

BRAZIL

MEDIA FROM THE COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE

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BRAZIL

MEDIA FROM THE COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Presenting the contributions of media and communication scholars from across the Americas, Volume 13 explores the evolving media environment of one of the world's most fascinating societies: Brazil. The authors of this volume address important themes grouped into five sections: Brazilian Television, Cinema, and Media; The Brazilian Media Industry; News and Journalism in Brazil; Social Movements and Protest in Brazil; and Brazilian Perspectives on Media and Communications Theory. While selections encompass research on emergent phenomena, as well as studies with a historical or longitudinal dimension, they are united in their focus on Brazil, "the country of the future" in the words of Stefan Zweig because of its economic dynamism and cultural openness, as well as geographic and demographic diversity. Brazil was named as one of the four emerging BRIC economies. In a wave of economic growth and social change in the 1990s through 2010s, more than 40 million people of 200 million moved from working poor or working class into the lower middle class, while other millions moved upwards from there. While Brazil's economic growth has brought it into the spotlight in the last two decades, Brazil has been prominent as a cultural producer for far longer. Indeed, at least since the 1970s, Brazil has been known for the dynamism of its media and culture. It has been a global exporter of music, film, and television, particularly its telenovelas, and a major media power in both Latin America and the Portuguese-speaking or Lusophone world. More recently, it has been in the forefront of world innovation in social media and social movements. Brazil is one of the world's most interesting media powers to study. The chapters in this volume will add a great deal to our understanding of trends in one of the largest and most important media and communication environments in the world.

SECTION I: BRAZILIAN TELEVISION, CINEMA, AND MEDIA

The first section assembles three contributions providing insight into the distinctive cultural characteristics of Brazilian media, including film. The first chapter is entitled "The Cangaço in Brazilian Cinema" by Marcelo Dídimo Souza Vieira and deals with the film genre of the *Cangaço*, a form of social or folk banditry that occurred in the Northeast of Brazil between 1870 and 1940 and served as inspiration for a broad range of artistic endeavors, including Guimarães Rosa's masterpiece "Grande Sertão: Veredas." This chapter presents a historical survey and analysis of *Cangaço* films, highlighting their

relevance to Brazilian cinema. As the chapter explains, the *Cangaço* movement has inspired many films over the years. The author explores the contribution of *Cangaço*-inspired productions to Brazilian cinema, as well as the particular characteristics that constitute the genre. Following a historical survey of the *Cangaço*, the films were divided into different categories and ranked in terms of relevance. Only the most important are discussed in this chapter. The *Cangaço* has been portrayed in Brazilian cinema through the decades in diverse ways, dating back to the 1920s. After becoming a consolidated film genre in the 1950s, then known as *Nordestern* (a portmanteau of Western and *Nordeste*, the name of the North-Eastern region in Portuguese), the *Cangaço* finally acquired a proper structure, featuring multiple Western references among its common characteristics. In the 1960s, Glauber Rocha, one of the most prominent filmmakers of the Cinema Novo avant-garde movement, added his own symbolism to the genre. Eventually, the genre was reinvigorated by directors who combined it with other genres such as comedy, documentary, and erotic films. Despite its strong association with Brazil, the genre has not been thoroughly investigated by researchers. This chapter presents a historical survey and analysis of *Cangaço* films, highlighting their relevance to Brazilian cinema.

The section continues with another chapter on Brazilian cinema, entitled “News Media and Historiography in Brazilian Cinema” by Cory A. Hahn. This chapter examines the relationship between news media in Cinema Novo films to underscore the impact of their shared discourse on the history of Brazilian films. The author discusses the employment of news media within representative Cinema Novo films, namely a major canonical film (*Entranced Earth*) alongside lesser-known films (*Threatened City*, *Freedom of the Press*). The narratives in these films speak to an ongoing debate concerning the role of print and televisual journalism in the increasingly repressive political environment of the 1960s military dictatorship. The chapter concentrates on interpretations of film narrative, of specific scenes, and of shot and shot-sequencing, and situates these interpretations within the broader historical context of the established laws and commissions of 1960s Brazil. The present research is limited to films of the 1960s but has implications for the interpretation of many Brazilian films and for Brazilian film history writ large. When considered together in the light of their shared reflections concerning news media, these films bring up previously underexamined issues within the respective fields of communication studies and Brazilian film studies.

The next chapter, written by Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Lúcia Loner Coutinho, shifts attention from cinema to TV. Their contribution, “The Rise of The Working Poor within the Brazilian Mediascape: The Mythology of Social Inequality’s Disappearance,” traces depictions of working class characters in a media corpus composed of telenovelas produced by Rede Globo from 2002 to 2012. They argue that, while attention has been paid to the recent subversion of some of the negative stereotypes surrounding the underprivileged classes

circulating within the media, they still do not do justice to the complexities of social inequality in contemporary Brazil. They show that mainstream media treatments of social inequality focus entirely on displaying the lifestyle of the underprivileged “working poor,” while overlooking many other aspects of social inequality and deprivation. This chapter proposes a central question: could media visibility be masking the complexity of economic class in Brazilian society, which, despite recent improvements, is still marked by stark social divides? This issue is approached from a cultural perspective focused on analyzing media representations of underprivileged groups, following Douglas Kellner’s (1995) ideas that suggest a contextualizing account of media cultural artifacts.

SECTION II: THE BRAZILIAN MEDIA INDUSTRY

The next section of the book deals with the media industry in today’s Brazil. To open the section, Claudio Nazareno places Brazil in comparative perspective with “The Introduction of Digital TV in Brazil: Lessons from the British and French Experience.” This chapter focuses on Brazil’s distinctive transition to digital television as compared to these two European countries. It shows how, in the case of Brazil, unicasting solely reflected the interests of commercial broadcasters. Comparisons between Brazil and France and the United Kingdom explain why the European choice for multicasting is one of the reasons for the success of digital television penetration in these two countries. By analyzing viewing shares and the financial relevance of the public broadcasters, BBC and France Televisions, to the national broadcasting spaces, the study concludes that these European traditional broadcasters profited from digital television, despite their exposure to a more competitive environment. Thus, the model chosen in Brazil continues to hamper Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) and national audiovisual industries’ development, as well as slowing digital take-up. In Brazil, public broadcasting continued to play a marginal role in the national broadcasting space and the audiovisual market, concentrated in a few local companies. The findings of this comparative study, developed from a political economy perspective, provide important insights into both Brazilian and European telecommunications policy.

Next, Sonia Aguiar contributes “Regional Media Groups in Brazil: Geographic Scale and Organizations.” This chapter presents an overview of the Brazilian regional media groups that are characterized by cross-ownership across outlets in the four main types of news media: print dailies, radio, over the air television, and web. The research uses institutional documents to explore the history and operating mode of the groups that own the 50 bestselling newspapers in the country. The theoretical approach is guided by the notion of “spatialization” applied to business communication by Vincent Mosco, and by the concepts of “region,” “regionality,” and “regionalization,” based upon authors

aligned with the critical thinking approach in the field of geography. The study identifies the multiple geographical scales at which these groups operate, as well as their dominant business models and the sources of their owners' capital. Based on this analysis, it argues that the variables that are applied to the large-circulation media at a national level cannot be automatically transferred to the regional and local levels. This chapter provides a distinctive and nuanced approach to the Brazilian media system that can inspire other studies on regional communication.

The third contribution is entitled "Advertising in the Context of Radio Programming: From Ad Formats toward Ad Meta Formats," by Clóvis Reis. This piece of research analyzes how ad formats are incorporated into the structure of radio programming and provides an original scheme for classifying advertisements in light of the overall organization of the radio programming schedule. The essay consists of three parts. The first part presents the main ad formats aired on the radio, and the second discusses the challenges for classifying ad formats based on the characteristics usually employed in most studies. Finally, the third part of the chapter proposes a new taxonomy for the classification of radio advertising. While scholarship from Spain and the United States provide the theoretical framework that serves as a main foundation for this work, Brazilian data forms the empirical basis for the classification of the ad formats in this research. The approach moves the description of ad formats from an individual definition of each type of announcement – the ad formats – toward a broader analysis of radio advertisements, which groups the set of compositions in ad meta formats. The meta formats are distinguishable by the distribution mode or insertion mode of the ads in the radio programming.

Section II wraps up with "The Name of the Other: Media, Heterotopias, and Border Country Interactions" by Ada Cristina Machado da Silveira, Isabel Padilha Guimarães, and Clarissa Schwartz. This study examines how cultural producers represent the geographic regions where Brazil borders other nations. Located in what is referred to as the Southern Arc, the first city examined, Foz do Iguaçu, lies on the border between Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina. The second city is Tabatinga, in the Amazon region, part of the conurbation region made up by a Colombian city, and including the Peruvian border, coming to be known as the Northern Arc. The research was produced through the triangulation of primary data obtained in two trips into the field, carried out in 2013 and 2014, secondary data (official and semi-official) and academic bibliography. This chapter provides a relevant contribution to our understanding of communication processes carried out in two different regions of Brazil, both of them located far from the spotlights of mainstream Brazilian media. The authors employ a theoretical framework blending geography of communication with sociological and anthropological perspectives on communication in borderland regions.

SECTION III: NEWS AND JOURNALISM IN BRAZIL

The third section brings together three studies on the fields of news and journalism. The section opens with “Mapping Journalistic Startups in Brazil: An Exploratory Study” by Beatriz Becker and Igor Waltz. This qualitative study aims to highlight the experiences of emerging journalistic practices. It reflects upon entrepreneurialism in journalism to explore the extent to which this phenomenon represents innovation in current journalistic practices. Over 30 case studies of Brazilian journalistic startups were examined. The method adopted in this analysis consists of four complementary stages. First, the authors identify Brazilian media’s political and economic standing and the impacts of digitization on this sector. Second, they assess journalistic startup experiences in Brazil through innovation and entrepreneurialism. Third, they map these cases in terms of four criteria applying to journalistic activities. And finally, they conduct interviews with the journalists responsible for these startups. Previously, startups were associated with oppositional forms of journalism geared towards producing alternative views of Brazil and the world. Additionally, journalism is tied to political and economic interests immersed in the neoliberalism and individualism that characterize the global market. However, startups also represent a marriage of innovation and conservation in news production, thus creating potential for the independence of journalism, a crucial asset for the democratic societies utilizing various factual and forms of news productions. Startups certainly represent reconfigurations in journalistic practices which should be continuously studied.

This contribution is followed by Pedro Aguiar’s “Brazilian News Agencies: Between Media Conglomerates and the State.” The chapter addresses the distinctive aspects of Brazil’s news agencies and the Brazilian news syndication market. Approaching the subject from the perspective of the political economy and geographies of communication, the chapter reveals the pattern of Brazil’s public and private prevailing models regarding the wire services industry. The first model is that of a state-run provider servicing the peripheral and alternative media. The second model involves major media conglomerates, which set up their syndication services labeled as “news agencies” in order to increase profits with no extra labor. In the latter case, an asymmetrical relationship of dependency and circularity ensues between these major conglomerates and regional media groups, who rely on these “news agencies” to perpetuate their dominance in local markets. Here, the dominant model reflects that of the so-called “news agencies” owned by large private media conglomerates. These agencies syndicate second-hand copy created by their flagship dailies sold to smaller newspapers in regional cities and towns. This study is the first to paint a detailed picture of the Brazilian news syndication ecology in the English language. This chapter uses data, updated as of 2016, and is illustrated with schematic diagrams to present the scenario and the institutional network formed by these organizations.

The section closes with Fábio Henrique Pereira's "A Study of Brazilian Intellectual-Journalists: Changes to Journalism (1950–1990)." This chapter examines the professional identities of Brazilian journalists through the life stories of ten carefully selected intellectual-journalists, individuals whose journalistic activities have crossed over into non-journalistic fields and spaces of practice. This study delves into their life stories to figure out how they managed their professional reputations and careers within these multiple spaces of practice. The narratives were taken from qualitative semi-structured interviews, and supported by additional research such as interviews, biographies, and articles which have been published about their lives. This chapter forces us to reexamine the current dominant explanation for the changes in Brazilian journalism by showing that crossover reputations take a long time to build. Moreover, they result from complex and often unpredictable interactions among the worlds of journalism, culture, and politics. Thus, intellectual-journalists sometimes find themselves stretched between competing professional identities and spaces of practice.

SECTION IV: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PROTEST IN BRAZIL

The fourth section presents essays that consider the role of communication in formal and informal social activism in Brazil. It commences with the chapter "Protests in Brazil: Mobile Networks and Devices as Tools of Protest" by Breno Maciel Souza Reis, Liana Gross Furini, and Sandra Mara Garcia Henriques. This chapter aims to investigate the uses and appropriations of mobile digital technologies and networks through an examination of their popular manifestations in Brazil. They take a phenomenological approach to unravel the ways in which mobile communications technologies affect social protest. Documents and quantitative data published by Brazilian research institutes and the press form the evidentiary basis for this study. Direct observations relying on an autoethnographic approach are used to provide a contextual framework. The findings suggest that mobile devices and networks were employed as protest tools for individuals and social groups. Where mobile technology has been appropriated in conjunction with new forms of social organization, it can serve as a tool for citizen empowerment and cyberactivism taking place in both virtual and physical environments. Mobile technologies in Brazil have both enhanced possibilities for activists' social interaction, information sharing, and media broadcasting. They have also undercut the credibility of traditional information sources.

The theme of protest is also central to "Media Epiphanies: Selvies and Silences in São Paulo Urban Protests" by Heloisa Pait and Juliana Laet. Looking at a series of recent large street protests in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, the chapter examines the relationship between political action, urban

space, and media use. The authors specifically look at what they call “media epiphanies,” moments in which the public becomes aware of its existence as a mediated public, that is, as a public that is forged through the use of a particular media. The chapter relies on extensive participant observation and interviews for the description of the June 2013 protests and the massive rallies of 2015 and 2016 preceding the president’s impeachment. It examines the experience of the participants to understand the meaning of the phenomenon, using a combination of Frankfurt School and Toronto School approaches. The fluid protests in June of 2013 challenged the political status quo and served as a springboard for subsequent mediated demonstrations. These protests also incorporated traditional cultural forms. The 2016 impeachment House vote, by contrast, was a true media event. It reconstructed the fractured political dialogue of representation in both positive and negative terms. The authors argue that the concept of media epiphany can be used to assess the strength of demonstrations and the meaning of collective action in general. The concept allows one to better examine the complex intersections between forms of communications, social formations, physical geospatial environments, and the experience of the individual in contemporary cities.

The section continues with “Headlines and Hashtags Protests and Mobilizations in Brazil” by Rose Marie Santini, Danilo Silva, Túlio Brasil, Rafael Rezende, Camyla Terra, Heloísa Traiano, Kenzo Seto, Marcela De Orlandis, and Clara Rescala. The chapter examines possible relationships between use of social media in online mobilizations and mainstream media coverage (print media) in the June 2013 Brazilian protests, a series of demonstrations initially provoked by a rise in bus ticket prices. The study draws on comparisons between news stories taken from leading Brazilian newspapers (*O Globo*, *Folha de S. Paulo*, *Estadão* and *O Dia*) and the posts of the most influential Twitter users who disseminated messages about these events during the period from June 1, 2013 to June 30, 2013. This research analyzed the extent to which messages from these Twitter posters anticipated the events occurring on the streets. It also looked at the correspondences between these messages and the news stories about the protests. The results show trends in the emerging dynamics of social organization that may indicate the role of old and new media in today’s Brazilian politics. In particular, the authors seek to determine the degree to which social media messaging anticipates street protest activities.

Section IV concludes with “Countercultural Happenings: The Performance of Revolt in Brazil’s Tropicália Movement” by John Baldwin, Phillip Chidester, and Laura Robinson. This research makes a fresh contribution by exploring an understudied aspect of the Tropicália movement: visual performance. After offering a historical overview, the research examines the movement’s communicative legacy. They contend that, in addition to song’s lyrics and musical symbols, it is vital to consider a third dimension: visual performance. The addition of the visual allows for a more fundamental understanding

of the many complex meanings that the Tropicalistas constructed in their resistance to political oppression, as well as broader cultural mores and expectations. Their examination of archival performance videos reveals that Tropicalistas employed modes of dress and a specific, intentional orientation toward their listeners as particularly powerful tools of expression. Revealing these two dimensions of Tropicália performance allows us to better understand the importance of performance as a key element of resistance through which they challenged the oppressive military regime and question assumptions about Brazilian national identity.

SECTION V: THEORY: BRAZILIAN PERSPECTIVES ON MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS THEORY

Section V closes the volume with Brazilian perspectives on social theory. It opens with the chapter entitled “Modalities and Offshoots of Communication in the Lifeworld: Meaning, Experience, and Interaction” by Ângela Cristina Salgueiro Marques and Luis Mauro Sá Martino. It elaborates a phenomenological framework for the concept of “communication” by drawing mainly on the notion of “lifeworld,” created by Husserl and developed by Habermas. The concept of “lifeworld” is approached as a communication-grounded idea. The theoretical paper endeavors to show that the phenomenological notion of “lifeworld” might be key to a critical understanding of main constructivist approaches in communication theory. It could be particularly illuminating where the focus is on a “reality” which results from intersubjective interactions in everyday life. This essay argues that the concept of the “lifeworld” provides a useful analytical lens with which to understand communication as a form of social interaction, whether this communication is mediated by media technologies or not. The chapter discusses the concept of “lifeworld,” framing its relational and communicative aspects as fundamental to the notion of “reality” as an interactive social creation. It also proposes the understanding of “communication” grounded on this phenomenological notion. Finally, it discusses some problems and limits of this approach, offering an alternative approach to conventional communication theory.

The next offering is entitled “Technophilias and technophobic vis-à-vis research & development of cybercult@” by Jorge A. González. González offers a powerful critique of technology-related ideologies, paying particular attention to De Kerckhove’s work on social networks. The chapter makes the case that we should study society from the point of view of its symbolic production, which is comprised of three inseparable components: information, communication, and knowledge. To understand the complex relationships between society and technology, the text advocates the *cultural fronts* approach that is ideally suited to examine the social production of hegemony and subalternity. The contributions stem from the perspective of action research that the author

calls *cyberculturas*, problematized as the collective development of intelligent self-determination capabilities. The author has continued this research in a comparative mode in Brazil, working with Cecilia Peruzzo and her group at the Methodist University in São Bernardo. The work has examined several communities in Brazil, including São Paulo, sites in the interior and in the Northeast, finding comparable phenomena in Brazil. This forms a comparative basis for these conclusions.

The third chapter is “The Hyperconnected contemporary society” by Brasilina Passarelli and Alan César Belo Angeluci. This chapter presents concepts based on research from the perspective of the 27-year-old Brazilian research center at the University of São Paulo – the School of the Future USP – representing ideas generated by waves of research carried out in both national surveys in Brazil and research with users of hundreds of public access centers in the state of São Paulo on the hyperconnected contemporary society. The authors engage with key themes and concepts including the Internet of things, big data, symptomatic shifts due to mobility and connectivity. In dialogue with the work of Bruno Latour, Manuel Castells, Luciano Floridi, Paul Gilster and many others, the chapter highlights the emergent roles of actor-network structures in the new economy with an eye to emphasizing new literacies. This fruitful theoretical framework not only guides the center’s research but will likely influence other research groups studying society and hyperconnection in Brazil and beyond.

The volume closes with “Historic Consciousness and Ethnographic Research about ICTs: Practices and Uses amongst Family Farming in Southern Brazil” by Pedro Henrique Baptista Reis. The study presents findings obtained through ethnographic field research about the uses and practices of information and communication technologies among tobacco planters living in the region of Vale do Sol - Santa Cruz do Sul. This inquiry aims to better understand both the data and the data-gathering approaches deployed by biographical research based on in-depth and semi-structured interviews. The chapter connects ethnographic research, particularly biographical research, to media usage and appropriation practices. Biographical narratives are explored with an eye to understanding the experiences of the informants in historical context. This approach helps us focus on their historical consciousness, namely their lived experience of time and change. The chapter pays special attention to the ever-changing conditions of time and space, as this helps us to comprehend the incorporation of traditional media and new media into the everyday lives of the informants. These practices are evident in the social landscape of an ever more technologically colonized region.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

These authors make distinct contributions to each of the five thematic sections: Brazilian Television, Cinema, and Media; The Brazilian Media Industry; News

and Journalism in Brazil; Social Movements and Protest in Brazil; and Theory: Brazilian Perspectives on Media and Communications Theory. In shedding light on Brazilian society and perspectives on each of these areas, the volume synthesizes many of central issues in Brazilian media and communications research.

In Section I, *Brazilian Television, Cinema, and Media*, the collection addresses several historical issues in cinema with two chapters that address the development of key themes in cinema. Another examines key current issues with how the dominant television system represents social change with the very important case of the representation of the working poor on television. In Section II, *The Brazilian Media Industry*, other contributions provide excellent analysis of important industry issues such as regionalism and market power, government structure and regulation, and culture and media. As different chapters indicate, one of the key tensions in Brazil continues to be between national powers, such as TV Globo, and regional powers, such as the rising regional media groups. Another tension is between state regulation and the power of the media industry, a struggle reflected in the development of digital television in Brazil. In Section III, *News and Journalism in Brazil*, key contemporary issues in Brazilian journalism are also tackled. One chapter addresses the vitality and innovativeness of the news industry in terms of start-ups. Another contribution examines the ongoing tension between state and major private news companies in terms of news agencies, and who supplies news via syndication to the large number of small media outlets spread across a huge nation. Yet another chapter examines the notable phenomenon, unusual in a global context, of journalists pursuing careers as public intellectuals by examining the lives and careers of 10 such journalists. In Section IV, *Social Movements and Protest in Brazil*, we see how Brazil has been shaken by increasing and gradually morphing protest movements preceding the impeachment of a president. Three chapters examine different facets of these processes in fascinating and comprehensive ways. One looks at the role of mobiles and social media in facilitating the protest movements, adding a very useful perspective to a growing global interest in this question. The second explores the significant relationship between social media and the major news media, which is another important international issue prompting researchers to examine this relationship in a number of social movement sites. The third chapter uses participant observation to capture a more ethnographic view of how the protests in their epicenter in São Paulo developed. Stepping back in time, a fourth chapter looks at an earlier historical moment in which the *Tropicalia* movement, one of the key elements of the 1960s counter-culture in Brazil, used visual representation and performance to challenge the military governments then in power. Finally, the last section *Theory: Brazilian Perspectives on Media and Communications Theory*, covers some theoretical contributions from Brazil from quite diverse points of view vis-a-vis broad media, communication theories, and impacts of media and

information. One examines the concept of the lifeworld as a means of theorizing and understanding social interaction through communication. Another conducts a rigorous theoretical examination of claims about social media and convergence from several theoretical points of view, including an original argument about cultural fronts and cybercult@. Yet a third chapter builds on 27 years of research at one of Brazil's main new media research centers, the School of the Future at the University of São Paulo to advance several theoretical reflections on increasing hyper-connectivity among many Brazilians, related to actor-network theory. Finally, the volume closes with an examination of historical consciousness as it relates to the incorporation of traditional media and new media into everyday life.

In conclusion, the volume provides an enlightening and highly useful snapshot of Brazilian research on several core issues of concern to media and communications scholars around the globe. It is obviously of interest to those who study Brazil, Latin America, and developing countries more generally, but there is much of interest here, too, to those following cinema history, the relationship of television to society, the dynamism of news media in a country where they are still quite vital, the relationship between social forces, social media and news media, and some fascinating theoretical perspectives.

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https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jorge_Gonzalez27

http://www.ceiich.unam.mx/0/21Curri.php?tblPersonalAcademico_id=5

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SECTION I
BRAZILIAN TELEVISION, CINEMA,
AND MEDIA

THE CANGAÇO IN BRAZILIAN CINEMA

Marcelo Dídimo Souza Vieira

ABSTRACT

Cangaço was a form of banditry that occurred in the North-East of Brazil between 1870 and 1940. The movement has inspired many films over the years. This chapter explores the contribution of Cangaço-inspired productions to Brazilian cinema, as well as the particular characteristics of what constitutes the Cangaço genre.

Following a historical survey of the Cangaço, the films were divided into different categories and ranked in terms of relevance. Only the most important are discussed in this chapter.

The Cangaço has been portrayed in Brazilian cinema through the decades in diverse ways, dating back to the 1920s. After becoming a consolidated film genre in the 1950s, then known as Nordestern, the Cangaço finally acquired a proper structure, featuring multiple Western references among its common characteristics. In the 1960s, Glauber Rocha, one of the most prominent filmmakers of the Cinema Novo avant-garde movement, added his own symbolism to the genre. Eventually, the Cangaço was also revisited by directors who combined it with other genres such as comedy, documentary, and erotic films. Another relevant reinterpretation came in the 1990s, when filmmakers of the so-called New Brazilian Cinema offered a new view on the subject.

Despite its strong association with Brazil, the Cangaço has not been thoroughly investigated by researchers. This chapter presents a historical survey

and analysis of Cangaço films, highlighting their relevance to Brazilian cinema.

Keywords: History; *Cangaço*; cinema; genre; Brazil

INTRODUCTION

Cangaço was a cultural and historical phenomenon that took place in the north-east of Brazil between 1870 and 1940, spread across a poor arid region known as the *sertão*. This area is distinctive, both in terms of topography and social environment. Here, the common vegetation, the *caatinga*, is particularly rough and low to the ground. The extreme social and economic inequalities, spurred by the rise of giant rural properties and a flawed legal system, led *sertanejos* (the inhabitants of the *sertão*) to channel their anger and grief into banditry carried out by gangs. The members of these gangs or *cangaceiros* looted towns to survive and took justice into their own hands. The word “*Cangaço*” comes from “*canga*,” the Portuguese equivalent of the word “yoke.” This word is also used to designate the bulky set of equipment carried by the bandits, in turn called *cangaceiros* – the men who walked “under the *canga*” or lived off the “*canga*.”

CANGAÇO AS A GENRE

As *Cangaço* became a way of life in this region, some of its most well-known members, namely Antônio Silvino, Jesuíno Brilhante, Lampião, Corisco, Maria Bonita, and Dadá, went on to become enshrined in cultural myths, remaining a part of North-Eastern folklore to this day.¹ The figure of the *cangaceiro* helped to establish the *Cangaço* as a long-standing theme in the country’s film industry in the same way cowboys helped perpetuating the Western in Hollywood. The theme has been diversely portrayed in Brazilian cinema through the decades, having called the attention of filmmakers and spectators for the first time in 1925, when a *cangaceiro* made its first modest appearance on screen. Until 2015, there were over 50 films on the subject, including both fiction and documentary; varying between short-, medium- and feature-length formats; and shot either in 16 or 35 mm.

While it is true that the *Cangaço* has been partly influenced by the Western’s legacy, the stories featured in the films were all inspired by local myths, thus establishing the *Cangaço* as a typically Brazilian genre. What was appealing about the foreign genre was its endless potential for adventure films centered in an outlaw character, which could be easily adapted into the history and culture of Brazil, particularly the North-East. The North-East holds an important place in Brazilian culture, in all branches of art. Cinema is no exception.

The film industry's exploitation of the *Cangaço* actively began in the 1960s, although the theme had already emerged as a genre in the previous decade, with the release of *O Cangaceiro* (*Cangaceiro*, Lima Barreto, 1953). Widely appreciated both in Brazil and abroad, the film caused a significant boost in *Cangaço* productions. It also strongly contributed to the consolidation of the genre by securing a regular audience, consequently attracting more investment. It is thus fair to conclude that the main features of the *Cangaço*, as well as of any genre, became established in mass production through repetition and innovation.

Genre movies are those commercial feature films which, through repetition and variation, tell familiar stories with familiar characters in familiar situations. They have been exceptionally significant in establishing the popular sense of cinema as a cultural and economic institution, particularly in the United States, where Hollywood studios early on adopted an industrial model based on mass production. (Grant as quoted in Neale, 2000, p. 9)

The connection between genre films and mass production has been repeatedly mentioned by researchers, who inevitably associate the phenomenon with the Hollywood film industry. Taking the Western as a comparative example, both the Brazilian film industry and the *Cangaço* genre are significantly modest in quantitative terms. Every year, Hollywood releases hundreds of feature films, whereas Brazil maintains a balance of dozens. The number of Western productions amounts to thousands, in contrast to roughly 50 *Cangaço* films in 90 years.

It is, however, difficult to compare these two industries, or the aforementioned genres, because of the vast difference in scale. In over a hundred years of cinema, the total amount of *Cangaço* productions in Brazil can only reach the annual average number of Western releases in the United States. Therefore, we should analyze each genre in proportion to the historical involvement of each country in the film industry. Although modest in number, *Cangaço* films have proven consistent in terms of annual release count, consolidating the style as a genre and maintaining a steady continuity of production, if not always of quality.

The conquest of the West and the history of the *Cangaço* differ from one another in many aspects. They occurred at different periods of time, when each country was going through a particular episode of social and economic turmoil. Nevertheless, the urge for modernization was analogous for both nations – it became a priority to conquer previously unexplored regions in order to bring progress. Before that happened, however, it was necessary to abolish all archaic practices; that is to say, any unrestrained activity that threatened to disrupt the process of modernization. This became the main conflict both in Western and *Cangaço* films. According to Jim Kitses (2007, p. 13):

In taking an inventory of this diversity, I found it useful to try to define the thematic and ideological structure that so many of the films have in common, and that makes its range of viewpoints possible. The result of that research was a structuralist grid focused around the frontier's dialectical play of forces embodied in the master binary opposition of the wilderness and civilization.