

New Orleans is not here?

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Abstract

Taking as reference not only the work of Negus,
Maffesoli, Deleuze, Guattari, Bourdieu, and Straw,
but also research conducted during 2011 and 2012
(consisting in the selection and analysis of press
materials in traditional and alternative media,
organization of interviews with jazz musicians
and agents, and field work carried out in strategic
venues), the aim of this article was to assess:
a) whether a Rio de Janeiro jazz scene has been
consolidated in the past two years; b) and if
"musicability" and "street culture" are still continuing
to produce social mobilization in that city.

Key words

Communication. Urban Culture. Music Jazz. Sociability.

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1 Introduction

It could be said that the jazz market niche (which includes instrumental music and blues)¹ has grown enormously in Rio de Janeiro (and in Brazil), in 2011 and 2012 and, therefore, it has not only succeeded in attaining high visibility in the traditional media, but has also caused great perplexity among the social actors that work, direct and indirectly, in this musical scene. Several of these actors have begun to wonder about the causes of the current growing interest, that is, to what extent the growth of this market niche fulfills a socio-cultural demand for greater musical diversity.

In this research² were analyzed press materials disseminated in recent years by the country's chief communication companies (especially the ones linked to Globo Organizations and the Folha Group), and it became clear that jazz has shown

- Clearly, jazz is a musical genre with a specific history, but in this article it is viewed as part of a market niche that also includes instrumental music, and blues. It is worthy to mention that numerous social actors make this association and that there is also a relative hegemony of a diffuse interpretation of the genre (a kind of free jazz reading) in Brazil. Several producers and artists also pointed out that this more malleable interpretation of the "jazz genre" was strategic in affording the genre a little more solidity and sustainability within the Brazilian market (more interaction with other rhythms and sounds).
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significant growth, including in Rio de Janeiro: festivals like the Bourbon Street Fest, held at the Girl from Ipanema Park (that featured important bands like the Orleans St. Jazz Band, Terrance Simien & The Zydeco Experience, and Shamarr Allen & The Underwags) and the I Love Jazz Festival, held next to Bank of Brazil Cultural Center, on downtown's Post Office Square (featuring renowned artists like Stacey Kent, Bucky Pizzarelli, Jack Wilkins, and Judy Carmichael) that rocked the city of Rio, on several occasions, mobilizing an unprecedented audience for this kind of music (the attending public was not the traditional jazz fan: usually 40-year old individuals, initiated people, or collectors of classes A and B).3 Even though most of these events still bet on the *glamour* and *status* of organizing concerts that feature foreign artists, there has been a gradual increase in space for local artists in these events and even in festivals dedicated to promoting the local musical scene, for instance, the *Ouve.ai* Festival, held at the Oi Futuro Ipanema Cultural Center, which included local bands that are just now entering the market, such as Bondesom, Quinteto Nuclear, Monte Alegre Jazz Hot Band, and Nova Lapa Jazz (NLJ).

Furthermore, two other very successful events - a temporary and a regular one - also attracted the attention of both public and critics and are important indicators of the growing social interest. One was the impact generated by the exhibition Queremos Miles (We Want Miles), organized by Bank of Brazil Cultural Center, in Rio de Janeiro, that mobilized more than 100 thousand visitors.4 The second are the outdoor concerts that, since 2011, have been held by the young musicians of the Nova Lapa Jazz (currently playing at Largo Albino Pinheiro, adjacent to Tiradentes Square) and regularly attract approximately two thousand people every Wednesday night.⁵ If, on one hand, it is noticeable that very few recording companies are interested in launching local artists; 6 on the other, a nightclub circuit is emerging in Rio (thus making more and more room for the jazz niche), including: Studio RJ, Brasserie do Rosário, Clube Democráticos, Casa Rosa, Jazz na Taverna, and Santo Scenarium.

A comparison between the current scene and the recent past reveals that these changes in the "jazz market niche" are significant. Actually, as observed by researcher and critic Carlos Calado

- See articles "Bourbon Street Fest Brings New Orleans Jazz to SP and Rio" (2010), and "I Love Jazz", both published by Globo.
- The exhibition gathered photographic and phonographic material, including films mostly documentaries about the trajectory of the mega jazz idol Miles Davis. Cf. ESSINGER (2011).
- See the following newspaper stories: Helal Filho and Gomes (2011).
- In fact, we found a few local artists jazz, blues, and instrumental in the catalogs of small and medium-sized recording companies and record labels such as Baratos Afins, Biscoito Fino, Bolacha Discos, Paradoxx, among others.



(2011),⁷ one is left wondering (extending the scope of the analysis proposed here) whether, or not, a "national jazz circuit" has been in the making in recent years:

Today it is already possible to enjoy shows with international stars of the jazz, blues, and other similar genres throughout the year in events scheduled to happen at several venues around the country. 'Brazil has become a solid and reliable market in the past decades', says producer and moviemaker Monique Gardenberg, who is in charge of the artistic direction of the first edition of the BMW Jazz Festival, in São Paulo and Rio [...] Like most jazz festivals held in the past decades, both in Brazil and abroad, the BMW Festival is also paving the way for attractions featuring other musical genres such as the blues [...]. Another event of this kind opening up this month, with a different format from its competitors' is the Ilha de Toque Toque Jazz Festival, featuring the beautiful view of the São Sebastião beach, in São Paulo's northern coast as an additional attraction. [...] A common feature shared by the latest jazz and blues festivals held around the country – Guaramiranga (CE), Garanhuns (PE), Ouro Preto (MG), and Teresópolis (RJ) directs two events scheduled for this month: the Rio das Ostras Jazz & Blues Festival (RJ) and the Bourbon Festival Paraty (RJ), conceived with the purpose of boosting tourism in both places.[...] Edgard Radesca, producer of the Bourbon Festival Paraty, also highlights the event's effectiveness in attracting tourists and different audiences. [...] Any resemblance with the musical line followed by the Bourbon Street Music Club initiated by Radesca with a group of friends, in 1993, in SP, is not purely coincidental. The influence of this American musical city, known worldwide as the cradle of jazz, also guides the Bourbon Street Fest, already in its ninth edition, scheduled for August, in São Paulo, Rio, and Brasilia. [...] Another feature linking jazz festivals around the country, like those in Manaus (AM), Joinville (SC), or Rio das Ostras (RJ), is their educational programs that generally include music workshops for students taught by the featured musicians, in addition to lectures and discussions. The Festival Choro Jazz Jericoacoara (CE), in its third edition [...] is getting ready to receive 40 North-American music students, from Cazadero (California), interested in attending the workshops. [...] "Those unhappy with the trashy music played on radio stations have found a great way-out in the jazz festivals that have emerged in the past decade; many with affordable prices or even free of charge," remarks Maria Alice Martins, who since 2001 has been producing the Tudo é Jazz festival in the historical city of Ouro Preto (MG) (CALADO, 2011, p. 1).

And the author goes further: for him, a new jazz consumer audience would be emerging in the country:

These festivals prompted the formation of a really young audience that rummages the Internet for information on jazz musicians, downloads YouTube videos and shares them on Facebook. Some get inspired and study even harder to become jazz musicians. Today, in Minas Gerais, the jazz audience is much younger than the rock's. [...] Another

Carlos Calado (2011, p. 1) stresses the difficulties faced, until very recently, by consumers of this genre before they could enjoy jazz here: "[...] anyone traveling on vacation in Europe, or North America, especially in the summer months, knows that jazz festivals stand out among the cultural attractions offered at this time of the year. Held not only in metropolises and big capital cities and like New York, Montreal, Rome, or Vienna, events of this kind also take to hundreds of small European and American towns a multitude of fans attracted by outdoor concerts on squares and tourist sites, or even in auditoriums and jazz clubs. Brazil used to be even farther away from this kind of musical scene. As late as the early 1990s, anyone wishing to enjoy the latest jazz trends, live, was left with only two options: to travel abroad or to wait for the only annual show featuring this kind of music – the Free Jazz Festival – held at the time in São Paulo, and Rio".



revealing example [of the growing interest in the genre and its circuit growth] is Jazz na Fábrica, a festival held by Sesc Pompéia, in São Paulo, in the month of May. Innovative in format, this event featured 23 musical attractions: from renowned foreign musicians like sax player Archie Shepp, trumpeter Christian Scott, and singer Dee Dee Bridgewater, to first-class Brazilian instrumentalists like Toninho Horta, Arismar do Espírito Santo, and Orquestra Ouro Negro. Those who were lucky to attend these concerts met with a much younger audience, which applauded the musicians' improvs with the euphoria typical of soccer fans. This is a sign that other jazz festivals might be just around the corner (CALADO, 2011, p. 1).

The survey also shows that complaints on the part of local artists for more room in this domestic festival circuit, the recurrent hurdles in organizing this kind of event, and the growth of this market niche have motivated the coordinators of eight such festivals to create, in 2011, the Brazilian Association of Instrumental Music, Jazz, and Blues Festival Producers (ABRAFEST).8 Among the first music projects promoted by the association, *Palco Abrafest* deserves to be mentioned for having made it compulsory to make room for "new domestic talents" in every festival organized by its members. This measure aims at improving the artist-audience rapport, sensitizing especially the younger consumer.

In view of what was presented so far, one could

ask: Are we witnessing the emergence of a new jazz scene in Rio de Janeiro (and even in Brazil) or just very successful but isolated cases (maybe, the result of a passing fad), like, for instance, the Nova Lapa Jazz band and/or the festivals held in the streets or closed venues? To what extent is the interest for jazz relative, that is, is it merely an indication of the public's acceptance of outdoor concerts in public spaces? That is, wouldn't this also indicate that there is a significant social demand for more accessible and cheaper attractions? And, finally, wouldn't the interest for musical events held in the streets and public squares substantiate a strong wish for "getting together", and/or the huge importance of the "street music culture", especially in Rio de Janeiro? This article proposes a reflection on these issues.

2 Hurdles to the development of a jazz scene

Some, on a more pessimistic note, state that Brazilian audiences are accepting of "Dixieland-style" jazz for being more performatic (dancing) and more structured into song format. On analyzing the history of jazz in Brazil (LABRES; SANTOS, 2011; NAPOLITANO, 2002; MUGGIATI, 1999; CALADO, 2007; MCAAN, 2010; TINHORÃO, 1991; HOBSBAWN, 2009; CABRAL, 1997; BASTOS, 2005; SCARABELOT, 2012), it can be seen that

ABRAFEST's founding members are the following festivals (and their respective organizers): Bourbon Street Fest, São Paulo; Bourbon Street Fest, Paraty; Fest Bossa & Jazz, Natal; Festival Blues at the Pyrinees; Jazz and Blues Festival, Guaramiranga; República Blues Festival, Brasília; Rio das Ostras Jazz & Blues Festival; Phoenix Jazz Festival, Praia do Forte; and, finally, Vijazz and Blues Festival, Viçosa.



despite the little visibility (or the episodic attention given by the media) and the restricted market (jazz´s tendency to be the consumption target of an elitist audience), this musical genre has always conversed with the so-called "national musical genres", establishing a very fruitful and creative relationship. Some examples are the so-called "jazz-bands", in the first half of the 20th century; or the *bossa nova*, in the second half of that same period (SOUZA et al., 1988; CALADO, 2007; SCARABELOT, 2012).9

The two central questions that guided the semi-structured interviews conducted with the actors in the beginning of 2012 were the following: ¹⁰ In fact, is there a jazz scene (played by Brazilian artists) in Rio de Janeiro, or in Brazil? Are the conditions for this market niche to flourish in place today?

At this point, it is worthwhile to emphasize that the concept of scene (STRAW, 2006) was used here as a pertinent "interpretation tool" to characterize the contemporary cultural expressions, marked by a unique style, and with social visibility. This notion was used as an alternative to the "subculture" concept, which doesn't apply very well to the social dynamics related to contemporary cultural practices (insofar as they tend to be mutable, fleeting, and, very often, arbitrary).¹¹

For Straw (2006), the scene suggests more than the agitated fluidity of urban sociability: it compels us to examine the role of affinities and interconnections that mark and regularize the spatial itinerary of people, things, and ideas over time. The notion of scene creates problems in regard to networks, affiliations, and circuits of cultural practices in

- Considering the solid links between bossa nova and jazz, it could be said that the next-to-the-last jazz cycle of great visibility (before the current scenario) happened in the 1970s and 1980s. This cycle began in the late 1970s with the São Paulo International Jazz Festival and the Free Jazz Festival, which paved the way for several events that followed suit: not only did they bring together in their editions the biggest Brazilian jazz and instrumental music stars, these concerts were also televised (the main mass communication medium at the time) to the rest of the country. Because they were not as costly as pop rock festivals, in the following decades some cultural producers began to promote events of that genre, like the Heineken Concerts, the Chivas Jazz Festival, and Bridgestone Music (CALLADO, 2007; SCARABELOT, 2012).
- Establishing a dialog with the results obtained from research about the scenes and circuits presented in the collection called Nas bordas e fora do mainstream musical (HERSCHMANN, 2011), the research methodology used in this article consisted of: a) a survey of stories pulished in the country's main newspapers in the past two years; b) extensive field work carried out in night clubs and public spaces in the city of Rio de Janeiro; c) and semi-structured interviewes with seven actors (strategic for the so-called Rio scene): Thiago Vedová (producer of the Ouve.aí Festival), luri Niclosky and Gabriel Ballesté (musicians of the Nova Lapa Jazz Band), Marco Serragrande (musician of the Monte Alegre Jazz Hot Band), Pedro Mangia and Matias Zibecchi (musicians of Bondesom) and, finally, Thiago Spósito (producer of Santo Scenarium and Brasserie do Rosário). It is also worthy to point out that the main theorectical-methodological reference underlying the reflections presented here was the seminal work (especially the field work) carried out by Keith Negus in the American hip-hop market, and studies on musical genres the author organized in cooperation with important recording companies (for details see cf. NEGUS, 2005). It is also important to point out that the results presented in this article were obtained from research conducted on musical circuits and scenes (called "Music Industry of the State of Rio de Janeiro", in progress since 2009, with the support of CNPq and FAPERJ), hinging specially on the production, distribution, and consumption of live music in Rio de Janeiro.
- 11 Cf. BENNET, 1999; FREIRE FILHO, 2007.



contemporary urban spaces, since it admits a wider approach that involves contexts – historical, social, and economic – as well as aesthetics and ideological strategies (FREIRE FILHO; FERNANDES, 2005). It could be said that it is about creative spaces and cultural consumption related to specific themes, that it involves strategic actions and, very often, the construction of intentionally "alternative" initiatives (to the mainstream market niches). Therefore, it is a concept that lets us understand the various forces present in a specific context, relating actors with their surroundings (STRAW, 2006).

Working with Bourdieu's concepts of "field", "distinction", and "habitus" (1983, 2007), Garson argues that, by and large, it is ignored that the development of a "musical scene" is the result not only of the actors' creativity, but also of a social construct, that is, "[...] it depends on a network of social relations comprised of agents (musicians, bands, managers, journalists, nightclub owners) and institutions (recording companies, media, record stores) that support them" (GARSON, 2009, p. 6). Moreover, the author emphasizes that the acknowledgment of all kinds of new sonorities is always immersed in a process of struggles. considering that the forces that undergird musical scenes, at a specific point in their trajectory, are required to reorganize in the sense of incorporating the dynamics of the emerging innovations. Thus, in an attempt to highlight the "reproductive" aspects (structuring) of the

scene (generally more noticeable for its fluidity), Garson emphasizes the conservative aspects that stabilize the scene (including as a market niche), legitimizing the symbolic and material profit obtained by the actors directly and indirectly involved in some kind of musical genre and social groups (GARSON, 2009, p.6).

However, the central issue is the following: Within the analyzed context, are there conditions to build a *habitus* (BOURDIEU, 2007) around jazz? As pointed out by cultural producer Vedová:

[...] the presence of radio programs, blogosphere, and social networks provide visibility to the initiatives; concerts held in the streets and night clubs; significant and frequent coverage by the traditional media; the existence of steady local phonographic production; and the structuring of a festivals circuit are all fundamental vectors for today's development of any musical scene.¹²

Vedová concedes that the actors in the Brazilian jazz niche must rely on social networks, sporadic street concerts — some organized within festivals, and few, performed in nightclubs. He doesn't pinpoint an organized and prosperous scene, but points out that there are more conditions today for this scene to thrive in Rio de Janeiro, and in the rest of the country, especially if there would be a stronger dialog among the bands (including producers, if possible). Among the aspects he isolates, which could level off this process, he calls special attention to the fact that, today, the



country's big festivals (particularly those linked with ABRAFEST) are more willing to include Brazilian artists in their events.

> Starting this year, Abrafest will include new local bands in every festival. The association is going to use the new local scene to expand the market, to reach a younger audience. [...] it is making room for bands such as Bondesom and Paraphernalia, because they want to make more money [...] paying less to Brazilians than they do to foreigners. I think that NLJ, Quinteto Nuclear, and other jazz bands can benefit from the strategy of participating in street events. However, the public is not always attracted by the jazz, but because it is something to do. Anyhow, it is a way for the jazz segment to call people's attention, that is, to form a consumer audience. These new local bands are the ones producing the kind of sound capable of attracting younger audiences. Their agents are just now coming to realize this. I think that the Rio, and the Brazilian, scene is beginning to be structured [...]. I think that in Rio, jazz and instrumental music bands are now reaping their reward, but, unfortunately, they are no longer conversing with each other, or the producers, for that matter. 13

The cultural producer identifies in this changing trend among event organizers an attempt to overcome recurrent restraints in the Brazilian market, that is, an effort to promote greater audience – younger and less elitist – empathy with local musicians and bands, especially those recently emerged in the market. As emphasized by Vedová, until very recently there was an erroneous perception that jazz was, by and large, a kind of musical expression to be enjoyed and performed "[...] in private cocktail lounges, where an older audience sits to drink and enjoy the musician's solitary virtuosity." The new bands are deconstructing this popularly-held view.¹⁴

Even though it is difficult to isolate these conditioning vectors that explain the success of jazz, at this point it could be asked: In Rio de Janeiro, the "symbolic capital" (BOURDIEU, 2007) accumulated by jazz is being propped up by what, exactly? Or better, what is the weight of the "street culture" dynamics and the musical scene per se, in this continuing process?

3 Balance of the success of the Nova Lapa Jazz (NLJ) group: the power of the street music experience

The mobilization capacity of live musical experiences and interactions taking place in

Producer Thiago Vedová in an interview to the authors, on February 3, 2012.

According to Vedová: "[...] in Rio de Janeiro we are clearly before a movement where the power of blues, instrumental music, and jazz is steadily catching on [...]. At the same time, it is necessary to reckon and realize that jazz is emerging as a component of a nighttime event that fuels the gathering of young people, that is, a meeting of people. The music is not necessarily the main component of the party. I think that the public that flocks to see the Nova Lapa Jazz does not necessarily want to listen to this band [...]. I belive that the people that go there are looking for a gig different from a night club or show house act [...] I don't think that the two thousand people go to the NLJ event to see the show; I think they go there to flirt, to hang out with the gang. In Rio, the public is a little too lazy to go after new bands, but they enjoy being out in the street and that's what they are mainly after."



certain "environments" (that harmoniously integrate vectors such as sonority and spatiality) has been drawing the attention of important actors and leaderships in Rio. Jazz events have been gaining visibility, day by day, particularly the ones held in the downtown area – they relate, for instance, the sonorous experience to the colonial and historical architecture of the district – and are becoming more and more recurrent. 15 This "musicability" (sociability that gravitates around music), or "sonic-musical sociability" (FERNANDES, 2011), frequently blossoms in Rio, and results from street insurgency, commitment, and action of social actors in the public space. It could be said that the musical experience promoted by the Nova Lapa Jazz (NLJ) group has been "amalgamating social relations" 16 and allowing the construction of significant "re-territorialization" processes (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1995) in this micro region.

The NLJ band, formed in the beginning of 2011 (from Wednesdays open jam sessions for

"friends" at Rua da Lapa, in front of the Nova Lapa bar), after just two months acquired a clearer profile and started to attract more than 500 people to their concerts.¹⁷ However, as stated by one of its musicians, this change caused neighbors to complain and consequently brought about a lot of problems for both the bar and the band. Even though they managed to re-territorialize and revitalize the space, the public authorities did not immediately recognize their right to remain on Rua da Lapa: at the time, the so-called "order shock" (a set of repressive measures aiming at assuring the application of municipal rules) was enforced forcing musicians and public to leave the area. Despite the action of the City of Rio, however, negotiations proceeded and the surprising result favored the musicians, who in addition to being allowed to play in the streets, were also given a space in Rio's historic district, with a more suitable infrastructure to better accommodate the growing public.18

- 15 It is worthy to point out that the *choro* and samba jam sessions held in the streets have been expressively mobilizing the social actors at the historical district of the city of Rio de Janeiro (for details see, cf. FERNANDES, 2011).
- The basic assumption is that affective interactions and sociability of the musical scene somehow build a kind of "link", that is, as suggested by Maffesoli (1995), they create a new *ethos* understood as an "ethics of esthetics". This daily-life sociologist revisits Heidegger coining the notion of "ethics of esthetics" (*aisthesis* as the basis for building "sociability", a "being together" in the present): he identifies the emergence of a new *ethos* that can be seen in the new ways and manifestastions of emotional and affective solidarity that are increasingly more present nowadays (MAFFESOLI, 1995, p. 48-49).
- Musician Gabriel Ballesté in an interview to the authors, on January 25, 2012.
- According to Ballesté's recollections: "[...] we were searching for a solution, and the sub-secretary of Rio's Historical District suggested we move to the area in front of Gabinete Português de Leitura. We were thinking of Cinelândia (which seemed busier to us) and the center of Praça Tiradentes... but it seemed too big! [...] The sub-secretary offered us a permit to perform in that fabulous place, with lots of tradition, near the IFCS, Gabinete Português, and Teatro João Caetano. They offered us more than this: they offered us everything they could. They really supported us and are still doing so. They give us a stage, chemical toilets, and police protection during the show. In addition to that, the Carioca Cultural Center (CCC) supplies sound equipment and electric power. In partnership with the CCC and the city, we are able to put on this weekly show."



Today, playing at Largo Albino Pinheiro – surrounded by the Philosophy and Social Sciences Institute, the Royal Portuguese Cabinet, João Caetano Theater, and the Carioca Cultural Center - and with a repertoire that includes jazz classics such as Coltrane, Davis, and Pascoal (permeated by their own compositions), the band has won over a significant audience, thanks to the street experience that is maintained (and even enlarged) for and by social networks. By using highly popular web platforms (Facebook and Myspace), the group has been able to engage 13 thousand followers, some of them extremely active. Thanks to this excellent participation and relationship with the public, both on-line and off-line, the band will soon be launching a CD, made possible through crowdfunding (organized on the Catarse platform).

The field survey revealed that the public that follows the NLJ band is very heterogeneous. For Nicolsky (sax player and band leader), this heterogeneity is rich and challenging, since it brings together people from all walks of life to listen to instrumental music and to enjoy an urban public space. ¹⁹ That is, this sound experience enables significant exchange among the city´s various social groups that gather in this space once a week. Of course, the musicians realize that

not everybody who comes to this event is a jazz connoisseur or aficionado.

Playing in the street is genius! Actually, our relationship with the public is based on our commitment to be here, to play every Wednesday, got it? People have bought into this event; not only those who know jazz, but also a public unacquainted with the genre. This has a special meaning to us: to see people who knew nothing about the genre, knew nothing at all [...]. They used to come more to drink, see their friends, and mingle. All of a sudden they start to like it and there they are, thoroughly enjoying this musical experience. Some even went after more information and now they understand a little more about jazz. This exchange with the public is cool, to feel they care, and their growing interest. [...] Our relationship with the public is great and we manage to bring together in the street concerts an average of 2 thousand people, weekly.²⁰

Confirming what was said by the band members, in testimonials collected among regular goers, many say that this musical genre, in the beginning, was not the main reason for their being there. One of the regulars believes that besides the musicians' excellent performances, the show has attracted so many people because it is free of charge.²¹

Nicolsky, band leader, states that "[...] there are people from all walks of life; from everywhere in Rio de Janeiro [...] what's cool is that the downtown area is a meeting place, with lots of passers-by [...] the idea is to put on a low-cost event, in the street, for people who come by foot, bus, and subway". (luri Nicolsky in an interview to the authors, on January 25, 2012).

Musician Gabriel Ballesté in an interview to the authors, on January 25, 2012.

For an interviewee, "[...] they are successful because they play for free and people can come here every Wednesday, that is, the idea is to come to the jazz show after work or school [...]" (Consumer and showgoer Catarina Branco in an interview to the authors, on January 27, 2012).



Another interesting aspect has to do with space and its relevance. Asked about the change of venue (from Rua da Lapa to the Largo), this attendee says that the current space is better because, in addition to accommodating – more safely – the entire audience, everybody can hear the music, which was impossible before at the previous location.²² This regular goer sees this change of location as an additional opportunity for the audience to appreciate the event artistically:

[...] It was pretty bad there, you know? And the sound was not even amplified. And the public went there more for the get-together, for the gang, not for our sound, because the sound was really inside the bar. To hear anything at all, you had to stay stuck to the screen of the building. Now, here at the Largo, people come for the music. I think that back then, many people were not there for the music [...]. That is, today they enjoy the music because the space got bigger, get it? It is cool to see that today many people really come for the music. Sometimes the band starts playing a certain song and the crowd recognizes it; they get excited and even start dancing.²³

So, this paper's basic assumption is that "street culture" is an important vector that could explain, in great measure, the success of NLJ

(also of Carnival paraders, samba and *choro* sessions) in this *urbe* 's daily life. Corroborating this thesis, Nicolsky states that "[...] the idea of playing in public spaces was inspired by the strong presence of street culture in Rio. The street-occupation process was kind of spontaneous, but we soon noticed that this initiative had potential. That is why we embraced this idea as a group strategy, and it worked [...]".²⁴ In other words, this meeting, supposedly an unpretentious musicians' party became, to a certain extent, a significant free event that is part of the city's unofficial calendar of events.

The testimonal of another frequent goer helps to establish the importance of the occupation of the city´s public areas. His account emphasizes the power of a musical experience capable of winning over a segment of Rio´s population that still views jazz with a certain bias. In other words, this consumer suggests that the general public sees jazz as a refined style, even though he observes that these people are willing to attend a street show because it is a meeting point, a space to enjoy affective interaction: "[...] I am not a jazz

According to showgoer Catarina Branco, "[...] the previous venue was too small; it was a parking lot that was packed with the people that showed up there. On certain Wednesdays around 600 people gathered there, but the structure was very precarious [...] all that partying was bound to end up in mayhem, anytime."

Consumer and showgoer Catarina Branco in an interview to the authors, on January 27, 2012.

This strategy made it possible, as argued by Nicolsky, to make more seductive – at first (for a still neofile public) – the work of a band that performs without vocals and that makes many complicated improvs and solos in every song: "[...] this is a kind of sound that used to be played only in closed places [...] and why not say it, more elitist, that is, for a more restricted audience [...], so, the idea to take to the streets was, from the very start, to show that jazz could be a kind of sound to be enjoyed at night, by a much broader audience [...]. I think that this was our most important accomplishment: showing to other jazz groups that street performances could be a way of winning over the public." (Musician luri Nicolsky in an interview to the authors, on January 25, 2012.)



fan, but I show up often, because the gang and friends usually hang out there. I admit that I would not pay to go to a jazz show inside a nightclub. What matters most in an NLJ event is that it happens in the street and it is free. Otherwise, attendance would be reduced, and it would certainly become more elitist".²⁵

Taking into account the accounts presented here, it could be said that "street culture" has played an important role in the emergence of jazz in the city of Rio de Janeiro today. Corroborating this interpretation, Serragrande, leader of the "Monte Alegre Hot Jazz Band" makes the following comment:

I have travel around the country a lot and I've noticed that Rio's culture is different [...]. Maybe the street culture that resembles it most is that of Salvador [...]. Despite the violence and adverse conditions, the people from Rio like being out in the streets: drinking outdoors, meeting friends on the corners. From early on, a father takes his son to samba jam sessions and they are used to it, they are familiarized with it. I think that this growing interest in jazz is just one more insight. That is,

it is one more musical genre happening in the streets of Rio. Thus, it can be said that the street culture in Rio is different, perhaps unique in Brazil.²⁶

Thus, it can be said that Rio's "street culture" has been conquering important territory. 27

More than that: the central hypothesis analyzed here is that there are significant "sonic-musical territories" being established in Rio de Janeiro's every-day life and that their analysis allows the *urban mesh* to be understood from a less usual perspective, that is, it enables the construction of a "sensitive cartography" of the city that, more often than not, doesn't coincide with the typical mapping carried out by civil servants. 28

4 Final Considerations

According to the interviews (and field observation), it could be emphasized that most actors believe that there is a jazz scene "in construction" in Rio de Janeiro and in

- Showgoer Nicolas Maués M. Monte in an interview to the authors, on January 27, 2012.
- Musician Marco Serragrande in an interview to the authors, on January 15, 2012.
- These territorialities place the ritualization of daily life in the foreground: for Maffesoli (2001, p. 86), "[...] and this is where it is appropriate to draw on the foundation of the affective or passional attachment that connects the individual to the group regardless of territory." This spaciality that shelters the NLJ outlines a body that has a *shape* (SIMMEL, 2006), substantiates a style (of living, and musical) and territoriality. In its daily existence, the city is thus made up of these meshes that acquire countours and shapes thanks to its sociabilities, daily existences, where the imaginations of those who live in it share experiences circulate.
- Besides, this essay's basic assumption is that "occupying the streets" with "musicability" not only allows giving a new meaning to and transmute the feeling of unsafety experienced daily in several Brazilian big cities, but also exposes a social demand for (and right to) access to leisure and, maybe, to this city (FERNANDES, 2011).



the rest of the country, today.²⁹ They hold this argument, suggesting that a new cartography is emerging, comprised of nightclubs, festivals, social networks, and public spaces. Actually, the occupation of public spaces was pointed out by most actors as an extremely relevant strategy in the formation of the scene, especially owing to the fact that it sensitizes a new public segment (young people), a public not used to consuming this music genre.

I think that there is a jazz scene emerging and the success of NLJ is good for all of us [...]. Everything that is happening is wonderful! While the music is out there, playing, everything is all right. [...] The NLJ gang is continuing what was started by other groups, like Bondesom, Paraphernália, Quinteto Nuclear, and André Vasconcelos's group [...] we have been playing for packed rooms for a year and a half, like at Casa Rosa, Santo Scenarium and Jazz na Taverna [...] and this is something that has been going on for a longer time, but only now has become more solid with more support of the media. [...] The NLJ, and the ability of a street event to mobilize the public also helped [...]. We are all intent on helping to popularize jazz even more [...] so, our show cannot cost more than 20 reals.30

Spósito, a nightclub producer operating in two important establishments in Rio´s downtown area

(Santo Scenarium and Brasserie do Rosário) states that a scene is indeed emerging, "[...] but with distinct characteristics from the 1980s scene, since today there is room for an instrumental-music nightclub at the heart of Lapa, historically a territory devoted to samba". Still according to him, "[...] until very recently, jazz was seen as boring music [...]. So much so that people asked for jazz not to be played and asked for samba, chorinho or bossa nova to be played instead. Today, things have changed; the public comes because of that musical genre. These nightclubs [where he works as a producer] have joined in the struggle to assert themselves as privileged jazz spaces.³¹

It follows from the arguments and information presented here that there is an intense movement on the part of producers and musicians from the jazz market niche that has been creating better conditions for a local scene (maybe nationwide) to boom in the next few years. In other words, organized research attests that jazz production and consumption has been spreading throughout the city, be it in public events (street concerts, festivals, or shows in kiosks on the beaches of the city's southern area) or private spaces

Reinforcing the previous statements and taking a very optimistic stance regarding the existence of such a scene in the city, Nicolsky (leader of NLJ) argues that the Rio de Janeiro scene is well-established and fully heated: "[...] For some time now, Minas Gerais and São Paulo have had a jazz scene targeted at a younger audience. In Rio it caught on in 2011. Before that, in Rio there used to be a more selected audience, most of which rich individuals, older people [...]. Today, we have a heated jazz scene in Rio de Janeiro, for while we were performing jazz in the streets, there were festivals like the Bourbon or the 'I Love Jazz' and other jazz events happening in town. All this gave visibility to the local scene. Now you see that, if there is another event going on in town, it's because they are generally well accepted and mobilize a large audience" (Musician luri Nicolsky in an interview to the authors, on January 25, 2012).

Musician Dan Sebastian (of Quinteto Nuclear) in an interview to the authors, on February 2, 2012.

Producer Thiago Spósito in an interview to the authors, on February 2, 2012.



(especially nightclubs), thus increasingly mobilizing traditional media professionals and social network users.

In sum, it is undeniable that this grassroots movement has been increasing the odds of a new set of *habitus* gravitating around jazz to be built. At the same time, it can also be seen throughout this article that the traditional musical experience in the streets of Rio de Janeiro — not necessarily exclusively associated with the jazz universe (as previously mentioned, samba and *choro* jam sessions have traditionally successfully occupied the public spaces of this *urbe*) — is invested with socio-political relevance, significantly contributing to the construction of an *ethos* (MAFFESOLI, 2001) and, who knows, of a little less excluding lifestyle in this contemporary megalopolis.

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Nova Orleans não é aqui?

Resumo

Tomando especialmente como referência não só as obras de Negus, Maffesoli, Deleuze, Guattari, Straw e Bourdieu, mas também o estudo realizado em 2011 e 2012 (que consistiu em levantamento de matérias veiculadas na imprensa tradicional e alternativa nos últimos dois anos, a organização de entrevistas semiestruturadas com os atores, bem como de trabalho de campo executado em lugares estratégicos), busca-se avaliar neste trabalho: por um lado, se efetivamente nos últimos anos, vem se consolidando no Rio de Janeiro uma cena do jazz; e, por outro, se a "musicabilidade" e a "cultura das ruas" continuam promovendo grande mobilização social nesta cidade.

Palavras-chave

Comunicação. Cultura Urbana. Música. Jazz. Sociabilidade.

¿New Orleans no es aquí?

Resumen

Tomando como referencia no solamente las obras de Negus, Maffesoli, Deleuze, Guattari, Straw y Bourdieu, pero también el estudio realizado en 2011 e 2012 (que ha consistido en investigación y selección de materias vehiculadas el la prensa tradicional y alternativa en los últimos dos años, organización de entrevistas seme-estructuradas con los atores, así como ejecución de un trabajo de campo en sitios estratégicos), el objetivo fue evaluar en este trabajo: a) si, realmente, está se consolidando en Rio de Janeiro, en los últimos dos años, una escena del jazz; b) y si la "musicabilidad" y la "cultura de las calles" continúan generando gran movilización social en esta ciudad.

Palabras claves

Comunicación. Cultura Urbana. Música. Jazz. Sociabilidad.



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