformative potential. The project infers that if Cláudia is depicted one hundred or more times through the imaginations of a public

who saw her exclusively in the gruesome final seconds of her life, her revised image might transcend the anonymity in which she lived as a poor black woman of Rio de Janeiro's periphery. In tune with emblematic imagery of Brazil's uncanonized black female saint, Escrava Anastácia, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* solicits a collective iconization of Ferreira that aims to escape the tragedy of her death. As if to (re)vise the final events of Ferreira's life, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* calls out in tune with Anastácia's defiant declaration— "Eu não sou escrava."[212]

What then is the something new generated though returns to the sight of violence exacted against the black female subject? If *Cem Vezes Cláudia*'s plea for compassionate returns to the sight of Ferreira's death highlights a tendency of resistant performance to rework old drafts of hierarchical schema, then I employ (re)vision here to point to a very human compulsion to create "multiplying alternatives" that aspire to eclipse the parameters of the source event.[213] These visual returns to spectacular acts of violence need not be simplified as voyeuristic. As Diana Taylor describes in her self-reflexive story of witnessing the collapse of the twin towers, such returns may trigger an awareness of the potential historic import and a sincere need to "contain the moment and freeze it for later."[214] Taylor offers testimony of this event, a repetitive blocking of her body pulled among three visual sources—"tv, window, photo, tv window, photo"— to suggest a drive to at once witness and archive the experience.[215] This rhythmic shift between modes of vision is wound up in anxiety over the fleeting

[212] I am not a slave.
[213] Schechner, *Future of Ritual*, 254.
[214] Taylor, *The Archive*, 421.
[215] Ibid.

temporality of performance. Taylor's negotiation of the moment with the help of the camera "pausing" her field of vision more precisely aims to draw her into a repeatable presence with the tragedy. Each "click" could be read in a Deleuzian sense as Taylor "presenting presence" to an uncontainable and un-pauseable flood of "presenting presents." Each "click" attempts to house the event as a performance remnant; each click produces a souvenir that "saves the past and represents it in the present"[216] The captured image, the *stillness* of the photographic still operates as a "pause/hold" that ushers Taylor into a suspended rhythm with presence.

Viral spectatorship around Ferreira's death is indicative of a similar tension between the ephemerality of performance and the desire for a repeatable, sustained, and rhythmic witnessing. Without striving to capture and contain the sight of her tortured body, the "click" digital interface asserts an accumulation of presence to the cellphone recording and amplifies the document through a witnessing en masse. Each click accounts for a viral interest in the sight of Ferreira's suffering without expressing the nature of this interest and without affirming any public indebtedness to the memory of Ferreira and the pursuit of justice on her behalf. *Cem Vezes Cláudia* attempts to supplement this void in accountability by offering visual returns to the only moment of Ferreira's life that was not lived anonymously, and by extracting from these forty-two seconds an assortment of heightened renderings that resist the video's gruesome summation. Working from limited information on who Ferreira was beyond these forty-two seconds, contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* appropriate the image of

[216] Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image*. trans. Robert Galeta and Hugh Tomilson (Minneapolis: University of Minnestota Press, 1985), 171.

Ferreira's official identification card, snapshots shared in the media, and bits of data related to her labor and family structure to (re)vise Cláudia Silva Ferreira's abstracted image towards saint-like status.

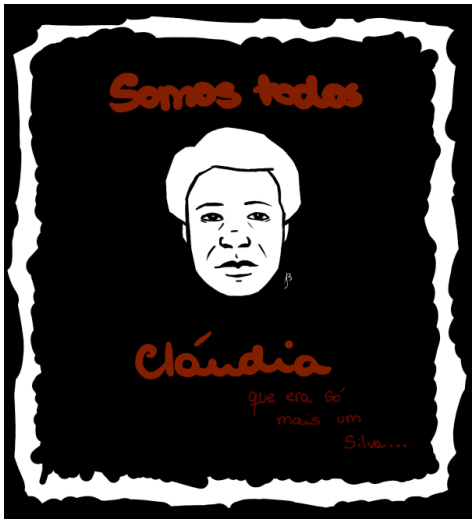
The methods employed by resistant artists, performers, or media activists often reflect this compulsion, albeit well-meaning, to return to the source event and offer what I name here "radical (re)visions" of violence upon subjugated bodies. To clarify the term radical (re)vision, I do not contend that these new drafts are necessarily understood *as* radical or pushing towards extreme political and social change in the interest of the oppressed. To the contrary, I use the term radical (re)vision to pinpoint the potential undoing of radical intent when the performative capacity of reiteration is not carefully measured. This is not a moralistic evaluation of radical performance. It is rather an affirmation of the inherent amorality of performance itself. Ethics and morality have played a close second to reiteration in shaping the methods and evolution of performance studies with Dwight Conquergood's foregrounding attention to the means by which scholars of performance, ethnography, or practitioners negotiate access to human experience. However, we may also heed Schechner's assertion that "performance is amoral, as useful to tyrants as to those who practice guerrilla theatre," and Taylor's echoing of this sentiment in her outline of hegemonic spectatorship where privileged spectators "profit from non-identification."[217]

I rehearse these notions through the following models. First, I study the (re)vision of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's image in the contributions to *A Olga*'s *Cem Vezes Cláudia* considering the distance afforded by the digital platform in this attempt

[217] Taylor, *The Archive*, 234.

to rescue Ferreira from the final events of her life. I consider how anonymity, up to these final forty-two recorded seconds, gives way to an online protest project that re-inscribes the contingencies of her citizenship and individuality. I then move to a transnational outlook, studying Spike Lee's viral "mash-up" of Eric Garner's murder against the work of my late colleague, Daniel Cruz, in his documentation of the ongoing removals of Rio de Janeiro's Metrô Mangueira favela. I focus on how both projects edit source incidents in service of a viral spectatorship. I conclude this comparative look at radical (re)vision between Brazil and the United States with a study of reiteration and performance as it relates to contemporary social protest movements.

One hundred times Cláudia



Juliana Borges, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014)

Most contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* present direct portraits of Ferriera interpreted from a selection of photographs sourced from news media. The typical example embellishes her image with slogans, symbols of sanctification, elements of

nature, and references to her suffering such as tears and blood. One such contribution from artist Júlia Borges presents a black and white stencil of Ferreira's face with the frequently repeated slogan "Somos todos Cláudia" followed by a reference to MC Bob Rum's classic funk track "Rap do Silva."[218] Borges's profession that we are all Cláudia is trailed by the first lyric from the song's chorus— "que era só mais um Silva." This connection between Ferreira's killing and the widely popular 1995 anthem to funk culture strikes at an important connection between Cláudia Silva Ferreira's death and the notion of negra demais as it relates to the lived experiences of black women. "Rap do Silva" narrates the tale of a young man, a dedicated father, a good neighbor, and an all around nice guy, who also happens to be a "funkeiro" or lover of funk. In one of his trips to a baile funk, he is killed in the crossfire of a shootout and his story becomes one of the countless examples of life lost to violence in the periphery. MC Bob Rum's chorus laments this death with the refrain:

> Era só mais um Silva que a estrela não brilha.
> Ele era funkeiro, mas era pai de família."[219]

The song's narrative of an everyman of the favela who loves his family, is a hard worker, loves soccer, and is respected by his neighbors, falling victim to the circumstances of his surroundings mirrors the narratives presented visually in *Cem Vezes Cláudia*. Like the Silva of MC Bob Rum's lyric, Cláudia is marked in these

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[218] I reference funk music of Brazil here, also referred to as funk carioca or favela funk. This is a popular genre with hip hop and electro funk/bass influences, first made popular in the early 1990s. Baile funk refers to funk parties associated with Rio de Janeiro's favelas.
MC Bob Rum. *Está* Escrito. Spotlight Records no. 4, 1996, compact disc.

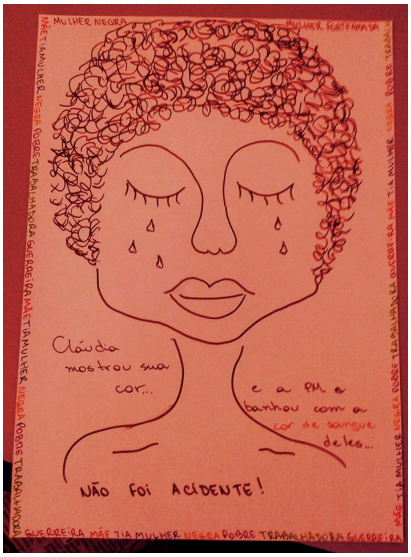
[219] He was just another Silva whose star will not shine. He was a funkerio, but he was the father of a family.

portraits as an everywoman of the favela—a mother, a wife, a worker, who was caught in the violence of her environment while dutifully performing the task of buying bread and meat. These social qualifiers attempt to trace a commonality between the lived experiences of the peripheral and more privileged communities while rescuing Ferreira from the stigmatization of the favela. The impulse to validate her through repeated professions of her social roles amplifies the underlying implication that Cláudia, who was just another Silva, must in death defend the expendability of her life. By contextualizing Ferreira as an everywoman figure, the expectation that she will meet extraordinary circumstances declares the extraordinary brutality of her treatment. In this way, Borges reminds the spectator that the violence that Ferreira's body endured cannot be normalized.

The subtext of both Cláudia Silva Ferreira's story and that of the "Silva" in MC Bob Rum's narrative is that peripheral lives exist in excess. This notion is not simply theoretical; it is socially enacted through the philosophy of "bandido bom é bandido morto."[220] This reading of *Cem Vezes Cláudia* locates negra demais in the disturbing notion that black women, even in their most mundane behaviors, are implicated in the violent extremes born from a preoccupation with too much blackness. This is evident in the inhumane handling of her wounded body, tossed away as waste of the street while still breathing. Ferreira treated as "só mais um Silva"

[220] a good hoodlum is a dead hoodlum.
This is a saying that has been the focus of ongoing debates around military police methods in "pacifying" favela communities. In a 2014 study conducted by Instituto Datafolha, roughly fifty percent of participants expressed agreement with this sentiment. See: https://educacao.uol.com.br/bancoderedacoes/bandido-bom-e-bandido-morto.jhtm

confirms Carolina Maria de Jesus's theory of *Quarto de Despejo,* or the garbage room, as she is marked an expendable element of the favela and therefore disposed of and hidden from sight. Ferreira's memorialization in contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* demonstrates how artists repeatedly attempt to rescue her image from the implicit devaluation of her being. In grappling with the idea that she was "só mais um Silva," contributors stress inclusion in normative frameworks, visually inserting her portrait into the logic of MC Bob Rum's funk. *Cem Vezes Cláudia* argues that Ferreira was not just another favelada, but also a contributing member of society by virtue of her labor and her roles as mother and wife. I focus on how utopian desires to extend inclusion to a mainstream feminine public underscore the contingencies of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's citizenship. Progressive idealism in these attempts to rescue Ferreira from the circumstances of her death reinforces the harsh truth that her life was targeted as an element of excess, as an expendable object of negra demais.



H. Estevan, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014)

H. Estevan responds to *Cem Vezes Cláudia*'s call for portraits that treat their subject with more care than she was shown in the final incident of her life with a

somber line drawing of Ferreira with eyelids downcast and tears the shape of inverted hearts sliding down her cheeks. The portrait is ardent and direct. Like many of the contributions to the project, it is likely the work of an untrained artist; it centers Ferreira's image squarely with soft lines shaping a broad and cartoonish attempt at her likeness. In Estevan's depiction, Ferreira's visage is symmetrical, disappointed, conventionally appealing, and serene. Dangling about her neck, the artist scripts a message that makes the circumstances of her murder plain —*Cláudia mostrou sua cor… e o PM a banhou com a cor de sangue deles… NÃO FOI ACIDENTE!*[221] The simplicity of Esteban's drawing is bolstered by the profundity of this assertion. Ferreira's death was not an accident. The strayness of the military police bullet, the fluke of the vehicle's trunk opening on the road, and all happenstance are lost to the precise fact of Ferreira's color exposed to the public sphere. Inevitable and quotidian as the task of walking to the market for food may have been, the fact of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's race exceeds the tolerance of her surroundings and targets her as much as any neighbor, "bandido" or not, who happened to be black.

This portrait of Cláudia as a "multiplying alternative" to the viral image of her death aims at reconciliation. It is drawn loosely in black marker on white paper, thus escaping the "showing" of Ferreira's color while a red tone filtered over the image bathes her hair, her tears, and the outline of her features and affirms the impossibility of rescuing her from the color of the officers' blood. Cláudia's somber expression laments her own circumstance. She grieves on behalf of herself and projects a resolved

[221] Cláudia showed her color… and the military police bathed her in the color of their blood… IT WAS NOT AN ACCIDENT!

acceptance of the tragedy. This alternative to the chaos and crudeness of the viral image of Ferreira's dragging offers a (re)vision that assesses and summarizes the incomprehensible horror of the source event with a consumable and nonetheless resistant analysis. Esteban in calling out the deliberacy of her murder also traces the rationale behind it. The portrait's border reinforces this with a repeated series of identifications marking Ferreira as "MULHER, NEGRA, POBRE, TRABALHADORA, GUERREIRA, MÃE, TIA," and concretely encapsulating Esteban's serene Cláudia under the rational of the social system that set the terms of her death.[222]

Here the tendency to justify police violence against the afro-descended by dismissing race as an inconsequential factor that exists under the umbrella of misfortune is rightfully taken to task by Esteban. The portrait proclaims that Ferreira's blackness is not coincidental to her killing. In studying *Cem Vezes Cláudia* I argue an analogous point—that the spectacular nature of Ferreira's murder and the compulsion to return to and (re)vise such a sight are also intrinsic to the use of the black female body in reconciling institutionalized terror in the eyes of the empathetic spectator. This echoes Saidiya Harman's argument that "blackness provide(s) the occasion for self-reflection as well as for an exploration of terror, desire, fear, loathing, and longing," with the image of Ferreira's dragging functioning as a touchstone by which a viral audience processes its own position within a society that lends reason to such extreme and inhumane abuses of authority.[223] Unlike the coerced amusements of Hartman's

[222] WOMAN, BLACK, POOR, WORKER, WARRIOR, MOTHER, AUNT
[223] Hartman, Scenes of Subjection, 8.

study that reenact subjection by first "simulating contentment," these radical (re)visions re-instantiate violence until the image may be abstracted and used as propaganda of dissent.

Like Borges and Esteban's portraits, many of the contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* employ written language to make explicit these reconciliations with the event of her death. Some project utopian wishes upon Ferreira's life—Cláudia posed elegantly in a wedding dress that is embroidered with the words respeito, paz, justiça, crença while holding a rosary that drips a thread of red upon her skirt.[224] Others assume the popular collective appropriation of Ferreira's identity proclaiming "Somos todos a Cláudia." Many emphasize the social markers of mãe, negra, mulher, esposa in line with Esteban. A contribution from Estevão Ribeiro extends the emphasis on Ferriera's socially inscribed roles by asking "E agora? Quem vai comprar o pão?"[225] In Ribeiro's (re)vision Ferreira's face is bewildered as if she asks the question, "and now who will buy the bread," herself. The weight of Cláudia's everyday burdens haunts her eyes as Ribeiro imagines her slightly disheveled with a glazed stare and framed by swirling pink and black strokes.

[224] respect, peace, justice, faith
[225] And now? Who is going to buy the bread?

Estevão Ribeiro, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014) *Anastácia Escrava e Mártir Negra*, Antonio Alves Texeira

This question of "e agora quem vai comprar o pão" should be read earnestly and taken as indicative of *how* radical (re)vision may succumb to upholding hegemonic order. Even in memoriam, Ribeiro's portrait troubles Ferreira with the labor ascribed to her position as "mulher, negra, esposa, mãe, tia, trabalhadora," and in (re)vision her image is reduced to the vessel that, in death, leaves its daily work unperformed. Again, iconography of Escrava Anastácia traces a tension between resurrecting and re-inscribing the already tortured black female body with the burdens of an oppressive life. Portraits and effigies of Anastácia show her muzzled and staring defiantly in tune with her attributed adage, "eu não sou escrava," while the inscription traditionally above or below her likeness, "Escrava Anastácia," effectively undermines the resistance by which she lived and died.[226] The blurriness of Anastácia's legitimization (unofficially named saint by a reverent public while referred to by the "slave" title that she refused) establishes a model of contradictory interventions on behalf of the targets of spectacular terror that process the violent imagery of originating events and in turn project their own desires to rescue and exalt survivors

[226] I am not a slave.

and victims. The target of state sanctioned violence then loses agency as a complete and nuanced individual, and her likeness is abstracted in drafting a generalized (re)vision that better serves progressive goals. Luciana Mariano's contribution takes on a similar rationale to Esteban and Ribeiro with a finely traced line drawing of Ferreira with her head tangled between her arms, pensively resting on a surface—perhaps table, perhaps asphalt. Mariano plays upon the #nãovaitercopa hashtag circulated throughout the concurrent Movimento Contra Copa by scripting "#não vai ter pão #não vai ter mãe #não vai ter Cláudia" at the base of the image.[227] As bread, mother, and Cláudia are leveled as equal elements of domesticity, the

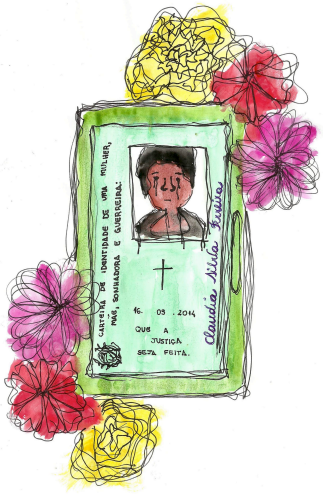
Luciana Mariano, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014)

implied reference to #nãovaitercopa assumes the use of all three elements in service of the Movimento Contra Copa. Here Cláudia stares down at the surface in defeat with the assertions beneath her confirming defeat as well. There will be no bread, mother, or Cláudia, but the Movimento Contra Copa finds traction from the tragedy by holding fast to the insistence that there will not be a Copa either.

The contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* that fall in line with this impulse to reduce Ferreira's image to the her socially ascribed roles and then employ the

[227] #there will be no bread #there will be no mother #there will be no Cláudia

simplified version as a device of propaganda are consistent enough to shape one of the dominant threads that emerge from this project. Ferreira's social markers are cited as if to round out the horror of the viral image while also drafting a (re)vision that is flat, comprehensive, and ultimately user-friendly. Many of these examples take on the template of Ferreira's official identification card, one of the source images circulated throughout mainstream media. Gabriela Campaner's play upon the identification card uses bold colors and a whimsical scribble to show Ferreira's face, again doused in tears and framed in memorial flowers. The official matter of the card is replaced with "CARTEIRA DE IDENTIDADE DE UMA MULHER, MÃE, SONHADORA E GUERREIRA," her date of birth is replaced



Gabriela Campaner, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014)

with the date of her death under a thin cross and followed by the phrase, "QUE A JUSTIÇA SEJA FEITA."[228] Visually, the delicacy of Campaner's drawing, the Christian symbolism, and floral adornments lend the tone of a sympathy card to the viewer. The expected "thinking of you" is understood through the "best wishes" that

[228] IDENTIFICATION CARD OF A WOMAN, MOTHER, DREAMER, AND WARRIOR … MAY JUSTICE BE SERVED

justice be served. The card's (re)vision of Ferreira offers a concise summation of who she was beyond the body seen dragged from a vehicle, and with the final marker of "guerreira" the image claims Cláudia as an active fighter in the larger social uprisings that surrounded her death.

Parallel to the repeated appropriation of Ferreira's image as a symbol of protest runs this thread of sympathy and belated sentimentality that ultimately offers Cláudia an invitation to the "intimate public" of mainstream femininity. I adopt Lauren Berlant's framework of the "intimate public" over language of counter publics to stress the use of sentimentality throughout *Cem Vezes Cláudia* as a reconciliatory device in the redrafting of Ferreira's image. In sympathy, in love, in frustration, or ambivalence to the event of her murder, contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* form a bridge between the more marginalized public to which she belonged as a black woman of Rio de Janeiro's periphery and the broader space of desire and disappointment associated with conventional womanhood. Berlant's model is useful in reading this project for its attention to a mainstream, United States centered, white, hetero, middleclass section of the female experience. This clash in contexts between the United States and Brazil mimics the impact of particularly western middle class ideals that color the fantasies projected upon Cláudia. As an olive branch extended to her, even if overdue, this memorializing project invites Ferreira to the *feeling* of belonging. The benevolence of this gesture, of offering Cláudia inclusion in the affective experience of mainstream female desire and disappointment, lies in the awareness that such inclusion is actually, as Berlant describes, "for those who can pass as

conventional within its limited terms."[229] The showing of Ferreira's color, as H. Esteban puts it, in the context of these utopian images then reminds the spectator of the fantastical nature of this collective (re)vision.

It is through the intimate public of femininity that Cláudia is mourned. Under the restorative fantasy that shapes *Cem Vezes Cláudia* she is invited to experience "feeling general within a set of porous constraints" as the specificity of her being is (re)vised into normative models of virtuous womanhood that supersede the given circumstances of her race and class. The most explicit examples of this impulse to refashion Cláudia under broad tropes of good fortune ascribed to femininity are presented in Dani Brito's portrait of a glamorous Cláudia in a wedding gown, Luda Lima's fantasy of Cláudia whisked away in the arms of a military policeman with the caption "sonhando em como deveria ser," and Lucas Souto's (re)vision of Cláudia as a carnival porta bandeira waving her flag for "paz, justiça, & igualdade."[230] In these portraits she is made privy to what Berlant

Dani Brito, *Cem Vezes Cláudia,* Luda Lima, *Cem Vezes Cláudia,* Lucas Souto, *Cem Vezes Cláudia*

[229] Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: the Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 13.
[230] dreaming of how it should have been… peace, justice, and equality

describes as "the feeling held or sustained by an evolving sense of experience that confirms some homogeneity and elaborates social distinctions."[231] Many contributions struggle with language of inclusion by brandishing the "we" form, proclaiming—

"Nós não somos brasileiras… Somos negras! Somos Cláudias!" or

"Juntos somos Cláudias!" or

"Eu costumava ser só eu, só Cláudia. Agora, sou todas nós."[232]

The (re)vision of Cláudia as a generalized model of femininity is even more visually evident in repeated imagery of flowers, doves, olive branches, bees, and other symbols of nature, fertility, and abundance. Cláudia is often adorned with flowers in her hair, jewelry, pink and red painted lips, tiaras, and crowns. Her features are frequently made delicate, her eyelashes long and curled. These (re)visions repeatedly attest to her position as a mother with portraits such as Lara Capdeville's showing a resting Cláudia cradling her nursing child. Capteville begs the question, "Cláudia até quando?" to its subject, holding fast to Cláudia as a maternal source of guidance even post-mortem.[233] Dani Stenzel, who captions her contribution with the explanation, "Não sei pintar, mas quis contribuir com a minha homenagem. Fiz uma Cláudia Boneca. Com amor," presents a hand-stitched felt doll with arms cradling a bounty of tiny cutout babies.[234] Cécilia Silveira and Marília Cabral push the weight of Ferreira's position within a normative familial structure even further. Silveira depicts a brown

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[231] Ibid.,13.
[232] We are not Brazilian women… We are black women! We are Cláudias! – Together we are Cláudias! – I got used to just being me, just Cáludia. Now I am all of us!
[233] Cláudia, how long?
[234] I don't know how to paint, but I wanted to contribute with my homage. I made a Cláudia doll, with love.

hand holding a typical family snapshot of Cláudia flanked by her children and husband as if evidencing the commonality between hers and a more privileged experience. Cabral's (re)vision combines two source photos circulated in the media, a photo of her standing alone in a sleeveless t-shirt and photo of her grieving family seated together holding up a snapshot of Cláudia and her husband. Cabral shows Ferreira with the family photo printed on her t-shirt, layering the photographic images upon each other in a precise sketch that projects a tripled emphasis on her place within a marriage and a family unit.

Beyond these invitations to the intimate public of conventional femininity, contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* further incorporate Ferreira's likeness into imagery of Brazilian nationalism, revealing the terms of her inclusion while petitioning for a more enfranchised citizenship on her behalf. The template of Ferreira's state identification repeatedly provides a playful format used to remind the spectator of the contingencies of her citizenship, and several (re)visions use this format of Ferreira's thumbprint, photograph, and official matter to articulate such limitations. In one digitally stylized interpretation, Gui Soares floats his draft of the identification card over the iconic Rio de Janeiro shoreline dripping blood into a pool that makes up the sea. The card reshapes Cláudia's thumbprint into the outline of Brazil and decorates her face with calligraphy and a Brazilian flag placed at the center of her forehead. This "carteira de identidade," renamed "carteira de invisibilidade,"[235] directly attacks the competence of both state and national authority in its rewrite of the customary:

[235] Identification Card –to— Invisibility Card

República Federativa do Brasil
Estado do Brasil
Secretaria da Segurança Pública
Instituto de Identificação

with:

República das Baianas do Brasil
Estado Falido da Guanabara
Secretaria de Estado de Segurança Pífia do Brasil
Diretoria da Humilhação Civil[236]

Gui Soares, Cem Vezes Cláudia

Soares's playful attack calls Ferreira's position under the federal government into question with the substituted governing body of the "República das Baianas" suggesting that she, by virtue of her race and gender, lived under alternate terms. The

[236] Federal Republic of Brazil
State of Brazil
Secretary of Public Security
Institute of Identification
with:
Republic of the Baianas of Brazil
Failed State of Guanabara
State Secretary of Fucking Security of Brazil
Director of Civil Humiliation

climate of uprising against Brazil's bureaucratic shortcomings is brought into historical context in Sorares's dig at Rio's short-lived instantiation as the city-state of Guanabara. The (re)vision further takes aim at institutionalized racism, the "State Secretary of Fucking Security of Brazil," the "Director of Civil Humiliation," and governmental authority as a whole, represented in two anarchy symbols at the center of the card's border.

Soares, like other contributors to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* who turned to nationalist symbolism in their (re)visions, is less interested in projecting the fantasy of enfranchisement upon Ferreira than he is in uncovering the inconsistencies and failures of nationalist ideals as they relate to the experiences of poor black women. While some, such as Edvan Lovato's abstract representation of Cláudia's face composed of brown daisies and surrounded by a mass of green, yellow, and blue daisies that form the pattern of the Brazilian flag, project a sense of serenity and beauty in response to her death, most take the flag and the country's landscape to task visually. Vinícius Savron lays a cartoon image of Cláudia against a thumbprint with arms flailed at her side. She wears a green and yellow t-shirt patterned after the flag with a gaping hole at her center. A ribbon of promises stating "não esqueceremos" floats through her open wound.[237] The image is more juvenile than gruesome, yet juxtaposition of the cartoon style and the abstract mutilation of Ferreira's body rejects any naïveté around Brazil's culpability in Ferreira's death. Tays Villaca shows a fair complected woman staring into a mirror at the center of a blood spattered flag. Cláudia's image stares back as both women touch their cheek in examining each other.

[237] We will not forget

The affirmation that "todos somos a Cláudia" is undermined visually here even as it is scripted at the base of the portrait. All of these examples from Soares, Lovato, Savron, and Villaga inscribe the flag upon Ferreira's body in her attire, in her composition, or by engulfing or stamping her with its image. In doing so these (re)visions extend a sentimental gesture of inclusion into the national fabric in the way that other portraits invite Cláudia into the intimate public of femininity. However, these contributions that emphasize a sense of belonging to Brazil rather adopt a cynical tone, avoiding the utopian fantasies or sympathetic strokes at restoring Cláudia to a serene state. These (re)visions petition for Cláudia's posthumous naturalization while also presenting the spectator the impossibility of Ferreira's full enfranchisement.

I emphasize these contradictions repeated throughout *Cem Vezes Cláudia*— the reduction of her identity in order to bolster her as a symbol of resistance, the offering of inclusion to the intimate public of femininity while highlighting the target she wore in the "showing" of her color, the incorporation of her body into the fabric of Brazil while speculating over the limits of her citizenship— to draw attention to the palpable ambivalence that is mediated in the project's approach to Ferreira. These radical (re)visions uncover an anxiety that is bound to the perception of black femininity in the public sphere. This is the same anxiety understood in previous chapters through the notion of negra demais, and as Berlant clarifies, "anxiety being, after all, the affective copy of ambivalence," I cite these conflicting tensions that run throughout *Cem Vezes Cláudia* as indicative of how the anxiety of excess that I call negra demais manifests in strokes of social activism. Similar to the spellbound fixation developed in Chapter One's look at feitiço, the relationship between radical (re)vision

and black femininity is fueled by the compulsion to gaze upon the afro-descended woman with ambivalence, projecting and attempting to resolve narratives of power through her image. Santa or Escrava Anastácia's legacy crystalizes this pull between reverence and inescapable subjugation, and in many ways *Cem Vezes Cláudia* revives the impossibility of Anastácia's canonization. Cláudia reimagined as a symbol of police violence and state incompetence can neither be validated under a conventional fantasy of womanhood nor naturalized as a fully protected citizen under the law. The collective sentiment of *Cem Vezes Cláudia* is appropriately disappointment expressed in numerous representations of her disillusioned tears, and the ultimate disappointment shows in the tug-of-war between her own slave/saint status. As Berlant argues, the female complaint is itself a "discourse of disappointment," and at the crux of imposing normative fantasies of inclusion upon the afro-descended female subject lies the "jerky aesthetics" of managing "the significant difference between fantasizing fulfillment, witnessing disappointment, and engendering transformative events."[238]

The alternative in memorial tributes to both Anastácia and Cláudia is the reiterated sentiment of martyrdom. Martyr imagery appears so abundantly throughout the contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* that the project as a whole reads as a contemporary counterpart to the material culture born from Anastácia's legacy. And while many contributions redesign Ferreira's likeness into "Saint Cláudia" by shrouding her in flowers, crowns, and sanctified symbolism, others turn to imagery of sacrifice and disembodiment, integrating her tortured body into the terrain of the favela. These two options, of being (re)vised and remembered as the blessed saint or

[238] Ibid., 12.

the crucified as the martyr, of course, inscribe narrow and patriarchal standards upon a body that has already endured heinous abuse.

I am careful to clarify that the good intentions of *Cem Vezes Cláudia*, as well as the objects of study that I hold under the framework of radical (re)vision through the remainder of this chapter, are not in question. The sincerity and courage demonstrated in these works are what vitalize this study and enable a careful look into the cultural underpinnings of the project. Just as moments of social crisis become the impetuses for waves of protest that reflect the histories and aspirations of a people, the routinized enactment of state terror against afro-descended women necessarily draws the resistant performances against these injustices into conversation with histories and patterns of black subjugation. Gui Mohallem in his contribution to *Cem Vezes Cláudia* tips his hat to an awareness of the position these (re)visions take in a canon of black visual representation and cultural material that addresses the fixity of tortured black bodies. Mohallem's (re)vision uses the format of the daguerreotype memed as a riff on Carrie Mae Weems's 1995 series of appropriated photographs, *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried*. By invoking Weems's testimony of witnessing and empathy from a spatial and temporal distance, Mohallem acknowledges the conflicted experience

Gui Mohallem, *Cem Vezes Cláudia* (2014)

of hegemonic spectatorship that Diana Taylor describes in her witnessing of World Trade Center attacks. He further intimates the import of understanding Cláudia Silva Ferreira's murder through a transnational lens where Ferreira's torture is catalogued with descendants of the transatlantic slave trade whose images helped shape Weems's timeline of abuses. Along the lines of Juliana de Faria's call for contributions to *Cem Vezes Cláudia*, *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* hopes to, in Weems's words, "give the subject another level of humanity and another level of dignity that was originally missing in the photograph." I take this hope to recover a denied sense of humanity, articulated as the point of departure for both projects, to be essential to the reiterative processes they employ. The allowances and limits of good intent should also be held in consideration of the objects of study that follow.

These (re)visions inevitably fall into transnational discourse, and I stress a transnational perspective in the next sections to follow through with the intentions that I present in the introduction— that performances of black femininity in Brazil exemplify the spatial and temporal transcendent potential of black performance and

thus warrant greater inclusion in hemispheric and diasporic discourse. More specifically, the notion of radical (re)vision draws obvious parallels between the circulation of police violence and social mobilization in Brazil and the United States, and a comparative look at how reiteration in resistant performance functions across the North-South divide shows negra demais to be a framework that offers alternate insight into the ambivalence with which black bodies of the United States are managed. Without suggesting that there is a symmetrical reflection, I find meaningful correlations between (re)visions of state violence and (re)visions of social movements in these two contexts. I first focus on the use of editing as a device of media activism and the impositions it takes on black bodies—the primary subjects of virally circulated spectacles of injustice. I mark the black male body as the target of routine enactments of state power in the United States with a focus on Spike Lee's viral "mash-up" of Eric Garner's murder. These methods of (re)vision are held against documentation of the organized "removal" of Rio de Janeiro's Metrô Mangueira favela and a series of edited videos produced by Daniel Cruz of Coletivo Mariachi. Here subjects of Cruz's footage are predominantly poor women of color. Unlike *Cem Vezes Cláudia*, Lee and Cruz do not aim to rescue their subjects from atrocity, but rather take the captured images as the starting points for short visual polemics against state violence. Each uses skillful editing to "mash-up" or splice source videos with outside contexts, ultimately neutralizing imagery of the originating incident towards a more virally consumable draft. I finally shift to radical (re)vision of social movements, considering the high stakes of reworking original models of activism into drafts that ensure hegemonic order.

(Re)visions of atrocity: mashed up and spliced

Roughly a week after Staten Island District Attorney, Daniel Donovan Jr., announced that a grand jury would not indict New York City police officer Daniel Pantaleo in the choking death of Eric Garner, Spike Lee's Forty Acres and a Mule Filmworks released a one minute and forty-five second video splicing cellphone footage of Garner's death with the climactic choking of Lee's character, Radio Raheem (Bill Nunn), in the 1989 film *Do the Right Thing.* The synthesis of these formally distinct source materials provides a disturbingly seamless visual narrative. Lee's trademark vivid color saturation on thirty-five millimeter film is intercut with bystander Ramsey Orta's pixilated cellular documentation. Yet any expected juxtaposition between the images is effectively blurred by the impeccable continuity of Lee's editing. In the following days the *New York Daily News* published a short commentary on Lee's (re)vision of the film with Orta's documentation of Garner's death titled, "Spike Lee's 'Do the Right Thing' has similarities to the death of Eric Garner, until the aftermath."[239] The gist of the article was a flippant critique of the implied ellipsis that dangles at the end of Lee's (re)vision. Unlike his original draft where lead character Mookie (Spike Lee) steps out of his pattern of hesitant behavior and activates a brewing riot in Bedford Stuyvesant by throwing a garbage can through

[239] "Spike Lee's 'Do the Right Thing has similarities to the death of Eric Garner, until the aftermath," December 10, 2014, http://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/gossip/confidential/scenes-spike-lee-film-eric-garner-death-article-1.2039895.

the storefront of Sal's Pizzeria, the mash-up ends with an intercut of two presumably deceased black male bodies carried into police vehicles. The film's original sequence is punctuated by a chorus of local residents staring into the aftermath of a riot and crying against previous spectacles of violence upon black bodies:

> It's murder. They did it again, just like Michael Stewart— Murder! Eleanor Bumpurs, murder!— Damn, it ain't even safe in our own neighborhood!— Never was, never will be.— We ain't gonna stand for this shit no more, Sal, you hear me? We aint gonna stand for them fucking police. Punks!— Its as plain as day. They didn't have to kill the boy.

Lee's (re)vision of the fictional death of Radio Raheem and the real-life death of Eric Garner is rather punctuated by Orta's cellular lens tracking a dispersing crowd with his final summation: "Racist-ass cops on Staten Island, this is what the fuck they do." Taking into account the seemingly prophetic timeliness of *Do the Right Thing* (followed by the Crown Heights Riots in 1991 and the Los Angeles Riots of 1992), it is worth acknowledging that this film has maintained an ongoing conversation with real-life events since its release. The film's association with riots of its time allows it to stand in as an abstracted surrogate for rioting where spectators and critics measure the impulse for collective destruction under a logic of rightness versus wrongness. As long as *Do the Right Thing* is only a creative stroke at sparking a riot, the spectator may entertain the notion that rioting may be a fitting response to rituals of police violence. The question of Lee's (re)vision dangling resignation before its spectator with Orta's commentary, "this is what the fuck they do," speaks to a larger question of revising uncontrolled civic rebellion towards less disruptive models.

Without idealizing the complexities of riot/uprising as a mode of dissent, the implications of revising historic rebellions in the drafting of new social activism warrants careful consideration. An explicit example of this phenomenon and the normalizing effect it may have on revolutionary legacies is Sara Warner's analysis of the re-branding of the Stonewall riots by Proposition 8 activists in celebration of Stonewall's 40th anniversary, dubbed "Stonewall 2.0." Here a conservative-liberal activist team, Theodore Olson and David Boise, invoke Stonewall to push a political agenda of family values and what Warner describes as ideals of "homonormativity."[240] The spontaneity, playfulness, and unquestionably radical gestures of the Stonewall riots are then revised in partnership with marketing machines such as the NOH8 campaign and framed in a rhetoric of assimilation. We find a similar shift in language with Lee's (re)vision of the deaths of Eric Gardner and Radio Raheem. Warner cites a move from the language employed in earlier activism's address of marriage in "A Gay Manifesto" written roughly six months after the Stonewall riots:

> Traditional marriage is a rotten oppressive institution… Gay people must stop gauging their self-respect by how well they mimic straight marriages… To accept that happiness comes through finding a groovy spouse and settling down, showing the world that "we're just the same as you" is avoiding the real issues, and is an expression of self-hatred.[241]

to the language of Olson's overtly assimilating agenda:

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[240] Sara Warner, *Acts of Gaiety: LGBT Performance and the Politics of Pleasure* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 101.
[241] Ibid.

> Same sex unions promote the values that conservatives prize. Marriage is one of the basic building blocks of our neighborhoods and our nation… The fact that individuals who happen to be gay want to share in this vital social institution is evidence that conservative ideals enjoy widespread acceptance.[242]

As revision in writing practice welcomes strategic erasure, (re)visions of historic insurrections, the texts of revolutionary performance, are capable of erasing core ideals and even the constituencies for whom they were staged. The 40th anniversary of the Stonewall riots (re)vised as a parade of liberal propaganda proves the stakes of erasure are quite real. As Warner states, "the thoroughly commodified spectacles surrounding the celebration of Stonewall 40 had less to do with marking the history of the LGBT movement than they had with creating a public act of forgetting, one that allowed homoliberals to rewrite the past in order to conform to present aspirations."[243] Lee's (re)vision of Radio Raheem's murder from the inciting moment before a riot to the somber moment before a quieting ellipsis carries real-life stakes as well. Further, Lee's (re)vision of Eric Garner's murder from a documented ritual of state violence to a short cinematic thesis on the everydayness of police brutality carries its own set of implications.

The ability to return to the sight of violence, indulging in (re)visions that hope to mimic presence to a stroke of oppression, requires a privileged position that evades implication (i.e. the Anonymous hacktivist masked as an unmarked "Guy") while allowing repeated access to the event (i.e. Diana Taylor's series of pausing/holding

[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid., 102.

clicks). This access to the public lives of others that I understand through Taylor's rubric of hegemonic spectatorship positions the spectator as a superior "judge" of performance privileging the audience with the ability to "benefit from nonidentification."[244] One is allowed to invest in the consequences of the event "without ever feeling themselves implicated in the proceedings."[245] (Re)vision as a performative device requires repeated and protected access, and I suggest synthesizing hegemonic spectatorship with Harvey Young's analysis of "past" and "present" in relationship to souvenirs of lynching. Young writes:

> The souvenir saves the past and represents it in the present. It records the *that which was* in a material object that can be referenced and revisited over time. In contrast, the present, the *that which is now*, existing just beyond ourselves resists both objectification and commodification because its ongoing status disallows the creation of an entrapping retrospective narrative.[246]

There is a hierarchical structure built into this reading of past and present where past is subject to recording, fixation, and re-visitation. The elusive present is sought out in the materiality of the souvenir, but never captured in its completeness. It is for this reason that cyberspace acts as an open playground for (re)vision, as a repository of fragmented bits of past events mimicking presence for protected and un-implicated spectators.

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[244] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 234.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Harvey Young. *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory, and the Black Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 171.

Ramsey Orta's video clip released for viral consumption serves as a souvenir for Lee, and any interested spectator, to revisit the sight of Garner's death, satisfying a need to approximate presence. The meme format that Lee adopts— lifting and altering viral material to insert one's own message, exposes (re)vision as not only a device of hegemonic spectatorship but also a tool for hegemonic mediation of violence. There is significance in Lee's penultimate scene of *Do the Right Thing*, the scene of Radio Raheem's murder and the riot, taking a Brechtian turn when the chorus of neighbors gaze upon Mookie and Sal and, from the camera's position, directly addressing the spectator and chanting out a list of real-life injustices. Lee employs alienation in this moment to distance the spectator from the film's narrative and remind her that the film could essentially be "mashed-up" with the real-life racial climate of the United States in 1989.

The mashed-up (re)vision of Garner and Raheem's murders takes an even further step into alienation. Viewers of this clip mimic presence to a human being's death and the asphyxiated sound of his voice pleading, "I can't breathe… I can't breathe…" Yet somewhere between the broad numbing effect that digital media has on our emotional capacity to revisit the sight of violence and Lee's theatrical remixing of a real human being's tortured final moments, the clip "appeals less to the feelings than to the spectator's reasons."[247] The viewer is not invited to feel Garner's death; she is prompted to "come to grips with things."[248] Spike Lee's (re)vision of Radio Raheem's murder erases the cathartic gesture of the riot and replaces it with a

[247] Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*. ed. and trans. John Willet (London: Methuen, 1964), 23.
[248] Ibid.

dangling uncertainty. Under Brecht's design of epic theatre and certainly under Augusto Boal's anti-cathartic elaboration of Brecht's vision, Spike Lee's mash-up should call upon the viewer to step into Mookie's or Orta's shoes and take a stab at *doing* the right thing. As implied earlier, I suspect the glitch that prevented Spike Lee's (re)vision of Eric Garner's death from sparking a collective insurgence is related to the digital medium.

I apply these questions of hegemonic spectatorship and activism mediated through the digital to my fieldwork with media activism in Rio de Janeiro. My experience of witnessing Cláudia Silva Ferreira's death through digital interface led me to a series of questions surrounding my research on the Movimento Contra Copa and specifically my position as a spectator, comfortably perusing documentation of the forceful "removals" of favela communities from a protected position. The viral videos of Coletivo Mariachi and other media activist groups had become primary visual resources that helped shape the course of my fieldwork, and I eventually had to confront the problematic terms of obtaining safe access to such vulnerable and high-stakes experiences without implication. Working under a prototypical example of Taylor's hegemonic spectatorship, I became more invested in a critique of my own experience of screening these abuses against poor and predominantly afro-descended subjects. Through my engagement with the Coletivo Mariachi archive, I was fortunate to form an alliance with Daniel Cruz, a founding member and talented photojournalist who held a unique investment in disseminating information on the Metrô Mangueira removals.

Metrô Mangueira, also referred to as Favela do Metrô, was at the time a thirty-five year old community located at the base of the larger Mangueira neighborhood and within close walking distance to Rio de Janeiro's Maracanã Stadium. Named after the nearby train station that many original residents helped construct, it was the subject of one of the first removals in preparation for the World Cup to gain international attention with state interventions beginning as early as 2010. The ongoing struggle between residents and Rio de Janeiro officials included unwarranted raids where government employees emptied homes of possessions, the relocation of select families to government housing in the Cosmos neighborhood, halts on garbage and sanitation services, a resulting infestation of Dengue carrying mosquitos, night raids from military police, and the final bulldozing of homes still furnished with personal possessions.

Cruz first shared unedited footage of this resistance in the fall of 2013, gathering extended shots of the community in rubble, residents sifting through piles of bulldozed debris in search of personal possessions, police stand-offs, and interviews. It is important to note that the subjects of these videos were predominantly women and children, most often sharing their accounts of police impositions. When I began my field research in early 2014, residing at Cruz's home which also served as the informal headquarters of Coletivo Mariachi, I gained a better understanding of his commitment to this small community which was visible from our residence on the nearby Vila Isabel hill and along my daily walk to the Maracanã metro station. Metrô Mangueira was part of the larger community that was home to Cruz and his extended family for generations. Unlike the safe distance that Lee takes advantage of in his (re)vision of

Eric Garner's murder, Cruz's documentations of the Metrô Mangueira removal assume a more closely implicated perspective. He documents as a non-resident, but his physical presence and proximity to the community, both geographically and socially, places him in a position that is more akin to that of Ramsey Orta, whose recording of Garner's murder exemplifies the potential legal repercussions for active witnessing. As both documentarian and editor of these digitally circulated videos, Cruz does not mimic presence to the events in the way that I map previously. His documents do, however, capture the event as the "souvenir" of Harvey Young's design, saving the past, representing it in the present, and offering the event to be revisited and objectified over time.

I employ Cruz's documentation of the Metrô Mangueira removals here as an example of how media activism generates (re)visions of its own source documents specifically through the process of editing towards viral consumption. I move from the first iterations of Cruz's unedited footage to two versions circulated through Coletivo Mariachi's social media platforms. Cruz establishes in the initial videos an interest in simply documenting this story. His lens scans the landscape, capturing aerial shots of massive piles of rubble and exposing personal effects, furniture, clothing, cooking utensils embedded in the piles. The recordings sound an alarm to a gross disregard for humanity in the midst of a broad stroke at urban redevelopment. As Cruz interviews numerous women his voice engages in the tone of a familiar acquaintance, prompting interviewees to offer testimonies of events that he too had witnessed. There is much banter around Mayor Eduardo Paes, his involvement in the removals, broken promises, and ongoing bureaucratic obstacles. The nighttime shoots of military police

raids capture the most extreme instances of violence and resistance with unstable shots of residents building bonfires, dodging tear gas and rubber bullets, and throwing torched bottles in self-defense. In the aftermath of these raids, Cruz documents women and children attesting to the absence of boundaries and ethics. They speak of the physical abuses they have endured, responding to Cruz's questions within the intensity and frenzy of the moment.

These testimonies from residents hold central focus in the original footage. Cruz focuses on exasperated expressions, welling tears, visible injuries, and the enveloping scene. Empathy is elicited through the camera's scan of the environment, seeking precise evidence, authenticity, and a well-rounded story. I began studying these unedited cuts while still in the United States, and I was immediately excited to have gained access to such direct insight into a crisis that I had only understood in the abstract through journal articles and protest rhetoric. I was, of course, moved and initially swept into the kind of empathy that may be best understood under Boalian terms as waves of catharsis that ultimately fed my own release of anguish and disgust. Increasingly conscious and troubled by this construct of hegemonic spectatorship, my interests soon turned to questions of process, the significance of media activism in contemporary Brazilian uprisings, and the methods of assembling evidence for viral circulation. My interactions with Cruz shifted to inquiry on how the digital platform is mutually accountable for the ways these materials are (re)vised and replicated. Through my returns to the sight of violence I better understood the implications of cyber spectatorship and its impact in establishing the demands of viral engagement. These terms include determining what documents have the potential to go viral as well

as influencing factors such as a video's length, an image's meme potential, or the potential for extracted language to be re-contextualized as propaganda.

Cruz's first edit of the Metrô Mangueira removals reflects these demands. In Coletivo Mariachi's five-minute video titled *Metrô Mangueira Resiste*, he presents a succinct narrative shaped with transitional titles that includes clips from the most compelling moments of his footage on the crisis.[249] The establishing title, "Favela Metrô Mangueira, um povo que não se cala," fades into successive shots of the aftermath of bulldozed homes. A pair of young women walk along piles of concrete and debris. A woman and child collect water from an outdoor spigot. A young girl playfully tosses rocks from a reclining chair left among discarded items. And layered over the entire clip, legendary composer Jamelão sings his "Exaltação à Mangueira."[250] It is a juxtaposition that is a signature of Cruz and Coletivo Mariachi's punk aesthetic, playing upon the irony and absurdities of injustice with sharp humor. As Cruz establishes the extremity of this circumstance, Jamelão sings the famous homage to Rio's beloved samba school:

> Mangueira teu cenário é uma beleza
> Que a natureza criou, ô...ô...
> O morro com seus barracões de zinco,
> Quando amanhece, que esplendor
> Todo o mundo te conhece ao longe,
> Pelo som de teus tamborins
> E o rufar do seu tambor
> Chegou, ô... ô...
> A mangueira chegou, ô... ô... [251]

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[249] Mariachi. "Metrô Mangueira resiste 08/01/2014." YouTube video, 5:05. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06t1e41GFHc

[250] Exaltation to Mangueira
Jamelão. *Exaltação a Mangueira*. Continental, 1978, mp3.

[251] Mangueira your landscape it a thing of beauty

With this lyric a cynical commentary is filtered over Cruz's images and only subdued when the voices of residents take precedence. Metrô Mangueira's thirty-five years of self-sustained settlement is opened to the larger history of the neighboring Mangueira community and the revelry of carnival. This heralding of the people of the hill descending upon the asphalt in procession lends itself to Cruz's introduction of this active resistance where residents fend off military police in an intense raid. When Cruz introduces "a voz do povo," the song falls to a faint undertone as various women and children struggle through tears sharing compelling testimonies:

> …é um país sem ordem. É um país onde ninguém respeita os pobres.
>
> Entendeu… estamos tratado como cachorros.[252]
>
> Ele apertou ou spray na minha cara! Na minha cara e da minha tia que está gravida! Ele apertou ou spray![253]

Cruz punctuates the video with another popular samba, Cartola's "Alvorada" sung over closing credits.

> Alvorada, lá no morro que beleza
> Ninguém chora, não ha tristeza
> Ninguém sente dissabor…[254]

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that nature created, oh… oh…
The hill with its zinc shacks,
When dawn rises, what splendor
Everyone recognizes you from a distance,
By the sound of your tambourines
And the beat of your drum
They've arrived, oh… oh…
Mangueira has arrived, oh… oh…

[252] This is a country without order. It is a country where nobody respects the poor. You know what I mean… we are treated like dogs.

[253] He shot the spra in my face! In my face and my aunt's face who is pregnant! He shot the spray!

[254] Alvorada, up on the hill what beauty

There is disquieting tension felt when taking in this assemblage. The seduction of Jamelão's lyrics and the steady syncopation of the batucada set against Cruz's images negotiate the unspoken terms of engagement between spectator and media activist. The video dedicates just under four of its five minutes to "the voice of the people," making Cruz's principal priority clear. Yet the samba acts as a lure that not only adds a clever nod to the absurd, but also recognizes the cyber spectator's desire to be entertained. Cruz measures the price of gaining a mass audience's interest, and recoups with the four minutes he dedicates to the women's voices. Along these terms, Cruz's original footage is (re)vised towards a fine balance of pleasure and alarm, of seduction and testimony. The video is entertaining in a way that signals its audience's curiosities while protecting space for the women of Metrô Mangueira to speak on their own their own behalf. At the same time, the women are exposed in moments of extreme duress. In one shot three small girls shield their faces with headscarves, and the problematic complexities of exposure and alienation emerge. The social commentary layered upon this edit with popular sambas is the first step in a process that increasingly distances this edit from the intensity of the events. The negotiation is weighed carefully, and the artifact of the original footage is manipulated to an extent that protects the roundness of the women's testimonies while exploiting the clash between the disturbing imagery and the jubilance of samba.

Nobody cries there is no sadness
Nobody feels disappointment.

The second edit of Cruz's Metrô Mangueira documentation also plays upon the pleasure and festivity of carnival as a result of an opportune encounter with Rio de Janeiro's Mayor Eduardo Paes.[255] During one of our trips to a final carnival rehearsal at the Sambadrome, Cruz spotted Paes among other celebrity guests parading with the Portela samba school. The video shows Cruz confronting the mayor mid revelry with a series of pointed questions regarding the Metrô Mangueira removals and another incident of military police violence that resulted in the death of a protester. In this second edit Cruz splices images of his exchange with Mayor Paes with segments of the previously disseminated video of Metrô Mangueira's resistance. His questions catch the mayor in numerous lies, claiming first to not be familiar with the Metrô Mangueira community and then clarifying that he knows the community but nothing of the removals. The spliced images of Metrô Mangueira under attack uphold the integrity of Cruz's questions while upping the stakes of the absurdity that he presents in the first edit. With quick cuts between the devastating results of the removals and Paes's attempts to dodge culpability, Cruz drafts a more humorous and more comfortably consumable (re)vision. In this (re)vision, however, "a voz do povo" which previously anchored the video is almost entirely erased. Metrô Mangueira is rather represented in short visuals that project generalized notions of poverty and the punch line of Jamelão's samba. In this (re)vision, the terms of viral spectatorship require a greater investment in pacing and wit than human experience.

[255] Mariachi. "Eduardo Paes e sua Portela." YouTube video, 1:43. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jBLDRFfbDKs

The price of viral accessibility in this second edit is the visibility of the women who survived the removals. Splicing the Metrô Mangueira resistance with footage of Mayor Paes bumbling over the facts is also entertaining, but not with the strategy of the previous edit holding the spectator's interest with ironic festivity to recoup the payoff of pulling the viewer into the voices of the people. Shots of Paes jumping, playing an agogô bell, and singing along to Portela's samba enredo awaken the festivity of carnival, catching the spectator's immediate attention. Cruz's unexpected line of questioning visibly rattles Paes and captures the convergence of "official life" and "life of the carnival square" that Bakhtin presents as the temporary opening, the "familiar contact with everyone and everything," that is cleared with the annual carnival ritual.[256] Here Cruz's aesthetic may be read as a carnivalesque gesture, layering documents of injustice with trickery, irreverence, satirical humor, and a pressing undercurrent of anarchistic ideals. As the gag of catching Paes celebrating takes precedence over the presence of the women Metrô Mangueira, the spirit of carnival emerges both in the visual content and the craftiness of the edit. In this version radical (re)vision reiterates the act of removal, erasing the subjects of the atrocity and masking documentation of Metrô Mangueira's resistance in the subversive festivity of carnival.

As with Lee's mash-up of Eric Garner's murder, the splicing of Metrô Mangueira's resistance with imagery of Rio de Janeiro's parading mayor holds real-life injustice against resonant imagery to instill the artist's overriding commentary.

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[256] Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 129.

Both expose the routineness and absurdity of state sanctioned atrocity—Lee by cutting a fictional scenario against actual police brutality and Cruz by cutting the trickery of carnival against high-stakes resistance. These two (re)visions also negotiate the stakes of either activating or quelling a viral public while either exposing or erasing the subjects of state violence.

Civil revisions and the matter of black lives

The impulse to protest is often rooted in negotiations of vision where one party is made aware of the constraint of being seen, being made invisible, or possessing a limited field of vision. Social resistance may then be understood as repeated returns to the sight of oppression where organized protest provides a concrete model of interpellation. The understanding built into public resistance is that there is an empirical power represented by an awaiting barricade who hails a mass of despondent citizens/non-citizens/contingent citizens in a choreography of interdependence. As Judith Butler complicates Althusser's doctrine, she proposes interpellation "not as an event, but a certain way of *staging the call*."[257] Butler's revision, a staging of the event of interpellation, comes complete with stage directions rooted in the body/agency of the implied subject performing "a turning around (to face the law, to find a face for the law?), and to find an entrance into the language of self-ascription—Here I am—through the appropriation of guilt."[258] We may read organized protest as a (re)vision

[257] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press),107.
[258] Ibid.

of the "hey you's" weight of sovereign authority upon the always-already subjugated body, where "here I am" reveals the subjugated body's awareness of what has always-already been enacted upon her. As a cat-and-mouse game that mimics child's play, we can study public protest as a standoff where "come out come out wherever you are" is met with "come and get me."

I return to the question of radical (re)vision's impact on social activism demonstrated in the rebranding of the Stonewall uprising towards conservative interests. This is where re-drafts in service of old normative ideology carry their most devastating potential, and the demand for visibility that is asserted with a reflexive "here I am" is appropriated and manipulated under the pretense of progress. Public response to the decision not to indict any of the officers involved in Eric Garner's murder, of course, was not riotous and Eric Garner's image, added to a growing list of unarmed black men and women in the United States who have recently been killed by police, became a central figure in the meticulously organized and peacefully executed Black Lives Matter movement. Through social networking, an intricate leadership structure, and a precise and transparent agenda, Black Lives Matter has challenged the double-privilege of Anonymous by relishing in the marker of blackness and demanding the right to live out blackness publicly. However, the brand of blackness that is projected in massive culminations such as the Millions March of December 13, 2014 is marked as black-male, black-hetero, black-middle class, and black-educated. This is especially odd considering Black Lives Matter was founded in 2013 by a trio of queer black women who aimed to "affirm the lives of Black queer and trans folks, disabled folks, Black-undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black

lives along the gender spectrum."[259] How is it that an unwavering alliance such as that formed by Patrisse Cullors, Opal Tometi, and Alicia Garza, the co-founding leaders, has itself been (re)vised from the broad picture of their movement along with a collection of counterpublics whom they have committed to representing?

In his chapter "On National Culture," Fanon guides the reader through the task of colonized people forming national identity by nurturing cultural aesthetics that lie beyond and outside of the colonizer's influence. In this argument, the challenges before colonized people—to escape assimilation, to tap into pre-colonial legacies, and most crucially to inspire insurgences of decolonization, are often undermined by an inclination to call on the past as a model for the present. The colonized artist seeks out "the detritus of social thought, external appearances, relics, and knowledge frozen in time."[260] I argue that Black Lives Matter, a brainchild of radical feminist interventionists, suffers under the shadow of normative Civil Rights ideals that threaten to neutralize the movement's most nuanced principals.

To better understand the connections between the Civil Rights Movement and the invisibility of black counterpublics, I turn to Susan Leigh Foster's readings of Civil Rights sit-ins of the 1960s and ACT-UP die-ins of the late 1980s as carefully rehearsed choreographies. Foster, using language of dance and corporeality, stresses the specific physical and spatial needs of each protest movement and how participants were trained and rehearsed for the respective occasions. Participants in lunch counter sit-ins formally studied "how to defy the physical impulse to respond in kind to assault

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[259] Alicia Garza, "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement." *Feminist Wire*. http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/.
[260] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,*161.

and to re-direct it into maintaining composure."[261] ACT-UP die-ins aimed for "maximum disruption" using the given number of bodies and thus "adapted their protests to the specific geographical and social environments in which they found themselves."[262] Attention to context, space, and the behaviors of the bodies that occupy the spaces of protest; being physically present to the movement's design sharpened the motivations of these productions. Protesters of the Civil Rights Movement refined their gestures and contained individual impulses in order to project unity. Conservative clothing and direct focus of vision further challenged racist notions that black patrons were not worthy of proximity to whites. In other words, a homogenous notion of blackness was useful in its context to reveal the pathology and violence of the movement's targets.

In a direct address to the matter of erasure and homogeneity in the global appropriation of Black Lives Matter, Alicia Garza explains the trajectory of the movement's growth, "moving the hashtag from social media to the streets." She directly accuses a slew of culprits in what she calls "the theft of black queer women's work" warning:

> When you design an event / campaign / et cetera based on the work of queer Black women, don't invite them to participate in shaping it, but ask them to provide materials and ideas for next steps for said event, that is racism in practice. It's also hetero-patriarchal. Straight men, unintentionally or intentionally, have taken the work of queer Black women and erased our

[261] Susan Leigh Foster, "Choreographies of Protest." T*heatre Journal* 55, 3 (2003): 400.
[262] Ibid., 404.

> contributions. Perhaps if we were the charismatic Black men many are rallying around these days, it would have been a different story, but being Black queer women in this society (and apparently within these movements) tends to equal invisibility and non-relevancy.[263]

Garza's frustration speaks to a shift from cyberspace to the public sphere where the hyper-visibility of hetero-normative blackness, celebrity drop-ins, political photo ops, and Hollywood appropriations of Black Lives Matter drew a clear line marking which black lives were up for consideration. The ongoing embodied performance of the movement reveals a public desire to quell brewing outrage and fear of repeating past riots by evoking the rehearsed civility and homogeneity of the Civil Rights Movement. Joseph Roach describes this tendency "when confronted with revolutionary circumstances" for publics to "reinvent themselves by performing their pasts in the presence of others."[264] The wound that was opened with a series of public executions in the United States had the potential to invite an infectious wave of social insurgence. Indeed, Black Lives Matter as a viral cyber-movement almost filled that space. The fact that this movement, as an embodied performance of protest, could not resist extensive (re)vision underscores the pull of what Roach describes as surrogation and what Fanon describes as the retrospective "inner intentionality" of colonized creators. The open wounds left in the wake of an ongoing series of spectacular assaults on black bodies was filled with a grand show of unity and a guise of uniform citizenship that re-inscribed the hierarchical divisions that Garza, Cullors, and Tometi hope to undo. Just

[263] Garza, "A Herstory."
[264]Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 1.

as surrogation always leaves its clearing either with an excess or a deficit of collective memory, the resonance of Civil Rights could never adequately meet the need of Black Lives Matter to include all black lives, while maintaining the integrity of difference amongst black lives, and promoting full access to the public sphere as an unencumbered space for living out black lives. Yet it is the way of performance, social dramas, restored behavior to trace previously laid steps in search of moments of transgression.

The uprisings that filled Brazil's urban centers in June of 2013 with the resounding slogan "o gigante acordou" drew nonpartisan masses to the streets in protests under the common issues of overt corruption in national government.[265] The giant, being the citizens of Brazil, figuratively "awoke" that summer setting a precedent that the dynamic voices of the masses could not be ignored. The collective energy and assertion of government accountability that the summer of 2013 generated persisted in ongoing movements such as the Movimento Passe Livre, Movimento Contra Copa, and Movimento Libere as Baianas discussed previously. However, the mass social movements that followed in 2015 may be read as a dramatic example of how the (re)vision of progressive social movements may also fuel sudden shifts in power that bear devastating consequences to the working-class and poor. Surrogation in this context is evident in the disorienting adaptability of 2013's revolutionary spirit to 2015's conservative coup. When the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) under the presidency of Dilma Rousseff withstood a series of accusations of corruption, including laundering and direct bribery in contracts through Petrobras, the charge and

[265] the giant awoke

rhetoric of the "awoken giant" of 2013 provided a seamless format for a wave of protests driven by elitist conservatism. The series of demonstrations that included crowds of just under 3 million throughout Brazil on March 15 of 2015 and roughly 7 million on March 13 2016, showed masses of middle and upper-class, predominantly white, citizens wearing the national colors and displaying enormous banners that stated the ultimate accomplishment of the movement—Fora Dilma! and Impeachment Já![266]

Rio de Janeiro protest, March 13, 2016

Viral image form Rio de Janeiro Protest, March 13, 2016

[266] Out with Dilma! … Impeach Now!

While the March 13, 2016 protests were still underway, a photograph of a demonstrating family, a married couple with twin toddlers and a black babá, or nanny, pushing the children in a stroller behind them went viral. The image became the center of a debate that spurred a variety of perspectives—this image seen as the quintessential representation of social privilege among the protesting body, the questionable ethics of an employee made to march for a movement that she may or may not support, as well as the argument that the babá was simply doing her job and viral exposure from progressive critics violated her privacy. Maria Angélica Lima, the photographed woman, expressed frustration with the unexpected attention in interviews stating, "Eu fiquei chateada porque, eu estou ali… pego o jornal e vejo que meu rosto está pro Brasil inteiro ver… para saber quem eu sou, meu nome, sabem até meu nome… Então, achei isso muito chato, entendeu, me expor dessa maneira."[267] I argue that Lima's response contextualized with the shift to mass protests of the elite helps summarize the complexities of radical (re)vision as studied throughout this chapter. The potential for viral returns to the "sight" to reiterate injustice is apparent in the replication and circulation of Lima's image. Protestations on her behalf from a well-meaning public enact an infringement upon her person that she herself rejects. Meanwhile, the (re)vision of the mass uprisings of 2013-14 enable the mass mobilization of the elite in 2015. Of course, the successful impeachment of President

[267]I was really annoyed because, here I am… I grab the paper and I see that my face there for all of Brazil to see… to know who I am, my name, they even know my name… So, I found this really frustrating, you know, to expose me this way. "O pobre é que sofre', diz Angélica, babá de foto polêmica em manifestação" last modified March 16, 2016, http://extra.globo.com/noticias/rio/o-pobre-que-sofre-diz-angelica-baba-de-foto-polemica-em-manifestacao-rv1-1-18876978.html .

Rousseff and election of Michel Temer a year later demonstrate the weighty consequences of radical (re)vision on a national scale.

CONCLUSION

> The performance space of the artist stands for openness; that of the state, for confinement. Art breaks down barriers between peoples; the state erects them. Art arose out of the human struggle to break free from confinement. These confinements could be natural. But they can also be economic, political, social, and spiritual. Art yearns for a maximum of physical, social, and spiritual space for human action. The state tries to demarcate, limit, and control.[268]

I ponder Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's argument of the "never empty" space of performance. His challenge to Peter Brook's, *The Empty Space*, is a reminder that all stages upon which performances are composed house histories of enactments, both artistic and state designed. These dramas of lived experience and dramas of theatrical traditions mingle with the histories that cohabit their spaces, immersed in the past while claiming presence and seizing openings for imagined futurities. When wa Thiong'o elaborates that the performance space of the artist stands for openness while that of the state stands for confinement, I turn to the performances of this study, all taking place in the expanse of the public sphere while mingling with social narratives that form the confines of their condition—the formative legacies of colonization. The bodies that act out in these performances of the public sphere not only command space in relation to oppressive constraints, but they also delve into the question that Diana Taylor poses of how one comes to "inhabit and envision one's body as coextensive with one's environment and one's past."[269] In claiming physical presence or the "maximum" of space for "human action," the body challenges the public sphere,

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[268] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Enactments of Power: The Politics of Performance Space." *TDR* 41, 3 (1997): 11-30.
[269] Taylor, The Archive and the Repertoire, 82.

carrying with it the weight of cultural memories that promise to exceed the limits of physical, social, spiritual, or economic oppression.

I return to the event of interpellation in reading each these works to uncover how performances of afro-Brazilian femininity in the public sphere are inevitably apprehended by the dominant gaze and how the ideologies that are preserved and harnessed through ritual, cultural memory, and quotidian behaviors demand reciprocal recognition. I do not attempt to essentialize spectacles and behaviors of afro-Brazilian femininity, but rather to draw insight from the innumerable ways these performances engage with their respective spaces. This is, in a sense, a study of how the event of being called into subjectivity is echoed, exploited, and rendered askew through resistant performance. Negra demais calls for the histories that cohabit the public sphere to concede to the presence of afro-Brazilian femininity and the political and social openings that her artistic and practical gestures provide. These are reflexive actions and looks that confront their own state of being "always-already" called into subjection with the immeasurable potential of what always-already exists within the breadth of knowledge activated with the gestures of their own worldview.

This scenario of the dominant gaze projecting a preoccupation with unknown possibilities held in performances of the marginalized is obviously not unique to afro-Brazilian feminist spectacle. Nor is the notion that the oppressed, in their cultural and quotidian acts, challenge the dominant culture with the capacity to overwhelm exclusive to the works of this study. But what overwhelming performances of afro-Brazilian femininity offer is a unique range of methods that attend to the preservation of tradition, the channeling of cultural memory, and the demand for visibility all while

negotiating the unique experiences of marginalization that are imposed by social, economic, political, and topographical confinement. So when the baiana of Caymmi's samba approaches the speaker and the expressed preoccupation of "lá vem a baiana" stirs a host of paranoias around her presence, the fact that the onlooker perceives "esse diablo sambando é mais mulher" speaks to the singular convergence of her blackness, her womanhood, her worldview, and her performance. This convergence fuels both the anxiety over performances of negra demais and the resistant potentials that they wield. What I describe in the example of Caymmi's lyric, and throughout these chapters, is the ambivalence (and its affective state of anxiety) projected at demonstrations of black feminine resistance. It is necessary to draw attention to this ambivalence/anxiety because through its expression the constant weight of the dominant gaze is made apparent. In other words, in the attempt to "fix" the black feminine subject, the dominant gaze is itself solidified and transfixed.

The formula of interpellation read through performance and media studies allows for the substitution of state authority with mainstream media or popular culture, but this study finds its most fruitful models in the gaze projected from alternative and radical forms of media, demonstrating how they inadvertently adopt the hegemonic model. Each chapter of this study in some way faces the resistant performances of afro-Brazilian femininity and coexisting progressive movements that seek or claim alliance. In some cases these would-be allies attempt to speak on behalf of the afro-descended of Brazil, as in the case of Glauber Rocha's *Barravento*. With this attempt the incongruence between the radical message and the cultural material in which it is couched ultimately undermines the polemic. In other cases the incongruence lies in the

desire to express resistance in solidarity with performances of afro-Brazilian femininity. This is perhaps best exemplified in the glitch in logic between the Movimento Contra Copa and the Movimento Libere as Baianas revealing a very practical difference in mission. In some instances black female presence in the public sphere is bolstered by progressives and appropriated in service of their own agendas, demonstrated in Carolina Maria de Jesus's relationship to the political arena or Cláudia Silva Ferreira's posthumous representation as "guerreira" in a larger fight for social reform.

These glitches in understanding naturally impede upon genuine and productive works of solidarity, and they are repeatedly related to the perceived unknown potential—the overwhelming possibility. The ambivalence/anxiety expressed towards performances of negra demais then sets a limit to the cultural outsider's tolerance of projections of black femininity. This conditional tolerance ultimately "stands for the confinement" of traditions and performances that actively claim a right to limitless expression. Indeed, the preoccupation with negra demais highlights the failure of tolerance as a relational model in itself. Ambivalence over traditions that have been historically contained by legacies of oppression reveals an attachment to the maintenance of hegemonic power within the works of the radical interventionists, ultimately posing the question of how much is too much negra.

In a diary entry dated August 30, 1959, Carolina Maria de Jesus writes, "I went to the shoemaker to collect his wastepaper. One of them asked me if my book was communistic. I replied that it was realistic. He cautioned me that it was not wise to

write of reality."[270] The commonality of reality, or performances that relate to the practicalities of real life, is intrinsic to the overall reach of this study, and the shoemaker's warning to Jesus, an artist of lived experience, is a direct warning of the understood limits imposed upon her life. Jesus is careful and quick, in her telling of the exchange, to differentiate her allegiance to reality from an allegiance to communism. This is, of course, in line with her continued evasion of commitment to any political entity of her time. Carolina Maria de Jesus articulates in this diary entry, and throughout her self-documentation, a fidelity to reality that relates to the other readings of this study. As performances that struggle against confinement, they express the right to live beyond limitation and further craft an artistry of living beyond limitation. This is evident in the baianas de acarajé's demand for inclusion as individual entrepreneurs in the World Cup events. They demand presence even within the corporate machine, bringing with them the theatricality and rituals involved in their trade while protecting the solvency of their families. Even the fictional character of Côta in Rocha's *Barravento* exercises this demand to design the strategies of her own reality. Côta's "eu me viro na hora que bem quero. A carne é minha e quem faz preço sou eu" in response to Firminho's railings against feitiço draws a clear line in the sand against progressive impositions on her autonomy. When she sets the price on her body, the "meat" of her trade, she as an "easy woman" of the public sphere sets the terms of a life that exceeds the confinement of the local economy. The tragedy of Cláudia Silva Ferreira's killing as she walked to the market demonstrates how even the most mundane acts of real life are always subject to the spectacle of violence

[270] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 95.

enacted by the state. The disturbing truth here is that day-to-day acts as a black woman in the public sphere are inadvertently implicated in the tension of negra demais. The responses to Ferreira's murder in Cem Vezes Cláudia and the (re)visions of real-life acts of state violence in Cruz and Lee's edits further show how reality is made the material of outward design even when the given events are not decidedly performative.

Intersections of vision

My framing of negra demais shifts between two perspectives, from the outward preoccupation with being overwhelmed by performances of afro-Brazilian femininity to gestures of looking back at the dominant gaze asserting the power to overwhelm. This attention to perspective privileges vision, or the negotiation of seeing and being seen, as a connective thread throughout these chapters. Further, this study is anchored by the afro-descended woman of Brazil's relationship to the dominant gaze and her looks back in resistance— being caught under the gaze and at times demanding visibility. I consistently draw from Fanon's assertion of hyper-visibility as a mode of resistance suggesting that these performances either point to the moment of realization that "the white gaze, the only valid one is already dissecting me. I am *fixed*"[271] or the demand to be seen beyond constraint, proclaiming "I am Narcissus, and I want to see reflected in the eyes of the other an image of myself that satisfies me."[272] I read these performances through their respective calls for visibility and/or

[271] Fanon, *Black Skin*, 95.
[272] Ibid., 187.

against the frustration born from an inability decipher what is seen. The spectator's exclusion from full comprehension engages Glissant's right to opacity as these cornerstone theories of Caribbean and postcolonial studies operate in tandem throughout my analysis.

Feminist theories of performance help develop this framework, and again the texts that I engage approach resistance, subjectivity, and performance through vision. Diana Taylor's voice resounds throughout this study not only for her analysis of the intermediary figure as a channel of cultural memory, but repeatedly for her framing of hegemonic spectatorship, the compulsion to see and see again, and the politics of seeing without implication. Pleasure, and specifically the pleasure expressed in gazing upon the female figures of this study, holds a central position in my argument of spellbound fixation, and I rely considerably on Laura Mulvey's treatise on visual pleasure in Hollywood cinema in understanding the relationship between the camera's lens, the onlooker's desires, or the media's obsession. Additionally, the negotiation of vision is evoked through Robin Bernstein's essential address to the shift in spectatorship and video documentation of state brutality with the cybernetic mode of vision, and the impossibility of holding performance in sight is shaped through Peggy Phelan's analysis of ephemerality and performance.

It is important to clarify that my turn to vision as a mode of understanding throughout these chapters is consistent with the real-life implications of visibility in the context of afro-Brazilian femininity. I preface this study with Nayara Justino's experience as the muse of Globeleza's carnival coverage, and in many ways her story demonstrates how ambivalence over projections of black femininity turns violent upon

sight of what the public measures to be negra demais. The attempted removals of the baianas de acarajé from the Fonte Nova Stadium echo the successful removals of entire hill communities from visibility. The economic and physical abuses inflicted in these removals are justified in the interest of keeping black bodies out of sight during waves of tourism. The struggle for visibility is therefore a high-stakes negotiation that charges everyday behaviors, such as walking to the market, as acts of resistance.

Moreover, ambivalence towards the sight of black femininity finds comfortable acceptance as a playful conundrum hashed out in popular culture. The obsessive quality of the spectator's gaze upon the baiana in Dorival Caymmi's sambas is romanticized as part of the veneration of these cultural figures, and the gaze is presented as innocuous. It is masked as affection. So when a self-professed maniac of observation such as Carolina Maria de Jesus looks back towards her ambivalent public with defiance, she is marked insane. What Jesus actually exposes with her reflexive looks is that the eye of the oppressor is also irrational and excessive. The fixation that I highlight with her public performance, and the other performances of this study, exhibits its own mania towards the afro-descended woman and draws a direct connection to the pathology of colonial design. The compulsion to return to the sight of violence drafting (re)visions of atrocity demonstrates how this mania to observe translates to the digital sphere.

Furnishing forth…

> The term "performance" is, of course, derived from Old English *parfournir*, literally, "to furnish completely or thoroughly." To perform is thus to bring something about, to consummate

> something, or to "carry out a play, order, or project. But in the carrying out, I hold, something new may be generated. The performance transforms itself. True, as I said, the rules may frame the performance, but the flow of action and interaction within that frame may conduce to hitherto unprecedented insights and even generate new symbols and meanings.[273]
>
> – Victor Turner, From Ritual to Theatre: the Human Seriousness of Play

As Victor Turner argues for ritual to be defined in its most essential form as performance or enactments, performance is further defined though its etymological root in parfournir—to furnish completely or thoroughly. Turner's understanding is relied on extensively in theories performance studies, and I add to his "furnish completely or thoroughly" Diana Taylor's use of "to furnish forth."[274] I include Taylor's phrasing to stress that, along with the completeness that is promised in an act that is performed, there is an implied progression. This is supported by Turner's conclusion that in furnishing completely "something new may be generated." I liken this potential for something new to the unknown potential that I describe throughout this study as either the focus of outward fixation or the resistant device wielded in performances of afro-Brazilian femininity. In building this definition, Turner notes (and repeats) that ritual understood as performance carries the capacity to transcend any basic rules or rubrics associated with its formation. The transcendent quality of ritual performance that is elaborated in Turner and Margaret Dewal's scholarship bewilders the spectator with the promise of something new and the possibility of this new unknown eclipsing the order and regulations of what already is. Here is precisely where the stakes of this study lie, in the unprecedented outcomes of behaviors that

[273] Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, 79.
[274] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 3.

hold the capacity to shift paradigms. Such potential is regarded by the dominant culture as "too much," and the crux of this draw/distrust that I describe in relation to negra demais is the question of how performances of black feminine agency in the public sphere may be regulated and contained.

I turn to the question of why the progressive movements and well-meaning interventionists who engage with performances of afro-Brazilian femininity throughout this study repeatedly hold on to hegemonic modes of seeing the subjects of their works. I believe the answer to this question lies somewhere in the anxiety over progress that refuses containment. So if performance, as Turner defines it, is the furnishing forth of something new, there is hesitance to give way to the expanse of new possibilities that negra demais promises. The cosmology that Luiz Paulino dos Santos, and then Glauber Rocha, attempted to capture with *Barravento* is therefore presented as the primary enemy of the people for its impenitent transformative power. When Carolina Maria de Jesus asserts "I have an ability that I'm not going to talk about here, because it has to defend me"[275] in both her diary and her reflexive gestures toward the public, she is marked a madwoman. The assertions of black feminine agency that I analyze here inevitably meet the conflict between their boundless intentions and the limits of social tolerance. This study demonstrates how the furnishing forth of something new through performances of afro-Brazilian femininity is but *tolerated* under the rubrics of radical and progressive counterparts.

The rules and rubrics of Turner's definition of ritual performance are in tune with state erected barriers of wa Thiong'o's analysis of the performance space. In this

[275] Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, 49.

analysis of negra demais, rules, barriers, and limits impose upon the artistry of performance as well as the practicalities of lived experience. The gestures that confront and play with these limitations merge cosmology, tradition, festivity, and everyday life towards an aesthetic of resistance that encompasses a range of intensity, from the mundane to the spectacular. The breadth of these performances and the theories of performance, race, and gender that they engage offers fruitful ground for intersectional inquiry. These readings do not aim to resolve or offer a summation of the social conditions that I address, but rather to lay out and examine the complexities that they expose.

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