VISIONS OF BRAZILIAN SOFT POWER:
The Eagle and the Parrot (1995-2015)

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Introduction

Subject to its third world position, or in a more contemporary fashion ‘developing countries’, Brazilian culture is considered a strategic symbolic capital that should be promoted in order to improve Brazilian image worldwide and open up the market to its cultural products and services. In the official discourse, ‘soft power’ - power of attraction instead of military power - appears like a key solution to gain economic growth combined with social development. The first issue faced by policy makers consists in an internationally well spread ambiguous image of Brazilian femininity. On the one hand, blonde über model Gisele Bundchen represents healthy ideals of beauty in the international media, while her worldwide success reinforces the image that Brazilian women are beautiful and charming. On the other hand, samba dancers called mulatas represent a sort of sexuality involving fetishized women in bikinis, available to sex, on the verge of prostitution, often during Carnival Parades or enjoying sunny beaches.

The second issue policy makers handle is that global career soccer players spread around the world a specific image of Brazilian masculinity: the poor boy from favela that overcame poverty and a potential criminal life through sport. Whereas Pelé was considered the best soccer player of all times, he paved the way to several footballers developing their careers abroad. Brazilian players are seen as smart, skillful and creative; but also as tricksters. This representation does not have a negative meaning, on the contrary, but it narrows the image of the country, as stated in the popular saying: “Brazil is the country of Carnival and football.” The connections between sports and soft power (world politics) are explored by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm, in his key study about the 20th Century - The Age of Extremes - The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991. Hobsbawm (1994) recognizes the US cultural hegemony, “with one exception”:

In the field of popular culture the world was American or it was provincial. With one exception, no other national or regional model established itself globally, though some had substantial regional influence (for instance, Egyptian music within the Islamic world) and an occasional exotic touch entered global commercial popular culture from time to time, as in the Caribbean and Latin American components of dance-music. The unique exception was sport. In this branch of popular culture - and who, having seen the Brazilian team in its days of glory will deny it the claim to art? - US influence remained confined to the area of Washington's political domination. As cricket is played as a mass
sport only where once the Union Jack flew, so baseball made little impact except where US marines had once landed. (Hobsbawm 1994: 198)

In this research paper, I will first of all delve deeper in the following question: how does US popular culture represent Brazil, more specifically as far as gender stereotypes are concerned? Considering that stereotypical images are a construction that may or may not have a link with reality to a certain extent (Berg 2002: 15), this paper examines a selection of American media products to answer a related question: how the figures of the *mulata* and the soccer player influence Brazilian images of femininity and masculinity? Secondly, the paper analyses the Brazilian official discourse as a reaction to these established stereotypes, focusing on three Ministries (Foreign Relations, Tourism, and Culture) responses to improve the country’s image. In this context, a third question pops up: how does the official discourse represent Brazil in its imagery and relate it to soft power?

To answer these questions, I intend to use the tools of Cultural Studies, especially Gender Studies, added to the International Relations approach of world politics. Separately, there are a vast bibliography on each of the latter fields. Nevertheless, a few works combine culture, gender studies and world politics, and to fill this gap is one of the objectives of this research. In Brazil’s case, cultural issues normally remains in the Art Studies area, while Gender Studies is more close to law aspects. International Relations appears to be the most interdisciplinary field.

The American political scientist Joseph Nye elaborated the concept of soft power in the early 1990s; however, it remained restricted to the academic circles until the terrorist attacks of September 11th. After the 9/11, American government and society started to rethink the importance of attraction, and the costs of repulsion (Anti-Americanism). The question “why do they hate us?” addressed mainly to the Muslim world, became a strategic question to be answered. In this context, Nye published a book *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), in which he traces the American soft power since the Cold War; and advocates the decisive role of soft power in a post-terrorism world\(^3\). Nye also conducts a self-critical exercise, identifying US shortcomings in foreign affairs subjects like death penalty and gun

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\(^3\)“In short, America’s success will depend upon our developing a deeper understanding of the role of soft power and developing a better balance of hard and soft power in our foreign policy.” (Nye 2004: 147).
control. The concept of soft power was first incorporated into the American political discourse, since then it ‘trickle down’ to other political leaders, editorial writers and scholars (Nye 2004: IX-XI). In this paper, Nye’s book serves as a primary approach to understand US soft power in Brazil, and to explore how Brazil is portrayed in the United States. Subsequently, I examine the official discourse of the Brazilian government in its effort to breakdown the stereotypes, while casting the images of a potential soft power.

After a prospective research about the image of Brazil abroad, the selection of American media products is aimed at examining the discourse of the US stereotypical visions of Brazilian femininity and masculinity. Against this background, the figures of the *mulata* and the footballer play a key role in labeling Brazilian gender images. The work of Michel Foucault, namely *The History of Sexuality* (1978), combined with Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* (1990), serve as a methodological framework to analyze the way these figures are depicted in the primary sources. In order to grasp this American view of Brazil the selection criteria cover various products of mass media: documentaries, music videos, cartoons. The main assumption here is that American cultural hegemony in the Western world, as Berg identifies “the globally dominant US media” (Berg 2002: 4), reinforces the power relations among countries. For this reason, American media products are a powerful means of constructing Brazilian *clichés* due to its global range.

**US Popular Culture Branding Brazil - Six Case Studies**

In terms of periodization, this paper proposes to understand how the US popular culture has been branding Brazil for the last two decades (1995-2015). In chapter 1, I present an overview of the US Soft Power in Brazil; the iconic representations of the eagle (US), and the parrot (Brazil) serve as a basis to investigate the power relations between the two countries. In chapter 2, I analyze two documentaries - *Brazil: A Racial Paradise?*, about mixture of races; and *Once in a Lifetime: The Extraordinary History of the New York Cosmos*. In chapter 3, two music video shot in Brazil - ‘They Don’t Care About Us’ by Michael Jackson and ‘Beautiful’ by Snoop Dogg. In chapter 4, the subjects are two cartoons in which Rio de Janeiro is the main location (*The Simpsons* and *Rio*). In chapter 5, I examine how the Ministries of Foreign Relations,

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4 “Some domestic policies, such as capital punishment and the absence of gun controls, reduce the attractiveness of the United States in other countries, but are the results of differences in values that may persist for some time.” (Nye 2004: 143).
Tourism, and Culture have been reacting to stereotypical images of Brazil. The primary sources in this section are: an interview with the Minister of Foreign Relations for a specialized journal; an institutional campaign against sex tourism; and two speeches of two former Ministers of Culture. Altogether, this material serves as a starting point to a further investigation of Brazilian stereotypes in the next chapters.

Likewise, the choice of primary sources was based on two criteria: 1- representation of Brazilian femininity or masculinity; 2- portraiture of *mulatas*/black women or footballers, or both, as a content of the topic, not necessarily the main topic of the media product. Thus, with the purpose of organizing the theoretical perspective of Cultural Studies/Gender studies (Butler), World Politics (Nye) and Social Sciences (Foucault), I put in pairs on Table 1 (Appendix 1) the primary sources focusing on the categories of Gender Performative, Image of Brazil and Main Discourse. Still on the primary sources, for the Brazilian Ministries (Foreign Relations, Tourism, and Culture) perspective, the selection criteria of official documents sought to work on documents preferably available in English. In this part of the research, the selection of sources focus on the official discourse about the concept of soft power as a mean to enlarge the presence of Brazilian cultural products abroad, deconstructing the stereotypes of a country reduced to *samba* and football. The final goal is to understand how the American non-official discourse influences the official discourse in Brazil. At the Conclusion, I sought to gather the crucial topics that the Brazilian government could cast in order to spread a better image of Brazil.

In sum, my thesis is that soft power has become a global concept and Brazilian authorities incorporated it. One of my aims in this research is to explore both the official discourse of the three Ministries (Foreign Relations, Tourism, and Culture); and the image of Brazil abroad, specifically in the United States imagination. This two-way road investigation appears to be a methodological challenge, because the research focus on sources from an external perception of “Brazilianess” on one side, and the official discourse that intends to overcome the stereotypes of “Carnival and football” on the other. At this point, Foucault’s (1978) studies on sexuality and power-knowledge are a valuable tool to scrutinize the dialectic process between the non-official (US popular culture), and the official (Brazilian Ministries) discourses. In this way, the notion of “economy of discourses” applies to the institutions in charge of controlling and regulating the society; for instance the schools, the family, or the public administration. As Foucault writes:
The "economy" of discourses - their intrinsic technology, the necessities of their operation, the tactics they employ, the effects of power which underlie them and which they transmit - this, and not a system of representations, is what determines the essential features of what they have to say. The history of sexuality - that is, the history of what functioned in the nineteenth century as a specific field of truth - must first be written from the viewpoint of a history of discourses. (Foucault 1978: 68-69).

Therefore, I strive to trace in this research the ideological perspective behind the discourse on each image, text, or speech selected. In his *History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault unveils the nineteenth-century bourgeois mentality through the medical and juridical “apparatus” 5. Similarly, Butler (1990) conducts a key study based on the deconstruction of the gender binary frame - *Gender Trouble* (1990). The author criticizes the heterosexual matrix, while querying the notions of male/masculine and female/feminine: “The notion that there might be a “truth” of sex, as Foucault ironically terms it, is produced precisely through the regulatory practices that generate coherent gender norms.” (Butler 1990: 17)6. In regard to this research, the stereotypical figures of the *mulata* and the soccer player demonstrate the patriarchal/phallocentric ideology in which women are sexually objectified, while men are supposed to be physically strong, skillful and creative. Based on Butler’s chapter about “Subversive Bodily Acts”7, I also sought to perceive the “performative subversion” of each character analyzed within the gender norms. Lastly, I organized the primary sources based on the following order:

- The binary > Mestre Boa Gente - male / Xica da Silva - female
- The masculine > Pelé
- The androgynous > Michael Jackson
- The feminine > Snoop Dogg
- The parody > The Simpsons
- The utopia > Rio

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5 “A censorship of sex? There was installed rather an apparatus for producing an ever greater quantity of discourse about sex, capable of functioning and taking effect in its very economy.” (Foucault 1978: 23).
6 Butler continues: “The heterosexualization of desire requires and institutes the production of discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between “feminine” and “masculine”, where these are understood as expressive attributes of “male” and “female”,.” (Butler 1990: 17).
7 Chapter 3 - Subversive Bodily Acts (Butler 1990: 79-141).
Another seminal book to this research is *Latino Images in Film - stereotypes, subversion, resistance* (2002), by Charles Ramirez Berg. Berg delves into the Latino images in three classical Hollywood genres - the social problem film, the Western, and the science fiction film (Berg 2002: 8). In all these genres, the process of stereotyping tells more about the ‘stereotyper’ than the stereotyped. In Brazil’s case, it is not different: when analyzing the US media products that portray Brazil, we find out more about the American ideology than about Brazilian reality indeed. Berg also points out that stereotypes have a pejorative meaning: “To sum up, stereotyping in the negative and derogatory way the term is usually applied can be represented thus: category making + ethnocentrism + prejudice = stereotyping” (Berg 2002: 15). Hence, this negative generalization masks an ethnocentric gaze at the ‘other’. For example, in the Hollywood movie *The Incredible Hulk* (2008), the American protagonist has to hide himself from US authorities. And Brazil is the chosen place. For the first thirty minutes, Dr. Bruce Banner lives in a huge *favela*, where he faces crooks in a Latin version - the *bandidos* (chapter 4). In other words, Brazil is the nation of impunity, a country surrounded by poverty and crime.

In respect of film analysis, besides Berg (2002), two handbooks are useful to provide the terminology I use to refer to media products: firstly, *Film Art - an Introduction* (2004), by Bordwell & Thompson; and secondly, *How to Read a Film* (1977), by James Monaco. Camera movements, shot, sequence, editing, frame, mise en scene, relate to the direction functions. Plot/storyline, screenplay, lines refer to the writing subjects; as well as soundtrack relates to the background music, while casting and costumes refer to the characters depicted. Production involves the execution of the media product as a whole. It is important to mention that distribution and circulation are out of the scope of this paper, the majority of the media products were accessed on YouTube. In this way, the main objective is to pick up specific discourses (images, texts, sounds) that help to construct the visions of Brazil; this is not a matter of

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8 “In this sense, stereotyping serves, says Lippmann, as “the guarantee of our self-respect... the projection upon the world of our own sense of value, our own position and our own rights.”(Berg 2002: 40). And: “Mikhail Bakhtin, as transcribed by Tzvetan Todorov, makes the same point in elaborating his aesthetic theory of literature. “The other,” says Bakhtin, “is necessary to accomplish... a perception of the self that the individual can achieve only partially with respect to himself.” The self, he continues, realizes, “I cannot do without the other; I cannot become myself without the other; I must find myself in the other, finding the other in me (in mutual reflection and perception).” (Berg 2002: 28-29).

9 Berg continues: “A stereotype is the result of this process and can be defined as a negative generalization used by an in-group (Us) about an out-group (Them). Lippmann called these mental constructs “pictures in our heads.”” (Berg 2002: 15).

embracing the entire selected source. Moreover, three powerful means of stereotyping a country are also out of the scope: literature, tourist and travel guides, and all sorts of journalism.

Lastly, the choice for the US popular culture reflects the ambivalent relation of Brazil and the United States. If by one side the two former colonies have many aspects in common - like the interracial issues; by the other side, the hegemonic power of the US sets an asymmetrical relation with Brazil, which the latter tries to overcome. One symptomatic sign of this inequality is the use of the term “America” meaning only the US territory. After all, Brazil also belongs to America, although it is classified as “South” or “Latin” America. In brief, the appropriation of the term “America” to self-reference tells many about the imperialistic perspective of the United States of America. Nevertheless, I reproduce this terminology here since it is widely understood. For instance, I use the derivative “American” to refer to US soft power, US popular culture, the US population as a whole, as well as the US cultural products - American documentary, music video, cartoon, among others.

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11 As Berg (2002) draws our attention: “Finally, there is the problematic term “American cinema,” which is commonly used when referring to U.S. films. But the United States is not America, only part of North America.” (Berg 2002: 7).
Chapter I  US Soft Power in Brazil

The Eagle and the Parrot

In regard to world politics, the notion of ‘soft power’ coined by Joseph Nye (2004) leads to foreign policies focused on attraction and influence instead of coercion and payment. Soft power defines itself in opposition to hard power. The author argues that after the 9/11, US soft power became a crucial instrument to succeed in world politics. Nye considers several sources of the US soft power: popular culture (cinema, music, TV, radio), high culture (academic leadership), publishing, religion, global companies. He dedicates most of his writing about culture as a source of American soft power (Nye 2004: 44-55) to explaining the positive effects of high culture, especially the large number of international students that the United States annually receive on one side, and the attractiveness of American popular culture, especially Hollywood movies, TV news, NBA, NFL and pop music on the other.

According to Nye (2004), a country’s soft power rests on three resources: culture, political values and foreign policies (Nye 2004: 11). In this chapter, I focus on the US popular culture construction of Brazilian clichés involving gender issues, although I also observe the interconnections between the non-official discourse and world politics. That is a key interpretation Nye provides: he rejects the idea that popular culture is an apolitical and anesthetizing ‘opium’ for the masses, only based on commercialism, whilst supporting that popular culture was a relevant tool to the achievement of US foreign policy goals. Nye recognizes that “popular entertainment often contains subliminal images and messages about individualism, consumer choice, and other values that have important political effects.” (Nye 2004: 46-47).

To elaborate on the idea that popular culture matters to world politics, Nye comes up with diverse examples of the political importance of American popular culture. First, he highlights that popular culture indeed contributed to the democratic reconstruction of Europe after World War II, beyond the Marshall Plan and NATO, respectively the economic and military powers (Nye 2004: 48-49). Second, he considers that the attraction of popular culture was decisive to reach another major US foreign policy objective: defeat the Communist ideology during the Cold War. Nye argues that “Long before the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it had been pierced by television and movies.” (Nye 2004: 49). Finally, Nye refers to American popular culture as fostering other US foreign affairs ‘victories’: against apartheid in South Africa, in favor of democratic regimes in Latin America and East Asia, to overthrow Serbian regime in the
Bosnian War, to undermine Iranian Ayatollah’s regime and to consolidate the international economic system (Nye 2004: 50-51). Yet, Nye is aware of the complexity of cultural relations. He points out that popular culture has a dynamic movement, especially due to its non-official characteristics:

As we learned in chapter I, popular culture, because it is not under direct control of government, does not always produce the exact policy outcomes that the government might desire. Popular culture can have contradictory effects on different groups within the same country. It does not provide a uniform soft power resource. The videos that attract Iranian teenagers offend Iranian mullahs. (Nye 2004: 52).

A good example of contradiction between popular culture and governmental policies pops up in the documentary Olhar Estrangeiro (Foreign Gaze)\(^\text{12}\), which reveals that in over than 40 movies the main characters flee to Brazil in order to escape from the authorities. More recent examples include The Incredible Hulk (2008), The Producers (2005), Shallow Grave (1994), among others. The image of Brazil as a country of impunity has embarrassed governments, and has caused threats of lawsuits against the studios, followed by official excuses from the producers. The American thriller Turistas Go Home (2006), shot in Bahia, portrays Brazilian girls as prostitutes and the local people as morally degenerated. Moreover, the country is depicted as the center for human organs trafficking. The plot revolves around a trio of US backpackers lost in the tropical forest, which presents itself as a mix of natural paradise and human hell. The image of Brazil is so negative that the movie was boycotted all over the country. During the release of the film, the main actor apologized to the Brazilian government in a US talk show. For its part, Brazilian Tourist Board applauded the bad reviews that Turistas received in the United States\(^\text{13}\).

In terms of iconic representation, it is significant that the United States are represented by an eagle while Brazil is represented by a parrot. Since the Colonial Period, the picturesque parrot figured in Brazilian stories. Already in 1834, the Dublin Penny Journal mentioned the account of the philosopher John Locke, referring to a 17th century parrot’s joke. Locke had


taken notice of the talking parrot through Sir William Temple’s memoirs, which alluded to the
government of John Maurice, Prince of Nassau-Siegen, during the Dutch Period in Brazil
(1630-1654)\textsuperscript{14}:

Locke in his “Essay on the Human Understanding”, quotes the following anecdote of a
conversing parrot, from the "Remains of what passed at Christendom from 1672 to
1679" (...) "When Prince Maurice was Governor of Brazil, he was informed of an old
parrot that was much spoken of, in consequence of being able to converse like a rational
creature, at least, it would answer the questions that were put to it.” (Dublin Penny
Journal 1834: 242)

Indeed, parrots are not “rational”, they just repeat what they heard, they cannot formulate
an idea. The parrots are known for having the ability to imitate human words and phrases,
although there are no intellectual processes on it: a perfect attribute to a weaker partner. In
contrast to the eagle, the colourful parrot eats beans, being harmless to other animals. In its
turn, the eagle holds a top predator position, with far-sighted eyes. The parrots compose a
non-official iconography of Brazil, while the American bald eagle was validated by the Congress
in 1782 to be the US National Emblem\textsuperscript{15}. The eagle stamps dollar coins, notes, patriotic
decorative and the Great Seal of the United States. At the same time symbol of freedom, due to
its habitat in the tops of high mountains, and symbol of "supreme power and authority”\textsuperscript{16}; the
eagle’s main attributes are on impressive look, long life and strength. In other words, the way
the two former colonies constructed their national identities could serve as a comparative
perspective between the US and Brazil self-images. Moreover, it helps to understand how the
US popular culture constructed the clichés about Brazil.

\textsuperscript{14} Encyclopedia Britannica. John Maurice of Nassau.
\textsuperscript{16} Although Benjamin Franklin disagreed with the choice: “I wish that the bald eagle had not been chosen as
the representative of our country, he is a bird of bad moral character, he does not get his living honestly (...) Besides he is a rank coward (...) He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest...
of America… For a truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true
original native of America… a bird of courage (...)” American Bald Eagle Information.
A few centuries after the Dutch parrot’s joke, when Walt Disney visited Brazil and other Latin American countries during World War II (1941), he found the image of the parrot linked to Brazilian national identity in a wide range of caricatures. In the context of Franklin Roosevelt’s ‘Good Neighbor’ politics, Disney’s mission was to strengthen the ties between the US and their Latin neighbors. Thus, Disney picked up an existing image that already symbolized Brazilianess. As a result of this soft power attempt, Disney created the anthropomorphized parrot Zé Carioca in 1942, a symbol of Brazilian male stereotype. The association of Brazil with tropical fruits and exotic birds was already known by American audience since Carmen Miranda migrated to the US in the 1930s, where she built a successful career on radio and in Hollywood. Inspired by samba style, Zé Carioca lived in a Rio’s favela. The character was a typical “malandro” (rascal that hates work) who scored small knocks for living, besides attending high class dinners without being invited. The Brazilian word for this mischievous behavior is “penetra”. Like the word “malandro”, the word “penetra” has no English equivalent. This translation ‘gap’ reveals that some behaviors could not be fully explained by words. “Malandro” means one who avoids working at any cost, potentially dishonest, but also a smart guy, capable to be creative in difficult situations, like Brazilian soccer players or capoeiristas do, for instance.

At the other extreme, the US eagle conveys power, strength and expansionism. Normally, the American approach of Latin neighbors is marked by a superior gaze. Whenever

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the US import a Latin ‘star’ or represent Latin figures, it frames the subaltern position of Brazilians or ‘chicanos’. A large number of examples could be cited: from singer Carmen Miranda to cartoon Zé Carioca; from soccer ace Pelé, hired to play for the New York Cosmos to pop star Michael Jackson, shooting a music video in Brazil. From Harvard Professor investigation of Brazilian mixed race foundational myths to the comic cartoon *The Simpsons*, doing a sharp satire on a family trip to Rio de Janeiro. It is true that sometimes, governmental authorities try to approximate both countries. In this way, during a visit to Brazil, President Obama performed like a soccer player, kicking a ball with school kids at the emblematic slum called “City of God”, one of the poorest favelas of Rio de Janeiro. This kind of presidential diplomacy works in line with US soft power, playing soccer becomes a political discourse.

Curiously, Nye refers to Brazil only twice throughout the book (Nye 2004: 30 & 89), in spite of referring quite often to other Latin American countries like Argentina, Mexico, Guatemala and Chile. It seems as of Nye places Brazil in the same row of ‘developing’ countries or blended with its Latin American neighbors. Maybe this absence means the minor importance the US gives to Brazil. One basic premise of this paper is that ideological discourse issues apply to US-Brazil relations, beyond the differences imposed by the official language each country speak. In a nutshell, the US formulate the dominant discourse of First World cultural imperialism while Brazil strives to survive under the “giant” continent leader. Indeed, both countries speak different “languages”, not only in the popular culture but also in the institutional arrangement, for instance: soccer vs. football, movie vs. film, Foreign Policy vs. External Relations, Secretary of State vs. Ministry. Such different ways to name the same ‘thing’ show how distant the two countries are in organizing and legitimating knowledge. Yet, in a post 9/11 world, Brazilian’s tradition of syncretism, whether religious or cultural, might convey a significant message of tolerance and multiculturalism. At the time that we observe bigotry increasingly leading the world to use of hard power, soft power shows up as an alternative to support peacemaking and economic growth in the so-called Third World.

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19 “Some large countries such as China, India, and Brazil are industrializing and may suffer some of the disruptions that analogous parts of the West encountered at similar stages of their development early in the twentieth century. In such a diverse world, all three sources of power—military, economic, and soft—remain relevant, although in different degrees in different relationships.” (Nye 2004: 30), and “South Africa is widely admired for its progress in overcoming racial apartheid peacefully, and Brazil projects a certain attraction both from its vibrant culture and its promise in the future.” (Nye 2004: 89).
Another relevant point consists in Joseph Nye’s perspective of the negative effects of the Iraq War on the image of the United States. He casts a long list of them. Nye outlines the problems of ignoring soft power, he criticizes the ‘skeptics’ who defend US unilateralism in the position of the world’s only superpower, like in the case of Iraq War, when war was waged without UN ‘blessing’ (Nye 2004: 128-134). Nye disagrees with Samuel Huntington’s concept of the “clash of civilizations” in regard to terrorism issues: “Equally important, the current struggle against Islamist terrorism is not a clash of civilizations but a contest whose outcome is closely tied to a civil war between moderates and extremists within Islamic civilization” (Nye 2004: 131). In addition, Nye devotes a special session to the Middle East (Nye 2004: 118-123) in which he tries to understand why such hatred against America works out in the Arab world. Again, soft power should be exploited once there are some common values in both worlds, namely “family, religious belief, and desire for democracy” (Nye 2004: 121).

Although 9/11 is not directly related to the subject here, Joseph Nye’s theoretical perspective helped to frame the study of political discourses. The way Nye studies the organization of US discourse after 9/11 opens several possibilities to understand how it combines hard and soft power in US foreign policy. In the Foucauldian (1978) sense, ideological discourse of construction of US-Brazil power relations, involving soft power in most cases, is the core of this chapter. A concise overview of US-Brazil cultural relations constitutes a worthy starting point.

US Soft Power in Brazil - an Overview

During the 19th century, US hard power was wielded in Brazil by the Monroe Doctrine, later called “Big Stick”, in reference to Theodore Roosevelt’s diplomatic style. Masked behind an institutional collaboration, Brazil gradually moved forward to a Republican political system and a reluctant abolition of slavery. Brazil’s first Republican Constitution (1889) was inspired by the American counterpart, as much as Brazil’s Independence process (1776 in the United States, 1822 in Brazil).

In the course of the 1930s until the end of the Second World War, Franklin Roosevelt's 'good neighbor policy' played an important role in US soft power in Latin America. The principle of non-intervention led the US to increase cultural exchanges. Two eloquent examples of these exchanges were the 1939 World's Fair in New York - an event to promote relations between US and Latin America - and the rise of Brazilian film star Carmen Miranda, who was considered the muse of Good Neighbor policy. Both examples involved the US 'receiving' other cultures rather than exporting its own. However, it is important to note that for most American people, Brazil is equal to its Latin neighbors: a recurring joke in US popular culture is when some character surprisingly discovers Brazilians do not speak Spanish. In sum, from Mexico downwards, people are all 'chicanos'. Charles Ramirez Berg in his book *Latino Images in Film - stereotypes, subversion, resistance* (2002), describes how Hollywood portraits of Latinos as exotic but inferior people reinforce US imperialist discourse:

In order to rationalize the expansionist goals laid out by the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny, Latinos - whether U.S. citizens, newly arrived migrants from the south, or Latin Americans in their own countries - needed to be shown as lesser beings. Movie stereotyping of Latinos, therefore, has been and continues to be part of an American imperialistic discourse about who should rule the hemisphere - a sort of "Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny Illustrated." (Berg 2002: 4-5)
Carmen Miranda style depicted on stamps and the singer at an American radio programme\(^{21}\)

Carmen Miranda plays the role of Rosita Rivas, a 20th Century Fox production (1941)\(^{22}\)

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In the context of Cold War, US policies to Latin America changed from non-intervention to new streams of hard power combined with soft power. Truman Doctrine deployed the détente or containment policy, whose aim was to stop Soviet influence outside the Iron Curtain. In Brazil, a military dictatorship (1964-1985) was established in a close association with American investment and intelligence. CIA’s unofficial participation in the ‘military coup’ is widely used as an Anti-American argument. One of the most powerful Brazilian mass media companies, Globo, was founded in 1964, the same year of the ‘military coup’. David Hesmondhalgh (2007: 224) points out that the entire satellite infrastructure that enabled a huge integrated Portuguese speaking market was built under an alliance among military regime, Globo and the USA. Moreover, Globo has commercial ties with Hollywood majors, namely Warner and Fox, and it is clear to Brazilians that Globo strengthens the cultural imperialism wings, more than characterizing a national resistance movement against the hegemonic cultural flows.

The Brazilian TV market serves as a relevant illustration to figure out US soft power. First, US audiovisual productions are present in the entire Brazilian broadcasters, either free-to-air or cable TV. Second, within Brazilian territory, the market leader Globo operates on a free-to-air basis, broadcasting its programming towards a national audience, with a combination of imported TV shows - the majority made in USA - and home grown productions. Globo produces tele journalism and telenovelas which represent the leading audiences of the corporation, around 40 per cent of the market share in 2014\(^{23}\). In Brazilian political ambience, Globo represents the US capitalist mentality, tuned to profit and to spread the American way of life. In the same way that Hollywood studios do, Globo TV programs are full of sex and violence, in which stereotypical views of gender and sex dominate in the contents. The other free-to-air competing companies are SBT (Television Brazilian System), Bandeirantes and Record. These channels dispute the other part of the market, broadcasting low quality productions, or mostly old successful American TV series imported from a wide range of US studios. SBT telecasts outdated series like “Two and a Half Men”, starring young Charlie Sheen. Bandeirantes broadcasts the American iconic cartoon “The Simpsons”, and the medical drama “Grey’s Anatomy”. For its part, Record shows the comic “Everybody hates Chris”.

Therefore, Brazilian TV market gives room for audience competition in which American cultural products strategically predominates. Globo critics claim the media group represents the US neoliberals’ arm of globalization. Indeed, Marinho family maintains a tight control of

distribution and marketing in the country, upheld by business links with Hollywood studios. In brief, on any Brazilian TV channel you tune US popular culture massively appears. In the late 1990s, the entrance of American cable, satellite and digital television in Brazil was carefully negotiated by Globo executives with Brazilian government, and these new technologies only were allowed in the country’s territory after Globo corporation was prepared to compete for the domestic market, broadcasting its own channels in combination with US ones. Globo cable channels resemble the American counterpart: news for upper middle-class (Globo News); fashion, kitchen and behavior for female target group (GNT); soccer plus traditional sports for male target group (SportTV 1 and 2 ); music, varieties, erotic content after midnight for both genders (Multishow). Apart from market competition, it is critical to note that gender stereotypes - women enjoy dress, men enjoy sports - guide contents design both in the US and Brazil. There are also shared interests in news, music or sex, however, one more time Globo corporation resembles US popular culture.

In the first quarter of the 21st century, the rise of digital media in Brazil reached mostly upper middle classes, on average under 35 years old. New platforms as YouTube, Netflix, and other pervasive medias (Berman 2004: 35) definitely changed consumer dynamics and content creation and distribution. However, Brazilian digital scenery is peculiar since the majority of the population do not have access to internet and smartphones. According to a governmental survey held in 2007, 59% of Brazilians never accessed the internet and 47% never used a computer. Only 24% of homes have a desktop computer, while only 7% of homes have cable TV and 18% have parabolic antennas. Internet uses for the lower classes have been increasing in the last years due to the expansion of smartphones sales (Chimenti and others 2009: 1-16). Thus, free-to-air TVs continue to be the major media in Brazil in terms of range and audience although the impact of new convergence technologies has enhanced competition. At any rate, YouTube/Google, Netflix, Microsoft, IBM, Facebook are all American companies asserting American contents and visions.
Chapter II American Visions of Brazil - Documentary

Brazil: A Racial Paradise? (2011)

Black in Latin America documentaries were written and presented by Professor Henry Louis Gates Jr.. The four episodes were broadcasted on American public television PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) in 2011. All countries in the script have tight historical links with Africa: Haiti & the Dominican Republic: An Island Divided; Cuba: The Next Revolution; Brazil: A Racial Paradise?; Mexico & Peru: The Black Grandma in the Closet.24 Black in Latin America was the 11th documentary by Gates, and the third of a trilogy that includes the first part Wonders of the African World (1999), about the Colonial period in the US, and the second part America Beyond the Color Line (2004), about nowadays lives of African Americans.25 Professor Gates is a renowned Harvard scholar who puts on TV format to discuss race and identity topics in American continent. An Afro-American himself, Gates conveys to a general public the adverse conditions that African descendents face both in the US and in Latin America. He also explores the survival strategies that black people apply for living.

In Brazil’s episode, Gates shows a representative overview of slavery heritage throughout the travel itinerary. The script starts at Carnival time in Salvador, first Brazilian capital between 1572 and 1763; known as ‘Black Rome’ because it was the epicenter of slavery trade during the Colonial Period. Then, Gates goes to Diamantina - a countryside Colonial city, and after he goes to Recife - home of the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, author of Masters and Slaves (1933), the book that first presented the idea of a Brazilian ‘racial democracy’. Finally, Gates visits Rio de Janeiro, second Brazilian capital from 1763 to 1961, a city surrounded by favelas where Gates chats with black movement leaders.

During his journey, Gates investigates whether Brazil is a “racial democracy”, in Gilberto Freyre’s concept.26 He looks through the Carnival stereotype of joyful people dancing samba, and finds that Brazil indeed is a multicultural nation despite having racism as well as “the racism that haunts the United States”.27 Delving deeper into the subject, Gates unveils that racial democracy is an ideological discourse: black men and women are discriminated in various

non-declared racist manners, from the Fashion magazines covers plenty of blond girls to police violence against black young men. Overall, Gates provides a lively academic gaze to race and identity, he compares blacks in Brazil and blacks in America most of the time.

Unlike the US segregation practices, Brazilian syncretism has to do with class, gender and race as far as the nation was constructed over a Portuguese-African-Indigenous tripod. Hence, religion identity conveys the person’s social origin, the fusion of apparently unmixable doctrines like Pentecostalism and Umbanda (Afro-Brazilian religion) characterizes the multicultural environment in which religion exists. In Brazil, religion is inextricably linked to class, gender and race. White and miscegenated elite and middle classes compose the Catholic congregation. Black and indigenous low classes are normally away from the Catholic Church, these ‘souls’ (and pockets) are disputed by Evangelical churches and Afro-Brazilian terreiros. It is even possible to find several combinations like an Evangelical woman that delivers flowers to Iemanjá (feminine Afro deity, ‘Queen of Seas’), or a Candomblé mãe-de-santo (feminine spiritual leader in Afro-Brazilian religion) married to an Evangelical churchgoer. This religious mobility and blend intrigued Gates in his passage through Brazil, where he managed to choose iconic figures to chat about blackness.

Based on Gates’s vision of Brazil, I investigate the connections between gender, sexuality, class and race; and the possible comparisons with the United States. Amid many stories related in the documentary, two personal cases are worthy to be examined: Mestre Boa Gente and Xica da Silva. Boa Gente overcame poverty through capoeira, he is a renowned capoeira ambassador. Xica da Silva was an 18th century slave woman who became free due to marriage with her master, she occupies a mythological place in the Brazilian imagination as the “black queen of diamonds”. In the light of Judith Butler’s book on “Gender Trouble” (1997), the examples of Xica da Silva and Mestre Boa Gente demonstrate how gender performance can be exercised in Brazilian society.

To begin with, Boa Gente became the most graduated master in the slaves fight technique (capoeira), a mix of fight and dance used to face Portuguese colonizer. Capoeira was the male blacks form of resistance against slavery, in which the body was the weapon, a cultural expression plenty of connections with African religion. The escaped slaves used diverse drumbeats to communicate amongst them, the rhythms are similar to religious beats used to invoke the Orishas - African deities. Heir to the black tradition, Mestre Boa Gente explains to
Gates\textsuperscript{28} that \textit{capoeira} was at the same time a dance and a fight because when slaves were training, a member of the group remained strategically hidden in order to warn the others if Portuguese soldiers were coming. If they did, the slaves changed the drumbeat to \textit{samba} and started dancing to fool the chivalry. Thereby, white Portuguese thought black slaves were dancing and celebrating, but in fact they were training.

Such performative subversion of the dance, a parody that helped black slaves to face power relations and sometimes helped to manage escape and constitute their own society, the \textit{quilombos}, is at the core of black political resistance movement in Brazil. Mestre Boa Gente represents the current form of male black resistance, since he uses \textit{capoeira} to stimulate socially excluded youngsters to use their bodies in a playful performative ‘fight’, full of political meanings. It is necessary to note that \textit{capoeira} was a strictly male activity during slavery, though nowadays it has broadened its players, including women and non-blacks (Wesolowski 2012: 82)\textsuperscript{29}. In this respect, Butler’s concept of performative subversion is used more in the sense of the power relations context of Brazilian Colonial slavery, rather than in a gender disruption sense.

Both Xica and Boa Gente endorse the binary frame in their performances, their subversion traits are tuned to race and class in a slave-based society. By all means, blackness and poverty comes before male or female identity. Neither Xica nor Boa Gente challenged the gender notions of their respective times, and besides that, their cases could not be included in Queer Studies.

For its part, in the chapter titled “Subversive Bodily Acts” (Butler 1997: 79-141), Butler analyses diverse case studies which bear a direct disruption towards gender identity. Firstly, Julia Kristeva focuses on “the repression of primary libidinal drives”, and the child radical dependency to the maternal body (Butler 1997: 79). Secondly, Foucault submits the Herculine Barbin case - a French hermaphrodite, at birth assigned the sex ‘female’, and after twenty years “legally compelled to change h/er sex to ‘male’” (Butler 1997: 94). Foucault criticizes the legal and medical model, he argues that ‘sex’ does not exist indeed, but it is “produced by complex interactions of discourse and power” (Butler 1997: 97). Thirdly, Monique Wittig refuses the category of women in the book “The Lesbian Body” (Butler 1997: 125-127). Finally, Mary


\textsuperscript{29} “The global expansion of capoeira has radically transformed the practice and reach of the Afro-Brazilian fight/dance/game known as capoeira. Once a weapon of the weak, informally learned by male slaves on the streets and outlawed by Brazilian authorities, capoeira today is taught to men, women, and children in schools, health clubs, dance studios, and community centers throughout Brazil and around the world.” (Wesolowski 2012: 82).
Douglas provides a framework to understand the relationship among social taboos and the boundaries of the body. The author develops the concept of a “polluting person”, someone who has crossed social limits and might offer risks to the others; a person with AIDS, for instance (Butler 1997: 131-132). In this sense, Butler observes:

The final section of this chapter, ‘Bodily Inscriptions, Performative Subversions’, considers the boundary and surface of bodies as politically constructed, drawing on the work of Mary Douglas and Julia Kristeva. As a strategy to denaturalize and resignify bodily categories, I describe and propose a set of parodic practices based in a performative theory of gender acts that disrupt the categories of the body, sex, gender, and sexuality and occasion their subversive resignification and proliferation beyond the binary frame. (Butler 1997: X)

In the matter of subversion, capoeira emerges as a parodic performance of Portuguese military practices. Improvised, unruly, mischievous, using drumbeat to communicate among them and to confuse the enemy. The capoeira body is politically constructed, it works as a weapon: kicks, elbows, knee striking constitute the repertory of hits used against Portuguese troopers. The slaves fight technique counted on surprise attacks from the bottom of thorny bushes - named capoeira in the Brazilian Northeast, the region where they inhabited. During Colonial period, capoeira was the means of defending the quilombos. Nowadays, capoeira is a cultural and political manifestation in which figures like Boa Gente bust the stereotype of black men as obedient servants. On the contrary, capoeira puts black men as clever, strong and warlike. As noted by the American anthropologist Katya Wesolowski, capoeira incarnates black resistance in Brazilian popular imagination:

Most likely born from an amalgamation of West and Central African fighting arts in the particular context of Brazilian slavocracy, from its inception capoeira was also inevitably embedded in the politics of social and racial hierarchy and oppression. This history of oppression contributes to capoeira's popular image as a weapon of the weak, a form of cultural and physical "resistance." (Wesolowski 2012: 83)
After a four year field research in Rio de Janeiro\textsuperscript{30}, Wesolowski, who also presents herself as a \textit{capoeirista}, concludes that what \textit{capoeira} tells about Brazil and Brazilians lies in the idea of \textit{malandragem}. Another word that has no English equivalent. The author points out that the term is “(...) glossed as "cunning" or "deception", malandragem incorporates a whole range of characteristics, among them intelligence, foresight, improvisation, opportunism, and self-preservation. For many capoeiristas malandragem is the defining ethos of the game.” (Wesolowski 2012: 86). In comparison with the Portuguese/European military practices, the fight/dance/game \textit{capoeira} subverts the notions of discipline, hierarchy, honour and courage. The political dimension of this cultural and physical resistance challenges the regulatory practices, because it offers a different way of organization and another world vision. \textit{Capoeira} disrupts the exercise of power-knowledge by providing a resignification of the military categories of discipline, hierarchy, honour and courage. According to Butler, Foucault’s insight into the regulatory practices of medicine (Butler 1997: X) provides a relevant critique of the category of sex. In this way, a connection between medicine and militarism can be made, as both are power languages based on discipline and punishment. \textit{Capoeira} disrupts all the regulatory practices of white military organization. It challenges white power through active and virile bodies: an avoided and feared characteristic for a black slave.

The second character, Xica da Silva, was a born slave woman who became one of the wealthiest women of Diamantina, in the 18th century\textsuperscript{31}. Xica was partner of a white diamond merchant, he freed her as a Christmas gift, and after that they lived together for fifteen years and got thirteen children. To be accepted into Colonial society, she performed like a white woman: she masked herself in white makeup, wore a blond wig, behave and dressed like a noble lady. In a positive transgression, Xica’s gender performative subverted class and race relations of the Colonial period. The act of painting her face in white make up meant not only a desire to convey she could be like a white woman, but it was also a confirmation that she could live in accordance with white society rules. Moreover, Xica’s performance has to do with a political parody, because her husband economic power influenced his subordinates to ‘pretend’

\textsuperscript{30} “I might here offer my own trajectory in capoeira as an illustration of its expansion: My interest in capoeira began in the early 1990s when I discovered it in Berkeley, California. What began as a physical hobby eventually burgeoned into an academic interest, and from 2001 to 2004 I lived in Rio de Janeiro conducting the ethnographic fieldwork with various capoeira groups from which this paper draws. (...) Today I teach capoeira in the Dance Department at Duke University as well as at a local dance studio and at a community dance and theater school for disadvantaged youth in Durham, North Carolina, a place where 20 years ago most likely no one had ever heard of the practice.” (Wesolowski 2012: 90-91).

she was not black. A political parody that holds an inversion of power relations, quite singular in Brazilian history: a former slave flattered by white society. Such case of social mobility was improbable during Colonial period, and that is the reason why Gates got so intrigued about Xica da Silva.

Surprisingly, at the time Xica overcame her slave condition, she also reproduced the existing power structure. The more she climbed up in society, the more she acted as a landlady, owning slaves herself and participating in the Catholic Church worship. In her review of a book on Xica’s story, Katherine Holt (2011) reports that Xica owned more than a hundred slaves:

Neither did Chica use her status as a member of the local elite to advocate for a new social structure, but instead, like most freed women, she "embraced the values of the white elite with a view to finding a place in that society for themselves and their descendents" (p. xxiii). Chica became a slaveholder after her own manumission, and owned at least 104 slaves over the course of her life (p. 154). (Holt 2011: 392)

In the realm of fiction, the consecrated movie “Xica da Silva” (1976), directed by Carlos Diégues, portrays the survival strategies Xica applied to live in the slavery context. First, she used sexual means to liberation. Second, she embodies an individual and self-interested search for freedom. Third, in his article about the movie, Gordon (2005) notes: “In fact, once she holds a modicum of power, not only does she avoid undermining the system that supports her, she perpetrates oppression through her own cruel treatment of the slaves (...)” (Gordon 2005: 51) Thus, this negative characterization contrasts with the allegorical meaning of resistance and freedom the historical figure of Xica transmits. She is certainly a complex and ambiguous character. Lastly, upon the occasion of her death, she was buried in the city central church as a proof of prestige. In fact, Xica busted the stereotype of black women as mere sexual objects through her performance. The denaturalisation and resignification of her body - white makeup,

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32 Katherine Holt (2011) reviews the book Chica da Silva: A Brazilian Slave of the Eighteenth Century, by Junia Ferreira Furtado. Journal of World History, Vol. 22, No. 2 (June 2011), pp. 391-393. University of Hawai'i http://www.jstor.org/stable/23011728 (Accessed: 9 June 2016). Junia Furtado is the Brazilian scholar who hosts Gates in his passage through Diamantina. It should be noted that although the spelling “Chica” is the correct spelling in Portuguese, in popular language “Xica” is the most used. It is rare to see some reference to Xica da Silva as “Chica”. That is the reason why I optioned to use the popular spelling.

blond wig, dressed in a white lady fashion, denying her blackness - has multiples meanings and interpretations.

Once more, Butler’s reading of Foucault enlightens sexuality, body, power and discourse construction: “The body gains meaning within discourse only in the context of power relations. Sexuality is a historically specific organization of power, discourse, bodies, and affectivity.” (Butler 1997: 92). Within a society in which black women faced various levels of sexual harassment during Colonial period, Xica singular case intrigued by the fact that her master could have simply raped her, or even maintained her as a mistress in exchange for some privileges, like the majority of landlords did. Nonetheless, Xica was brought inside the Casa-Grande (the lord's house) and played the role of a wife, she overcame the senzala (the slave’s place) through her body, which gained freedom in the context of power relations at the time that she won the affectivity of his master. That is the reason why she became a Brazilian slavery myth, although her story is at odds with the historical organization of power in Brazil. About the possible comparisons with the United States, Professor Gates concludes on Xica da Silva story:

A woman is born a slave and she dies one of the most prosperous prominent members of her community. She and her white lover live openly and together have and raise thirteen children. She dies a wealthy woman. No slave, in the history at that institution in the United States can imagine a life as complex as that lived by Xica da Silva. The difference between slavery in Brazil and slavery in the United States is this: here she could almost escape [sic] for blackness.34 (Gates 2011: Brazil - A Racial Paradise?)

Gates documentary brings an almost positive image of Brazil, a place where religion diversity is tolerated. In sum, black people can be socially recognized, like Xica da Silva or Mestre Boa Gente, although Xica repeated the power structure in her whitening performance. Nevertheless, Gates realizes that there is a non-declared but sharp racism. The script main discourse puts Brazil as a huge slave economy, in which slavery was abolished lately (1888) in a negotiated process35. For this reason, the country gives the false impression that people live in

35 In Brazil, slavery was abolished after a set of laws protecting the slave owners.”The Brazilian parliament ended the slave trade in 1850, after British warships had seized some slave ships in Brazilian harbours.
a “racial democracy”. The target audience is clearly American people, considering PBS is a US public television. In the host role, Gates dialogues with the audience in an informal manner. Framed in closes and in the centre of the scene, there is no fourth wall: Gates speaks directly to the audience to express his visions and opinions. Over the interviews, the guests are shown on the first plan.

Brazil: A Racial Paradise? flows like a pleasant History class. In the position of an expert, Gates uses a palatable but academic language. This use of language reinforces the power-knowledge relation once a sense of ‘telling the truth’ starts to dominate the tone of the narrator. The main objective seems to be the elimination of racism in America. Gates has the legitimacy of being an African American himself, moreover, the fact that he is a Harvard Professor grant to his speech a subversive meaning as well as the characters he chose to depicts. As a black man living in the US, Gates experienced racism in a notorious episode: he forced the door of his own house, after returning from a trip. A neighbor found it suspect and called the police, afterwards the police officer approach ended with Gates arrest. The case gained great exposure in the US media, the discussion was if Gates had been “victim of racial profiling” by the policeman\(^36\). In Brazil, police violence against black people is, unfortunately, an ordinary thing. Finally, at a certain extent, even if the message about Brazil is positive, the country remains in a subaltern position due to the stereotype of a false ‘rainbow nation’.

In this section, I examined the Brazil’s episode inside the TV series Black in Latin America, hosted by Professor Gates. First, the subversive character of capoeira was analysed through Mestre Boa Gente testimony. We saw how capoeira links to malandragem (rascality), and how it represents a form of cultural and physical resistance for the Brazilian black people. Second, the whitening performance of Xica da Silva challenged the power structures of the Colonial Period. In this case, I explored the ambivalence of a former slave that mistreat her own slaves by one side, and became a symbol of freedom and social ascension in Brazilian imagination, by the other. The answer to the title question, “A Racial Paradise?”, is definitely not. After his journey, Gates identifies that Brazil is far from being a racial ‘paradise’ or a racial democracy.

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Xica da Silva played by Zezé Mota in the movie *Xica da Silva*, a film by Cacá Diegues (1976).\textsuperscript{37}

Mestre Boa Gente with Professor Gates in the documentary *Brazil: A Racial Paradise?* (2011).\textsuperscript{38}


In regard to Cultural Studies, Brazilian football (soccer in America) constitutes an interesting subject in the sense that it plays a key role to project the Brazilian image as a nation in soccer shoes. The popular saying “God is Brazilian” is connected to the symbolic dimension that religion and sport held in popular imagination. To illustrate, numerous football fans believe ‘god’ interferes in the game results, as well as an extraordinary player like Pelé has a status of ‘god’. Several superstitions and popular beliefs surround the matches, for instance throwing a black cock into the opponent’s goal to bring them “bad luck”. Usually, football fans group together according to the neighborhood they live. Hence, the team someone supports is part of his social identity as well. Eric Hobsbawm (1994) highlights the importance of the stadium as a place of pilgrimage in the context of Third World major cities. The author draws on the devotion which Brazilian people experience soccer, he writes: “places of public ritual like Rio de Janeiro's Maracanã Stadium (two hundred thousand seats), where Cariocas worship the divinities of futebol” (Hobsbawm 1994: 294).

In this section, I examine how Pelé carried out a crucial role to construct the Brazilian image as a soccer nation, while his performance in the field spread the image of masculinity tied to physical ability and strength. In relation to Brazilian soft power, global career soccer players spread around the world a specific image of Brazilian masculinity: the poor boy from favela that overcame poverty and a potential criminal life through sport. Whereas Pelé was considered the best soccer player of all times, he paved the way to several footballers developing their careers abroad. Because of Pelé, Brazilian players are seen as smart, strong, skillful and creative. The documentary Once in a Lifetime39 features Pelé as a ‘god’ of soccer. At the same time it shows how his arrival to the New York Cosmos was the great move of smart American businessmen, leaded by Steve Ross - “the godfather of American soccer”40 - a high executive of Warner Communications group.

Once in a Lifetime was produced by ESPN Original Entertainment in association with Miramax Films, directed by Paul Crowder & John Dower, and written by Mark Monroe41. Having New York City in the 1970s as its scenario, the ninety seven minutes length documentary

dedicates twenty three minutes\textsuperscript{42} to Pelé’s trajectory at the NY Cosmos. The script highlights that the contracting of the athlete meant an approximation of the US and Brazil, involving matters of state. One of the issues that emerge from these matters is the interconnection between sports and world politics: in order to bring Pelé to America, NY Cosmos executives counted on the support of Henry Kissinger, then Secretary of State. In the context of Cold War, it was important to keep Latin America aligned with the United States against the communist ideology, as far as for the military dictatorship in Brazil, it was important to convey a message of internationalization. A ‘big deal’ like the hiring of Pelé met both countries interests. However, at a certain moment of the millionaire negotiation, the Brazilian president tried to obstruct Pelé’s departure to America, arguing he was a ‘national treasure’. Kissinger used his influence to interfere in the process: “In my dealings with board of Brazilian government, etc. I tried to convince them that having Pelé in the United States was a tremendous asset for Brazil”\textsuperscript{43}

Raphael de la Sierra - Cosmos vice president - tells that Pelé received a phone call “from the Secretary of State of Brazil”, indeed the Ministry of External Relations, known as Itamaraty. The Minister was asking Pelé to please sign the contract with Cosmos, “for the good of the relationship of Brazil and the United States.”\textsuperscript{44} Soon after, Pelé was disembarking in New York.

In order to tell the story of NY Cosmos, the documentary combines archival footage and interviews with the main characters involved in the soccer business. Rapid camera shots close up the guests, sometimes in their offices, sometimes in a sport field. The main athletes and technical staff that defended Cosmos give their testimony. Beckenbauer, Chinaglia, Carlos Alberto, all of them speak to the audience. Nevertheless, Pelé is absent. That is remarkable about \textit{Once in a Lifetime}: the “king of football” does not speak. Only one scene shows a young Pelé greeting the fans in a reasonable English.\textsuperscript{45} The specialized website IMDb notes that “Pelé


\textsuperscript{45} "I come to play in America because I believe in soccer in America. Kids here love the sport, the American people love sports naturally [sic]. I come to play here because I know in a few years will have a good team in America". \textit{Once in a Lifetime: The Extraordinary History of the New York Cosmos}. Published on Mar 12, 2013. Shared by bricka12. \url{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fBR8jN_SyE0} (Accessed: 13 April 2016). 40:10 to 40:30.
declined to participate in the documentary when the producers balked at his $100,000 fee. It may be the cause of a subliminal critique on Pelé. In this sense, the presentation of Pelé is entitled: “The hunting of Pelé,” putting him in a passive position once the American smart businessmen are the real protagonists of the plot. Furthermore, his last appearance is lashing out a violent foul against Rodney Marsh - a Miami’s striker who had been nicknamed “white Pelé”. In fact, during the credits, the captions for Pelé are: “Pelé / Football Ambassador / Declined to be interviewed.”

Once in a Lifetime counts on a frenetic soundtrack, mostly based on Motown hits and funk genres. Nonetheless, Pelé’s appearance is introduced by the opera Turandot, sang by Luciano Pavarotti. This epical music serves as a background to show the masterful dribbling and goals Pelé scored, raising the crowd. The song sets out a supernatural aura for Pelé, although it is abruptly interrupted by a rock’n’roll guitar solo, a little out of context. Further on, jazzy rumba (typical Latin rhythm, not Brazilian) background music follows the Cosmos executives’ passage in Rio, to convince Pelé to join the club. Another remarkable entry is the Pink Floyd’s hit “Money”, played by Velvet Revolver, during the sequence of the negotiation of the tremendous values - three to seven million dollars - estimated to be earned by Pelé. Nuanced funk-soul music also helps to create a tense atmosphere between baseball vs. soccer, during the signing ceremony to announce Pelé, in New York.

The Cosmos Promotions Director, John O’Reilly reports that a full house press conference was disturbed by a protest against soccer: “one person was heckling fuss (...) talking about the denigration of professional baseball, how soccer ruined the sport of baseball (...) soccer’s for farmers, should never be played in America”\textsuperscript{55}. These nationalist stance unveils the connections between sports, identity and world politics. Returning to Nye (2004), the author notes that soccer is globally the most popular sport. The “Europe’s primary sport” outranks Basketball, American football or baseball (Nye 2004: 76). Nye criticizes the notion that globalization equates with Americanization, he uses the example of Manchester United to demonstrate how the sport team in prime worldwide popularity is British, as well as the global stardom of British player David Beckham (Nye 2004: 40). Nye could not predict that, like Pelé, Beckham postponed his retirement signing with LA Galaxy (2007-2012) to boost the US Major League Soccer (MLS)\textsuperscript{56}. Another millionaire hiring that involved sport, business and soft power; in a MLS effort to popularize soccer in America, and better include the country in the global market of ‘football’. Nye maintains that popular sports can be valuable to soft power; he lists the key American sports and its relation to world media market:

Even popular sports can play a role in communicating values. And the numbers are large. National Basketball games are broadcast to 750 million households in 212 countries and 42 languages. Major league baseball games flow to 224 countries in 11 languages. The National Football League’s Super Bowl attracted an estimated 800 million viewers in 2003. The number of sports viewers rivals the 7.3 billion viewers worldwide who went to see American movies in 2002. (Nye 2004: 47)

In the realm of US sports, soccer (MLS) is faded by basketball (NBA), baseball (MLB) and football (NFL). Pelé was a pioneer in this American endeavor to set soccer as a national passion. More than business, the attempt to popularize soccer relates to soft power at the time that it could reduce American cultural isolationism. For Brazil, Kissinger’s vision of Pelé deal as a ‘tremendous asset’ reproduces the asymmetric power relations among the US and Brazil.


America puts Brazil in an inferior position, a weaker neighbor that should be guided. By following the steps of Carmen Miranda, Pelé accepted to be a privileged Brazilian representative although he also contributed to reinforce the stereotype of a nation in soccer shoes. Due to his blackness and low class origin, Pelé overcame several social barriers and prejudices to reach the top of soccer career, being considered the ‘king’ of football - the best soccer player that ever existed until the current days.

After having led Brazilian team in three World Cups victories (1958, 1962, 1970), Pelé was consecrated as the world’s greatest player. At the age of 34, he was to retire in Brazil (1974) when NY Cosmos executives convinced him to be the ambassador of the sport in America. His mission was to popularize soccer throughout the country. Besides the international politics backdrop of his hiring, Pelé played a large commercial role away from the soccer fields. He became the poster boy of the NY Cosmos brand for several products, from sports material to perfumes. Steve Ross also aimed to profit from MLS television broadcasting rights. One of the few female figures who have a say in the documentary, Rose Ganguzza - Pelé’s manager (1975-1977), summarizes the issue: “That’s very much the American mentality. If we can create it, we can assume it because at the end of the day it’s all about money.” Pelé performed in accordance with NY Cosmos executives expected of him. He scored numerous goals, led Cosmos to win a championship, and fulfilled his obligations outside soccer fields. To better understand Pelé’s career, it is worthy to take an overview of Brazilian ambience on which he arose.

Pelé emerged in a scenery of stigmatization of black soccer players because of the Brazilian defeat by Uruguay in 1950, when Brazil loses the World Cup in its own Maracanã Stadium. Black staff members were blamed on the failure. Over the previous decades, black players were not accepted in professional teams. In the article “Class, Ethnicity, and Color in the Making of Brazilian Football”, José Lopes (2000) describes an emblematic episode related to a mulatto player whitening his face to hide his identity. In order to join the Fluminense aristocratic club, Carlos Alberto spread “rice powder on his face to lighten his complexion”, before a match in 1916 (Lopes 2000: 251). The opponent fans bullied him, shouting "rice powder!" an expression that became simultaneously an insult and a sportive self-designation. Lopes writes:

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57 Lionel Messi fans may disagree.
This episode, with its mythical overtones, denotes not only how mulattos and blacks internalized their inferior social situation, but also the jocose effect and conciliatory outcome through which much of the ambiguity in racial stereotypes and prejudices in Brazil is expressed. (Lopes 2000: 251)

In the same vein as Xica da Silva, Alberto’s subversive performance displaced the stereotypes and prejudices against black people. Considering that slavery had been abolished only two decades before (1888)\textsuperscript{59}, Alberto’s whitening trick was a survival strategy that he applied for living. Conversely, there is a political parody in this whitening performance, the ‘jocose effect’ Lopes mentions, an ambiguous expression of racism and joke that composes a kind of “cordial racism” rooted in Brazilian society (Lopes 2000: 259). Pelé also faced a racist society but he conquered social and economic ascension through his high performance as a footballer. He combined an exceptional ability on the ball with physical strength, which helped him to avoid constant injuries. Outside the fields, he corresponded to what are expected of a sport idol.

As Carmen Miranda, Pelé learned to speak English and managed a largely profitable career in America. In the mid-1970s, he became the highest salaried athlete in the world: the NY Cosmos three-year contract revolved around one million dollar a year\textsuperscript{60}. Moreover, the advertising contract lasted ten years. Concerning the pre-1950s sports scenario, Hobsbawm (1994) maintains that athletes were equal to industrial workers in terms of salary. He observes:

And yet, by our standards, mass sports, though now global, remained extraordinarily primitive. Their practitioners had not yet been absorbed by the capitalist economy. The great stars were still amateurs, as in tennis (i.e. assimilated to traditional bourgeois status), or professionals paid a wage not all that much higher than a skilled industrial workers, as in British football. They had still to be enjoyed face-to-face, for even radio could only translate the actual sight of the game or race into the rising decibels of a commentator’s voice. The age of television and sportsmen paid like film stars was still a few years away. (Hobsbawm 1994: 198)

\textsuperscript{59} In the United States, slavery had been abolished in January 1, 1863, by President Abraham Lincoln. However, in the North anti-slavery laws date from 1774-1804. History. Slavery in America. \url{http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/slavery} (Accessed: 2 August 2016).

In soccer, Pelé inaugurated the era of star sportsmen holding millionaires salaries and publicity contracts, when he signed with NY Cosmos. The documentary shows how the hiring of Pelé was thought to make money, against the backdrop of New York over the 1970s. The Warner Communications headquarters was the stage for a seven million dollars deal, managed by bold businessmen. In fact, the main point of Once in a Lifetime is the American entrepreneurial spirit behind the boost of NY Cosmos, an enterprise aimed to popularize soccer in the US. Pelé was the first “big move”, afterwards Cosmos hired other star sportsmen like the German Franz Beckenbauer, the Italian Giorgio Chinaglia and the Brazilian Carlos Alberto Torres (team captain during the 1970 World Cup).

Actually, Pelé received the designation of “the King” in Brazil, although a critical point about him is that he never fought against racism, or engaged in social causes. Instead, Pelé’s career was marked by an overwhelming individualism, a business oriented management of his public image, repeating the power structures. Indeed, Pelé became a sports mogul, connected to the leading organizations of soccer in Brazil (CBF), and in the world (Fifa)\(^{61}\). The Afro American news media Newsone portrays Pelé as having no solidarity with the Black cause: “On the soccer pitch, no one was or is more beloved in Brazil, but outside the stadiums, many Brazilians say the king has been a disappointment, particularly on social issues and particularly to Brazilians of African descent.”\(^{62}\) It is important to note that Pelé did not submit himself to whitening processes like Xica da Silva, using makeup or other tricks. Nevertheless, in terms of gender performativity, Pelé appears to have a preference for blonde, at least white women\(^{63}\). A possible explanation for this behavior is that the choice for non-black wives could be a result of a whitening performance as much as Xica or the player Carlos Alberto did. Marrying white women may have been a way to be accepted in the society, and also to reproduce the power structures. Once more, in Brazil, gender performance shows up on the convergence point of race, class, and sexuality.

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In the 1980s, Pelé had a notorious affair with Xuxa, at that time an unknown blonde model of European descent. The controversial romance lasted five years (1981-86): Xuxa was 17 while Pelé was 41 when they started dating. Pelé was accused of being racist - why not a black girl? - and a child abuser. Xuxa was accused of being a mercenary call girl, looking for self-promotion. The fact is that Xuxa became a national celebrity after her affair with Pelé, the romance with “the king” paved her way to host a children's TV show. One decade later, Xuxa was known as “the Queen of kids”, and held a fortune in merchandising contracts. It is crucial to underline here that the objective of this research is not to analyze the personal lives of Pelé or Xuxa, on the contrary, the aim is to grasp their public figures, and its relation to their representations in popular culture. In her article about Xuxa and the politics of gender, Amelia Simpson (1993) describes a 1980s magazine photograph which brought Pelé and Xuxa in a power relation-sexual pose. Simpson writes:

An iconographic record of deeply compromised sexuality also marks the development of a narrative of gender from which Xuxa emerged already imaged and groomed for her debut in television in 1983. Among these texts is a Manchete magazine photo of Xuxa and Pele from 1982.9 Taken on a beach, the picture shows him standing bare-chested, hands on his hips and legs spread in a firm, confident stance. Pele's white pants are stretched tightly across his hips so that the strained fabric puckers in a series of lines that point to his crotch, the focal point of the composition. Xuxa is posed on her knees next to Pele. She has an arm wrapped inside his thigh, and her head leans suggestively into his hip. The photo is a portrait of the hierarchy of gender, reinforcing the image of male control and female subordination that characterizes the star's representation of ideal femininity throughout her career. (Simpson 1993: 96)

In respect of subversion, Pelé’s gender performative reproduced the power relations, although in matter of race there was a significant disruption. The archetypical couple in Brazilian culture is formed by a white male and a black or indigenous female, as we saw in the case of the slave Xica da Silva. Pelé inverts the order because a black male pairs with a white female, even if it has occurred in a power relation base - he was rich and famous, she was an emerging professional model.

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Lastly, in this section we learn that despite being portrayed as an extraordinary footballer, Pelé is also portrayed as a disloyal and violent player. This ambiguous image reinforces the stereotype of Brazilian footballers as skillful but tricky. In the end of his passage through Cosmos, Pelé was no more the unique star player: Chinaglia arrived to end his “kingdom”. The script outlines how Pelé’s ego felt uneasy with this situation, while the NY Cosmos was no longer so successful, suffering several defeats, and Pelé was liable for these difficulties. The last line about Pelé, in the voice of the actor Matt Dillon, marks who the ‘real’ boss was: “For Steve Ross, the world’s greatest player was not enough”\textsuperscript{65}. \textit{Once in a Lifetime} conveys the idea that everything has a price. It reinforces the US mentality towards sports, world politics and popular culture: “at the end of the day, it’s all about money”\textsuperscript{66}. In sum, there is a clear power relation between the ‘superior’ American entrepreneurial spirit and the ‘inferior’ Brazilian extraordinary soccer player, even if he was the highest salaried athlete in the world.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{peli.jpg}
\caption{Pelé holds the American flag in his debut, while opponent team player holds Brazilian flag (1975).\textsuperscript{67}}
\end{figure}


Pelé hits Rodney Marsh, a Tampa Bay striker who was stealing the spotlight (1977).\textsuperscript{68}

Chapter III American Visions of Brazil - Music Video

*They Don’t Care About Us* - Michael Jackson (1996)

When American pop star Michael Jackson released the music video ‘They Don’t Care About Us’\(^6\), mainly shot in Pelourinho/Salvador, he intended to protest against police violence towards black people. Back to engagement in social causes, Jackson was trying to repeat the global success *We Are the World* (1985), after his first indictment of child sexual abuse (1993)\(^7\). For that purpose, he borrowed Bahia’s musicality, attended by the drumbeat group Olodum, which is known for its cultural work with black adolescents and children. The clip explores as a backdrop the performatic choreography of Olodum, and the fusion of pop music and *samba-reggae* - afro Brazilian drumbeat. Another location was Dona Marta *favela*, in Rio de Janeiro. The producers had problems with local authorities who tried to prevent the shots, alleging it would denigrate the image of the city\(^8\). Another critical point was the negotiation with local drug dealers to shot the clip. An interesting geographical ‘mislead’ that is common in the stereotyping process is that the images blend *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and Pelourinho in Salvador as if it were the same place. Indeed, they are so different and far like Paris to Warsaw, or New York to New Orleans.

The choice of Pelourinho is due to the fact that the place symbolizes the cradle of black nation, a cultural trench for the Black Movement. Situated in Salvador old center, Pelourinho was the stage of public punishment for the slaves during the Colonial period. Salvador, known as “Black Rome”, was historically a special place of strong miscegenation between Portuguese colonizers, native indigenous and African slaves. However, black populations predominate because of the massive slavery flux of *lorubá* Nigerian people, *Bantos* (from Angola) and *Sudanese* (from Sudan). The Afro-Brazilian religion called *Candomblé* were a result of this melting pot and from *Candomblé* derives the stout drumbeat, which is the main feature of Salvador’s Carnival. *Candomblé* rhythms serve as a base for the *samba-reggae*, the flagship of Olodum and many others musical groups.

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An iconic group of black music, the social project Olodum first goal is the cultural inclusion towards black young adolescents of the region called Maciel Pelourinho. From the foundation in 1979 on, Olodum Afro Group reached a significant commercial success, selling more than five million CDs copies, touring 35 countries and becoming one of the most important attractions of the Salvador's Carnival. Olodum commercial success lures black adolescents because a musician career represents one of the very few possibilities of socio-economic ascension for excluded black young people, apart from the criminal life. As well as in America, in Brazil black people recognize that the way they could prosper is through music or sport, and the adolescents search for these paths in order to find a place in the society.

‘They Don’t Care About Us’ meets these social issues. Despite the poverty, the clip portrays Brazilian people as joyful, above all through music and dance. Directed by Spike Lee, the first take shows the Christ Redeemer - the statue that brands Brazil. An offscreen voice of a local woman is heard, she complains in Portuguese: “Michael, eles não ligam pra nós! (Michael, they don’t care about us!)”. The Olodum drumbeat starts and the camera editing fastly cuts to Pelourinho, when we first see Jackson behind a door. Another fast cut to Christ statue, then an aerial view of a huge Rio’s favela, and back again to Pelourinho. Thereafter, the clip shows Jackson alternately singing and dancing in Dona Marta alleys, and performing with Olodum in Pelourinho slopes. The lyrics, written by him, denounce police brutality against black people, and the disregard of public authorities. At the opening of the clip, Jackson directly addresses to the audience, he looks to the camera and says: “Beat me, hate me / You can never break me”. Then, the refrain is a complaint about the public sector: “All I want to say is that / They don't really care about us”. Overall, the clip pictures Brazil as a violent country, with negligent authorities, and plenty of social problems. However, the shots highlight that Michael Jackson is adored by the poor people from favelas, and he is the absolute protagonist of the video.

In this section, I analyze Jackson’s performance against a Brazilian background through a Foucauldian perspective, particularly the book “History of Sexuality” (1978). In order to advance on this analysis, I highlight two interconnected aspects of the music video: the policemen presence as part of the state apparatus; and Jackson’s subliminal response to the

74 The complete lyrics are available at the Appendix II.
75 The complete lyrics are available at the Appendix II.
judicial contests over child abuse. Thus, over his controversial career, Jackson had to balance a global popularity with a wide range of accusations. In this way, the choice of Brazil to shoot the clip expressed Jackson’s trial to give some responses to his audience. First, he loves the children and he is unable to do any harm to them. Several takes show Olodum boys performing, or Jackson playing with them. Second, he does not renegade his blackness - as Pelourinho symbolizes the cradle of Brazilian black nation. On the contrary, the protest song sets up Michael Jackson in the role of a human rights advocate.

The police representation in the clip could refer to Foucault's notion of surveillance: police officers nowadays have the same function as slave foremen had in the past. Especially in a place like Pelourinho - in which fugitive slaves were punished - the ostensive presence of police in military uniforms stresses that Jackson and Olodum members are subjects to control and regulation. The mise­en­scene put the fake policemen surrounding the area; they are placed to watch, to keep a close eye, to maintain the discipline and the order. As Foucault (1978), concerning the 18th century bourgeois society, describes: “In the eighteenth century, sex became a "police" matter-in the full and strict sense given the term at the time: not the repression of disorder, but an ordered maximization of collective and individual forces:” (Foucault 1978: 24). Foucault elaborates the connections between the state, the institutions, and the economic processes; considering the body as a political and social construction. He writes:

If the development of the great instruments of the state, as institutions of power, ensured the maintenance of production relations, the rudiments of anatomo- and bio-politics, created in the eighteenth century as techniques of power present at every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions (the family and the army, schools and the police, individual medicine and the administration of collective bodies), operated in the sphere of economic processes, their development, and the forces working to sustain them. (Foucault 1978: 141)

Michael Jackson challenges these "institutions of power" through his dance techniques and his performance: he points his finger at the policemen faces, in three different moments during the choreography. The aggressive gesture becomes part of the mise en scene, Jackson’s unique dance shifts from the genitals to a finger pointed at the authorities. However, the genitals are also present in the clip, as a mark of Jackson’s dance style. In his article titled
“Androgyny and Stardom: Cultural Meanings of Michael Jackson” (1995), John Izod suggests a meaning for the dance: “Mapping Jackson's performances back onto his own life (...), we found that both his girlish mannerisms and the constant gesturing towards his genitals could equally well be read as a sign of a deeply unsure masculinity, as of the great potency his hold on the box office suggested.” (Izod 1995: 70). Izod draws on the gender subversion of the androgynous artists: “The androgynous star, whether David Bowie, Annie Lennox or Boy George (that is, whatever the gender or private sexual orientation of the individual behind the mask), has an image that displays male and female sexual characteristics with dual emphasis.” (Izod 1995: 63). In Jackson’s case, his several plastic surgeries plus the whitening process transformed him into an increasingly androgynous figure. Jackson’s weirdness and solitude appears on the clip also through the security apparatus set to protect the “king”, a true outsider in Salvador.

In the first sequence, Jackson faces the officer, who stays unresponsive as a good figurant76. Towards the second officer, the lyrics accompany a sharp gesture, Jackson tells in a subliminal self-defense: "Tell me what has become of my life / I have a wife and two children who love me / I am the victim of police brutality, now / I'm tired of bein' the victim of hate"77. Indeed, the charge of child abuse put Jackson in a defendant's position for the rest of his life. Likewise Ch.-J. Jouy, the errant French peasant condemned for playing the "curdled milk" game with a little girl (Foucault 1978: 31-32), Jackson experienced a lawsuit followed by a medicalization of the case. Commenting on Ch.-J. Jouy, who was incarcerated in a hospital, Foucault (1978) argues:

What is the significant thing about this story? The pettiness of it all; the fact that this everyday occurrence in the life of village sexuality, these inconsequential bucolic pleasures, could become, from a certain time, the object not only of a collective intolerance but of a judicial action, a medical intervention, a careful clinical examination, and an entire theoretical elaboration. (Foucault 1978: 31)

It is interesting to note that Foucault avoids the term 'pedophilia', the author shows an absence of moral judgment when examining the children’s sexuality, and the relations between

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adults and children\textsuperscript{78}. Conversely, Jackson was publicly blamed by the tabloid media and classified as a “perverse adult”, a psychiatric anomaly that should be isolated and corrected\textsuperscript{79}. Jackson also agreed to pay a millionaire out of court settlement to the family of the boy\textsuperscript{80}. The object of this research is not Michael Jackson’s controversial biography, but the discourse which emerges from the reaction to these accusations. In this sense, when Jackson tells the officer he is a head of a family, moreover, he is a victim of brutality and hate; this is a response in between the lines to the judicial contests over child abuse.

To the third officer, Jackson utters a more political point: “The government don’t want to see / But if Roosevelt was livin’ / He wouldn’t let this be, no, no”\textsuperscript{81} With these verses, Jackson evokes Franklin D. Roosevelt, US president (1933-1945) known to have made bold strides to the civil rights of the Africans Americans. In his review of “Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown”, Greg Robinson (2005) highlights the juridical evolution on cases dealing with policy brutality and lynching, during the so called “Roosevelt revolution”\textsuperscript{82}. In relation to Brazil, the clip criticizes the negligence of the authorities, the

\textsuperscript{78} Foucault (1978) lists four “strategic unities”, from the 18th century on, which forms knowledge and power about sex: the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple, and the perverse adult (Foucault 1978: 105). On the children, he writes: “2. A pedagogization of children's sex: a double assertion that practically all children indulge or are prone to indulge in sexual activity; and that, being unwarranted, at the same time "natural" and "contrary to nature," this sexual activity posed physical and moral, individual and collective dangers; children were defined as "preliminary" sexual beings, on this side of sex, yet within it, astride a dangerous dividing line. Parents, families, educators, doctors, and eventually psychologists would have to take charge, in a continuous way, of this precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential: this pedagogization was especially evident in the war against onanism, which in the West lasted nearly two centuries.” (Foucault 1978: 104).

\textsuperscript{79} Foucault (1978) concludes on the perverse adult: “4. A psychiatrization of perverse pleasure: the sexual instinct was isolated as a separate biological and psychical instinct; a clinical analysis was made of all the forms of anomalies by which it could be afflicted; it was assigned a role of normalization or pathologization with respect to all behavior; and finally, a corrective technology was sought for these anomalies.” (Foucault 1978: 105).

\textsuperscript{80} “Lawyers for Jackson and the alleged victim, a 14-year-old boy who filed a lawsuit against the singer last year, announced on Jan. 25 that they had settled the boy's case. Although terms of that settlement were not disclosed, sources familiar with the negotiations said Jackson agreed to pay between $15 million and $24 million.”


abandon of the slums, and the disrespect for human rights. Contrary to Roosevelt’s legacy, Brazilian government is the one who “don’t want to see”. The police force are depicted as part of the control apparatus, which presence serves also to protect, despite the surveillance function.

An incident during the shots demonstrates this protective role: two women broke through the police isolation cordon to effusively hug Jackson. The singer touched the ground although he has continued to perform; Jackson was used to the fandom suffocating approach. This brutality of the fans draws attention to an inverse use for the police authority: to protect the pop star from the fans. After the two women’s invasion, the policemen quickly caught them and moved them away from Jackson. This paradoxical situation queries the hierarchies and the power relations: Jackson at the same time attacks the police officers with his choreography, and is protected by them if a fan breaks through the cordon. Overall, the impression is that a global US artist hired his own Carnival; and in a Bakhtinian perspective, inverted the hierarchies in order to point his finger at the police authority. In fact, a figurant wearing a uniform. Conversely, the invasion of the two women probably not has been rehearsed: Jackson’s professionalism allowed him to keep performing. At the end of the shootings, the director enjoyed the sequence and inserts it into the final edition of music video83.

Aside the episode of the two feminine fans, ‘They Don’t Care About Us’ is a totally masculine music video. Jackson dominates the mise en scene, supported by Olodum masculine team. In regard to Gender Studies, Jackson’s controversial sexuality enables a provocative analysis of the ‘performative subversion’ notion (Butler 1997: X). Born black and male, Michael Jackson transformed his appearance throughout his whole life to become a white and female figure. Unlike Xica da Silva or player Carlos Alberto, he did not makeup himself in white, although he has undergone a number of cosmetic surgeries. Actually, the whitening process of his skin was attributed to vitiligo84. Furthermore, inspired by Diana Ross85, Jackson’s


84 “Rogers noted in his autopsy report that Jackson's lips were tattooed pink, while his eyebrows were a dark tattoo. The front of his scalp was also tattooed black, apparently to blend his hairline in with the wigs he wore. The autopsy confirmed what Jackson told people who questioned why his skin tone became lighter in the 1980s. Jackson had "vitiligo, a skin pigmentation disease," Rogers said. "So, some areas of the skin appear light and others appear dark."


85 American singer, muse of black music. In the 1960s, she was the lead singer of the vocal group “The Supremes”. From the 1970s onwards, she began a solo career.

performance pertained to a feminine universe rather than a masculine one. Jackson’s unique way of singing and dancing inaugurated an androgynous archetype in the world pop music. The “king of pop” may never assumed to be a gay person. Instead, he married twice and had three children.

At a certain extent, the hermaphrodite figure of Michael Jackson challenges the binary frame that Butler scrutinizes: “Assuming for the moment the stability of binary sex, it does not follow that the construction of “men” will accrue exclusively to the bodies of males or that “women” will interpret only female bodies.” (Butler 1997: 6). Jackson’s performance subverted the binary frames not only of gender, but also of race; because his body and appearance were in a constant becoming, from black and male to white and female. The artist assumed a cross-dressing style, full of fashion accessories and makeup. Besides, he wore long hair, sang in a thin voice, and danced in an androgynous manner. If the assumption that the clip brings a subliminal response to child abuse charges is correct, Jackson’s androgyny reinforces his innocence at sexual perversion. The discourse marks that he could not be a perverse adult neither a homosexual, once he was an ‘asexual’ person. Like a hermaphrodite, his place was in a “happy limbo of a non-identity” (Butler 1997: 105). In regard to sex, Foucault (1978) comments on the 19th century characterization of homosexuality as a medical category: “Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodisism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species.” (Foucault 1978: 43). Over the course of his career, Michael Jackson always denied to be a homosexual or a pedophile.

Once more, it is not the case here to trace a psychological profile or to deepen into the pop star private life. On the contrary, this part focuses on the global public figure of Michael Jackson, and the multiple interpretations that can be found in the choice of Brazil to shoot a music video. In this way, ‘They Don’t Care About Us’ is an exception due to the absence of sexualized mulatas in bikinis. Jackson’s omnipresence deconstructs the stereotypical vision of

87 Butler (1997) criticizes Foucault’s idea about Herculine non-identity: “Herculine’s ambivalence here implies the limits of Foucault’s theory of the “happy limbo of a non-identity”. Almost prefiguring the place Herculine will assume for Foucault, s/he wonders whether s/he is not “the plaything of an impossible dream.” (Butler 1997: 105).
88 Still on the hermaphrodite issue, Foucault (1978) observes: “For a long time hermaphrodites were criminals, or crime’s offspring, since their anatomical disposition, their very being, confounded the law that distinguished the sexes and prescribed their union.” (Foucault 1978: 38)
Brazilian carnival, being plenty of seminude young women. Jackson promotes a fusion between US pop music and Olodum Afro drumbeats, emphasizing the social backdrop. Sexuality is overshadowed by a protest song. On the whole, the clip presents the engagement of the “king of pop” with black and poor communities, it happened to be in Brazil, but it could be in Cuba, or in some African country.

The importance of Michael Jackson to US soft power could be translated in this meeting of American culture and the ‘Third World’, the eagle meets the parrot. When the “king of pop” goes to a favela he brings hope, local people believe now they are going to be ‘cared’. In fact, the clip shows how Jackson was beloved and idolized by the poor people. In Brazil, from the 1980s onwards, Michael Jackson was popular even in the tiniest villages. There are doubles spread throughout the country, imitating his dance, singing in English, dressing like him. Nye (2004) recognizes the key role of American music to soft power, the cultural resources constitute a significant measure of US soft power (Nye 2004: 33-34). The author puts music in the same row of movies and TV, following the categorization of the Pew Research Institute surveys (Nye 2004: 36)⁸⁹. Nye underlines the American leadership in music sales: “Other measures show that the United States (...) has more than twice as many music sales as next-ranked Japan.” (Nye 2004: 33-34). In relation to Europe, he compares: “Britain, Germany, and France are third, fourth, and fifth (behind the U.S. and Japan) in music sales.” (Nye 2004: 76)⁹⁰. As a top sales artist over decades, Michael Jackson contributed to globalization with the world release of music videos like “Thriller”, international tours, and participation in movies. Regardless of his problematic personal life, Michael Jackson’s commercial success is intrinsically linked to American soft power.

In this section, I focused on the police presence in the clip ‘They Don’t Care About Us’, as part of the state apparatus. Further, I argued that Jackson discourse brings a subliminal response to the judicial contests over child abuse he was facing. Another important discourse is that black men can overcome poverty through music, Michael Jackson brands himself as a social activist, concerned about civil rights. The absence of female figures, they appear only like extras in the clip, provided a discussion of gender ‘troubles’, and Jackson’s performative

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subversion. On the whole, ‘They Don't Care About Us’ conveys a positive image of Brazilian music and people, although a negative image of police brutality and negligent authorities.

Michael Jackson points his finger at the face of a fake police officer, in protest against brutality.⁹¹

Michael Jackson picks up a boy and brings him to the centre stage, they play together.⁹²

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Beautiful - Snoop Dogg (2003)

The music video ‘Beautiful’ was shot in Copacabana beach, and in ‘hype’ locations of Rio de Janeiro. In the bohemian district of Lapa, the American rapper Snoop Dogg evokes women’s beauty through Brazilian femininity. On the sunny Copacabana, Snoop and his guest Pharrell Williams enjoy a bikini ‘festival’: young women in sensual situations - playing footvolley, jogging, bodyboarding, sunbathing. During the presentation of the clip, the camera has a preferential frame of women’s backside, as if it was the rappers’ gaze. Following Snoop verse: “Long hair, with ya big fat booty”, Brazilian girls are depicted from behind. Further on, the American rappers join a party at the base of Corcovado (the mountain on which the statue of Christ Redeemer is situated), in a 1920s mansion called Parque Lage. This party sequence characterizes Brazilian girls as easy-going and sexually available to the American rappers, but still beautiful, sensual, and playful. Thus, the clip intertwines the standard touristic places (Corcovado, Copacabana) with youth’s ‘hot spots’ of that moment (Escadaria Selarón, in Lapa, and Parque Lage, in Jardim Botânico). Snoop also appears against the favelas backdrop, playing a subliminal role of the ‘drug boss’ in the area, always escorted by one charming girl.

In this section, I argue that the stereotypes about Brazilian femininity sanctioned by the US popular culture are inextricably linked to sexuality, class and race. The historically constructed categories of morena (brown women) and mulata (samba dancers), provide a starting point to understand the clichés about Brazilian women. Adriana Piscitelli (2008) discusses how these blurred lines between erotism and prostitution affect Brazilian female migrants abroad. She writes:

However, the racialized and sexualized notions about Brazilian styles of femininity that attract sex tourists to the country also mark female international migrants. The vast majority of these out-migrants do not participate in the sex industry. Nonetheless, the

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95 I use the term “girls” in this section to refer to young single women. Maybe it is not the most accurate term concerning Gender studies. However, it was a conscient option to approximate the present text to the Hip Hop universe, full of slangs, puns and double meanings.
idea that they are bearers of an intense natural disposition for sex and a propensity to prostitution, combined with ambiguous notions of Brazilian women as feminine, submissive, and joyfully committed to domesticity and maternity, affects them all. (Piscitelli 2008: 784-785).

‘Beautiful’ meets these stereotypes because the female cast is mainly composed by *morenas* and *mulatas*, embodying a ‘natural’ beauty style. On the screen we see the poor girls from the slum who do not have access to fashion industry neither to body care products. Hence, their resources are the sun, the sea, and little garments. Unlike the upper classes women, their bodies are shaped not into the gyms or in a low calories diet, but going up and down the *favelas* slopes. It is relevant to note that Snoop and his team come from the ghetto, more specifically, the violent and socially problematic US West Coast. Then, the male gaze in ‘Beautiful’ seems to valorize this non-bourgeois attitude, although the characteristic sexism of Hip Hop music is present. Snoop and staff treat women like sexual objects, the camera movements highlight the ‘butts’ much more than the faces. In the clip, the American approach to Brazilian girls underlines the dominant relationship between both countries. As Piscitelli observes: “In the system of ideological fictions with which the dominant (Anglo and European) cultures trope Latin American and U.S. Latino/a identities and cultures, subjectivities connected to these regions are frequently coded as tropical, exotic, and hypereroticized sexually.” (Piscitelli 2008: 788). In sum, Snoop and staff play the dominant role not only because they are men, but primarily because they are American.

In respect of race, there are no clear frontiers between the *morena* and the *mulata*. Both are the result of a long-term miscegenation process among European, Indigenous and African populations. In Brazil, the race mixing process started during the Colonial period (1500-1822), continued during the Imperial period (1822-1889), and afterwards took a ‘whitening’ stance, called ‘whitening’ policy, with the arrival of the Republican period (1889 till nowadays). As already seen (section 1), Brazil’s myth of a racial paradise or a “racial democracy” uncovers a

98 Known as “1992 Los Angeles riots”, a series of racial protests were triggered by the non punishment of LA police officers that have beaten an unarmed African-American called Rodney King. The episode marked the high level of segregation and police brutality against black people in the East Coast, United States. “The three days of disorder killed 55 people, injured almost 2,000, led to 7,000 arrests, and caused nearly $1 billion in property damage, including the burnings of nearly 4,000 buildings.” History. Riots erupt in Los Angeles. [http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/riots-erupt-in-los-angeles](http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/riots-erupt-in-los-angeles) (Accessed: 23 June 2016).
99 In Hip Hop language women are ‘bitches’ or ‘chicks’, in other words, female dogs or chicken.
100 See the work of the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, author of *Masters and Slaves* (1933), the book that first presented the idea of a Brazilian ‘racial democracy'. 
highly unequal society, marked by a ‘cordial racism’ (section 2). In this context, the figure of the *morena* appears to be more related to a romanticized vision, reinforced by a broad range of *morena* characters in literature, cinema, TV series, paintings, video games and other cultural products. The consecrated romance *Gabriela, Clove and Cinnamon* (1958), written by Jorge Amado, puts a *morena* protagonist who embodies the complete clichés of Brazilian women: Gabriela is sexually available, great in bed, and at the same time joyful, submissive, and feminine. She marries an older and wealthy man - the Turkish Nacib - however she is definitely not a prostitute\(^\text{101}\).

In contrast, the figure of the *mulata* tends to be related to a *samba* dancer, a woman who performs in nightclubs and in Carnival parades. Normally, the *mulatas* are associated with prostitution, once the cabarets where they work are linked to the sex industry. In her analysis of sexuality among *Carioca*\(^\text{102}\) *samba* dancers, Natasha Pravaz (2012) identifies the ideological construction of Brazilian national identity through the figure of the mulattos in general and the *mulata* in particular, the author unveil the “whitening impulse behind mestiçagem” (Pravaz 2012: 120). The concept of *mestiçagem*\(^\text{103}\), appropriated by the Estado Novo (New State) from the 1930s onwards, was expressed in the *morenas* and *mulatas* bodies. Once more, Gilberto Freyre (1933) definitions on the mixed character of Brazilianness were incorporated by the Getulio Vargas government (1930-1945). The so-called modernization of the country implied in the valorization of the racial mixture, considering *mestiçagem* strength instead of the former Colonial ‘underdog’ vision of the mulattos\(^\text{104}\). Another pun created from canine world, Snoop Dogg seems to enjoy the miscegenated bodies of the Brazilian girls. As Pravaz (2012) notes on the physical appearance of the *mulatas*:

> The mulata came to figure as a sexy Brazilian not only because she danced the samba (the Afro-Brazilian-turned-Brazilian art form) but also because her skin color and other

\(^{101}\) To illustrate the description of the main female character, a passage in which Nacib misses Gabriela: “And how could he live without her, without her bright, timid smile, her cinnamon colored skin, her smell of clove, her voice whispering “beautiful man”, the warmth of her breasts (…)” (Amado 1988 [1958]: 189).

\(^{102}\) The word to designate people who was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.


\(^{104}\) The word mulatto derives from "mula", the hybrid result of crossbreeding between horses and donkeys. During the Colonial (1500-1822) and the Imperial (1822-1889) periods, the word *mulato* was taken on a pejorative sense in Brazilian society. To know more about ‘mulatto’, see the Online Etymology Dictionary: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=mulatto&allowed_in_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=mulatto&allowed_in_frame=0) (Accessed: 3 August 2016).
phenotypic characteristics deemed archetypal, such as small nose, light-colored eyes, and wavy (not "kinky") hair, were read as the perfect embodiment of mestïçagem, a mixing that enabled the "whitening" of African traits. (Pravaz 2012: 117)

Throughout the video, Snoop and his guest enjoy Brazilian mestïçagem, they change caresses with numerous girls. Yet, there are two favorite ones, as the refrain says: “Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!) / You’re my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there’s something about you)”105. Pharrell pairs with a mulata (see photo below), while Snoop has an ‘affair’ with a morena - they even go to bed in the Parque Lage sequence106. An atmosphere of liminality107 overarches the clip. Rio is shown as a tropical paradise, plenty of eroticism, a place where everything seems to be allowed. Snoop and staff circulate freely across the city; they combine beaches, touristic points, ‘hype’ places and favelas - a rare achievement even for the locals, considering Rio is one of the most dangerous cities in the world. Snoop blithely smokes his weed, a ‘trademark’ of the rapper, in a favela’s sports court - there are no signs of police presence, unlike the Michael Jackson’s clip (section 3). In sum, ‘Beautiful’ conveys that American rappers are the ‘kings’ in Rio. The several types of girls belong to this ‘paradise’, and Snoop incorporates “the mythical nation-making love encounter between European men and African women.” (Pravaz 2012: 126).

The performative subversion in this case lies on the fact that Snoop is an African American in the position of the colonizer, an inversion that became possible because of his well-succeeded music career108. On the other hand, the African women were replaced by the morenas and the mulatas. Snoop’s performance is soft, he is singing a declaration of love: “See I just want you / To know that you are really special”109. The rapper interacts with the girls in a seduction game, though they are not depicted as prostitutes. On contrary, Brazilian girls were chosen by Snoop to illustrate beauty. In this way, the video is predominantly feminine, the editing flows like a bikini parade in different situations. It reinforces the stereotypical vision that

105 The complete lyrics are available at the Appendix II.
107 I use the concept of liminality here in the Anthropological sense, developed by Victor Turner. “Instead Turner (1974) argues, liminal phases are freely chosen and are replaced by liminoid states (Currie, 1997). It is the very freedom from social constraints that has come to be associated with international travel that has led this experience be defined by some authors as a liminal or liminoid period” (Thomas 2005: 572). In Rio, the lure of Carnival relates to a “rite of passage”. The city attracts tourists looking for heat, sex, and music. As a beach region, Rio stimulates this liminality by low dress bodies and physical intimacy.
109 The complete lyrics are available at the Appendix II.
Brazilian beaches are plenty of pretty girls in bikini. Camera editing shows the rappers in close, and the girls from behind - the camera takes the subjective gaze of Snoop - admiring their bodies.

In regard to sexuality, ‘Beautiful’ works on the cliché about Brazilian women as spicy and sensual, the cast clearly focused on morenas and mulatas. While black girls appear only as figurants, it is remarkable the absence of blonde girls on the screen. Gilliam & Gilliam (1999) demonstrated that the image of the mulata was historically attached to ‘fornication’ and pleasure. The authors refer to a colonial proverb, cited by Gilberto Freyre in “The Masters and the Slaves” (1946: 13): “White woman for marriage, mulatto woman for f---, Negro woman for work.” (Gilliam & Gilliam 1999: 64). Hence, the figure of the mulata in Brazilian imagination calls to a racialized sensuality, which meets the discourses of national identity. From the 1930s onwards, this brand of tropical eroticism gains impulse to be performed also for tourists, in order to ‘sell’ Brazil abroad. The mulata shows belong to a category that includes candomblé (Afro religion) and capoeira, in a package of the ‘authentic’ national folklore. In the clip, Snoop escapes the obvious but still finds the mulatas from the dominant perspective. Piscitelli (2008) traces the implications of these power relations to Brazilian migrant women, who are not linked to the sex industry and makes the inverse way to the First world. The author concludes about the images of Brazilianness:

In these cases, women combine sensuality with other attributes, performing the image of sweet, submissive, caring, domestic, and sensuous wives eager to be mothers. American and Southern European husbands seem to perceive relationships with these women as an opportunity to recreate traditional patterns of masculinity with the additional spice of enjoying a particular style of sexuality. (Piscitelli 2008: 789)

Snoop and staff might be looking for a lost traditional masculinity, however, they certainly are looking for a spicy sexuality. Two sequences could illustrate this search: the female soccer 

back, in a demonstration that Snoop is totally adapted to the Rio’s slums. The rapper watches a female soccer game into a favela’s sports court; the players are wearing micro shorts and bikinis. Therefore, an exclusive masculine activity gains an unexpected meaning: the bottom up position of the camera stresses the female bodies, transforming the game into a sensual ‘ballet’. In the latter part of the clip, Hip Hop beat gives a pause to be substituted for samba beat, played by a samba school percussion team. Again, the camera returns to bottom up position: the female bodies dance the frenetic samba in short outfits, exposing their bodies. Snoop assumes the conductor’s function, he wears a San Diego Chargers jersey\textsuperscript{112}, reaffirming his American West Coast identity. Likewise, all through the clip, Snoop leads the encounter of US Hip Hop culture with Brazilian popular culture - namely the stereotypical samba music, soccer game and beaches. The rapper innovates through the samba interlude within his rap music, and giving room for a female soccer match. However, his foreign gaze to Brazilian femininity reproduces the sexualized clichés.

In the same vein as Xica da Silva, Pelé, and Michael Jackson, Snoop reproduces the existing power structures. The plot puts him in the position of the colonizer, despite being an African American, who explores the Brazilian clichés of sexually available women. Snoop’s gender performative reinforces the heterosexual matrix, in his quest for female ‘butts’ he repeats the hegemonic discourse of phallogocentrism (Butler 1997: 19)\textsuperscript{113}. During the clip, the rapper enjoys different girls that easily accept him, a mise-en-scene set up to put Snoop and his gaze - mainly the girls behind - in the centre of the action. Moreover, he appears like a local in the favelas, with no trace of security apparatus behind him, unlike Michael Jackson’s clip. On the one hand, the deals the producers of the clip had to made in order to shoot in favelas, probably involved negotiations with drug traffickers\textsuperscript{114}. On the other hand, to shoot on touristic places


\textsuperscript{113} Butler (1997) distinguishes Irigaray and Foucault views about the model of gender as a binary opposition: “In Irigaray’s view, the substantive grammar of gender, which assumes men and women as well as their attributes of masculine and feminine, is an example of a binary that effectively masks the univocal and hegemonic discourse of the masculine, phallogocentrism, silencing the feminine as a site of subversive multiplicity. For Foucault, the substantive grammar of sex imposes an artificial binary relation between the sexes, as well as an artificial internal coherence within each term of that binary. The binary regulation of sexuality suppresses the subversive multiplicity of a sexuality that disrupts heterosexual, reproductive, and medicojuridical hegemonies.” (Butler 1997: 19)

\textsuperscript{114} The city of Rio de Janeiro has a large number of favelas, the Brazilian word for slums or shanty towns. Rocinha is the most known. See: \url{http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-27635554} (Accessed: 26 June 2016). In these territories, the public forces face a well armed unofficial factions of drug traffickers, who
certainly involved the application for permission of official authorities. All this music industry production apparatus is hidden behind the screen, it does not appear in ‘Beautiful’. Snoop discourse of American rappers being kings in Rio masks the power mechanisms, which were used to give the impression that Snoop is a Rio’s local. Foucault (1978) provides a precise insight into the power structures dynamics: “Let me offer a general and tactical reason (...): power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms. Would power be accepted if it were entirely cynical?” (Foucault 1978: 86).

Snoop’s performance is not entirely cynical, but irony definitely is another ‘trademark’ of the rapper. In the clip, three forces of the security apparatus are invisible: the police force, the local drug militia, as well as Snoop’s own militia or ‘gang’. Ironically, despite the well-known violence that characterizes the city, Rio is depicted as the place of utopia115: the interracial paradise where overjoyed hippies live. The tropical weather, the sunny beaches, the playful people, and primarily the stunning mulatas and morenas; altogether, these labels reinforce the stereotype that Brazil is a ‘paradise’. In this context, the role of irony is to communicate that only the smart ones (malandros) can access ‘paradise’, it is private, it is not for all. Snoop embodies the party’s organiser, he has the knowledge and the power to succeed in Rio.

One last remark about ‘Beautiful’ refers to the ideological load that lies on the stereotypical portrait of Brazilian beaches. In fact, the clip masks the reality because a beach like Copacabana is not frequented only by pretty young girls in bikini. Certainly, there are fat ones, sharing the sands with old people, children, footballers, gay people, tourists, among others. Berg (2002) lists “Eleven Theses about Stereotypes”116 in order to argue that the stereotyping process is negative and has harmful effects. The author notes that stereotypes promote a homogenization and a generalization of individuals within a group, it emphasizes sameness and ignores individual agency and variety (Berg 2002: 16). In relation to the

rules the communities. Normally, to enter in these territories, film crews have to ask for ‘permission’ to the drug traffickers, paying an ‘entry fee’. There are no references of which favela ‘Beautiful’ was shot.

115 I use here the term “utopia” in Thomas More (1477-1535) sense. The book Utopia was published in 1516. “It is unclear as to whether the book is a serious projection of a better way of life, or a satire that gave More a platform from which to discuss the chaos of European politics.”


116 The eleven theses are: 1- Stereotypes Are Applied with Rigid Logic; 2- Stereotypes May Have a Basis in Fact; 3- Stereotypes Are Simplified Generalizations that Assume Out-group Homogeneity; 4- Stereotypes Work at Far Too General a Level to Be Worthwhile Predictors; 5- Stereotypes Are Uncontextualized and Ahistorical; 6- Repetition Tends to Normalize Stereotypes; 7- Stereotypes Are Believed; 8- Stereotyping Goes Both Ways; 9- Stereotypes Are Ideological; 10- The In-group Stereotypes Itself; 11- The Antidote to Stereotyping Is Knowledge. (Berg 2002: 15-23).
ideological meanings, he observes: “Stereotypes don’t just derogatorily depict the Other - they also indicate a preferred power relation.” (Berg 2002: 21)\(^{117}\). The key problem with this explanation is that Snoop’s video does not have a derogatory vision of morenas and mulatas, on the contrary, the tribute to Brazilian feminine beauty is explicit. The negative aspect could only be found on the reputed easiness of the girls, but even this aspect is relative, depending on moral judgements. In sum, ‘Beautiful’ appears to be an uncomplicated tribute of love, however, it brings a complex power relation structure behind its layers and an overarching irony embodied by Snoop’s performance.

In this section, I argued that the stereotypes about Brazilian femininity portrayed in Snoop Dogg music video are inextricably linked to sexuality, class and race. The historically constructed categories of morena and mulata helps to understand the clichés about Brazilian women. As long as the figure of the morena appears to be more related to a romantic vision, the figure of the mulata is associated with prostitution, due to the cabarets where they dance. Furthermore, we saw how Snoop’s ride in Rio flows from touristic to ‘hype’ places; he also appears against the favelas backdrop, always escorted by girls. In this part, I explored the power relations behind the screen. Finally, I pointed out that Snoop’s gender performative reinforces the heterosexual matrix, as his foreign gaze to Brazilian women reproduces the clichés of a spicy sexuality.

\(^{117}\) Berg (2012) continues: “The normalization of stereotypical images through repetition that I mentioned earlier can now be seen to have an important ideological function: to demonstrate why the in-group is in power, why the out-group is not, and why things need to stay just as they are.” (Berg 2002: 22).

A *mulata* flirts with Pharrell Williams, the symbolic Christ Redeemer in the background\textsuperscript{119}.

Chapter IV American Visions of Brazil - Cartoon


One of the flagships of Fox Broadcasting Company, the American animated sitcom *The Simpsons*, created by Matt Groening, premiered on December 17, 1989. Since then, it is one of the most successful and longest-running TV series in the US and abroad. The series broadcasted more than 600 episodes, and it is currently airing its 28th season. Marked by an ironic humor, the show pokes fun at middle class American stereotypes because it portrays a typical middle class American family, who lives in the fictional town of Springfield. The nuclear family consists of Homer, Marge, Bart, Lisa and Maggie. Homer, the head of the family, is a kind of anti-hero, he often acts in a politically incorrect manner. Marge, the mother, seeks to balance the family’s overblown egos. The children are Bart, Lisa and Maggie - the baby. Bart is a mischievous kid, while Lisa is committed with ethical and social causes. Reputed as a ‘dysfunctional’ family by his creator, the cartoon has fans worldwide, and configures as a striking example of US soft power (Nye 2004: 44-55).

In this section, I analyze the episode *Blame It on Lisa*, when the Simpson family visits Rio de Janeiro in search of an orphan who Lisa had sponsored. First, I examine the stereotypes used by the cartoon to poke fun at Brazil. Second, I explore the reaction of the Brazilian authorities and its implications to the diplomatic relations between the US and Brazil. Third, I query the parodic gender performance of the TV kid’s host, enjoyed by Bart on Brazilian TV. *Blame It on Lisa* was watched by approximately 11 million Americans by the time it was aired in the US on March 31, 2002. Episode 15 of Season 13, directed by Steven Dean Moore, written by Bob Bendetson, the satirical episode has provoked controversy in Brazil because of its inclusion of clichés, plus the negative and jesting portrait of the city of Rio. For that reason, the episode was aired in Brazil only nine months after the American broadcasting - in December 2002.

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2002. In order to avoid potential lawsuits, *Blame It on Lisa* was preceded by a Fox declaration that the company was not responsible for the vision of the producers behind the episode.\(^{126}\)

The awkward visions of Brazil start on the airplane; Lisa is reading to Homer a tourist guide - *Who Wants to Be a Brazilianaire?* - she points out: “Some travel tips: only drink bottled water, do not get into unlicensed taxi, and remember they have winter during our summer.”\(^{127}\) Subsequently, the camera cuts to Bart and Marge. Bart announces: “Get ready Brazil, I now speak fluent Spanish”. The recurrent joke that Brazil speaks Portuguese not Spanish is finalized by Marge. Bart realizes that he has learned Spanish in vain: “Ai carraro, veinte horas de estudio por nada!”\(^{128}\) After landing in Rio, the family reaches the hotel following a *conga* line, an inaccurate mix of Brazilian culture with other Latin American cultures. As the journalist Alex Bellos observes: “Part of the anger in Brazil about The Simpsons is that, as well the stereotypes, there are many inaccuracies - Marge, the mother, finds that the local mode of transport is the "conga", which is a Caribbean dance.”\(^{129}\)

When the family arrives at the hotel, the employees provide a soccer performance to manage the room keys and luggage. Here, the stereotype of a soccer nation gives the plot to the joke: Homer tries to imitate the move “Look Bart, I’m Brazilian!”, his suitcase opens and Lisa finds the book *How to Loot Brazil*\(^{131}\). In the next scene, Bart turns on the hotel’s room TV and watches a childish show named *Teleboobies*. The host is extremely sexualized: she wears a low-cut Carnival suit while rubbing her backside on a pineapple puppet. Then, the stage assistants repeat the sexual performances rubbing on scenic colored letters of the alphabet. Marge feels embarrassed with the mise en scène, she asks: "Bart, what are you watching?!". Bart answers: "Kid's show." After a few seconds, in a critical attitude towards the sexual undertones of the show, Marge turns off the TV\(^{132}\). Even so, Bart watches *Teleboobies* a second...

\(^{126}\) The Info List. *Blame It on Lisa.*
(Accessed: 3 August 2016).


\(^{128}\) Maggie Simpson, the baby, does not go to Brazil with the family.


\(^{131}\) The Simpsons. *Blame It on Lisa.* Published on Apr 17, 2014. Shared by R.Marcel English Teacher.

\(^{132}\) “When Marge turns off said parody show, she tells Bart that "Bert and Ernie left it to [his] imagination." Bert and Ernie are a duo from the children’s show *Sesame Street.*”
time during the episode, after Homer’s kidnapping. These sequences of kid’s show make a parody of the Brazilian TV host called Xuxa, the former girlfriend of Pelé (chapter 2). In the episode, the character is named Xoxchitla, a pun with the Brazilian word ‘xoxota’, which means vagina. Further on, I will delve deeper into the gender performance of the parodic Xuxa, and its relations to Brazilian clichés.

The script continues with the search for the boy - Renaldo - the one who Lisa was sponsoring. The family goes for a walk through a huge favela. Marge innocently observes: “It’s a charming neighborhood.” Lisa replies: “Mum, this is a slum!” The scenery depicted could not be worse: garbage all over the place; infestation or rats arising from the alleys; ferocious monkeys and treacherous snakes, being sold on the street market. In other words, Brazil is a state of disarray. In addition, Homer and Bart are mugged by a gang of children. While they were talking to a saleswoman, a group of small children performs a pickpocket scene. During the action, the audience discovers that the woman behind the stand was an accomplice of the robbery. She says: “Renaldo?” Bart asks anxiously: “You know him?”. The woman answers: “No, no. I was just distracting you while my children robbed you.” It is interesting to point out that Homer just gets astonished and scared, he does not try to catch up the children to retrieve his wallet, as an American “hero” would be expected to react. I refer here to the myth of the fearless American hero: the Western cowboys for instance, who would never lose their material goods to the “inferior” natives. In this scene, the episode breaks down the middle class American stereotypes usually mocked by the cartoon. Unfortunately, what must be a shocking scene to the First World audience became a common place in Rio. As Berg (2002) lists as one of the eleven theses about stereotypes, “stereotypes may have a basis in fact”, and that is the case in Rio. However, the author argues:

In the case of the stereotype, any real-life correspondence between a group member’s behavior and a quality said to be characteristic of the entire group is only an isolated part of a much larger story, and usually far from the whole truth. Yes, there indeed were and

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are Mexican bandits, lazy African Americans, and Italian American gangsters. But banditry, laziness, and criminality are not culture specific, nor do those qualities represent the group’s complete experience. (Berg 2002: 16)

After the favela’s experience, Homer does not follow the tourist guide tip and gets into an unlicensed taxi to reach the city center. The result is that he is kidnapped by the taxi driver. Bart smartly runs away and abandons his father, breaking down the “heroic” ethos of the American national identity. A new sequence starts and more stereotypical views come up: the driver and his accomplice are similar to Latin American portrays of the bandidos. They wear well-trimmed moustaches and tight shirts, in addition to an ugly appearance; in sum, they personify the “simpleminded sociopath” (Berg 2002: 40). Berg highlights that the figure of the bandidos pertains to an ideological discourse committed to the US imperialism. In Blame It on Lisa it is not different. The kidnappers resemble the Latin bandidos more than the stereotypical view of the Brazilian criminals, often depicted as black men.

Likewise, the lazy and unhelpful police officer that Marge asks for help when she realizes that Homer was held for ransom, is depicted as a Latino biotype. Although the policeman is in uniform, the drawing style is the same that was used for the bandidos. The police officer also wears a well-trimmed moustache. He shows to be more interested in seducing Marge than in solving the case. In a subliminal manner, the message is that bandits and police have the same ‘face’ in Brazil. Furthermore, to stress the incompetence of the local police, the sequence finishes with a man shot in the arm stepping into the station, while the officer remains impassive. The plot continues with this suggestion that Homer was left on his own fate by the Brazilian authorities. Thereafter, the next sequence emerges from a surrealist combination: caught in Rio, Homer is held hostage in the Amazon rain forest. If in Michael Jackson’s clip, the camera editing runs from Rio to Salvador - two cities so far from each other like New York

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137 “The case of Latino stereotyping in mass media involves a discursive system that might be called “Latinism” (a play on Edward Said’s Orientalism): the construction of Latin America and its inhabitants and of Latinos in this country to justify the United States’ imperialistic goals. Operationalized externally as the Monroe Doctrine and internally as Manifest Destiny, U.S. imperialism was based on the notion that the nation should control the entire hemisphere and was willing to fight anyone who disagreed.” (Berg 2002: 4).


and New Orleans; in *The Simpsons* the distances have tripled: for instance, from Rio to Tabatinga/Leticia\(^{140}\) (Amazon region) is about the same distance as from New York to Seattle.

At the end of the episode, the family gathers the money and the arranged place to pay the ransom is the iconic Sugar Loaf Mountain. A clumsy exchange happens, interspersed with some jokes: Homer developed Stockholm syndrome\(^{141}\), he made a colored scrapbook of the kidnapping; while the *bandidos* comment on the Brazilian banknotes - “What a gay money!”\(^{142}\).

Then, after shaking a lot, the Simpsons cable car ends up falling down and they are again in the jungle. This time, Bart is swallowed by an anaconda (*sucuri* in Portuguese) that only exists in the Amazon rainforest, never in Rio\(^{143}\). In any case, Bart is dancing *samba* inside the huge snake, and tells his family members: “It’s Carnival!”. A *salsa-rumba* music invades the scene to reach the climax of *Blame It on Lisa*. In this context, the Caribbean style soundtrack serves to mock at Brazil, repeating the false idea that Spain colonized the country, that Brazil is equal to its neighbors. On the plane, in the “conga” line, during the trip to a *favela*, at the grand finale: in all these sequences a mix of *bossa nova*\(^{144}\) and Caribbean rhythms is used as background music. All such ironies may explain why *Blame It on Lisa* has caused so much outrage among Brazilian authorities and citizens, when taken as sarcasm\(^{145}\).

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\(^{140}\) Brazilian border with Colombia, Amazonas state. Distance from Rio de Janeiro: 3.544 km. See: [http://pt.distance.to/Let%C3%ADcia/Rio­De­Janeiro](http://pt.distance.to/Let%C3%ADcia/Rio­De­Janeiro) (Accessed: 3 August 2016).

\(^{141}\) A psychological syndrome in which a person being held captive begins to identify with and grow sympathetic to his or her captor, simultaneously becoming unsympathetic towards the police or other authorities.” See Stockholm syndrome: [http://www.yourdictionary.com/stockholm­syndrome#americanheritage](http://www.yourdictionary.com/stockholm­syndrome#americanheritage) (Accessed: 3 August 2016).


\(^{143}\) “Anacondas live in swamps, marshes, and slow-moving streams, mainly in the tropical rain forests of the Amazon and Orinoco basins.” National Geographic. Green Anaconda. [http://animals.nationalgeographic.com/animals/reptiles/green­anaconda/?source=A­to­Z](http://animals.nationalgeographic.com/animals/reptiles/green­anaconda/?source=A­to­Z) (Accessed: 3 August 2016).


As already seen, Nye points out that popular culture has a dynamic movement due to its non-official characteristics: "Popular culture can have contradictory effects on different groups within the same country. It does not provide a uniform soft power resource." (Nye 2004: 52).

In this sense, *Blame It on Lisa* offended many Brazilians and created a thick embarrassment to Fox producers and the creators. The cartoon mocked on Rio de Janeiro’s city, portrayed as a lawless jungle, a ‘bananas republic’. The Rio Board of Tourism threatened to sue the producers because the cartoon disqualified the city, damaging its international image. In response, the executive producer apologized to “the lovely city and the people of Rio de Janeiro”\(^{146}\). Under a rhetorical ‘battle’ among local authorities and the producers, “Blame It on Lisa” raised international controversy. The British newspaper *The Guardian* wrote about the reception in Brazil: “Unfortunately, the Rio tourist board did not see the funny side and is preparing to sue the producers, Fox, for damage to its international image and loss of revenue. The issue threatens to become a diplomatic incident.”\(^{147}\)

What might have bothered the city authorities was the picture of Rio de Janeiro as a place of favelas, where children are pickpockets, and the claim that state does not work. Apart from the unrealistic anaconda crawling in touristic places, the cartoon exposed Rio’s social problems that the Tourism chiefs had rather not touch upon. Indeed, there were (and still are) bands of children robbing all over the city, and poverty almost everywhere. As we saw in Berg (2002: 15-23), “Stereotypes May Have a Basis in Fact”. In Rio’s case, the city authorities feared *Blame It on Lisa* could ruin an 18 million dollar investment in promoting the city abroad. They were specifically worried about the negative impact of the episode in the US market\(^{148}\). This was the main argument provided by the Board of Tourism, in order to sue Fox over the episode damage to the international image of the city. Nevertheless, the lawsuit threats did not move forward because the lawyers warned that in the United States, the First Amendment of the Constitution protects parodies\(^{149}\).

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On the societal level, in her review of the book “Brazil Imagined: 1500 to the Present”\textsuperscript{150}, Cathy Marie Ouellette (2010) highlights the negative reaction to \textit{Blame It on Lisa}. The author calls the episode “infamous”, and refers to “anger among citizens, tourist agencies and political leaders in Brazil.” (Ouellette 2010: 433)\textsuperscript{151}. Certainly, not all the Brazilians felt uneasy with \textit{The Simpsons} parody. The fans know that the cartoon pokes fun at everything, primarily at the American middle class ideology. Furthermore, Brazil is not the only country which was ‘visited’ by the family and parodied: there are episodes in Egypt, France, Italy, United Kingdom, China, Israel, Japan, Canada, Mexico, and Australia, among others\textsuperscript{152}. In this sense, the Brazilian authorities’ overreaction seems to be isolated, since the other countries did not take the mockery so seriously.

In terms of gender performative, \textit{Blame It on Lisa} provides a critical perspective on children’s sexuality. The stereotype of hypersexualized women is explored in the parody titled \textit{Teleboobies}, which fascinates Bart with its sexual appeal. On the screen, the host Xoxchitla and the stage assistants perform in between groans and laughs, while squeezing their bodies in all sorts of objects\textsuperscript{153}. In the early 1990s, the debate on childhood eroticization has gained life because of Xuxa’s performance on TV, not only in Brazil, but also abroad. Internally, the future politician Marta Suplicy, at that time a renowned psychologist, condemned Xuxa’s style. Out of the country, Xuxa was not successful in her international career, mainly in America. As Amelia Simpson (1993: 101-102) observes:

> The principal obstacle to Xuxa's entering the U.S. market, besides the need to have a firm command of English, is frequently presented as the consequence of the prudish attitudes of the "conservative wasp population", as \textit{Manchete} magazine put it. Framing the issue of adult sexual expression on children's TV programming as a debate between U.S. puritans and uninhibited Brazilians is to divert attention from questions such as


\textsuperscript{151} “Foreign persuasion was illustrated in the infamous 2002 'Blame it on Lisa' episode of The Simpsons, for instance - harkening back to the savage imaginary that has plagued the country, the episode mocked stereotypes of US tourists abroad and brought stereotypes of Brazilians to the forefront. The result was anger among citizens, tourist agencies and political leaders in Brazil.” (Ouellette 2010: 433)


those raised by Brazilian psychologist Marta Suplicy. Suplicy reports that her observation of the growing impact of television on children was generally positive until she began noticing another aspect of TV - the "eroticization of children" as a result of the influence of Xuxa's image: "You see children three, four, five, ten-years-old, dressed up like Xuxa, displaying themselves physically as very sexually attractive adults, which does not correspond to what they are. The child isn't an adult and hasn't developed adult sexuality." Xuxa responded to Suplicy's remarks by invoking the notion of progress and modernity to assert that "sexuality has changed since the era of their mothers." (Simpson 1993: 101-102)

Rather than a joke, Bart’s fascination with *Teleboobies* elucidates the antagonism between the American Puritanism and the Brazilian “uninhibited” performance, or “Latinism”, as Berg calls it (Berg 2002: 4). Beyond the parody of her TV show, the incentive towards a premature sexuality has put Xuxa in a suspect position, not only in Brazil but also in the US. Unlike Carmen Miranda or his former boyfriend Pelé (chapter 2), Xuxa failed in America: her childish eroticization was not appreciated, she trespassed on a forbidden “area of contention” (Foucault 1978: 30). Foucault (1978) comments on the pedagogization of children’s sex: “Parents, families, educators, doctors, and eventually psychologists would have to take charge, in a continuous way, of this precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential: this pedagogization was especially evident in the war against onanism, which in the West lasted nearly two centuries.” (Foucault 1978: 104) In this sense, Xochitla posed serious ‘danger’ to Bart’s sexuality, because the TV show was an invitation to masturbation. Hence, *Blame It on Lisa* criticizes the hypersexualization of Brazilian women, it portrays that even the kids are exposed to a shameless precocious sexuality. Moreover, the main discourse of the episode

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154 “The sex of children and adolescents has become, since the eighteenth century, an important area of contention around which innumerable institutional devices and discursive strategies have been deployed.” (Foucault 1978: 30).
155 Foucault (1978) draws attention to the ambivalence - presence/absence - of child’s sexuality, and the way the psychiatric discourse related it to possible disorders in adult lives: “In the sexualization of childhood, there was formed the idea of a sex that was both present (from the evidence of anatomy) and absent (from the standpoint of physiology), present too if one considered its activity, and deficient if one referred to its reproductive finality; or again, actual in its manifestations, but hidden in its eventual effects, whose pathological seriousness would only become apparent later. If the sex of the child was still present in the adult, it was in the form of a secret causality that tended to nullify the sex of the latter (it was one of the tenets of eighteenth - and nineteenth century medicine that precocious sex would eventually result in sterility, impotence, frigidity, the inability to experience pleasure, or the deadening of the senses).” (Foucault 1978: 153).
focuses on the violence issues in a comical way: if you come to Brazil, be prepared to be robbed and kidnapped, or to be perverted.

In this section, I analyzed the episode *Blame It on Lisa*, when the Simpson family visits Rio de Janeiro. First, I examined the stereotypes used by the cartoon to poke fun at Brazil. Second, I explored the reaction of the Rio Tourism Board authorities. Third, I queried the gender performance of Xoxchitla/Xuxa, followed with relish on Brazilian TV by a snoopy Bart.

*Teleboobies* shows a hypersexualized hostess playing with a pineapple.\(^{156}\)

Children robbing Homer and Bart in a Rio’s *favela*, with the complicity of the woman.\(^{157}\)

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**Final Remark**

After rampaging about *Blame It on Lisa*, Rio’s Tourism authorities quit the lawsuit threats. However, *The Simpsons* writers took the incident to make fun of Brazil, and referred to the country in several jokes from then onwards. In the episode *You Don’t Have to Live Like a Referee* (2014), the family is back in Brazil twelve years later. Now, Homer is a soccer referee, and must decide whether to be honest and maintain Lisa’s respect; or to take a bribe to favor Brazil in the 2014 World Cup. Episode 16 of Season 25, directed by Mark Kirkland, written by Michael Price, presents Brazilian soccer players as masters of faked injury. The running gag of Spanish speakers continues, and the leading player is called “El Divo”, who also prefers to pretend he was injured than to perform a fair play. In this five-minute sequence in Brazil, we see a nun dancing in the grandstands, supporting Brazil. Then, in a visual gag, the nun suddenly pulls out her garments and appears in bikini. It is ambiguous if the woman is a false nun, dressed in a Carnival fashion; or if the cartoon is suggesting that nuns are extremely sexualized in Brazil, like Xuxa.

In respect of race, the episode brings a different portrayal of Brazilians compared to *Blame It on Lisa*. Unlike the Puerto Rican appearance of the *bandidos* who kidnapped Homer, the soccer ace “El Divo” is a mulatto, as much as alongside the nun there are two mulattos. On the left side, a mulatto woman wearing a T-shirt, no sensual appeal. On the right side, a mulatto man wearing a well-trimmed moustache. Both mulattos compose the picture to highlight the nun’s visual gag. It is important to mention that, according to the creator Matt Groening, *The Simpsons* are yellow “to attract the attention of channel surfers”.

158 *Their visit to Brazil in "Blame It on Lisa" was later referenced in the eighteenth season episode The Wife Aquatic (2007), in which the family makes a trip to an island called Barnacle Bay that they discover has been devastated by overfishing. Lisa says to Bart: "This is the most disgusting place we've ever gone," to which Bart asks: "What about Brazil?" Lisa corrects herself, responding: "After Brazil."

(Accessed: 3 August 2016).

159 IMDb. *You Don’t Have to Live Like a Referee*. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3181608/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1

160 “Weirdly, now that the show is way more popular, Groening’s answer about coloring the Simpsons yellow has changed slightly, whereas in the past the color was a strategic choice to attract the attention of channel surfers to actually check out the show and perhaps see “why the hell all these characters the same color as the blazing sun?”. Nowadays the answer Groening usually gives is that the characters are all yellow so that those very same channel surfers know that *The Simpsons* is on when they flick past it.”


tavern friend named Carl Carlson, or the family doctor - Dr Hibbert\textsuperscript{161}. The Brazilian mulattos also reinforce the whiteness of the main characters (although Marge has an African style hair), and the stereotype about Brazil.

Finally, \textit{You Don’t Have to Live Like a Referee} conveys the message that Brazilian footballers are tricksters, while an apparently normal nun could wear a bikini under her vests. The main discourse tells the viewers they must not believe in what they see in Brazil, because people are deceptive. In a comical way, the image of Brazil is negative and highly stereotyped.

![A dressed nun watches the game.](image1)

The nun suddenly takes off his garment and shows up in a bikini.\textsuperscript{162}

\begin{itemize}
\item See also Images of Black Characters on \textit{The Simpsons}: https://www.google.nl/search?q=Black+characters+on+The+Simpsons\&espv=2\&biw=1280\&bih=899\&tbm=isch\&tbo=u\&source=univ\&sa=X\&ved=0ahUKEwiFtrSFtevNAhURlxQKHevJDO4QsAQIwAQ\&dpr=1 (Accessed: 11 July 2016).
\end{itemize}
**RIO (2011)**

Produced by 20th Century Fox and Blue Sky Studios, the animation *Rio* (2011) came after the worldwide blockbuster *Ice Age*, which consecrated the Brazilian Carlos Saldanha. *Rio* is both a declaration of love to the city and a “Brazil for export” product, packed in a utopian picture of a biodiversity paradise. Written and directed by Carlos Saldanha, the main plot revolves around a pair of macaws, threatened by international bird smugglers. Blu and Jewel are the last two samples of their kind - the blue macaw. Still a baby, Blu was captured and smuggled to the US. In a snowy city of Minnesota, the male macaw was accidentally found by an American girl, Linda, who raised him as a pet. Due to his domestication, Blu cannot fly. In contrast, Jewel is a wild female macaw, maintained in captivity for the sake of the species. The Brazilian ornithologist, Tulio, looks after Jewel within a bird sanctuary in Rio de Janeiro. Tulio travels to Minnesota to call for Linda to gather the two macaws. After hesitating, Linda accepts the challenge and the trio disembarks in Rio. Blu’s rite of passage from a pet to a wild macaw then starts.

Differently from the five case studies I analyzed this far, *Rio* is a creation of the Brazilian expat Carlos Saldanha, who migrated to New York in the early 1990s. Saldanha graduated in New York’s School of Visual Arts in 1993, his goal was to combine animation with computer science. Unlike Carmen Miranda and Pelé (both were already high talented professionals when they went to America), Saldanha has built his career in the United States. One of the most creative directors at the Blue Sky Studios, Saldanha declares his passion for Rio, his birth city. Despite its *carioca* gaze, it is essential to remark that *Rio* consists of an undoubtedly American media product. Regardless of being Brazilian or American, all the characters speak English. Moreover, the central plot is about overcoming a failure - Blu does not fly - in the more traditional Hollywood storytelling. The sense of humor and jokes are typically American. To sum

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168 A person who was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
up, the interesting aspect of *Rio* to this research is that the stereotyping process was carried out by a Brazilian guy working for the US media industries.

Based on this principle, in this section I examine the role reversal in terms of gender performativity. Both humans and macaws characters have similar traits: Blu is a clumsy pet, he cannot fly, although being quite clever. Tulio is a clumsy scientist, although being clever as well. On the other hand, Jewel is agile and resolute. She assumes the leadership in risky situations as well as Linda does. Simultaneously, I investigate the stereotype of Brazil as a wonderful tropical country, plenty of water, tropical plants and birds. In this way, Saldanha’s positive gaze on Rio de Janeiro reveals a utopian perspective. The cartoon presents numerous aerial views, highlighting the iconic Sugar Loaf and Christ Redeemer\(^{169}\) - the most famous postcards of Rio. However, the ‘famous’ *favelas* do not appear in the picture, they were erased by the computer graphics, very different from the existing city. Carnival and football also appear as a background to the actions, both are depicted as national passions.

The overture brings a spectacular cornucopia of native species of birds (macaws, toucans, parrots, flamingos) within the rainforest. The birds are singing a vibrant *samba* in English (!) until the party is stopped by cages and traps. In this first sequence, the smugglers do not appear, only their tricks. They are the main antagonists in *Rio*, because they threaten the biodiversity paradise\(^{170}\). Next, it is remarkable the sequence that shows Blu and Linda’s daily life in Minnesota, because Linda has some stickers on the wall with the saying: “love my parrot”\(^{171}\). Blu is a macaw, not a parrot: even if he is domesticated, he does not speak like a parrot. Unlike Disney’s parrot - Jose Carioca - Blu is not anthropomorphized, he plays the role of a companion pet. For its part, Linda is portrayed as a sort of ‘nerd’ girl, a bookshop owner. This sequence represents their friendship as a true one.

Already in Rio, after a failed first date, Blu and Jewel are captured by animal smugglers. Here we find the most usual cliché about Brazil: the bandits are black, poor, living in *favelas*\(^ {172}\). The leader Marcel wears little dreadlocks and sunglasses. He performs according to his nasty character while his assistants are daffy, in order to create a comic counterpoint. In this sequence, Jewel assumes the leading role and tries to escape. However, Marcel’s main allied -

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\(^{169}\) Corcovado in Portuguese.


the hawk named Nigel - caught Jewel. To avoid new escape attempts, Blu and Jewel are chained to each other. Another typical Brazilian figure appears in this part: the street kid, Fernando, an ambiguous character that helps Marcel’s gang although regretting to harm the birds. Counting on Fernando’s help, Tulio and Linda recover the macaws at the end of the story.

Two more stereotypes serve as plot motifs: 1- Brazil versus Argentina football match diverts Marcel’s accomplices, that is the chance to Jewel escape again. But at this time, Jewel notices that Blu cannot fly, and as they are chained, they fail once more. 2- Tourists are robbed by dancing marmosets. In other words, Brazilians stop everything to watch soccer, and tourists always run the risk of being mugged in Rio. Another joke based on clichés emerges after the couple of macaws finally got to break the chains. Blu and Jewel start talking about their future, now that they are not obliged to be together. As Blu takes an evasive stance, Jewel provokes: “It’s not my fault you can’t fly”. Then, Blu confess: “I hate samba! Every songs sound exactly the same: tico taco yayaya”. This line really hurts all the characters in the scene - a toucan, and other two birds that have helped Blu since the beginning of the storyline. Jewel sharply reacts: “Right. See you round pet!”

The last sequences of *Rio* revolve around the macaws’ rescue. With the backdrop of a Carnival Parade, the characters pursue their goals against the noisy and confused celebration. The well-known Sambódromo serve as the venue to Blu saving Jewel, while Linda searches for Blu. To reach the Sambódromo, Tulio and Linda have to get out of a favela. Now, it is the time to the human gender role reversal: Linda assumes the leadership because Tulio cannot drive a motorcycle. She can, it is like driving a snow motor tricycle. The human couple arrives at the parade, and has to wear Carnival costumes in order to join the party. Linda appears in a stunning blue macaw outfit, Tulio immediately falls in love. This sequence is interesting since it conveys the message that American women in bikini could be sensual and charming, as well as the Brazilians.

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174 Small monkeys, called *saguis* in Portuguese.


Finally, Blu saves Jewel, learns to fly and they start a family. The human couple adopts the Brazilian boy and also starts a family. The main discourse of Rio brings a new reading of US-Brazil relations, beyond the notorious Monroe Doctrine: it is possible to lay a more equal partnership between Brazil and the United States. In this section, I explored the gender inversion of the protagonists. While males are clownish, females solve the concrete problems. I also considered the stereotype of Brazil as a cornucopia of natural resources, added to Saldanha’s utopian perspective about Rio de Janeiro - a city without favelas, in which the worse criminals are bird smugglers.


The official discourse - breakdown the stereotypes

Chapter V  Brazilian Soft Power

In terms of institutional arrangement, Brazilian Republic maintains three separate federal powers: Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary. The Executive power is responsible for the implementation of public policies, both in the national and in the international spheres. Brazil’s image abroad applies to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs\(^{180}\) on principle, however, it also applies to the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Culture, and other Ministries that in one way or another deals with international issues - Industry and Commerce, for instance. In this section, I focus on the response of the Brazilian government to the stereotypical images of Brazil analyzed in the last chapters (I, II, III, and IV). However, it is important to note that the official discourse consists on the way that public policies are conveyed to society. From the 1990s onwards, the globalization and the end of the bipolar Cold War order brought new challenges for the Brazilians authorities, because Brazil started to be a country of emigration\(^{181}\) (Appendix III). These 3 million emigrants (unofficially it is believed to be more than 6 million) are concentrated in the United States (1.3 million officially), spreading a new image of Brazil by one side, and reinforcing the stereotypes by the other. In this context, the official discourse has been constructed to breakdown the gender stereotypes which poses Brazilian women as prostitutes, and Brazilian men as rascals. Several public policies have been designed to react to the negative image of Brazil abroad; the products of these policies are blueprints, handbooks, speeches, interviews, institutional campaigns, among others.

In what follows, I examine the discourse of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Tourism, and Culture, with regard to their attempts to eliminate stereotypes while fostering a Brazilian soft

\(^{180}\) It is crucial to say that the self denomination of “Foreign Affairs” is brand new. Probably an effort of the new government (in office since may 2016, after the former President impeachment) to approximate with the US, and to give a ‘modern’ reading for the Ministry. I have been accompanying the International Relations field since 2003, and the Brazilian Ministry for this area was always called Ministry of External Relations. Brazil did not treat diplomacy as “Foreign Affairs”, in Portuguese “Negócios Estrangeiros”, or even “Relações Exteriores”. Unlike the US, in Brazil, international relations links more to the political sphere than to the economic one. I assumed “Foreign Affairs” to refer to the Ministry at present, although I also use “Foreign Relations” to refer to the Ministry before 2016.

\(^{181}\) “Profile of the Brazilian diaspora: estimative 2014”. Population abroad - North America: 1.368.300; Central America and Caribbean: 4.005; South America: 339.407; Europe: 865.681; Africa: 25.374; Middle East: 42.930; Asia: 200.789; Oceania: 32.600. This part of the website is only in Portuguese.
power (Nye 2004: 11). First, I take an overview on the organization of the cultural diplomacy department within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, followed by an analysis of the interview that the former Minister Celso Amorim (2003-2010) gave to the American specialized magazine *Foreign Policy*. To conclude this first part, I point out some quantitative information about Brazilians arrested abroad, and relate this information with the male stereotypes. Second, I examine the campaign against sex tourism held by the Ministry of Tourism (2012-2013). Third, I check out the speech of two former Ministers of Culture: Gilberto Gil (2003-2008), during the UNESCO’s Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2007); and Marta Suplicy (2011-2013), during the Conference “The Power of Soft Power” (2013). It is important to note that these chosen authorities represent the power structures, since they are experts in their respective fields, aside from reproducing the Presidential official discourse. In this sense, the power-knowledge relations figure as one of the focus of this section, in which I intend to investigate how gender notions, plus the concept of soft power were incorporated in the official discourse.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, known as Itamaraty, counts on the Cultural Department to promote the Brazilian culture abroad. The cultural sectors of the Embassies and the Consulates coordinate with foreign cultural institutions the execution of cultural events in academic, heritage and artistic areas. There are six Divisions divided by subject, namely: Portuguese Language Promotion; Cultural Diffusion Operations; Audiovisual Promotion; Information Office; Agreements and Multilateral Cultural Affairs; and Educational Themes. In terms of partnership, the website informs: “In the public sphere, the traditional partners of Itamaraty are the Ministry of Culture, the National Library Foundation, the Federal and State Universities and the Culture Secretariats of States and Cities.” Therefore, the organization of the Cultural Department conveys that the priorities basically relates to language and audiovisual promotion, in addition to educational issues.

The matters of gender, stereotypes, image of Brazil abroad, do not have a specific room in the cultural diplomacy activities. Gender issues appear in the Consular section (Brazilians Abroad), under social themes umbrella - titled *Questions of Gender and Sexuality*. However,

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this section has only four documents concerning a Conference on Gender issues in Brazilian Immigration (2015). The main topics involve LGBT communities, and policies towards immigrant women held by the Brazilian Consulate in Los Angeles/US. Normally, the discussions are centered on domestic violence, child custody, human traffic, and sexual exploration. In other words, the official discourse does not consider “gender” as a category linked to “culture”. On the contrary, there are separate rooms for each subject. As a result, international cultural policies might be unaware of gender troubles, and still unaware that when cultural products spread the image of a country abroad, it is necessarily spreading a gendered image.

Moreover, it is relevant to note that Itamaraty was considered an elitist Ministry, which used to promote only erudite culture in order to brand Brazil as a ‘civilized’ nation. Dumont & Fléchet (2014), in their article on the Brazilian cultural diplomacy in the 20th century, demonstrate how the integration of popular culture was slow but progressive. The authors argue that until the late 1950s, the image of a black Brazil was avoided by the official policies: “the Ministry refused the inscription of the Franco-Brazilian film Orfeu negro in the Brazilian selection for the 1959 Cannes Festival (...). The production featured black actors from Rio de Janeiro favelas and consequently, in the vision of this institution, to the projection of a ‘bad’ image of the country.” During the last decade, Itamaraty has tried to disrupt this image of being an elitist institution, while has been investing in the democratization through the concept of public diplomacy:

The concept of "public diplomacy" has been traditionally associated with the promotion of a country's image abroad. In Brazil, "public diplomacy" is seen not only in this traditional view, but also in the sense of greater openness of both the Ministry of Foreign

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187 “Certainly, the integration of popular culture was progressive and the projection of an image of a black Brazil – traditionally in contrast to what was desired by elites, which was one of a ‘civilized’ country – met strong resistance in diplomatic circles.(...) Similarly, the musical diplomacy of Itamaraty was limited to erudite compositions until the end of the 1950s, despite manifesting intentions in favor of popular music (Fléchet, 2012).”

Affairs and the Brazilian foreign policy to civil society, in an effort to promote democratisation and transparency of national public policies. (Itamaraty website)\textsuperscript{188}

In respect of public diplomacy, Nye (2004) dedicates three sections of chapter four to discuss the importance of American public diplomacy\textsuperscript{189}. The author analyzes the shifts that the information age brought to public diplomacy (Nye 2004: 105-107), the shape of American public diplomacy - from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush administrations (Nye 2004: 107-118), and finally some considerations on the future of American public diplomacy (Nye 2004: 123-125). Nye begins this last section recognizing that “Americans rediscovered the need for public diplomacy after September 11, but we have still not adjusted to the complexities of wielding soft power in the global information age.” (Nye 2004: 123). He also criticizes the US low investment of resources in soft power, compared with the military or the intelligence budgets. If compared with global players like France, or Great Britain, the US invests proportionally much less than the European counterparts (Nye 2004: 124).\textsuperscript{190} Nye suggests: “If we spent 1 percent of the military budget on public diplomacy - or, as Newton Minow, the former chair of the FCC, would say, "one dollar to launch ideas for every one hundred dollars we invest to launch bombs" - it would mean almost a quadrupling of the existing budget.” (Nye 2004: 123). In sum, in his comprehensive study, Nye concludes that Americans should leave unilateralism, expressed by hard power; and try to be more aware of cultural differences and open for foreign perceptions (Nye 2004: 125).

Returning to Brazil, a prominent diplomat called Celso Amorim, who was Minister of Foreign Relations for twice (1993-1995) and (2003-2011)\textsuperscript{191}, serves as an example to show how the idea of Brazilian women as beautiful ones has been considered outdated. In 2010, the former Minister gave an interview to the American \textit{Foreign Policy} magazine. The article was titled “The Soft-Power Power”\textsuperscript{192}, on which the cleverness of Amorim appeared to put Brazil in a strategic negotiating power. Amorim reports that in the late 1990s, Brazil was convened to lead

\textsuperscript{189} Chapter 4 - \textit{Wielding Soft Power} (Nye 2004: 99-125).
\textsuperscript{190} See Table 4.1 \textit{Comparative Investments in Soft and Hard Power} (Nye 2004:124), for the years 2001/2002.
a committee on former Yugoslavia, the president of the UN Security Council would have argued: “Brazil is the only one that both the Americans and the Russians will accept.” The diplomat continues to highlight Brazilian qualities, and its relations to soft power. At that time, the concept of soft power was totally incorporated in the Brazilian official discourse. Amorim refers to Brazilian music, and in a rhetorical manner refers to Brazilian women beginning with the formula “I won’t say…” but he smartly let the reporter complete the phrase, or he may have been interrupted. The selected part of the interview follows below:

Celso Amorim - In the present-day world, military power will be less and less usable in a way that these other abilities -- the capacity to negotiate based on sound economic policies, based on a society that is more just than it used to be and will be more just tomorrow than it is today -- all these are things that help. I don't think there are many countries that can boast that they have 10 neighbors and haven't had a war in the last 140 years.

Susan Glasser - So you're the ultimate soft-power power.

Celso Amorim - There have to be some hard elements in it, as well: economic growth, as I mentioned, and we have to have some military power, some deterrent military power. Not because of the region; we don't think anything can happen, actually. [Latin America is] quickly becoming what I choose to call a "security community" in which war becomes inconceivable. But if other conflicts happen between other countries, we have to be prepared that it doesn't come to us. So some modicum of military power is necessary. It's not totally soft. People also say we have our music; I won't say our beautiful women because that would sound not very like a--

Susan Glasser - Retro, not the future.

Celso Amorim - Exactly.  

[193] The whole passage: "I'll give you an example. One time, when I was ambassador to the U.N., they were looking for someone to take care of the sanctions committee on the former Yugoslavia. I received a call from the president of the Security Council. I was on a 10-day vacation -- a very rare thing -- in Greece somewhere, and he said, "No, no, it has to be you, Celso. It has to be Brazil because Brazil is the only one that both the Americans and the Russians will accept." Because the others either were seen as very partial or, let us face it, too weak to be able to stand the different pressures."


Thus, Amorim’s political discourse points out Brazilian characteristics of peaceful coexistence with neighbors, potential to economic growth, and fine music and women - even if the women beauty attributes are considered “retro”. Hence, Brazil reaches an imagined utopia: a country able to solve border issues in a peaceful manner; besides the myth of a racial paradise (chapter 2). In brief, Brazil has interracial and geopolitical peace, in addition to wonderful landscapes and natural abundance. On the negative issue of social inequality, the diplomat just mentions the problem, however in a proactive perspective. This social inequality that has been expelling Brazilian citizens since the 1980s, mainly to the ‘American dream’, pops up at the other side of the diplomatic agenda - the Consular themes.

Differently from female immigrant topics, as we saw, related to domestic violence, child custody, human traffic, and sexual exploration; male immigrant’s topics do not have any room on the Itamaraty website. I only found little information about Brazilian male issues on a public broadcasting TV programme. The journalistic programme called *Brazilians in the World*, reports on the prisoners abroad\(^{195}\), accounting on the number of jail population abroad, which probably reinforces the stereotype about Brazilian men as rascals, close to criminal life. According to the programme, there are more than two thousand Brazilians arrested abroad. This population is divided as follows: Europe - 50%; USA - 10%; Japan - 10%; bordering countries - 30%\(^{196}\). The prisoners are in general young males, while the charges are principally disrespect for local law and drug trafficking. During the interview with the Director of Consular Department, Minister Luiza Lopes\(^{197}\), the reporter queries on the actions of the Brazilian government to protect their citizens. The Consular Director tells that Itamaraty gives judicial support to the prisoners, and works to ensure the observance of human rights. Nevertheless, it is not always possible to ensure equal rights for everyone due to structural differences in the Consulates. The Director cites an example of a prisoner jailed in the countryside of Arizona that is more complicated to visit, because the closest Consulate is located in Los Angeles. The Director also observes that in the cases of death penalty for narco-trafficking, Brazil has to respect the other countries laws.

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\(^{197}\) All the Ambassadors in Brazil have the status of Minister. Itamaraty is recognized as a center of excellence in the public service. The diplomats are all civil servants that have passed one of the most difficult exams in the country.
She explains that the Ministry asks for clemency according to international laws, but the decision belongs to the country where the citizen is condemned\textsuperscript{198}. The programme ends with a few recommendations for Brazilians abroad, in regard to human rights.

Two examples of controversial male deaths related to the Brazilian image abroad are Jean Charles de Menezes in London (2005), and Rodrigo Gularte in Indonesia (2015). Gularte was executed by the Indonesian authorities for drug smuggling, even after being diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and bipolar disorder\textsuperscript{199}. Jean Charles was “gunned down” by mistake during a British police action in 2005, two weeks after the 7/7 terror attacks in central London\textsuperscript{200}. Indeed, the Metropolitan Police was chasing Hussein Osman, the suspect of blasting the London Underground. Unlike Gularte that was caught in the airport with six kilos of cocaine hidden in surfboards\textsuperscript{201}, Jean Charles was a terror suspect that probably ran when the police officers approached him, due to his illegal immigrant condition\textsuperscript{202}. The tragic death of Jean Charles reveals a key issue for this research: the power relations behind the immigrant’s dreams, the motivation that boosts these young men and women to go abroad, to take the risk.

Jean Charles was a low middle class youngster from the Brazilian most rural countryside, who dared to go illegally to London to work as a plumber and electrician. In a sequence of fatalities, he was taken by a terrorist and executed by the London police officers. Vaughan-Williams (2007) stresses that the British authorities discourse described the episode as a “tragic mistake”, however, the author disagrees: “Against the reading of 22/7 as a mistake, the shooting of Menezes can be viewed as a reflection of innovative ways in which, temporally and spatially,


\textsuperscript{200} “The man was identified by police as Jean Charles de Menezes, a 27-year-old Brazilian, described by officers as an electrician on his way to work.”

“Of the fast-unfolding developments, the most overwhelming for many Londoners, was the police admission that an apparently innocent man had been gunned down in full public view.” NY Times (2005) “Britain Says Man Killed by Police Had No Tie to Bombings” by Alan Cowell and Don Van Natta Jr. July 24, 2005. http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/24/world/britain­says­man­killed­by­police­had­no­tie­to­bombings.html?_r=0 (Accessed: 8 July 2016).


attempts are made by sovereign power to reproduce and secure the politically qualified life of the *polis.*” (Vaughan-Williams 2007: 186). In effect, Jean Charles was a victim of police racial profiling ‘misleading’. Once more, class, gender, and race are all blended within the power structures\textsuperscript{203}.

Compared to Itamaraty, both Tourism and Culture Ministries have less effective presence, and have less strategic importance. Both Ministries also get less than 1\% of the federal budget\textsuperscript{204}. In this context, the Ministry of Tourism held an institutional campaign against sex tourism. The campaign produced a handbook oriented to prevent sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in the tourism industry. The handbook brings recommendations to inhibit the sex tourism in general and the exploitation of children in particular\textsuperscript{205}. In her article on the “Gringos and Natives”\textsuperscript{206}, Adriana Piscitelli (2001) analyses the encounter of European sex tourists with low income local women in Fortaleza, the sunny capital of the Brazilian Northeast - the poorest region of the country. About the image of Brazil, Piscitelli writes:

In the relations established by these foreigners, the appreciation of the attributes that mark Brazil is apparently positive. However, each positive element also becomes part of a negative analysis: the Brazilian happiness acquires connotations of non-cautiousness and irresponsibility, the malleability and patience attributed to the native population are associated with passivity and indolence. On the other hand, the European countries and their inhabitants are considered to be cold and individualist. (Piscitelli 2001: 12)

\textsuperscript{203} “Yet, it is interesting to note that the surveillance team member otherwise occupied in the bushes had actually identified Menezes as an “IC1 male” (police code for a white man). Even though Menezes’s racial profile did not match that of Hussein Osman or any of the other suspected bombers, antiterrorist officers followed him on his thirty three-minute bus journey from Tulse Hill to Stockwell Station. At no point was he stopped or challenged.” (Vaughan-Williams 2007: 180).

\textsuperscript{204} In 2015, Brazil had the incredible number of 39 Ministries on the Federal sphere. After a reform, it fell to 35 Ministries. This high number is criticized inside and outside the country, as this heavy structure hampers integrated actions.


\textsuperscript{206} *Gringo* is a Brazilian slang for tourists or foreigners in general.
Actually, the Northeast capitals - nine in total\textsuperscript{207} - have become sex tourism destinations in the last two decades. In order to react to this image, the Tourism board also spread in the airports the banner below, which portrays a European type behind bars. The message warns in English “If you’re looking for sex tourism, we’ve already booked the best room in town”:

The campaign against sex tourism, mainly in the Brazilian Northeast airports\textsuperscript{208}

The striking image conveys the message to tourists that in Brazil some forms of prostitution are criminalized. Prostitution has an ambiguous status in Brazil: if by one side it is tolerated, by the other side promoting it is illegal\textsuperscript{209}. Besides, there are rigorous laws forbidding children exploitation\textsuperscript{210}. Among the blurred lines of enjoyment and illegality, Brazilian official

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{207}] Salvador, Aracaju, Maceió, João Pessoa, Recife, Natal, Fortaleza, Teresina, São Luiz. See the map on: http://geografia.hi7.co/regiao-nordeste-56c3ccd91e91.html (Accessed: 5 August 2016).
\item[\textsuperscript{210}] “Young people wearing T-shirts saying "Sexual exploitation is a crime" will distribute pamphlets to tourists across the city explaining that having sex with a person under 14 could land them in jail for up to 10 years. (...) It is not illegal in Brazil to offer sexual services or to use them but exploiting other people or running a brothel is an offence with jail terms of one to five years.” China Daily (2004) “Brazil to fight sex tourism as Carnival nears”. February 12, 2004.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
discourse strives to avoid the so-called predatory tourism. Nevertheless, social inequality fuels this scenery because for the local girls, the relationship with the gringos “is linked to the desire for social mobility shared by a large section of the local population as well as to the actual migration of some women.” (Piscitelli 2001: 1).

The Ministry of Culture has gained a new significance during the Minister Gilberto Gil (2003-2008) administration. A worldwide renowned musician, Gil is a black artist and producer from Salvador/Bahia - Northeast region - linked to popular music and to black culture. As Minister, Gil rethought culture as more than the urban ‘fine arts’, expanding the cultural actions to the tiniest villages in the country. In this way, the Ministry official discourse considered culture as a central axis for economic development, at local, regional and global levels. Gil also fought against the commoditization of arts and culture. He defended the ‘copyleft’ practices for instance, among other cultural policies to boost cultural expressions outside the hegemonic model - read North American/European cultures. In his discourse, the Minister considered the Brazilian symbolic capital in a Bourdieu's sense: the accumulation of traditional knowledge and practices constitute a priceless cultural legacy. During the UNESCO’s Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2007), Gil pointed out in his official speech:

Beyond the possibilities for cooperation, the spirit of the Convention makes us recognize that culture cannot be negotiated only according to the rules of international organizations that regulate trade and intellectual property. The complexity of the symbolic systems and cultural expressions of a population cannot be addressed simply as trade goods.  


211 Basically, the abolition of the copyright. Through mechanisms like Creative Commons, artists and intellectuals could share their products on a free basis.

212 The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu wrote on symbolic capital in “The Market of Symbolic Goods” (1985) Poetics 14 (1-2): 13-44; among other works on sociology of culture, for instance “The Logic of Practice” (1990). Rosamund & Sigthorsson (2013) summarizes: “In fact, Bourdieu distinguished between four kinds of capital: economic capital (command of economic resources such as cash, assets or credit); social capital (resources based on group membership, networks of support, and “contacts”); cultural capital (knowledge, skill and education); and symbolic capital (accumulated prestige, honours, and the like). (Rosamund & Sigthorsson 2013: 116).

Hence, power structures are subverted in official discourse because culture is not understood as ‘all about to make money’. If culture cannot be simply “trade goods”, as much as it is in the First World, the symbolic dimension acquires a new sense. The state could invest money in activities that is not fully oriented to make profit. Conversely, these principles meant the effort of the Brazilian government to adapt its policies to the challenges of the so-called new economy. Gil’s administration was criticized for reproducing Brazil typical Third World discourse, incorporating First World concepts and transforming it into a sort of populist discourse, addressed to minorities like indigenous, Afro-Brazilians, queers, and gypsies, among others. After a couple of years that Minister Gil left the office, the copyright advocates returned in full force, and abolished the ‘copyleft’ mechanisms in the Ministry of Culture proposals/discourse.

Lastly, about Brazilian political scenario, it is a common say that each politician in charge tends to build a new square (to put his name in it), abandoning the last square built by another politician. That is what happened in the case, in sum, a struggle between neoliberal stances and left wing ideologies.

Three years after the administration of the black musician from Bahia, the senator Marta Suplicy took office in the Minister of Culture (2011-2013). A controversial political figure, because she is a blonde lady from a São Paulo aristocratic family, while at the same time she was one of the founders of the left wing Workers Party. In her speech for the Conference “The Power of Soft Power, organized by the British Council in São Paulo, the former Minister asserted that “There is still a certain difficulty to fight preconceptions about Brazil. However, what I observe in my international travels and talking with foreign counterparts is that Brazil is already better known, far beyond the samba and the football.” During her speech, Suplicy

http://www.cultura.gov.br/discursos/-/asset_publisher/DmSRak0YIQFY/content/discurso-do-ministro-da-cultura-a-gilberto-gil-na-primeira-reuniao-do-comite-intergovernamental-da-convencao-sobre-a- protecao-e-promocao-da-doutrinha-oficjal//133276/10883?redirect=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cultura.gov.br%2Fdiscursos%3Fp_p_id%3D101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26p_col_id%3Dcolumn-1%26p_col_count%3D1%26_101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY_advancedSearch%3Dfalse%26_101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY_keywords%3D%26_101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY_detailed%3Dtrue%26_r_p_5642365234_restartCur%3Dfalse%26_101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY_cur%3D7%26_101_INSTANCE_DmSRak0YIQFY_andOperator%3Dtrue (Accessed: 1 July 2016).

214 The richest and more productive state in Brazil.

215 Nowadays, Marta Suplicy broke with Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores), and joined a traditional center party (PMDB/ Democratic Movement Brazilian Party).

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argued that Brazil should assume cultural diversity as its nation branding, “If there is a strength in soft power, certainly it is not on the ‘power’, but on the ‘soft’. In Brazil’s case, we have a very special wealth, prompted by our huge cultural diversity.” This statement demonstrates that the concept of soft power ‘trickle down’ from the Itamaraty to the other Ministries. Suplicy underlines the importance of soft power for Brazil in her discourse:

Brazil is an emerging economy country, without military power, but now finding out another way of insertion in the world, through its ideas, culture and practices, which are primary sources of soft power. Nye himself, in a book published in 2004, recognized that Brazil has a potential soft power to be explored by foreign policy, due to the attraction of its vibrant culture.

Suplicy’s political discourse contemplates a new vision of Brazil, a cultural country based on the diversity instead of the “retro” image of a country plenty of beautiful women, beaches, samba and football. In terms of cultural policies, for instance, Suplicy’s office allowed the fund raising for three Brazilian fashion designers to present their fashion shows in São Paulo, New York, and Paris; on behalf of a soft power action. The main argument was that Fashion could contribute to Brazil’s nation branding as a modern country, which valorizes its cultural diversity. However, Suplicy was criticized for having an elitist vision of culture, and when she left the

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office, the proposals on boosting the Brazilian ‘soft power’ were abandoned. This alternation of power inside the same government says a lot about Brazilian heterogeneity. Symbolically, the country’s federal cultural policies waved from a black Northeastern office to a blonde Southeastern office, a sort of binary frame that waved also from the popular culture gaze to the ‘high’ culture hegemonic perspectives.

In this section, I examined the discourse of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Tourism, and Culture, concerning the elimination of stereotypes and the boosting of a Brazilian soft power. First, I looked over the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards cultural diplomacy, then I analyzed the interview of the former Minister Celso Amorim to the Foreign Policy magazine. I also pointed out some issues on the Brazilian population arrested abroad, and its relation to the male stereotypes. Second, I made some considerations about sex tourism in Northeast, and the efforts made by the Ministry of Tourism to avoid this kind of tourists. Finally, I investigated the speech of the Minister Gilberto Gil, and compared it with the discourse of the Minister Marta Suplicy.


Conclusion - Beyond Carnival and football

In the realm of public policies, a long term goal for Brazil consists of overcoming its Third World image. Brazilian government has the challenge to coordinate programmes and actions to breakdown the stereotypes. In other words, to communicate that the country is not restricted to Carnival and football. In this way, I sought to trace the construction of Brazilian stereotypes in the American non-official discourse for the last two decades (chapters II, III, IV). At the same time, I examined a few proposals aimed to brand Brazil beyond *mulatas* and soccer players, expressed in the official discourse of the Ministries of Foreign Relations, Tourism, and Culture (chapter V). In this section, I intend to gather the key topics that the Brazilian government could cast in order to spread a better image of Brazil abroad. First, I respond to the questions that have motivated this research. Second, I propose some further researches that could provide strategies and means to deconstruct the clichés that Brazilian men are smart although tricksters, while Brazilian women are beautiful although close to prostitution.

One premise of this paper was that public policies are conveyed to society through official discourse. In the Brazilian case, soft power definitely pops up in the official discourse as an effective means to succeed in world politics. In this sense, cultural diversity assumes a crucial role to build an assertive image of Brazil. As we saw in the documentaries, music videos, and cartoons, Brazil could be considered as the place of utopia: an interracial ‘paradise’, a cornucopia of natural resources, a source of interesting women and skillful men. Still, Brazilian creativity figures as an overarching asset for the country: the cultural diversity offers a unique blend of European, African and Indigenous cultures, which allows the country to bridge the gap between the so-called First World (developed/rich) and the Third World (developing/poor). Conversely, Brazil is also seen as a nation of social injustice, impunity, and violence. The negative images have a decisive role in the stereotyping process, as well as are used by the United States, for instance, to uphold the imperialistic discourse - the “Monroe Doctrine Illustrated.” (Berg 2002: 4-5) (chapter I).

Likewise, the first step to fighting the stereotypes is to grasp in which way the US popular culture represent Brazil, more specifically the gender stereotypes. In order to figure out how does this process works, an overview of the six case studies serves as a final image:

*Brazil: A Racial Paradise?* - the documentary about black people in Latin America conveys that if on the one hand, the message of a Brazilian racial democracy is positive. On the other hand, Brazil is depicted as a false ‘rainbow nation’. Nevertheless, the Afro-American host -
Harvard Professor Gates - highlights that the country respects religion diversity. Further, black people have room for being socially recognized, like Xica da Silva or Mestre Boa Gente were.

*Once in a Lifetime* - the documentary shows that Pelé’s passage through the NY Cosmos team left an ambiguous image of Brazilian soccer players as skillful but tricky. Considering Pelé was a pioneer in the American soccer, his hiring had a key role to construct the image of Brazil as a nation in soccer shoes. The image of masculinity was associated with physical ability and strength, although sometimes also associated with unfairness on the pitch.

‘They Don’t Care About Us’ - the clip pictures Brazil in a positive way concerning music plus the joyful people despite poverty. Conversely, the clip brings a negative image of the police presence and of the local authorities. In respect of sexuality, the music video breaks down the carnival clichés, in which Brazil is a cornucopia of *mulatas* in bikinis - women appear as figurers. Michael Jackson’s androgynous omnipresence emphasizes the social protest song.

‘Beautiful’ - the clip reproduces the clichés of a spicy sexuality: Brazilian girls in bikini are mostly depicted from the backside. Snoop Dogg’s performance strengthens the heterosexual matrix. The leading female cast is composed of *morenas* and *mulatas*, which highlights the Brazilian femininity are tied to sexuality, class, and race. Rio is shown as the place of utopia: a tropical paradise, a plethora of eroticism, a venue where Snoop can enjoy an interracial party.

*Blame It on Lisa* - the cartoon makes a parody of Brazilian society in general. The episode portrays the country as a ‘paradise’ for all sorts of criminals, in which the policemen are lazy and inefficient. It also mocks at the hypersexualized women: even the kids are in touch with an early sexuality on the TV shows. The main discourse focuses on the violence issues in a ludicrous way: in Brazil, tourists should be prepared to be robbed, or perverted, or both.

*Rio* - the cartoon is a tribute to Rio de Janeiro, the city is pictured as a cornucopia of tropical biodiversity. In addition, Carlos Saldanha’s utopian perspective presents a city without *favelas*: the criminals are bird smugglers. Carnival and football also reinforce the stereotype of Brazil as a festive country, where everything stops for the national passions. In *Rio*, a Brazilian professional working for the US media industries conducted the stereotyping process.

Therefore, according to the investigated sources, Brazil is represented by the US popular culture in an ambivalent portrayal: at the same time attractive and dangerous. In this context, the figures of the *morena/mulata*, and of the footballers operate as a labeling system to shape Brazilian images of femininity and masculinity. Moreover, the stereotypical figures of the *mulata* and of the soccer player emphasize the patriarchal/phallocentric ideology (Butler 1997: 19), in which women are sexually objectified, while men are supposed to be physically strong,
skillful and creative. These clichés may narrow down Brazilian presence abroad, because it limits the gender performances to specific fields: carnival and football. To name just two examples beyond the stereotypes: 1- Brazilian pianist Nelson Freire recordings of J.S. Bach and other classical music composers, are worldwide recognized and successful\footnote{Bach - Nelson Freire. \url{http://www.allmusic.com/album/bach-mw0002909985} (Accessed: 19 July 2016).}; 2- Brazilian visual artist Beatriz Milhazes has got recognition abroad, her works are “included in prestigious international collections”\footnote{James Cohan - Beatriz Milhazes. \url{http://www.jamescohan.com/artists/beatriz-milhazes} (Accessed: 19 July 2016).}. In this matter, Piscitelli (2008) draws on the effects of this predetermined ambivalence:

The connection between Brazilianness and sensuality annoys women, who are frequently harassed in several milieus. In order to avoid it, some migrants even lie about their national origin (Beserra 2007). However, it also seems to be strategically performed. The ethnic sex appeal is conceived as an asset for undocumented women working in the sex industry, who feel it helps them attract clients. (Piscitelli 2008: 789)

In sum, Brazilian gender performative presents a tight link with class, race, and sexuality. In a soft power mechanism, a wide range of stereotypes combines to accomplish the US popular culture branding of Brazil. In fact, this is a two-way road of constructing Brazil’s image, valid not only for Brazilians performing in America, but also for Americans performing in Brazil. Lastly, the American stereotypical discourse conceives Brazilians as not trustworthy: while men are smart but tricksters, women are charming but close to prostitution. Hence, American citizens must be aware of traps, coups, and corruption when visiting Brazil. To a certain extent, the same clichés that run in America, run in Europe as well. It might be concluded that the First World gaze towards the Third World homogenizes the ‘underdeveloped’ populations, and that is why it is feasible to believe that Brazil speaks Spanish. Indeed, the ‘parrot’ could speak any language since speaking is only an imitation process\footnote{It is important to mention that the parrot is not a derogatory image within Brazil. On the contrary, most Brazilians have sympathy for the smart bird, and do not feel offended by the representation.}.

In the light of these circumstances, in chapter V, I aimed to list some responses expressed in the official discourse to represent Brazil in a diverse imagery, and to relate it to soft power. As already seen, Minister Gilberto Gil discourse incorporates Bourdieu’s concepts of
symbolic capital: Brazilian culture is valued as a strategic symbolic capital, which should be promoted in order to improve Brazilian image worldwide. Thus, this symbolic capital could open up the market to Brazilian cultural products and services, boosting economic growth combined with social development. At this point, some further researches could propose public policies which would foster the Brazilian soft power. Not by chance, ‘Creative Industries’ appears to be a problematic notion in Brazil\textsuperscript{224}, although it could provide interesting inputs to promote Brazilian image abroad, beyond the stereotypes of samba and football. However, first it would be necessary to elucidate the conceptual differences in Brazil, between ‘Creative Industries’ and ‘Creative Economy’.

From 2003 onwards, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture official discourse incorporated some Euro-American concepts on Creative Industries\textsuperscript{225}. The purpose was to stimulate local economy and job creation, although the concept ‘Industries’ has been changed to ‘Economy’. The main reason for this is that the idea of ‘Industries’ - a large scale production driven to profit - does not fit in the Brazilian leftist cultural mentality. For its part, ‘Economy’ is also related to make money, albeit it can be found in alternative forms to the capitalist system. In Brazil, for instance, ‘Creative Economy’ is also related to craft, regional gastronomy, embroidery, among others activities out of the realm of technology\textsuperscript{226}. Unlike the neoliberal cultural policies that seem to have been shaped with no contradictions between business and creativity, in Brazil, public policies opposed arts and market. In this political ideology, the State should foster creativity in its artistic expressions, because it is not submitted to market laws. Thus, four guiding principles were closely linked to the ‘novelty’ of Creative Economy: Cultural Diversity, Innovation, Sustainability, and Social Inclusion as an overarching principle\textsuperscript{227}. More than a model, the discourse (principles and purposes) was ‘imported’ to give the impression that Brazil could be a global player in cultural subjects, like the First World countries. Unfortunately,

\textsuperscript{224} For instance, in Brazil there are no post graduation courses in the Creative Industries area.
\textsuperscript{226} In the First World, Creative Industries are in general linked to technological solutions.
constant changes in the Ministry positions interrupted the implementation of cultural policies towards the so-called Creative Economy.

As such, we should understand the Brazilian official choice of Creative ‘Economy’ rather than Creative ‘Industries’ in this context of cultural colonialism: indeed, Brazilian government tries to affirm the country’s stance by reproducing the ‘developed countries’ practices and discourses. My hypothesis here is that Creative Industries, namely: Music, Visual Arts, Literature, Fashion, Cultural Tourism, Architecture, Design, Gastronomy - altogether represent a powerful instrument to spread Brazilian soft power beyond the stereotypes of Carnival and football. Regardless of any terminology, policy makers should focus on creativity as a Brazilian valuable export commodity. Therefore, it would be necessary to have further researches on the connections between Creative Industries, public policies, and Brazilian soft power.

Another essential means to deconstruct the stereotypes is receiving international migrants: students, scholars, scientists, artists, in brief, the so-called high skilled immigrant. It has commonly been assumed that cultural exchanges could be a mechanism to enhance people’s understanding of each other, and consequently contributing to eliminate the clichés. Nye (2004) attaches great importance to receiving foreign students in the US educational system, the author relates the scholars/students experiences with “American high culture” to a solid source of soft power. As Nye (2004) notes:

For example, Secretary of State Colin Powell has said, "I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here." International students usually return home with a greater appreciation of American values and institutions, and, as expressed in a report by an international education group, "The millions of people who have studied in the United States over the years constitute a remarkable reservoir of goodwill for our country." Many of these former students eventually wind up in positions where they can affect policy outcomes that are important to Americans. (Nye 2004: 44-45)

In this regard, further researches in the cultural interchange field would be pivotal to enhance Brazilian soft power. Currently, there are some programmes related to the promotion of Brazilian culture abroad, mainly held by the Foreign Affairs and the Culture Ministries. A brief overview of specific projects could be worthy to demonstrate how the cultural policies are aimed only to ‘export’, to send Brazilian culture abroad. As follows: 1- The Brazilian National Library
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released the Support Program for the Translation and Publication of Brazilian Authors\textsuperscript{228}. One of the most enduring programmes of the Ministry of Culture, existing since 1991, it has granted more than 900 scholarships; 2- In the realm of the Ministry of Foreign Relations\textsuperscript{229}: New Voices of Brazil (2011) - stimulates Brazilian popular music focusing on phonographic markets; Project of Arts Residencies Abroad (2011) - supports the exchange of Brazilian artists in international institutions; New Brazilian Dramaturgy (2013) - aims to expand Brazilian theater abroad, counts on a partnership with the Ministry of Culture.

Thus, the four examples above imply the exportation of Brazilian culture. The key problem with this group of cultural policies is the absence of planning to receive foreign agents. That is a serious flaw on the governmental policies, besides the overlapping efforts of Ministries such as Foreign Relations and Culture. For instance, the Arts National Foundation (Funarte)\textsuperscript{230} is responsible for fostering music, visual arts, and performing arts in the federal sphere. However, projects like New Voices of Brazil or New Brazilian Dramaturgy are undertaken by the Foreign Relations team. A reasonable approach to tackle this issue could be to integrate civil servants from related areas, while promoting a better comprehension that receiving is a strong soft power.

In terms of directions for future research, further work could explore how European culture represent Brazil, and by extension, how other countries of Latin America or Africans and Asians do the same process, for instance. In summary, the understanding of how the image of Brazil is constructed abroad could provide mechanisms to design public policies aimed against the clichés. This paper has argued that the concept of soft power was incorporated by the official discourse as a mean to increase the global presence of Brazilian cultural products, but it is necessary to breakdown the stereotypes of samba and football. In the realm of popular culture, further research could also be conducted to examine other sources as literature, daily news, tourist guides, or video games. In fact, the stereotyping process has multiple ways, and investigating various cultural products would be very interesting. To take just one example, the successful video game Tekken casts a Brazilian capoeira master, Eddy Gordo, in its menu of

\textsuperscript{228} Biblioteca Nacional (National Library).
\textsuperscript{230} An institution linked to the Ministry of Culture. \url{http://www.funarte.gov.br/} (Accessed: 20 July 2016).
fighters\textsuperscript{231}. Eddy is a strong black young man, wearing dreads, known for his capoeira fighting style. Again, a stereotypical figure.

An issue that was not addressed in this research paper was the distribution and circulation of cultural products. Hence, the range of the documentaries, music videos, and cartoons analyzed was not measured. A greater focus on distribution and circulation could produce fruitful findings that account more for the design of effective cultural policies. Nye (2004) highlights the importance of the receiving audiences for the soft power effects, besides the long-term results and the lack of control by the state\textsuperscript{232}. The author maintains that globalization is not the same as “Americanization”, whereas freedom consists on the foremost asset of US culture. In this sense, Brazil has a similar experience in blending diverse cultural matrix, and policy makers should take advantage of this trait. As Nye (2004) writes:

America has borrowed freely from a variety of traditions and immigration keeps it open to the rest of the world. This makes the United States a laboratory for cultural experimentation where different traditions are recombined and exported. In addition, because of the size of the American economy, the United States is the largest marketplace in which to test whether a film or song or game will attract large and diverse audiences. Ideas and products flow into the United States freely, and flow out with equal ease-often in commercialized form. Pizza in Asia seems American. The effects of globalization, however, depend upon the receiver as well as the sender. Already a half century ago, Hannah Arendt wrote that "in reality, the process which Europeans dread as 'Americanization' is the emergence of the modern world with all its perplexities and implications." (Nye 2004: 41).

One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether the copyright laws narrow the free-flowing that Nye advocates. A serious weakness with the argument above might be the ethnocentrism of the author, which prevents him to consider that America is not open neither free. The US strict capitalist system sets up an economy where the market laws rule the cultural


\textsuperscript{232} "Soft power is more difficult to wield, because, as we saw in chapter I, many of its crucial resources are outside the control of governments, and their effects depend heavily on acceptance by the receiving audiences. Moreover, soft-power resources often work indirectly by shaping the environment for policy, and sometimes take years to produce the desired outcomes." (Nye 2004: 99).
production, copyright protection appears as one face of this tight control. In my research experience, I found diverse formats of copyright restrictions on my main search tool, YouTube. Cartoons are blocked: only the trailer of *Rio* is available; *The Simpsons* could be partially watched. I used a version shared by a Brazilian English teacher (chapter IV) because Fox website was allowed only for US users. Conversely, music videos are shared by the copyright owners: Vevo for Michael Jackson, and EMI music for Snoop Dogg (chapter III). Documentaries are also easy to access: *Brazil: A Racial Paradise?* can be found at the American public broadcaster - PBS; while *Once in a Lifetime* is shared by individual users (chapter II). The use of YouTube as a research tool was a cutting-edge experience to me. In this respect, the understanding of the media website as a result of both corporate practices and audience use, helped me to organize the information.

At a first glance, the results that appear from a particular search - *bossa nova*, for instance - are chaotic. Jean Burgess and Joshua Green (2009) provide a useful interpretation, in which YouTube represents a shift in the power relations between media industries and consumers. In this use of Web 2.0 environment, the authors point out its multiple roles: high volume website, broadcast platform, media archive, and social network (Burgess & Green 2009: 5). To give an example, I first found a video of *Garota de Ipanema* performed by Astrud Gilberto and Stan Getz, shared by a fan (see footnote 144, chapter IV). My aim was to illustrate to a non-Brazilian reader the essence of *bossa nova*. Then, YouTube led me to Frank Sinatra singing the same song in a duet with Tom Jobim. A great discovery to me: first because I have never seen this duet, second because it was a synthesis of soft power, the subject that I have been studying for the last six months. The video was shared by Frank Sinatra channel, but it had no information about the date. Dates matter to me since I am graduated in History, hence I started to search for more information and found an entire programme with Sinatra & Jobim, shared apparently by a French fan. Finally, I fulfilled the date: 1967. Against this background, I ensure my reader that each information in this thesis was at least double checked.

For the Brazilian sources, perhaps the most serious disadvantage of this research was the few documents produced in English by the governmental authorities. I strove to find speeches originally written in English, however, it was only possible to trace one speech of Minister Gilberto Gil in an international Conference (chapter V). Besides that, I also traced an interview by Minister Celso Amorim (chapter V). Everything else had to be put on a free

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translation. In the same way, the Ministries’ official websites are available exclusively in Portuguese, with the exception of Ministry of Foreign Relations, which offers a Spanish/English menu. There is, therefore, a definite need for translating the website contents to other languages. Nowadays, if a potential tourist or an artist interested in Brazilian culture visit the respective governmental websites, they would have to read in Portuguese. Obviously, translating the contents to a lingua franca (English) would be just a first step. If Brazil wishes to be a global player, Tourism and Culture should be perceived as strategic activities, and consequently the investment in these Ministries must be increased.

In this section, I sought to respond the questions that have originated this research. Then, I pointed some possible interdisciplinary researches that could help policy makers to breakdown the stereotypes that label Brazilian men and women in a negative way. In order to overcome these unfavorable images, Brazilian government certainly could assist by creating policies that promote a diverse range of activities, out of Carnival and football. For instance, promoting a female writer; or a male fashion designer. In other words, Brazilian creativity should drive Brazilian soft power.
Bibliography


## Appendix 1 -
### US Popular Culture Branding Brazil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Product (year)</th>
<th>Gender Performative</th>
<th>Image of Brazil</th>
<th>Main Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Brazil: A Racial Paradise?</em> (2011) Documentary/USA</td>
<td>Both. Slave Xica da Silva married his master, was freed and became one of the wealthiest women of her time. Mestre Boa Gente overcame poverty through <em>capoeira</em>.</td>
<td>Positive. In Brazil, black people can overcome their “blackness” and be socially recognized, like Xica da Silva, the born slave woman who became “queen”.</td>
<td>Brazil was a huge slave economy, slavery was abolished lately. The country gives the false impression that it is a Racial Democracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Once in a Lifetime: The Extraordinary History of the New York Cosmos</em> (2006) Documentary/USA</td>
<td>Totally masculine. Pelé’s football is smart, skillful and creative. Also depicted as disloyal and violent player in the end of his passage through Cosmos.</td>
<td>Positive. Brazil has the best soccer player that ever existed. Pelé was a soccer ambassador, helping to popularize the sport in the US.</td>
<td>Hiring Pelé to New York Cosmos was the great move of smart American businessmen, led by Steve Ross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snoop Dogg (2003) Music video/USA</td>
<td>Predominantly feminine. Easy-going Brazilian girls, sexually available to American rappers / Inversion show female soccer and footvolley, wearing shorts and bikinis.</td>
<td>Positive. Brazilian girls are beautiful, sensual, and playful. Beaches are plenty of pretty girls in bikini.</td>
<td>American rappers are the <em>favela’s</em> kings in Rio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Simpsons - Blame It on Lisa</em> (2002) Cartoon/USA</td>
<td>Both. Sexual appeal even in children’s TV show, dancers groaning while squeezing her bodies in all sorts of objects. Taxi drivers are kidnappers, depicted as typical bandits.</td>
<td>Negative. Jesting portrait of Brazil. Rio de Janeiro is surrounded by <em>favelas</em>, where children are pickpockets. Amazon snakes walk around tourist places.</td>
<td>If you come to Brazil, be prepared to be robbed and kidnapped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio (2011) Cartoon/USA</td>
<td>Both. Male macaw is domesticated. A clumsy pet, he cannot fly. Female macaw is wild. Bold, she assumes the leadership in risk situations.</td>
<td>Positive. Brazil is a beautiful tropical country, plenty of water, tropical plants and birds. Carnival and football are national passions.</td>
<td>It is possible to laid a new partnership of equals between Brazil and the United States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2 -
Lyrics

_They Don’t Care About Us_
Songwriter: Michael Jackson (1996)

Skin head, dead head
Everybody gone bad
Situation, aggravation
Everybody allegation
In the suite, on the news
Everybody dog food
Bang bang, shot dead
Everybody's gone mad

All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us
All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us

Beat me, hate me
You can never break me
Will me, thrill me
You can never kill me
Do me, Sue me
Everybody do me
Kick me, strike me
Don't you black or white me

All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us
All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us

Tell me what has become of my life
I have a wife and two children who love me
I am the victim of police brutality, now
I'm tired of bein' the victim of hate
You're rapin' me of my pride
Oh, for God's sake
I look to heaven to fulfill its prophecy
Set me free

Skin head, dead head
Everybody gone bad
trepidation, speculation
Everybody allegation
In the suite, on the news
Everybody dog food
black man, black mail
Throw your brother in jail

All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us
[Refrain]

Tell me what has become of my rights
Am I invisible because you ignore me?
Your proclamation promised me free liberty, now
I'm tired of bein’ the victim of shame
They're throwing me in a class with a bad name
I can't believe this is the land from which I came
You know I do really hate to say it
The government don't want to see
But if Roosevelt was livin'
He wouldn't let this be, no, no

Skin head, dead head
Everybody gone bad
Situation, speculation
Everybody litigation
Beat me, bash me
You can never trash me
Hit me, kick me
You can never get me

All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us
[Refrain]

Some things in life they just don't want to see
But if Martin Luther was livin'
He wouldn't let this be

Skin head, dead head
Everybody gone bad
Situation, segregation
Everybody allegation
In the suite, on the news
Everybody dog food
Kick me, strike me
Don't you wrong or right me

All I want to say is that
They don't really care about us
[Refrain] repeats 3 times

Published by
Lyrics © Sony/ATV Music Publishing LLC
Beautiful
Songwriters: Snoop Dogg with Chad Hugo and Pharrell Williams (2003)

Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah (oh yeah, there's something about you)
Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
I know you gon' lose it, this new Snoop shit
Come on baby boo, you gotsta get into it (Oh!)
Don't fool wit the player with the cool whip
Yeah-yeah, you know I'm always on that cool shit
Walk to it, do it how you do it
Have a glass, lemme put you in the mood and, (Oh!)
Lil' cutie lookin' like a student
Long hair, with ya big fat booty
Back in the days you was a girl I went to school wit
Had to tell your moms and sister to cool it (Oh!)
The girl wanna do it, I just might do it
Here to walk wit some pimp-pimp clue wit'
Mommy don't worry, I won't abuse it
Hurry up and finish so you can watch "Clueless" (Oh-hooo!)
I laugh at these niggas when they ask who do this
But everybody know who girl that you is
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
When I see my baby boo, shit, I get foolish
Smack a nigga that tries to pursue it (Oh!)
Homeboy, she taken, just move it
I asked you nicely, don't make the Dogg lose it
We just blow 'dro and keep the flow movin'
In a '64, me and baby boo cruisin' (Oh!)
Body rag interior blue, and
Have them hydraulics squeakin' when we screwin'
Now she's yellin', hollerin' out Snoop, and
Hootin', hollerin', hollerin', hootin' (Oh!)
Black and beautiful, you the one I'm choosin'
Hair long and black and curly like you're Cuban
Keep groovin', that's what we doin'
And we gon' be together until your moms move in (Oh!)
Oh yeah, there's something about you
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
Oh yeah, there's something about you
Snoop Dogg Clothing, that's what I'm groomed in
You got my pictures on the wall in your room-in (Oh)
Girls be complainin' you keep me boomin'
But girls like that wanna listen to Pat Boone
(Oh yeah, there's something about you)
You's a college girl, but that don't stop you from doin'
Come and see the Dogg in a hood near you-in (Oh)
You don't ask why I roll wit a crew, and
Twist up my fingers and wear dark blue-in
(Oh yeah, there's something about you)
On the east side, that's the crew I choose
Nothin' I do is new to you (Oh-hooo!)
I smack up the world if they rude to you
Cause baby girl you're so beautiful
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
Beautiful, I just want you to know (Oh!)
You're my favorite girl (Oh yeah, there's something about you)
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
See I just want you
To know that you are really special
Oh why, oh why, oh why, oh why
Yeah, oh yeah there's something about you
Yeah, oh yeah there's something about you
Yeah, oh yeah there's something about you

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Appendix 3 - Brazilians Abroad