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Choreographing National Identity: The Political Use of Samba and Tango

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Choreographing National Identity: The Political Use of Samba and Tango

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Honors Thesis
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Abstract

This paper explores the political potential of dance as a national symbol through an investigation of Brazilian Samba and Argentine Tango. Rising above repression, these dances began their ascension towards national iconic status through a process of foreign influence, political necessity and elite acceptance. This process was completed by the national propagation of these dances by Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) and Argentine President Juan Perón (1946-1955) who both later used these dances as subtle propaganda to not only maintain power, but also bolster their personal popularity and foster a new sense of nationalism within their home nations.

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I would like to thank my advisor, Paul Dosh, for inspiring me to accomplish things of which I never thought myself capable. This project would not have become a reality without him. I would also like to thank my two readers, Amanda Ciafone and Becky Heist, for their advice and commitment. Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family. In particular, I would like to thank my parents, Kenneth and Susan Hill, for their unending support and encouragement.

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Introduction

Dance tells a story. Through abstract body movements, it has the potential to simultaneously convey messages, express emotions and construct identity. However, this potential is often overlooked. Relegated to the realm of the unreasonable and purely emotional, there is a profound lack of scholarship that addresses dance's concrete uses. This research directly confronts this dearth of scholarship, emphasizing the political power of popular dance as both a carrier of nationalist sentiment and a tool of propaganda.

The two principle questions driving this research are: how have the Argentine tango and the Brazilian samba become symbols of national identity and how have political leaders used these dances and their accompanying status to foster nationalism and political popularity? These two dances serve as effective comparative cases due to their similar historical trajectories and close relation to two of Latin America's most famous populist leaders, former Argentine President Juan Perón (1946-1955, 1973-1974) and former Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945, 1951-1954).

Flourishing as populist leaders in an era when Latin America was aggressively attempting to integrate itself into the world economy, Vargas and Perón chose to rely on their nations' internal resources and potential. They both took advantage of their leadership positions to craft economies that supported the nationalization of industries and their nations' ever-growing urban population. As a part of this national project, Vargas and Perón went to great efforts to foster a new type of nationalism. One of the most important tools in the creation of this new nationalism was popular culture. I

address Vargas and Perón's individual use of one of the least studied forms of popular culture- dance.

Rising above repression, the tango and samba became national symbols of their respective home nations: Argentina and Brazil. However, in this role as national and cultural symbols, both dances also became carriers of nationalist sentiment and tools of political propaganda. Perón and Vargas took advantage of this propagandistic potential, as both leaders consolidated the tango and samba's national status in an attempt to propagate their own personal popularity and national ideology. This propagandistic use simultaneously strengthened these dances' ties to nationalism. Thus, Perón and Vargas' complex relationship with the tango and samba as carriers of nationalist sentiment, cultural significance and propaganda begins to illuminate how dance can be used to foster nationalism and have political power.

However, the Argentine tango and Brazilian samba are only two examples of the political power of popular dance. Why focus so much attention on them? Are not other popular dances of equal or greater importance to the understanding of dance's intersection with politics? While the study of other popular dances is undeniably of great political, cultural and national value, the similar history of the samba and tango, their propagation by sympathetic leaders and their continued popularity recommends their analysis as an effective point of departure for further study.

I begin by situating my exploration of the political power of dance within the scholarship on nationalism. Chapter 1 offers a limited literature review of theories of nationalism, with an emphasis on those that acknowledge nationalism's functional and instrumental character. This review illuminates the complexities of nationalism, while

informing my definition of the concept. In this paper, I define nationalism as a constructed attitude of affection for one's nation, which possesses the potential to promote solidarity and loyalty in accordance with a predetermined political and national ideology.

By reconstructing the samba and tango around their national ideologies, Vargas and Perón made conscious efforts to create an "everyday-life" culture that propagated a sense of nationalism supportive of their persons. However, can dance effectively operate in this role? Chapter 2 takes a broader look at the cultural conversation on the symbolic nature of dance as a form of propaganda. This chapter emphasizes both the advantages and disadvantages of using dance as a propagandistic tool and how these dis/advantages affected Vargas and Perón's choice to use popular dance as such.

Chapter 3 introduces the Argentine tango and Brazilian samba in more detail. This chapter illuminates the parallel historical pathways of both dances from their invention up until their appropriation by Perón and Vargas in the mid-20th century. First, offering a brief literature review of the small degree of scholarship that has comparatively addressed the samba and tango, this chapter attempts to fill the gap in this scholarship by presenting a much more complex comparison of the two dances' symbolic journeys. How did these two dances rise from their sordid positions on the underbelly of society to become praise-worthy symbols of their respective nations? I argue that the complex interaction of three factors: foreign influence, political necessity and elite acceptance allowed the samba and tango to consolidate a position of international acceptability and national prestige. However, these two dances' ascension was not complete. Both the

samba and tango needed to be proactively propagated as signifiers of a new nationalism in order to become true national symbols. Vargas and Perón adopted this project.

Chapter 4 centers on Vargas and Perón's concrete use of their respective national dances for propagandistic purposes. Both populist leaders consciously fostered and broadcast these dances in an attempt to bolster their personal popularity, instill a new sense of populist nationalism within the population and propagate their specific national ideology. However, in order to use these dances in such multiple and complex ways, Vargas and Perón found themselves having to alter the dances' context. In the case of the tango, the Perón administration also altered the dance's form, lessening the tango's reliance on musical lyrics. Vargas found this second alteration unnecessary, as his administration relied more heavily on state-driven repression and co-optation to control the samba's message.

This research illuminates the potential of dance, showing how it can simultaneously exist as a cultural art form and a political tool. Thus, I do not analyze dance in a unilateral fashion, but instead strive to bridge the gap between two traditionally disconnected disciplines: dance and politics. The important overlap of these two disciplines can be seen in the execution of this study, which uniquely manifests itself in two forms. The base of this research comes together as a written comparative case study analysis of how the symbolic status of national dance forms can be deployed as a tool of political and national propaganda. However, a crucial secondary component is my own choreographic examination of the system of political control that effectively forces moving bodies to propagate nationalism. Dance has multiple faces that cannot be contained in one medium. Thus, while the written portion of this thesis largely situates

the arts within a social science context, my choreographic component inverts this relationship, kinesthetically connecting these two disciplines (see Appendices 1 and 2).

This research addresses the often-overlooked political power of popular dance. While frequently viewed as an expressive outlet of great cultural import, few studies on popular dance forms have focused on their social and political implications. This limited scholarship offers an incomplete picture of dance, constraining its influences and potential. Through the study of tango and samba, I thus offer a unique perspective on dance's potential to simultaneously unite nations, act as an instrument of political propaganda, and still function as a means of embodied expression.

Chapter 1:

Defining Nationalism: A Literature Review

The investigation of the political power tango and samba garner as national symbols rests at the intersection of two distinct scholarly conversations: the political conversation on the formation and evolution of nationalism and the cultural conversation on the symbolic nature of dance as a form of propaganda. This chapter addresses the first of these scholarly conversations, offering a review of several theories of political and cultural nationalism. These theories will illuminate the complexity of nationalism, while simultaneously working to inform my personal definition of nationalism as propagated by Perón and Vargas.

Facets of Nationalism: A Literature Review

Nationalism is a complex and heavily debated concept. The central concern for countless scholars, nationalism nevertheless remains an "inchoate and indeterminate field" (Smith 1998, 225). As a result, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to offer a comprehensive review of the existing theories of nationalism and their unique contributions to the field. Instead, this review addresses those theories of nationalism that are directly applicable to my investigation of the political power of national dance forms as utilized by former Argentine President Juan Perón and former Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas. I argue that both leaders strengthened the national status and popularity of tango and samba in an attempt to motivate the formation of a specific type of nationalism, which complemented each leader's national ideology.

Most scholars define nationalism in relation to an ideology, a process of nation/ nation-state building or an "individual's political orientation" (Dekker et. al. 2003, 345). By solely focusing on these three manifestations of nationalism and their basic criteria, such as race, culture and language, the actual function of nationalism is often overlooked. What can nationalism do? What ideas and actions can nationalism promote? My definition of nationalism will acknowledge this functional and instrumental character by primarily focusing on nationalism's ability to motivate political activity and solidarity. This definition, in addition, will outline the general criteria necessary for the formation of nationalism, including: 1) a combination of real and imagined shared culture and 2) the existence of a nation. In order to elucidate this definition, I first offer a brief analysis of the three theorists (Anderson, Gellner and Smith) who have informed the formative criteria I apply to nationalism.

The Imagined Origins of Nations: Benedict Anderson

In his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson offers a workable definition of nations, which highlights their imagined qualities and constructed character. Anderson defines a nation as an "imagined political community- imagined both as limited and sovereign" (1991, 6). The three main components of this definition are the fact that 1) the nation is limited, 2) the nation is sovereign and 3) the nation is imagined. Anderson classifies nations as limited because nations are territorially finite. In other words, nations have borders that are determined by the territorial boundaries of that specific nation in combination with its neighboring nations. Sovereignty is incorporated into the definition due to its historical significance as a term that exemplified freedom during the initial emergence of nations.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, nations are imagined due to the impossibility for all citizens of a nation to know each other and share the commonalities with which nationhood is generally associated. Thus, Anderson argues that while citizens might not actually share overarching commonalities, as long as they view themselves as part of a larger community- a nation has been formulated. As Anderson states, "the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1991, 7).

Consolidated Dominance: Perón and Vargas Make the National Political

The reliance of nations and nationalism on this imagined community, while positive for the unification of the citizenry, has historically allowed for the continued dominance of state elites. These elites frequently constructed their own image of the nation and propagated an "official nationalism", which was meant to unite the masses around an idea of the nation that guaranteed their continued power. Anderson describes this "official nationalism" as "an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups, which are threatened by marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined community" (1991, 101). Anderson's failure to analyze this concept of official nationalism in relation to a political leader's national ideology, stating instead that "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it", weakens the applicability of his argument. The motivations for the construction of this "official nationalism" are equally important to analyze when investigating nationalism as a concept. Vargas and Perón's respective national and political ideologies and their propagation of a complementary type of nationalism exemplify this importance.

For Vargas and Perón the national and political were often synonymous. Both propagated political ideologies that promised inclusion, equality and rights for the masses. They were populist leaders, who garnered a large amount of support from their nation's working-class industrial sector. In addition, both Vargas and Perón offered new visions of their country's unique character, with Vargas finding this national exceptionalism within the state's Afro-Brazilian population and Perón finding it from within the state's interior. These national ideologies guided the creation of Perón's "Argentina Nueva" and Vargas' "Estado Novo", which in turn re-constructed the image of the nations by subtly altering the composition and boundaries of these imagined communities.

Realist Origins of Nations: Ernest Gellner

Vargas and Perón's conflation of the political with the national in their construction of a nation is largely supported by theoretician Ernest Gellners' definition of nationhood and nationalism. In his book, *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner states, "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" (1983, 1). In this way, Gellner acknowledges the political potential of nationalism, while still arguing for the important role of the nation in its determination. However, Gellner's concept of nationalism also has its limitations.

Gellner offers a very concrete, realist view of nations that in many ways opposes Anderson's depiction of nations as imagined communities. For example, Gellner insists that nations and therefore nationalism can only be formed where a state is already in place. This insistence allows for Gellner's easy conflation of the political and the national, for the political existence of a state acts as a pre-condition for nationalism. Yet,

this precondition limits the ways in which nationalism can develop; for while the interaction between the political and the national is of unusual importance in the cases of Vargas' Brazil and Perón's Argentina, I argue that nationalism, especially when viewed as a sentiment/attitude, does not rely on the pre-existence of states. As the Stanford Encyclopedia states, "whereas a nation often consists of an ethnic or cultural community, a state is a political entity with a high degree of sovereignty. While many states are nations in some sense, there are many nations which are not fully sovereign states" (Stanford Encyclopedia 2005). There exists a crucial difference between nations, states and nation-states.

Gellner furthers his realist view of nationalism by focusing on the traditional components that motivate the creation of shared sentiments. He emphasizes nationalism as being based on a community's shared cultural aspect(s), be it language, race or common descent, as well as defining the "classical case" of nationalism as a direct descendent of shared community culture (Gellner 1981, 773). This emphasis on the importance of specific cultural determinants differs from Anderson's freer emphasis on nationalism, which he sees as developing from the shared vision of a community rather than actual shared physical or historical traits.

My definition does not fully advocate Anderson's concept nor Gellner's, but rather views the true foundation of nationalism as lying at the intersection of these two more extreme arguments. I argue that nationalism originates in response to some shared characteristic. However, once established in the community, this shared characteristic may be extrapolated on and/or manipulated to alter the composition of those who profess nationalist sentiments.

Imagined and Realist Origins of Nations: Anthony Smith's Moderate View

Anthony Smith echoes this popular moderate version of nationalism through his concept of ethno-symbolism. Ethno-symbolism attempts to consolidate Gellner and Anderson's conceptions of the nation. Smith describes the concept of ethno-symbolism as a belief that, "most nations are formed on the basis of pre-existing ethnic ties and sentiments, even if in time they go well beyond them" (1998, 226). Thus, nations and the nationalism that often accompanies their creation are both real and imagined.

Smith's concept of ethno-symbolism can also be used to explain the national influence of cultural symbols. Particularly applicable to this paper's investigation of the political power of the tango and samba, ethno-symbolism traces the "role of myths, symbols, values and memories in generating ethnic and national attachments and forging cultural and social networks", while simultaneously investigating, "the ways in which nationalists have rediscovered and used ethno-symbolic repertoire for national ends" (1998, 224). As nationalist political leaders, Vargas and Perón's use of symbolic dances for national ends, explained in Chapter 4, falls directly under the category of ethno-symbolism, supporting its validity as a perspective of nationalism.

Vargas and Perón's appropriation and propagation of the samba and tango fostered a sense of nationalism that was defined by its constructivist nature- being a product of both the real and the imagined nation and their political and national ideologies. However, what did this nationalism do? Why was the creation of this type of nationalism important to these political leaders? How did this nationalism intersect with their political and national goals? In order to answer these questions, one must analyze the often-overlooked functional-instrumental nature of nationalism.

Functional Definition of Nationalism

Providing a functional definition of nationalism allows for the broader application of the concept, while also promoting nationalism's equation with other concepts such as one's national attitude or political orientation. The book, *Reflexiones Teóricas acerca del nacionalismo y el proceso de formación del estado y la nacion en la América Latina*, enumerates the four main functional characteristics of nationalism, stating that nationalism can:

> 1) Motivar la actividad y la solidaridad política, 2) "movilizar la colectividad concebidad como 'nación' contra opositores internos o externos, o contra cualquier amenaza, 3) refirir a la población dentro de los límites estatales o establecer estas límites y 4) crear un sentido de lealtad en la población" [1) motivate political action and solidarity, 2) mobilize the collectivity known as the 'nation' against internal or external opponents, or any threat, 3) refer to the population within the state limits or establish these limits and 4) create a feeling of loyalty in the population] (Köning 1998, 21).

These four functions each have a unique association with nationalism, informing it in its many different forms. For example, functions 1 and 4 are closely related with nationalism's existence as an attitude or sentiment, while functions 2 and 3 are more related to nationalism as an action of nation building and self-determination. While I do not intend to argue for the dominance of one of these functions over the others, for the purpose of this investigation, I will focus on those functions related to nationalism as an attitude. This focus is in large part a result of Vargas and Perón's direct use of the tango and samba to foster political and national solidarity and loyalty.

Nationalism as an Attitude: Dekker, Hoogerdoorn and Malová

Nationalism as an attitude is defined in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy as the "attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national

identity" (Stanford Encyclopedia 2005). Often considered the most positive national attitude that an individual can possess, nationalism relies on 1) an understanding of the conception of the nation, as previously detailed, and 2) a positive process of national attitude development. The first requirement is meet when citizens have an understanding of "what a nation is and what it is to belong to a nation" (Stanford Encyclopedia 2005). Citizens often assume this understanding, regardless of its truth. The second requirement depends on a much more complex social process. Split into three stages of attitudinal development, this process determines the degree of affection one has for their nation. The three stages as described by Dekker et. al. are as follows:

> The first development is the processing of one's affective observations and experiences with one's country and with one's people. The second...is the processing of affective messages from others about one's country and people (i.e. national socialization). And the third...analyzes the development in which attitude is derived from the orientations that the individual earlier acquired and from the individual's early behavior (2003, 349).

While the first and third of these stages are largely internal- related specifically to an individual's personal observations and behavior, the second stage of national socialization remains an access point for political leaders to influence the national solidarity and loyalty of their citizens.

Vargas and Perón took advantage of this access point through their appropriation and propagation of the samba and tango. Burgeoning symbols of national identity, the samba and tango stimulated a high degree of public affection. Thus, as Perón and Vargas associated themselves with these symbols they were able to appropriate the affection and national spirit connected to them. Perón and Vargas, consequently, sent out affective messages to their citizens that whatever degree of affection one had towards their nation, now also applied to the nation's leaders. In order to insure that the majority of this

affection would fall under the category of nationalism, Perón and Vargas employed other tools such as verbal nationalistic rhetoric. As Dekker et. al. describes these tactics, "such leaders use the issues of the 'nation' to acquire, maintain, or extend their political power. Under the influence of charismatic and nationalistic political leaders, a considerable part of the population may have strengthened positive national attitudes and thus may move upward in the national attitudinal hierarchy" (2003, 352).

Cultural Nationalism

Up until this point, this chapter has served to illuminate the complexity of nationalism as a general concept, while also allowing for the development of my personal definition of nationalism. I define nationalism as a constructed attitude of affection for one's nation, which stems from the concept of the nation as both real and imagined and also possesses the potential to promote solidarity and loyalty in accordance with a determined political and national ideology. Yet nationalism is not a unified concept. In fact, nationalism is frequently discussed as two separate, but related types: cultural nationalism and political nationalism. While my previous discussion of nationalism has attempted to address nationalism's general applicability, bridging the gap between the cultural and political, it is important to note the differences between these two types. The following section will briefly discuss these differences, as well as expand on the concept of cultural nationalism.

John Hutchinson explicates the differences between cultural and political nationalism in his essay "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration". One of the main differences between these two types of nationalism is their distinct goals. Political nationalism has as its objective the creation of a representative national state that will

provide equal rights for all citizens. Cultural nationalism, on the other hand, aims to re-create the unique characteristics, which define the nation. As Hutchinson states, "The cultural nationalists engage in naming rituals, celebrate national cultural uniqueness and reject foreign practices, in order to identify the community to itself, embed this identity in everyday life and differentiate it against other communities" (1994, 124). Another main difference is how political and cultural nationalists view the nation; political nationalists view it as a constructed community that is united by laws and regulations, while cultural nationalists view it as an "organic being" (1994, 122).

Despite these two major differences between cultural and political nationalism, their consolidation is relatively common. Vargas and Perón both successfully completed this consolidation by concurrently promoting the legal components associated with political nationalism and celebrating the cultural uniqueness of their respective nations. This consolidation also allowed for the transformation of Vargas and Perón's vision of nationalism into an "organic ideology." This term, coined by Gramsci, describes ideologies that have been transformed from their pure philosophical core into ideologies that influence everyday practices and have become "practical and popular forms of consciousness" (Hall 1996, 431).

The transformation of these ideologies into forms accessible to the public via their new involvement with cultural nationalism highlights the centrality of culture in any discussion of nationalism; for culture not only helps shape popular attitudes, but also is a "crucial site for the construction of popular hegemony" (Hall 1996, 439). This site of popular hegemony is constituted in part by what Gramsci terms the "national-popular" (Hall 1996, 439). Important to the discussion of cultural nationalism, the term "national-

popular" conflates the ideas of national sovereignty and popular sovereignty, allowing a nation whose dominant leaders operate with the general interest of other groups in mind to simultaneously be the creators of political and cultural nationalism (Hall 1996, 423). Thomas Turino acknowledges this important overlap within his article, "Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations." In this article, Turino defines cultural nationalism as:

> The semiotic work of using expressive practices and forms to fashion the concrete emblems that stand for and create the 'nation', that distinguish one nation from another, and most importantly, that serve as the basis for socializing citizens to inculcate national sentiment...it is one of the essentialist pillars upon which the entire nationalist edifice stands (2003, 175).

Including any expressive cultural practice, such as dance, music, and the visual arts, cultural nationalism has historically been associated with Gellner's concept of the nation as a community that forms around a shared cultural bond. However, cultural nationalism is similarly applicable to the particular form of nationalism propagated by Vargas and Perón, which is at times titled populist nationalism.

Considered populist leaders, Vargas and Perón both adopted populist nationalism in an attempt to re-define their respective nations through the inclusion of the masses into both the political and economic spheres. Yet, in order to insure the political support of the masses as both workers and consumers, Vargas and Perón had to adopt "new methods of governance" that would bind "el pueblo" to the state. Some of these methods have already been mentioned, for example Vargas and Peron's equating of the national with the political and their influence on the process of national socialization; nevertheless, the main way in which "el pueblo" and state were linked was through the increased involvement of the state within the cultural realm. As Turino states, "In these cases

populist nationalism was the attempt to create broad based nations in places where they did not exist, and to firm up the crucial nation-state linkage whereby governments could attempt to better direct the activities and attitudes of state populism" (2003, 181).

Cultural nationalists, who viewed Vargas and Perón's reliance on national culture as confirmation of the unique personality and destiny of their nation, largely supported the use of culture to legitimize the state's activities. For example, Argentine and Brazilian cultural nationalists were appeased through their leaders promotion of traditional myths and glories, as well as folklore, traditional music and dances. Nevertheless, the tango and samba's role within this equation remained questionable. Considered a cosmopolitan dance by many, the tango was not initially classified as purely Argentine. The Brazilian samba, in a similar way, was rejected due to its strong African influences. How did these two dances go from being the excluded exceptions to the standards of national culture? Chapters 3 and 4 will explore these questions, detailing the processes by which the tango and samba became national iconic figures of their respective nations.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the formation and evolution of nationalism, both political and cultural, in an attempt to illuminate the complexity of this concept, while simultaneously informing my personal definition of nationalism. I define nationalism as a constructed attitude of affection for one's nation, which stems from the concept of the nation as both real and imagined. This affection in turn has the potential to promote solidarity and loyalty in accordance with a determined political and national ideology.

My provided definition is particularly suited to the form of nationalism propagated by Perón and Vargas.

The subject of a substantial amount of scholarly debate, the origins of nationalism receive a high degree of attention in this chapter. I begin by laying out notable scholars Anderson, Gellner and Smith's conflicting arguments on this topic. Anderson highlights the imagined qualities and constructed character of nations and nationalism; Gellner advocates a concrete, realist view and Smith presents a moderate concept of nations as both real and imagined. This moderate view of the nation most heavily informs this paper's concept of nationalism, for Vargas and Perón's appropriation and propagation of the samba and tango fostered a form of nationalism that was a product of both real national similarities and politically constructed ties.

However, why was fostering this new nationalism of great import to Perón and Vargas? By understanding the functional nature of nationalism one can subsequently appreciate the crucial role that nationalism played in Vargas and Perón's campaign for national control. Nationalism can (1) motivate political solidarity, (2) mobilize the nation, (3) act as a referent to the population within the nation's borders and (4) foster loyalty within the nation. Of particular importance to Vargas and Perón's campaign was nationalism's ability to foster loyalty. In this role, Vargas and Perón, who proceeded to use the samba and tango as associative propaganda, easily influenced nationalism. Not only did these two dances help foster a new form of populist nationalism through their incorporation into the political system, but also this political appropriation simultaneously emphasized Vargas and Perón's commitment to cultural nationalism. Thus, Perón and Vargas successfully consolidated cultural and political nationalism

through their positions as political leaders and proponents of their nation's cultural uniqueness. In the end, both leaders successfully developed a new form of nationalism that echoed their political and cultural goals, drew on existing concepts of the nation, constructed new concepts of the nation, and propagated their personal ideologies.

Chapter 2:

Dance As Propaganda: Benefits and Drawbacks

The national project of Perón and Vargas fell into the political and cultural realm. Both leaders attempted to legitimize their state activities and political position through the use and manipulation of popular culture. However, the use of culture to foster national support and political popularity is nothing new. Political leaders often make a point to possess some awareness of popular culture and its national effects. For example, Pedro Ernesto Baptista, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro between 1931-1935, also attempted to gain popularity by using the samba. More specifically, he provided subsidies to samba schools participating in Carnival in an attempt to appeal to the city's favelados (favela dwellers). In response, Vargas removed Baptista from office (Pickle 1987, 18). This trend of cultural awareness and use of cultural tools for political purposes begs the question, why did Perón and Vargas use tango and samba as propagandistic tools, in effect claiming these dances as their own? This chapter explores the motivations behind Perón and Vargas' use of the samba and tango through a theoretical analysis of dance's ability to function as a tool or propaganda[1].

It was previously stated that the investigation of the political power tango and samba garner rests at the intersection of two distinct scholarly conversations: the political conversation on the formation and evaluation of nationalism and the cultural conversation on the symbolic nature of dance as a form of propaganda. Placing Vargas and Perón's

[1] While I do not intend to argue that Perón and Vargas ignored other cultural possibilities and focused all their efforts on promoting the samba and tango, looking at the implications of propagating these two dances offers further insight into Perón and Vargas' commitment to a new nationalism that not only found pride in the masses, but also offered a new theory of exceptionalism (see Chapter 3).

purposeful manipulation of their respective national dances within the broader context of this second conversation, this chapter offers a brief analysis of how dance, as a communicative art form, acts as propaganda. While the lack of literature on dance as propaganda complicates this analysis it also allows for more freedom of interpretation. This chapter thus presents a unique examination of the benefits and drawbacks that stem from the use of dance as propaganda.

What is Propaganda?

A basic knowledge of what constitutes propaganda is essential to the analysis of how tango and samba acted as associative propaganda. An abstract term, propaganda is frequently misunderstood and incorrectly interpreted. This confusion stems in part from the nature of propaganda, which attempts to confuse a subject to the point that they unconsciously consider the propagandist's objective their own personal objective. Another reason for this confusion is the overlap between the term propaganda and persuasion. What classifies an act as propaganda as opposed to persuasion? Are the two terms interchangeable? In their book *Persuasion and Propaganda*, Jowett and O'Donnell argue that these two terms, while commonly considered the same, differ in concrete ways.

One of the major differences between propaganda and persuasion, as defined by Jowett and O'Donnell, is their beneficiaries. Persuasion is considered a mutually beneficial process by which the needs of all involved are meet. As Jowett and O'Donnell state, "Persuasion is interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both persuader and persuadee" (1999, 1). In contrast, propaganda has one beneficiary, the propagandist.

Propaganda serves the goals of the singular entity that disseminates the information. In the case of samba and tango, this singular entity was either Vargas or Perón. Another difference between persuasion and propaganda relates to the degree of transparency of the information provided. Persuasion is inherently more open than propaganda, allowing for a discussion surrounding the information being spread. In other words, persuasion usually allows the intent of the persuader to be known (1999, 40). This high degree of clarity can exist because of the mutual benefits that will hopefully arise from whatever issue or information is being discussed. In contrast, propaganda, which lacks this mutual satisfaction, also lacks this clarity. As Jowett and O'Donnell argue "The propagandist knows however that the purpose is not to promote mutual understanding but rather to promote his own or her own objective" (1999, 41).

The propagandist's basic job is to promote his own goal. While this may seem easier than reaching the mental compromise required by the process of persuasion, there are many steps and strategies that must be implemented for this promotion to be transformed into *effective* propaganda. First, a propagandist must convince his target audience that his goal is their goal. Thus, propaganda does not only promote a goal, but also make others believe that this propaganda is a reflection of their own personal goals. This process is described by Jowett and O'Donnell when the say that:

> the propagandistic promoter is chiefly concerned with making the individual see an act as the only proper way of conduct for him. In actuality, he never surrenders the control he exercises over the individual's behavior, and the source of pressure remains external to the individual. That fact, however, is hidden from the individual who must be made to believe that he, and he alone, decides on a course of action (1999, 31).

This task of convincing is extremely hard for the propagandist for he does not possess the same amount of resources available to persuaders. For example, the propagandist cannot

be helped by the fact that his goal will directly benefit others. Thus, propaganda must ingratiate itself into one's belief system despite its hidden and often harmful consequences. Propaganda must effectively complete this daunting task in order to be considered successful.

Propaganda's Development: A Framework

Four factors that aid in the completion of propaganda's task are (1) emotion, (2) cultural significance, (3) accessibility, and (4) clarity of transmission. Together these factors function as a framework, which aids in the analysis of potential propagandist tools and devices by illuminating what characteristics of propaganda are beneficial in their mission to manage public opinion and manipulate public behavior.

The first factor addresses the use and manipulation of human emotions as a potentially effective strategy of propaganda. Emotions are often considered the unreasonable part of human beings. Thus, when propaganda makes use of our emotions it reaches into the impulsive part of humans that cannot be so easily rationalized or understood. As Rogers states:

> Current emphasis on so-called 'ideology' indicates our recognition today that there is a factor in human society that cannot be reduced to purely political or economic terms, or explained even in the light of time-honored 'reason'. Increasing attention is accordingly given to the part which emotion plays in human affairs (1947, 437).

Emotion, as unexplainable and unreasonable as it is, acts as powerful tool for propaganda as it seeks to ingratiate itself into one's belief system.

The second factor, cultural significance, considers the importance of context and environment. Propaganda is not universal. Techniques used to manipulate human

perceptions in the United States would not be as effective in Brazil or Argentina. Similarly, techniques used in Rio de Janeiro would not be as effective in Buenos Aires. Culture matters. Successful propaganda must consider cultural differences and adapt itself to different contextual arenas. Michael Choukas, author of *Propaganda Comes of Age,* describes the connection between culturally diverse targets and propaganda strategies when he states, "the channels used for such distribution will vary, as will the devices and techniques he (propagandist) may employ, all according to the nature of the group to be attacked, the situation at hand, and at the time at which the action he desires must take place" (1965, 220).

This diversity of propaganda's targets relates directly to the third factor that guides propaganda- accessibility. Propaganda is never one hundred percent effective. It will never convince all of its potential targets to incorporate its message into their belief system. Nevertheless, propagandists still strive to increase the amount of people who will believe in the message they disseminate. In order for propaganda to successfully carry out this task and increase this number, it must be accessible to the broadest range of people possible. This factor is one of the main benefits of using dance as tool of propaganda (see page 28).

The final factor, which guides propaganda's development, is clarity of transmission. While propaganda rarely is completely transparent, for fear of being too explicit about its actual intent, clarity remains crucial in the transmission of the actual message. If propaganda ends up projecting an unintended message or being interpreted incorrectly, it has failed. Thus, clarity of transmission is a key factor to consider when

designing propaganda and deciding on the tools that will be used to portray this message to the general public.

Clarity of transmission insures the integrity of the message propagated. Accessibility increases the number of individuals who understand the message. Cultural significance situates the message within one's belief system and emotion may be purposefully associated with the message to subtly augment its influence. Together, these four factors form a strategic framework that can be used to analyze the eventual success or failure of propaganda. In the following section, I rely on this framework to inform my analysis of dance as a propagandistic tool.

What is Dance?

The first question to answer when discussing dance in any context is, what is dance? While dance is often considered to defy definition, I argue that a basic understanding of dance is essential in order to analyze its propagandistic qualities. For this reason, I offer a working definition of dance, which centers on separating dance from abstract body movement. Two scholars who do just this are Adrienne L. Kaeppler and Judith Lynne Hanna. Both of these scholars present dance as a form of communication that is visual, aesthetic, culturally shaped and musical. Kaeppler defines dance as follows:

> a complex form of communication that combines the visual, kinesthetic and aesthetic aspects of human movement with (usually) the aural dimension of musical sounds and sometimes poetry. Dance is created out of culturally understood symbols within social and religious contexts, and it conveys information and meaning as ritual, ceremony and entertainment (1992; 196).

Not to ignore Hanna's definition, I add her idea of dance as a nonverbal body movement that goes beyond ordinary motor activities to Kaeppler's characterization (1987, 17). This multifaceted definition is appropriate as it provides an anchor for the further discussion of dance as propaganda and effectively applies to both the tango and samba. Thus, I not only adopt this definition of dance within this chapter, but also apply it to my subsequent discussion of tango and samba[2].

Dance as a form of propaganda has received very little study. In fact, the majority of scholarship on artistic propaganda treats dance in a cursory manner. Thus, in order to develop a comprehensive analysis of dance, I relied mostly on the existing literature on musical propaganda, scholarship on the power of nonverbal communication and my own personal experiences as a dancer and choreographer.

Dance's Propagandistic Potential

Benefits

Hanna author of *To Dance is Human* is one of the few scholars to address dance's propagandistic potential. As she states, "Dance may be both the object and the agent of social control. Since it may (acculturate) and maintain political and religious values, implement norms and enforce judicial functions, the powerless and powerful seek to control aspects of the dance phenomenon" (1987, 138). This statement reinforces the

[2] The tango and samba are discussed primarily as a dance form within this paper, however it is essential to note that these two particular dance forms are also intricately tied to a specific type of music of the same name. I work to mitigate any confusion that may stem from this double naming by specifying when I refer to the musical form of tango samba, naming them tango music and samba music. In a similar manner, I specify when I am discussing the dances void of their musical dimensions, naming them tango dance and samba dance. However, my general use of the terminology "tango" and "samba" refers to their combined musical and dance structure.

main argument of this paper that dance has political power, while also directly speaking to dance's ability to act as an "agent of social control" (1987, 138). What qualities of dance allow it to act as this agent? Dance is a successful tool of propaganda because it is positively associated with three out of the four factors previously illuminated: (1) emotion, (2) cultural significance and (3) accessibility. Dance's other benefits stem from its existence as (4) a form of nonverbal communication and (5) an art form associated with music.

The arts are commonly described as emotional conduits and dance is no exception. As Graham McFee, author of *Understanding Dance* states, "Dance, like the other arts, offers a kind of emotional education" (2003, 164). This emotional education profoundly influences human sentiment on a basic level. In different terms, this emotional education is central to human life and understanding on a level that falls outside of reason. Similar to the emotive effects of music, dance can move people to feel certain things. Repetition of a dance can in turn create a firm association between that dance and certain feelings or emotions. This eventual association is an important tool for propagandists. In the case of Vargas and Perón, both leaders worked to control the emotions associated with samba and tango by positioning themselves in the same arena with these two dances. These leaders then went about crafting this association in a variety of ways, such as the creation of politically subsidized cultural events (e.g. Carnival) and the use of the radio to disseminate tango music and samba music in conjunction with pro-government programs. In these ways, both leaders demonstrated their official approval of these dance forms and were able to use dance's emotive

potential to insure that the samba and tango would become associated with their own national and political image.

While dance has the potential to develop new emotional associations, these associations must contest with each dance's already existing group connections and cultural ties. Many of these existing associations stem from a dance's cultural significance, defined by the cultural connections and importance that dance has to the culture in which it originated and/or has experienced popularity. These connections can be either beneficial or harmful to dance's propagandistic potential. Cultural significance can be beneficial because it can create a pre-existing cultural support base for dance. This was true in the case of tango and samba. These two dances had strong cultural significance, which tied them to specific national groups, in particular urban dwellers, immigrants, and the lower class. Thus, Vargas and Perón could take advantage of these existing cultural associations. Loutzaki highlights this fact in her article *Folk Dance in Political Rhythms* when she states:

> Song, music and dance have also been used for power and propaganda, or as mechanisms of accommodation, incorporating elements of dominant powers for maintaining national identities, or expressing populist policy. Through manipulation of these three cultural symbols, those in power impose on dance an intensive and strong political character (2001, 127).

Vargas and Perón's use of the samba and tango fits perfectly within Loutzaki's discussion of "mechanisms of accommodation" (2001, 127). Both leaders made use of these dances and their related music in an attempt to change many "public cultural events" into "public political events," purposefully strengthening the linkages between the national, cultural and political (Loutzaki 2001, 127).

On the other hand, dance's cultural ties can exclude just as easily as they include. A dance's involvement in a "public political event" has the potential to alienate those who do not subscribe to the same cultural practices with which the dance is associated. For example, the samba's Afro-Brazilian roots placed an initial barrier between its small group acceptance and its acceptance by the nation at large. The tango, similarly, was more culturally tied to the nation's urban centers, such as Buenos Aires, making it hard for the dance to become nationally applicable propaganda. However, the cultural drawbacks of dance may be moderated by its other two benefits: its accessibility as a nonverbal form of communication and its musical dimension.

Dance is a form of nonverbal communication. By this I mean that dance is a kinesthetic way of exchanging messages without the use of words or verbal cues. As a form of nonverbal communication, dance is a considerably more powerful and accessible form of propaganda. As Hecht et al state, "60-65% of social meaning is derived from nonverbal behaviors" (1999, 4). This high degree of meaning derived from nonverbal cues makes dance a particularly appealing form of propaganda. Dance is generally accessible and considered by many a universal language. While this categorization is misleading in some cultural respects, the fact remains that dance has the potential to reach and be understood by a mass audience. Dance provides "information for those who seek no information" (Barnouw and Krirkland 1992, 50).

The final way in which dance may act as an effective form of propaganda is its musical dimension. While this benefit does not apply to all dance forms, it does successfully apply to the two dance styles addressed in detail within this paper, samba and tango. Both samba and tango are accompanied by music of the same name. Thus,

Perón and Vargas did not only have the opportunity to manipulate the actual dance to serve their purposes, but they simultaneously regulated its musical accompaniment (see Chapter 4). This double stimulation of the masses' auditory and visual senses influences dance's propagandistic potential, as auditory and visual propaganda techniques have been "found to be particularly successful in appealing to the masses" (Dowd 1951, 534). Samba and tango thus combine these two techniques allowing for dance's previously described propagandistic benefits- accessibility, nonverbal form, emotionality and cultural significance- to combine with those of music, such as mass appeal. As Dimitri Shostakovich states:

> music is a means of unifying broad masses of people...it is not a leader of the masses, perhaps, but certainly an organizing force! Even in the symphonic form, which appears more than any other divorced from literary elements, can be said to have a bearing on politics...Music is no longer an end it itself, but a vital weapon in the struggle (Perris 1985, 67).

Music acted as a crucial weapon in the context of the samba and tango, strengthening Vargas and Perón's incentive to use these cultural forms to gain mass support for their national ideologies.

Drawbacks

To the extent that dance has many aspects that lend to its effective use as a tool of propaganda, it is also has its drawbacks. One of these drawbacks was highlighted during the discussion on dance's important cultural significance, however others exist. The two most detrimental factors are dance's (1) transient nature and (2) interpretive freedom. At the time, these two factors had the potential to deter Vargas and Perón from choosing to

employ the samba and tango as carriers of their national message. As it is, these drawbacks made Vargas and Perón's propagandist role that much more difficult.

The transient nature of dance is one of its biggest drawbacks. As McFee states, "Dance exists at a perpetual vanishing point...at the moment of its creation it is gone" (2003, 89). This vanishing nature makes it difficult to manipulate and shape dance into a usable form of propaganda. Thus, propagandists must shape the larger trends surrounding the popularity of dance. They must insure that the masses and the musicians choreograph, cultivate and perform the nationally approved version of each dance. For example, Perón and Vargas never directly altered the samba or tango's dance vocabulary, instead focusing their attention on altering the context of the dance. This context included the environment where the samba and tango were performed and the music, which guided the dance movements. By adopting this method Perón and Vargas rather successfully avoided having to directly confront dance's transient nature.

One major drawback that Vargas and Perón did have to confront was the interpretive freedom inherent in dance. One of the reasons for dance's accessibility, considered a benefit, is that it is open to multiple interpretations. In other words, every single spectator may read a dance differently. Thus, propagandists who choose to use dance as a tool in their struggle to shape belief systems must contend with the possible misinterpretation of their chosen message. Vargas and Perón attempted to avoid this in two ways. First, as previously stated, both leaders focused on using contextual clues and musical clues to transmit their message. Secondly, Vargas and Perón kept their message fairly simplistic. They wanted support for their personal claims to power and their national ideologies.

Conclusion

The lack of scholarship available on dance's role as a tool of propaganda makes developing a preliminary study of dance's effectiveness in this role challenging. Nevertheless, by creating a framework based on a list of generally accepted characteristics of successful propaganda this challenge can begin to be overcome. In this chapter, I applied a framework that argued for the importance of emotion, cultural significance, accessibility and clarity of transmission in all methods of propaganda. This framework illuminated the benefits dance brought as a tool of propaganda- emotion, cultural significance (upon occasion), accessibility, position as a form of nonverbal communication, and musical attachment-, as well as the related drawbacks- cultural significance (upon occasion), transient nature and interpretive freedom. In the end, this comparison clarifies to what degree dance, as a broadly defined term, can act as effective propaganda and how the samba and tango were more specifically useful to Vargas and Perón.

Chapter 3:

A Symbolic Journey: Samba and Tango from Inception to Acceptance

Argentina and Brazil have each used their self-proclaimed national dances, tango and samba, to cultivate a sense of national unity. These dances' consolidated positions as national iconic figures allowed for this cultivation. However, neither were born national icons; the final products of a hidden history of appropriation and repression, the samba and tango rose from their scorned societal positions to eventually become national symbols (Garramuño 2006). By what processes did they come to define their respective nations? This question provides the foundation for my subsequent investigation of the samba and tango's political power; for in order to elucidate the role these dances played in the construction of a new political and cultural nationalism, it is essential to analyze their status prior to this political appropriation (Taylor 1976; Savigliano 1995).

First, I situate my argument within the existing literature on the historical development of tango and samba. This chapter will rely heavily on this body of literature, focusing in particular on Florencia Garramuño's comparative analysis of both dances (2006). Next, I will explore the similarities and differences between the historical pathways of tango and samba. This exploration will begin by detailing these dances' questionable origins and how these origins played a role in each dance's consequent societal repression. This chapter will then expand on these themes of repression, illuminating the three major processes through which the Brazilian samba and Argentine tango rose above their oppressed state to become national symbols: 1) foreign influence, 2) political necessity and 3) elite acceptance (see Figure 1 on page 53).

The Rarely Taken Path: A Literature Review

A number of studies have been published on the historical development of tango and samba (e.g. Castro 1991; Savigliano 1995; Azzí 2003; Garramuño 2006). In respect to samba, many of these studies have focused on the manner in which this dance has come to represent Brazil's exceptionalism and disseminate the nation's myth of racial democracy (Vianna 1999; McCann 2004). One perfect example is Hermano Vianni's book, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, in which he details the historical transformation of samba into Brazil's national music and dance (1999). Vianni describes this transformation in a complex manner that complements my own analysis of samba.

Vianni negates the idea that one social group was wholly or even largely responsible for the samba's rise to its national symbolic status. Instead, he focuses on the importance of what he terms, "cultural mediators." These "cultural mediators" are people with diverse interests and concerns, who, "can facilitate- intensify, accelerate, even institutionalize- relations among the various cultural "worlds" that make up heterogeneous complex societies" (Vianni 1991, 21). It is important to have a sense of Vianni's concept of "cultural mediators" in order to understand the processes by which the tango and samba were able to expand their support base and thus become truly national in the eyes of both their home countries and the international community. In addition, Vianni's book intensely focuses on the work of intellectual Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), naming Freyre the creator and fervent proponent of the idea that Brazilian exceptionalism stemmed from the nation's racially- mixed mestiço population (Vianni 1999). I will utilize Freyre's concept of Brazilian exceptionalism, as presented by

Vianni, to explain the important ideological shift, which began to validate the samba as a national artistic genre.

A similar ideological shift was necessary for the tango to rise to its national symbolic status. Yet, this shift is rarely presented in the same terms as that of the samba; few scholars directly name the tango as a central component of Argentine exceptionalism, focusing instead on the tango's foreign popularity (e.g. Zolberg and Cherbo 1997; Azzi and Goertzen 1999; Denniston 2007). I will attempt to meld these rarely combined components by showcasing how this recognized foreign popularity allowed tango to represent Argentine exceptionalism on an international scale.

While there is a significant body of literature that addresses the samba and an equally significant body of literature that addresses the tango, few articles look at these dances comparatively. One article that does begin to address this gap in scholarship, is Florencia Garramuño's article entitled "Primitivist Iconographies: Tango and Samba" (2006). Garramuño analyzes the transformation of the samba and tango into national icons through complementary lenses of nationalism and modernization. As she states:

> modernization and nationalism in Latin America might be revealed not only as two coincidental processes, but rather as constituting, in their interplay, the very production of modernity. For Latin America, to be national would sometimes mean to be modern and to be modern would sometimes mean to be national (2006, 140).

I will use Garramuño's hypothesis on the complementary nature of modernization and nationalism, directly employing this principle to support my argument on the important role of elite acceptance.

Origins of Repression: The Argentine Tango

The Argentine tango and Brazilian samba began their stories in similar ways; both have African roots, were invented by the lower echelons of society, and were initially repressed by their nation's ruling elites. First appearing in the mid-1800s, the Argentine tango adopted the stylistic and musical elements of various African dances (Taylor 1976). While their exists very little consensus on which specific African dances informed the tango's evolution, it is sufficient for the purposes of this paper to acknowledge the fact that the tango is rhythmically rooted in the West African tradition (Castro 1991). As Azzi and Goertner state in their article on the globalization of tango, "The rhythmic underpinning of the tango is generally attributed to a black population of which few discernable traces remain; other elements are assigned to other Argentine ethnic and racial groups" (1999, 67). This statement reinforces the tango's connection to African dances, while simultaneously recognizing the contributions of other cultures in forming the tango.

Tango developed as a direct result of Argentina's immigrant influx. During the mid-19th century, Argentina was ruled by a group of elites who "articulated a policy of change for their country that came to have the catchword phrase 'to govern is to populate" (Castro 1991, 90). This mantra in combination with Argentina's status as an under-populated country, led to the creation and implementation of a new immigration policy, which succeeded in making Argentina, "the second largest recipient of immigration in the Americas between 1821 and 1932" (Azzi 2003, 25). The majority of these Argentine immigrants were "visible foreigners" and thus did not fit nicely within the governing elites' vision of Argentina as a whiter and consequently more modern

nation, however it was precisely this mixing of high society's rejects, which gave the tango its own flavor and complexity (Delgado and Muñoz 1997, 142).

Tango arose during a time of increased urban migration both from within the country and abroad. As Taylor describes the situation of many foreign immigrants, "Disillusioned by the state of affairs, many new arrivals tended to accumulate around the port cities. Here they mixed with other elements of the giant labor force congregating on the outskirts, the arrabal or orillas of Buenos Aires" (1976, 274). This giant labor force was increasingly made up of rural Argentines who had also moved to the cities in the hope of increased fortune. As a port city, Buenos Aires was the most popular destination for these urban migrations and a hub of cross-cultural contact (Bliss and French 2007).

The style and mood of the tango reflect its origins within these historically marginalized immigrant and working-class communities. While reflective of a certain degree of sexuality, the tango was originally conceived as an outward expression of the everyday sentiments of Buenos Aires' socially oppressed. The tango's bitter musical undertones, solitary nature, and lyrical emphasis on "themes of hunger, poverty, and unfair working conditions" echoed the sentiments and emotions of those living in the poor barrios and slums of Buenos Aires (Castro 1991, 229). As Savigliano eloquently states, "Tango lyrics of the period confirm that the idea of 'allowing time for the miracle to work' was not so easy. They portray misery, prostitution, unemployment...tango sang and danced the darker side of development" (1995, 29). *La Cambalache*, a tango song of extreme popularity demonstrates this dark bent of tango:

¡Siglo viente, cambalache	*20th century, bazaar*
problemático y febril!...	*problematic and feverish!...*
El que no llora no mama	*he that doesn't cry doesn't get fed*
Y el que no afana es un gil! (cont..)	*and he that doesn't rob is stupid*

¡Dale nomás!	*Go ahead!*
¡Dale que va!	*Keep it up!*
¡Que allá en el horno	*That there in hell*
nos vamos a encontrar!	*we're gonna reunite!*
¡No pienses más,	*Don't think anymore,*
sentate a un lao,	*move out of the way,*
que a nadie importa	*nobody seems to care*
si naciste honrao!	*if you were born honest!*
Es lo mismo el que labura,	*The one who works*
noche y día como un buey,	*night and day like an ox,*
que el que vive de los otros,	*the one who lives from the others,*
que el que mata, que el que cura	*the one who kills, the one who heals*
o está fuera de la ley!	*or the one who is outside the law!*
(Díscepolo, 1935)	(Personal Translation)

Echoed through the "cortes" and "quebradas" of the tango, this misery also found its place within the tango's dance vocabulary. This dance vocabulary was developed in the brothels of Buenos Aires. One of the few safe spaces for entertainment and musical experimentation, the brothels "provided protection for a new art form that had emerged in a poor immigrant community" (Denniston 2007, 60). Yet this protection would not last for long; for as the brothels became associated with the tango, so did the tango become associated with sexuality and promiscuity, providing fodder for elites' whom disproved of Argentina's "primitive" culture (Garramuño 2006, 128).

The tango was considered "the epitome of degradation" (Taylor 1976, 282). It was publicly presented as a sexually promiscuous and dangerous dance, only acceptable to be performed by members of the lower class or the sex industry. The nation's oligarchy subsequently banned the tango from Argentina's upper-class salons and dance halls (Taylor 1976). Yet, the oligarchy's emphasis on the tango's overt sexuality as unacceptable and unclean, hide to some degree their true reasons for repressing the tango; the tango was despised for being primitive (Garramuño 2006). As Enrique Rodríquez Lareta, Argentine Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris stated in defense of this repression:

> El tango es en Buenos Aires una danza primativa de las casas de mala fama y de los bodegones de peor especie. No se baila nunca en los salones de buen tono ni entre personas distinguidas. Para los oídos argentinos la música de tango despierta ideas realmente desagradables" [The tango is in Buenos Aires a primitive dance of houses of ill repute and of the lowest kind of dives. It is never danced in the salons of good character nor among distinguished people. To the ears of Argentines, tango music awakes the most disagreeable feelings] (Castro 1991, 93).

In the eyes of these elites, tango's African roots made it primitive, tango's association with the immigrants made it primitive and tango's popularity in the underdeveloped villas miserias made it primitive. The tango arose when the state's elites were striving for Argentina to be accepted as a modern nation. There was no room for the "primitive" (Garramuño 2006).

Origins of Repression: The Brazilian Samba

Emerging in Brazil nearly thirty years after the creation of the Argentine tango, the Brazilian samba's development and initial evolution follows many of the same patterns; the samba has strong African roots, was created by a marginalized group, in this case the Afro-Brazilian population, and was initially repressed by the nation's ruling oligarchy (Fig. 1). "As a coherent rhythm, dance and musical genre, (the samba) emerged from popular dance parties in the downtown Rio de Janeiro neighborhood of Cidade Nove during the 1910s" (McCann 2004, 44). While vital to the samba's eventual position as a national symbol, this emergence was the result of a long evolutionary process, which began with the merging of certain African and European dance styles (Vianna 1999). The samba's African roots stem from the West African dance tradition (McCann 2004). Yet, similar to the tango, the rapid abstraction of these African dances as they developed alongside and in conjunction with their European and Brazilian

contemporaries makes it difficult to identify their specific names or components. In contrast, a fair amount of information exists on the European and Brazilian dances from which the samba originated: the European polka and the maxixe, itself a blend of "European and African instrumentation and rhythm" (McCann 2004, 44).

African slaves brought their musical traditions, which informed the development of samba, to Brazil. However, it was not until the abolition of slavery in 1888 that the samba truly began to take shape (Raphael 1990, 74). After their emancipation, the Afro-Brazilian slaves left the confines of the rural plantations in search of employment and economic security. Similar to the immigrants of Argentina, this large Afro-Brazilian population hoped they would find this economic stability within the nation's urban centers. Instead, they found continued racism and few opportunities (Raphael 1990, 74). Their societal rejection, however, did not stop these Afro-Brazilians from creating their own forms of cultural expression within Brazil's urban areas. The city of Rio de Janeiro acted as venue for one of these forms of cultural expression- the samba.

Considered the birthplace of samba, Rio de Janeiro acted as a hub of cross-cultural contact in a way similar to that of Buenos Aires. Yet, despite its general status as samba's official home, much debate still exists on samba's specific native location, with:

> some sambistas claiming that samba was music of the cidade, or city, and others contending that it was originally and primarily music of the morro, or hill. Both were collective terms, with cidade standing for the various working and middle-class, white, and mixed-race neighborhoods of downtown Rio, as well as for the city's radio stations and recording studios and morro for the predominately black favelas (McCann 2004, 42).

As samba became a symbol of national identity, the dance became more associated with the image of the pure samba arisen from the morro, unsullied by other cultural influences (McCann 2004, 42). Yet, this eventual belief in the pure samba of the morro, does little

to diminish the importance of Rio's status as a space for the unconscious blending of society's rejects, in particular the "blacks, mullatos, Indians, peasants and illiterates" (Clark 2002, 265).

Racism was rampant at the time of samba's emergence. "Only recently freed from slavery, Blacks were still viewed by most Brazilians of Portuguese decent as inferior" (Raphael 1990, 74). This common belief, while not exclusive to the Afro-Brazilian population, worked to justify society's repression of this group and their specific artistic practices, in particular the samba. The samba was considered illegitimate. As a result, samba was prohibited from the nation's respectable dance halls and salons (Vianna 1999). This prohibition extended beyond these elite entertainment centers, as the police made it their task to repress the samba in all of its forms and in all places. As one old sambista affirms, "When we went from one party to another, we had to walk with our instruments hidden. If you so much as walked with a guitar under your arm, the police were already on top of you. The mere mention of the word 'samba' made high class people make the sign of the cross" (Pickle 1987, 23).

While much of this societal repression can be associated with the nation's racism, it is simultaneously the "primitive" qualities associated with Afro-Brazilians, which informed the ruling oligarchy's dislike of the dance form. Similar to the Argentine tango, the samba emerged at a time when Brazil was fighting to be accepted as a modern nation. In the eyes of the elites, samba's African roots made it primitive, samba's association with the nation's Afro-Brazilian population and samba's popularity in the poverty-stricken favelas made it primitive. In Brazil, as in Argentina, there was no room for the "primitive" (Garramuño 2006).

Foreign Influence

Deemed primitive, relegated to the margins of society and legally repressed, how did the samba and tango rise from their sordid positions on the underbelly of society to become praise-worthy symbols of their respective nations? Triggered by the European appropriation and acceptance of these "exotic" dance forms, the tango and samba were ideologically redefined by their nation's elites in order to fit the nationalist rhetoric, which would modernize each nation. In this way, the samba and tango's status underwent a strategic transformation as both went from being the definition of primitive to being the definition of modern. The transformation of the samba and tango into national symbols began with their European acceptance and appropriation. Both these dance forms were appropriated due to their "exotic" appeal, only to have this exoticism altered as they came in contact with new cultures and new societal norms (e.g. Savigliano 1995; Azzi and Goertzen 1999; Garramuño 2006).

Tango began its European tour in the early 1910s (Fig. 1). Traveling between London, Berlin, Paris and Rome, it conquered Europe in a wave appropriately entitled "Tangomania" (Azzi 2003, 26). The effects of Tangomania are exemplified by the tango's arrival and acceptance in Paris, France. During the turn of the century, France craved the "exotic", especially as it applied to forms of entertainment and artistic expression. Thus when the tango arrived in Paris in the early 20th century, it was meet with extreme interest and quickly became a Parisian phenomenon (Denniston 2007, 84).

Tango's journey from the brothels of Buenos Aires to the fashionable salons in Paris occurred in great part as a result of the "niños buenos" or good boys of Buenos Aires. These rich, young men of society gave the tango, what some authors deem, "the

greatest aid along its path of success" (Taylor 1976, 283). As Taylor states, "After learning the scandalous dance on their trips to the houses of ill-fame (brothels), and knowing what would make them successful in Europe, they took their new airs (imitated from the compadrito with his dance) to Paris" (1976, 283). In this way, these "niños buenos" served as "cultural mediators" as defined by Vianni; for these "ninos buenos" made it their task to take tango out of Buenos Aires and introduce it to new cultures (1999).

After its initial introduction into Parisian society, the tango quickly grew in popularity among the upper echelons of society. The upper class's acceptance of the tango existed in extreme contrast to its repressed and marginalized position in Argentine society; Parisian elites embraced the tango and opened up the doorway for its performance in all sectors of society. As Zolberg and Cherbo state, "Whereas in Buenos Aires, its origins were in the modest brothels of the suburbs, in Paris, the debut took place primarily in aristocratic circles" (1997, 205).

Despite France and other European nation's seeming complete acceptance of tango, the Parisian tango was in reality a far cry from the Argentine tango that had risen from the immigrant barrios of Buenos Aires less than a few decades ago. In France, the Argentine tango was substantially altered in two ways; it was both exotified and sanitized (Garramuño 2006). The French ensured that the tango maintained its exotic image through their recognition and employment of Argentine stereotypes (Azzi 2003). "In Paris, the tango assumed a new folkloric persona, fabricated with elements that had little to do with the original article" (Zolberg and Cherbo 1997, 204). This new image of the tango as an expression of Argentina's gaucho culture was a gross misconception of its

true urban origins. However, this representation served a dual purpose; it maintained the tango's exotic image, while also protecting French tango musicians from their Argentine colleagues. "Because of regulations designed to protect French performers from foreign competitors in situ, the latter were required to present themselves on stage dressed in their 'national costume', not as regular mechanisms but artistes de variétés" (Zolberg and Cherbo 1997, 204). This Parisian created gaucho-tango was exemplified by Carlos Gardel, who while in Argentine performed in "suave nightclub attire" and yet was forced to dress "as generically Argentine" or in other words in gaucho garb, when performing in France and other European countries (Azzi 2003, 68).

The tango's sanitization occurred as the dance, while praised for its exotic characteristics, was simultaneously altered to fit European notions of social dance. First, the tango's complexity decreased. While still reliant on improvisation, it was simplified so that it could be taught to a larger audience of willing learners (Savigliano 1995). According to some, this simplification cost the tango much of its original appeal. Second, the tango's characteristic moves were made less sensual. Instead, the Europeans emphasized the tango's elegant side (Azzi 2003, 68).

The samba's path of foreign appropriation and acceptance was similar to that of the tango. Offering another form of exoticism, the samba appealed to European nations during the early 20th century (see Fig. 1). This exoticism opened up the doorway for the samba's international popularity and acceptance. France, in particular, embraced this form of Brazilian popular culture (Vianna 1999, 77). Similar to the Parisian version of the tango, the Parisian version of the samba differed greatly from that which had emerged from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the century. As Vianna states:

> Brazilian popular culture flowed readily back and forth across the Atlantic in the 1910s and 1920s, undergoing surprising appropriations in France, providing typical examples of the process called transculturation, and generating redefinitions of identity on both sides of the Atlantic (1999, 74).

While there exists relatively little information on the stylistic effects of this transculturation of the samba, the dance's European acceptance heralded the beginning of a new level of national acceptance and propagation.

Elite Acceptance

The foreign elite's acceptance of samba and tango did not just increase these dances' popularity abroad, but also increased their popularity and acceptance within their home nations: Argentina and Brazil (Fig. 1). These dances thus made a "double journey": moving beyond their national boundaries to reach international fame, while shifting from their marginalized position to become elite approved forms of expression (Azzi 2003, 68). This secondary journey of elite acceptance is often deemed "validation through visibility" (Azzi 2003, 68). As the modernized European nations accepted these dance forms, the elites of each nation were prompted to reconsider their own traditions and re-evaluate the relationship between these dances and their national image (Azzi 2003, 68). Numerous scholars have acknowledged this increased interest of the elites in their national dance forms and its dependence on these dances' foreign popularity (e.g. Azzi and Goertzen 1999; Azzi 2003; McCann 2004; Denniston 2007). With respect to tango, it has been claimed that, "endorsement from abroad, especially from Paris, boosted upper-class domestic appreciation of the tango" (Azzi 2003, 68). In a similar way, the samba's elite acceptance has been presented as arising from the time "when (Brazilian) 'nativist' culture became vogue" (Vianna 1999, 70). This major shift from repression to

acceptance was exemplified by the samba and the tango's rise from their nations' slums to the high-class stages (Azzi 2003, 68). Suddenly, these dances were the hits of the stylish salons. Orquestas típicas and sambistas played at high society functions and were provided with radio time. For example, during the 1940s, the samba was not only invited to play at one of the nation's most luxurious hotels, the Casino Atlantico, but the majority of the upper-class "no longer, made the sign of the cross in reaction to the samba" (Pickle 1987, 27).

However, the foreign acceptance of the samba and tango did more than just increase their elite popularity, it also changed the format in which these dances were presented and performed. The elites of both Argentina and Brazil favored the European-influenced, sanitized version of the samba and the tango. Despite their simpler nature, new choreographic elements and less improvisational appeal, it was the Europeanized versions that were effectively promoted within each dance's home nation (Taylor 1976; Azzi 2003). As Azzi and Goertzen mentions in respect to the tango, "It was only in the 1920s that the middle class took to this 'lascivious' dance, now cleaned up by the Italians and the Spaniards: the tango con cortes became the tango liscio or liso and needed 'decent' dancing venues" (1999, 226).

The Primitive vs. the Modern

While it has been shown that the tango and samba's European popularity initiated their elite acceptance within Argentina and Brazil, the question remains: why did the European recognition of these dances validate them as appropriate national dance forms? The answer lies at the intersection of the modern, primitive and national. At the turn of the 20th century, both Argentina and Brazil were struggling to present themselves as

modern, unique nations (Vianni 1999; Garramuño 2006). As supposedly modern European nations embraced the tango and samba, the elites of Argentina and Brazil began to question their previous decisions to repress these dances because of their "primitive" origins. This doubt brought about a shift in Argentina and Brazil, allowing both nations to construct a sense of national pride in the "primitive", which ironically would serve as a modernizing force for both nations. In other words, the European approval of the samba and tango allowed Brazil and Argentina to deem these dances acceptable within a modern context. No more were these dances repressed for their African roots and 'exotic' characteristics. Instead, the Brazilian and Argentine elite praised these dances' unique mixing of the primitive with the modern (Vianna 1999, Garramuño 2006). As Garramuño points out, "While in the 1880s the primitive character of tango and samba was the reason to expel them from the national space, after the 1920s it is precisely this characteristic that will be considered one of the reasons to construct tango and samba as national symbols (2006, 128). Another reason to construct these dances as national symbols was their international image as representative of their host nations.

Political Necessity

The historical trajectory of the samba and tango gave these dances the potential to aid Argentina and Brazil in their journey towards becoming unique and independent nations. Both of these dances rose above their repressed position to become products of European popularity, modernization, praised primitiveness, and finally national acceptance. However, within this seemingly benign process of ascension, lay a degree of political coercion. This coercion played an important role in these dances' broad

acceptance (Savigliano 1999; Vianna 1999). At the peak of their European popularity, the samba and tango acted as national ambassadors. The international community came to view these dances as representative of their host nations and visa versa (Savigliano 1995). Thus, while many elites still did not accept these dances, they realized that it was politically advantageous to at least feign acceptance. In other words, many elites and political leaders never really developed pride in the nation's "primitive" culture and did not agree with the tango or samba's origins, yet chose to outwardly propagate these dances for personal and political purposes. This feigned acceptance could even be seen within the outwardly supportive Vargas administration. Alvaro F. Salgado, a representative of the Radio Ministry of Education during Vargas' reign, clearly shows his simultaneous distaste for and employment of the samba when he states:

> We acknowledge that the illiterate, rude and uncultured masses of the city are often times drawn towards 'civilization' through music. Samba is by nature, sensual, ugly, indecent, and discordant. But we will have patience: we will not reject our brother because of the defects that he possesses. We must be benevolent: we must extend the hand of intelligence and civilization. We will try, little by little, to turn samba into a more educational and social music form. It matters little to us whose "child" it is (Pickle 1987, 28).

This "benevolent" recognition of the samba and tango was important for political leaders (Pickle 1987, 28). With the international community already identifying the samba and tango with their respective nations, if the ruling elite wanted to continue in power, they too would have to associate themselves with this foreign created national image.

National Ideological Shift

The blending of the primitive and the modern exemplified by the samba and the tango was supported by the theories of exceptionalism gaining credence in Brazil and

Argentina at the turn of the century. Particularly evident in the case of the Brazilian samba, these new theories praised the nation's diversity (Vianna 1999; McCann 2004). In Brazil, this theory was presented as a new national ideology, which rested on the latest constructed association of authenticity with racial mixing (Vianna 1999, 36). Previously, as was evident from the repression of the samba, Brazilian society had pointed to the nation's racial mixing as the cause of their nation's backwardness and underdevelopment. However, this new ideology reversed this previously propagated theory.

> This rupture can be conceptualized as an inversion of values, reversing the negative position that the mestiço and racial mixing formerly occupied in Brazilian culture. Instead of a degenerative influence, the cause of great national woes, race mixing could now be interpreted as a positive cultural process around which Brazilians could invent a new identity (Vianna 1999, 53).

As presented by intellectual Gilberto Freyre, Brazil's racial mixing guaranteed the nation's distinctiveness. As a result, Brazil's racial mixing and the cultural products, which emerged from this mixing, such as the samba, had the potential to define Brazil as a unique nation on an international scale.

The tango possessed a similar ability to highlight Argentina's exceptionalism. While not as frequently and formally articulated, the elites' acceptance of tango in essence symbolized "the acceptance of diversity and the inclusion of marginality within the system" (Azzi 2003, 25). Thus, Argentina's exceptionalism, while not defined by popular theory or national ideology, was expressed by the elites' actions and recognition of the nation's diverse immigrant heritage via their recognition of tango.

A Theoretical Reflection

The symbolic journeys of the samba and tango are incredibly interrelated. Despite their geographical and temporal separation, both dances followed similar historical trajectories, were influenced by similar foreign forces and experienced eventual international recognition. Comparatively analyzing the similarities, and the differences between the samba and tango's symbolic journey contributes to one's understanding of propaganda and nationalism. First, I will briefly discuss this chapter's contributions to the concept of dance as propaganda.

While this chapter offers relatively little information on how political leaders positively used the tango and samba as propaganda, it successfully highlights the conscious use of dance as a form of negative propaganda. For example, before their foreign appropriation, both tango and samba were repressed by their respective nation's elites because of their primitive characteristics. This rejection, thus propagated a negative image of both dances, as the elites attempted to portray these dances' and their innovators as partially responsible for their nation's backwardness.

The historical trajectories of the tango and samba laid out in this chapter also provide real life examples of some of the previously articulated benefits and drawbacks related to the use of dance as propaganda. In particular, this chapter emphasizes the importance of dance's cultural significance, accessibility and freedom for interpretation. Dance's position as a cultural signifier is showcased during the national elites' repression of these dances. As previously mentioned, the samba and tango were largely rejected because of their connection with "primitive" cultures. Thus, the tango and samba began their journey as cultural signifiers of a "primitive" culture. Similarly, dance's

accessibility is highlighted by the tango and samba's broad international appeal and its freedom of interpretation clearly played a role in the tango and samba's ability to transform their negative framing by society's elites into eventual international popularity.

This general transformation process also interacts with this paper's previously elaborated understanding of nationalism, for it draws attention to the constructed aspect of nationalism, as well as the relationship between cultural and political nationalism. In respect to nationalism's constructivist nature, the elite's initial exclusion of tango and samba from their nation's identity, yet continued willingness to incorporate foreign trends into this same identity exemplifies how a nation can be defined not merely by its real characteristics, but rather those characteristics propagated as such. This general manipulation of cultural aspects to foster a particular form of nationalism also illuminates the existing overlap between cultural and political nationalism.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the parallel historical trajectories of samba and tango from their inception up through their societal acceptance. These trajectories are marked by the complex interaction of societal repression, foreign influence, political necessity and elite acceptance. Together, these factors defined the samba and tango, allowing both dances to consolidate a position of international and national acceptability. However, the ruling elites official acceptance and re-appropriation of the samba and tango in the early 1920s did not mark the end of these dances' symbolic journey. Logistical and ideological problems still prevented these dances from consolidating themselves as defining aspects of Brazil and Argentina's national identity; for although both dances were viewed as representative of their respective nations by the international community, they had yet to

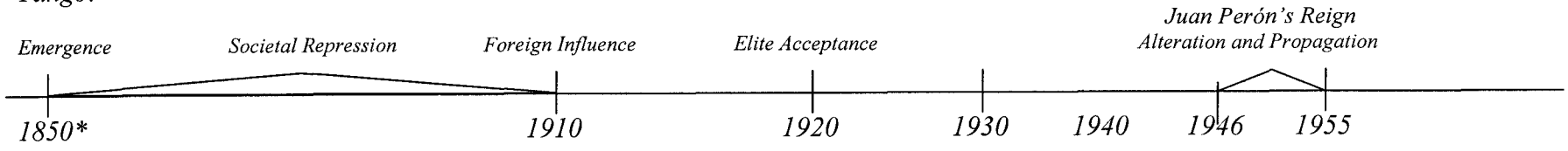
be viewed as such by their actual inhabitants. These internationally national and nationally regionalized dances needed to be proactively propagated and disseminated as part of Argentina and Brazil's national identity in order to eventually reach this status. Vargas and Perón adopted this project of propagation and dissemination (Fig. 1).

Figure 1:

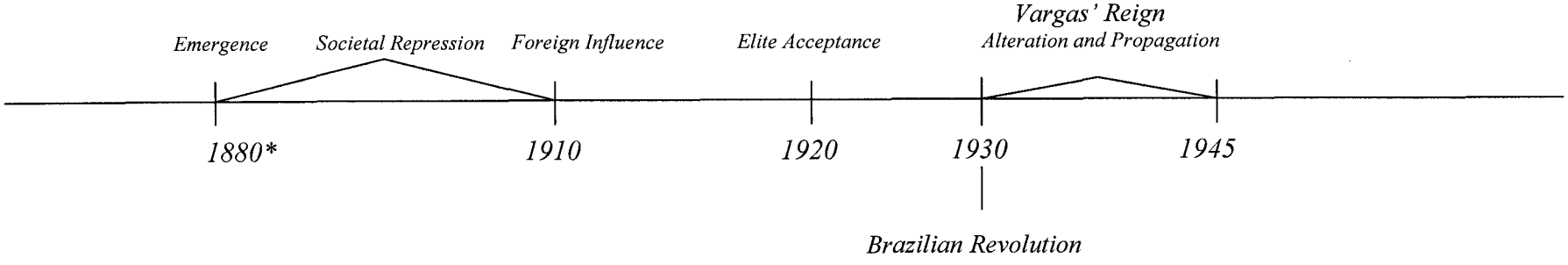
Choreographing National Identity: The Symbolic Journey of Samba and Tango
Created by Amy Hill

General Timeline of Processes:

Tango:



Samba:



** Much debate exists over the specific dates of these dances' emergence. As such, these dates are approximations.*

Chapter 4:

Leading the Dance: The Alteration and Political Use of Samba and Tango

Yo también soy Juan Tango cuando sueño
cuando digo mi amor, cuando trabajo,
¡porque yo, con Juan Tango, soy el Pueblo!
[I too am 'Juan Tango' when I dream
When I say my love, when I work
Because I am, with Juan Tango, the People]

Slavery has ended
Long live the 1930 Revolution
Which was our salvation
Workers toiled twelve hours a day
Bosses were never satisfied

Now with the change
The workers will win
Poor bourgeoisie
On whose bones we will gnaw
(Levine 1998, 15).

These lyrics, one taken from an Argentine tango and the other from a Brazilian samba, extol the populist discourses of Argentine President Juan Perón (1946-1955, 1973-1974) and Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945, 1951-1954). Consciously fostered and broadcast by these South American leaders, the tango and samba were used to support each leader's consolidation of a popular personal and cultural image, as well as propagate a new national ideology. How did this process occur? How could Perón and Vargas successfully use their respective national dances, characterized by the themes of melancholy, desperation, poverty, and *malandragem* to boost their national popularity and support their new populist nationalism? This section answers this question through an investigation of Perón and Vargas' propagandistic use of these dances as symbols of national identity. Both leaders altered these dances' context, forcing the tango and samba to propagate their particular national goals and ideology. In the case of the tango, this alteration also affected the dance's form, as the tango became more detached from its musical component. In contrast, Vargas successfully maintained

the popularity of samba as both a dance and a lyrically driven musical form by relying more heavily on state-driven repression and co-optation.

In order to illustrate these leaders concrete use of their national dance forms, this chapter outlines the dances' paths of appropriation: beginning with each leader's initial rise to power (Vargas: 1930, Perón: 1945). This section first addresses the tango, offering a brief description of its position during Argentina's military rule of 1943. This description is then complemented by a discussion of the samba's status and cultural management before Vargas came to power. Next, I will highlight the new vision that Vargas and Perón had for their respective nations and what role they forced the samba and tango to play within those visions. Furthermore, this section illuminates Vargas and Perón's qualified acceptance of these dances through an exploration of their concrete use of these dances as tools of political propaganda and as symbols for a new nation.

Pre-Populism: The Status of Tango and Samba before Perón and Vargas

In order to appreciate the revolutionary manner in which Vargas and Perón chose to use samba and tango, one must first understand the position these dances held prior to their political propagation. While this paper has previously detailed the historical trajectory of samba and tango on their journey towards becoming national symbols, Vargas and Perón's decision to promote these popular dances was most directly related to the treatment of these dances by each nation's prior regime.

Perón's Rise and Tango's Fall

Juan Perón's political interaction with tango began with the military takeover of 1943. Led by a group of military officers, this takeover seized governmental power from

the hands of acting president Ramón Castillo and placed Argentina under the control of a nationalist military junta. Claiming to oppose Castillo's commitment to foreign interests and the conservative land-rich oligarchy, the military junta promised the creation of a New Argentina (La Argentina Nueva). This New Argentina would reject foreign influence and most exterior-oriented policies, opting instead to develop the nation's interior and protect the "national values, cultures and ethics," which the previous rulers had "trampled in a mad dash to make Argentina subservient to foreign interests" (Castro 1991, 206). Not considered a national form of cultural expression by the junta, tango was excluded from the protections promised in the initial development of this New Argentina.

The military coup of 1943 rejected tango as a national symbol and refused it protection due to its existence as an amalgamation of foreign influences. As can be seen from the wording of various government decrees, the military coup took very seriously their task of favoring a national cultural orientation. For example, one of these decrees directed to the Argentine people asked people to "take advantage of every opportunity to exalt the sentiment of the Fatherland" and "not allow [themselves]...to be corrupted by foreign ideas" (Castro 1991, 208). The tango's African roots in combination with its immigrant association helped establish its connection with these foreign ideas. Yet, the two main reasons for the junta's rejection of tango went beyond its foreign origins, focusing instead on (1) the dance's European success and (2) the Castillo administration's previous acceptance of the dance as a symbol of Argentina.

Castillo's time in power represented for many the "Golden Age" of tango. This was the era of Carlos Gardel, arguably the most famous tango singer of all time, the era of the tango song and the era of tango's greatest popular successes. As Pablo Vila states

in his article "Tango to Folk: Hegemony Construction and Popular Identities in Argentina", during the 1930's, "the dance spread everywhere: in the neighborhoods, the carnival, the dance halls organized by the radio stations. An amazing number of orchestras, dozens of radio programs and magazines dedicated to tango were only the visible part of a popular phenomena difficult to recognize nowadays" (1991). Never again would tango be so widely listened to and supported.

As a result of tango's popularity under the Castillo administration, as well as its foreign ties, the military regime of 1943 fiercely repressed this dance form. A key move in this campaign of repression was the government's creation of "la ley seca", called "dry" because of its austerity. Created by a citizen commission under the control of Monseigneur Gustavo Franceschi, this law was presented as a general censorship law. However, it found its first target in the tango. The end goal of this law, largely supported by right-wing nationalists and the Church, was the purification of Argentine Spanish and the protection of Argentine youth from the "corrupting influence of the tango" (Castro 1991, 210). Its affects on tango included weeding out the majority of the Argentine slang (lunfardo) from tango songs in an attempt to prevent the proliferation of these words in society. For example, the famous tango "Yira...Yira" ("Aimless Wandering") was changed to "Dad vueltas...dad vueltas" ("Aimless Wandering") due to the connotations of the lunfardo word yirar. These changes greatly affected the integrity of the genre, its popularity and ability to portray the Argentine experience (Castro 1991).

Representative of the military government's rejection of tango, "la ley seca" also played an important role in introducing Perón to the national and political dialogue on tango. As the Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare, Juan Perón dealt in a minor way

with the legal rights of artists; it is in this capacity that Perón was first confronted with "la ley seca" and its artistic implications. In this role, he was able to talk with musicians and learn about their concerns for the future of the tango, all the while using his political position and prowess to contradictorily present himself as a supporter of the tango and a supporter of the current administration's cultural policies (Castro 1991). In fact, it was not until 1949, after three years in office, that Perón officially lifted the strict ban on lunfardo created by "la ley seca" (Azzi 2002)

Brazil's Rejection of Samba: The First Republic

Similar to Perón, Vargas's acknowledgement of the political power of popular culture, in particular the samba, developed in direct response to the previous government's denial of this power. Prior to Vargas's abrupt rise to the presidency, Brazil had been run for over thirty years by a decentralized oligarchy, which held as their ultimate goal the construction of a modern and civilized Brazil. In order to do this, they attempted to "construct and impose a national cultural identity on their society" that was "self-consciously European in origin" (Needell 1999, 1). However, these elites did not just seek modernization by adopting European cultural principles, but they also rejected those aspects of culture, which were deemed "primitive" and of the masses. This rejection was directed at Brazilian popular culture, in particular that of Afro-Brazilian origin (Garamuño 2006; Vianna 1999). As Needell states, "This was not only a positive act of state imposed culture and identification with a selective notion of European civilization- it was also a negation. The state, in other words, not only imposed a culture and an identity tied to imperial Europe, it negated a congeries of native cultures in that same process of imposition" (1999, 8).

The samba, as a decidedly Afro-Brazilian art form, received the brunt of much of this negative rejection, which resulted from the state's still present racism and the aforementioned primitivism associated with the dance. "Only recently freed from slavery, Blacks were still viewed by most Brazilians of Portuguese decent as inferior" (Raphael 1990, 74). This common belief, while not exclusive to the Afro-Brazilian population, worked to justify the elite's repression of this group and their specific artistic practices, in particular the samba. This repression was further justified by the elites classification of samba as "primitive". The samba was thus considered illegitimate. "It was the stuff of lowlife rascals, the carol of vagabonds. And the police, in their chief function of watching over the maintenance of public order, persecuted [samba] without rest" (Vianna 1999, 11). For example, samba was prohibited from the nation's respectable dance halls and salons (Vianna 1999). Yet, despite this extended period of "legal persecution and harassment", samba continued to experience true artistic development and increased popularity (Sheriff 1999, 13). This degree of artistic resilience allowed for the samba's subsequent propagation by Vargas.

Populist Nationalism: Advocating a New National Ideology

Vargas's Estado Novo: The Samba and Brazilian Exceptionalism

Before entering into a discussion on the ways that Vargas used the samba to serve his national ideology and goals, one must define this national ideology. After successfully ousting the previous government's newly elected president, Getúlio Vargas declared himself the provisional President of Brazil in 1930. As a result of this newly gained political power, Vargas was able to formulate and enforce his own vision of

Brazil, a vision, which drastically differed from that of the previous republic. Two of the major differences between these republics were their definition of modernization and their positions on popular culture.

Vargas ushered in a new era of nationalism. Echoing scholar Gilberto Freye's concept of Brazilian exceptionalism, Vargas argued that Brazil's racial mixing guaranteed the nation's distinctiveness. In other words, Vargas praised the nation's historical diversity, presenting a "new ideology of national identity...that embraced blacks and mulattos as distinctive facets of Brazilian society and culture" (Clark 2002, 254). More prevalent during the formation of the Estado Novo (1937-1945), this emphasis on diversity and "ethnic integration- an official euphemism for racial mixing" became the policy of Vargas's authoritarian state (Vianna 1999, 51). Going far beyond mere acceptance, Vargas used the heterogeneity of Brazil to support his claims of Brazilian modernity and to begin to propagate the "myth of racial democracy" (Vianna 1999). In this way, Vargas' new ideology allowed for and even benefited from society's acceptance of samba. Strongly separating Vargas from his predecessors, samba was propagated to show that that which had previously been rejected, could now be lauded as a national symbol of modernity and unity.

Vargas' acceptance of samba showcases not only his new vision for racial diversity and "equality," but also his appreciation for the propagandistic potential of popular culture. This acknowledgement was necessary to some extent due to Vargas' populist policies and the demographics of his support base. As Needell states, "Under Vargas, much that had been despised about the popular culture of Brazil's majority received state consecration because of its nationalist potential and populist appeal" (1999,

11). Claiming to be the "people's delegate," Vargas defined himself as populist due to his focus on improving the social and economic status of Brazil's urban working class, as well as his claim that the government should follow the people. While frequently subject to cooptation, clientism and corruption, the masses acted as Vargas' popular base of support and thus their cultural tastes greatly influenced his policies (Williams 2001).

Vargas was well aware of these cultural tastes, one of which was the samba, and the political advantages that could be gained from visibly accepting them. For example, the samba had already been proven as an effective tool of electoral propaganda. After the former mayor of Rio, Pedro Ernesto Baptista, chose to appeal to the city's favela dwellers by issuing subsidies to samba schools and publicly praising their existence, the influence he was able to exert over his poor urban constituency grew considerably as did his electoral popularity (Pickle 1987, 18). Vargas hoped that by associating himself with samba and using it as a form of personal propaganda, his ability to present himself as truly representative of the people, garner more popular support and legitimize his claims to power would be greatly aided. In the end, this aid occurred through a process of identification. If the people identified with the samba and Vargas identified with the samba, then to some degree the people identified with Vargas. Thus, Vargas' support of samba was frequently equated with his support for the masses. In addition, the samba represented the racial mixing, which formed the cornerstone of Vargas' new nationalism. Samba thus stood at the intersection of Vargas' new vision of Brazil as both modern and of the people. As Williams states, Vargas recognized that "managing culture could be a powerful weapon in managing Brazilianess" (2001, 52). He thus could not afford to

ignore the influence of the samba and as a result included the samba, in its symbolic format, as part of his Estado Novo.

Perón's New Argentina: The Tango and el "Pueblo"

Perón echoed many of Vargas' populist goals and cultural management strategies, altering Argentine popular culture to fit his own national ideology and vision for a new Argentina. After suffering a tumultuous rise to power[3], Perón became the official President of Argentina in 1946. As a result of this newly granted political power, Perón was able to formulate and enforce his own vision of Argentina, a vision, which simultaneously overlapped and differed from the previous military government's ideals. One of the major similarities between the two administration's ideologies was their shared emphasis on developing the interior of Argentina and re-defining the country's national identity in accordance with the values and traditions of the interior. As Castro states in his book on the social origins of tango, "The Peronist perspective on culture...continued the earlier theme of seeking Argentina's greatness from within" (1995, 217). Thus, the Perón administration encouraged the development and proliferation of the gaucho or folk tradition, which was believed to truly represent Argentina's exceptionalism. This encouragement of the folk tradition was carried out through Perón's overall acceptance of rural society, as well as his praise and propagation of folk music. Exemplified in many of Perón's official pronouncements, the gaucho

[3] Peron's rise to power began with his participation in the military junta of 1943. As one of the main participants, Perón rapidly became one of the most powerful figures in Argentine politics, simultaneously holding the offices of Vice President, Minister of War and Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare between 1944 an 1946. However, Perón's growing power did not sit well with some of his former allies; thus, in 1945, Perón's opposition ousted him from power. Saved from permanent exile by a mass mobilization of his supporters, Perón soon returned to his former political position and from there was elected to the Presidency in 1946.

culture was presented as the official Argentine culture, a heroic culture of the "tierra adentro" (Castro 1991, 229; Vila 1991).

How did tango fit into this rural narrative? As a dance that originated in the urban slums of Buenos Aires, the tango could be considered the antithesis of the propagated image of the pure, simple gaucho from the pampas. However, Perón's intricate national ideology could simultaneously support both of these urban and rural images due to its qualified acceptance of that which is cosmopolitan (Vila 1991). Labeling Perón as a cultural nationalist, Thomas Turino states in his article, "Nationalism in Latin America", that Perón was able to "express that a new national culture will be forged from the best of local 'traditional' culture combined with the best of foreign and 'modern', that is, cosmopolitan, culture" (2003, 193). Thus, in contrast to the previous regime's rejection of the "foreign", Perón accepted certain cosmopolitan foreign influences in conjunction with the nation's more local traditions.

The second manner in which Perón's national goals differed from his governmental predecessors was his embrace of the masses and use of "*el pueblo*" to gain political support. Continuing the populist tradition, Perón focused on improving the quality of life for Argentina's urban working class through social programs and labor incorporation. The masses were Perón's popular base of support and thus their cultural tastes greatly influenced his policies (Vacs 2006). As Castro states, "This urban area served as the power base for any government that would try to be mass oriented...Therefore, a clear cultural awareness of Buenos Aires was essential for any politician" (1991, 224).

Perón possessed this cultural awareness of Buenos Aires. Thus, while the Peronist national ideology focused on the propagation of native values and Argentine exceptionalism through folk music, perhaps even more important to Perón's personal political career was his support and acceptance of the art of the urban masses- the tango. Born in Buenos Aires, the tango maintained its strongest roots in the city, especially among the urban poor and immigrant workers. As Castro clearly summarizes, "The political base for Perón was the cultural base for the tango, then it follows that Perón would not long miss the significance of Carlos Gardel (a true representative of tango) as a useful symbol" (1991, 235). Perón could not afford to ignore the influence of the tango and as a result included the tango, in its symbolic format, as part of his new Argentina.

Qualified Acceptance: The Alteration and Use of the Tango and Samba

Perón and Vargas' acceptance and employment of tango and samba did not come without restrictions or alterations; for although neither could afford to ignore these dances, they also could not afford to suffer these dances' inherent social criticisms and indirect opposition to each leader's national goals and ideals. For example, the tango almost always focused on the individual and not on the group. "The tango with rare exceptions did not call the listener to join any great causes.... therefore the tango was outdated because the 'new' Argentina now had a mission of greatness to fulfill as expounded in the Peronist doctrine" (Castro 1991, 229). The tango's solitary nature[4], coupled with its lyrical emphasis on the "themes of hunger, poverty, unfair working conditions", and lack of female integrity, challenged the goals of Peronism (Castro 1991,

[4] Tango is frequently considered a dance of self-reflection. Often misconstrued as a passionate dance between two lovers, tango originated as an expressive outlet for one's internal struggle and bitterness.

229; Savigliano 1995). Similarly, the samba frequently glorified the *malandro* (rogue) and the theme of *malandragem* (Williams 2001). Malandragam emerged as a theme in Brazilian popular culture as a result of the lack of industrial work, which had kept the nation's masses under the domination of the oligarchy for decades. As Oliven describes this term within his article "The Production and Consumption of Culture in Brazil", "*Malandragem*, by proclaiming a 'horror of work' and by refusing salaried work, developed as an alternative strategy of survival in a society that marginalized the laborer and did not assure him the conditions of a decent livelihood from the fruit of his labor" (1984, 107). This theme was supported by another series of themes that constantly appear alongside that of *malandragem*, including "*chronic prontidão* (lack of money), *categoria* (class), *jogo de cintura* (artfulness)...and so on" (Oliven 1984, 107). Together these popular samba themes challenged the goals of the Vargas administration.

In response to the conflict, which existed between the themes of the Perón and Vargas administration and the popular song lyrics of tango and samba, both leaders altered the integrity of these national dances. Perón chose to modify the tango's form and context by effectively separating it from damaging musical lyrics and promoting its development as a dance form, while Vargas instead created the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP) and the Ministry of Education. Both of these organizations were tasked with modifying the samba's content so that it could be effectively employed as a political tool (Levine 1998; Williams 2001).

Tango: The Dance

Eloquently described by author Daniel Castro, Perón ushered in a vital shift in the form and significance of the tango:

> the tango as such was now more of a vehicle of the feet and the body than for the ear and the mind. The evolution from dance to song had now reversed itself. Therefore the "offensive" lyric of the old tango in terms of language and then with content was of no matter. The tango was now more for dance. This was the tango of the Perón Era (1991, 235).

This Perón era tango with its strong emphasis on dance and lack of social content was able to arise due to the popular Peronist bent of many tango composers. Whether composing tango songs that specifically praised Peronism and its leaders, such as "Los muchachos peronistas", or actively supporting Peronism outside of the realm of the tango, these composers had power. They had a definite say in what type of tango songs would be written, recorded and publicized. Thus, their support of Peronism encouraged their composition of more dance-worthy tangos that could be detached from the art forms traditional critique of social practices (Blaya and Pinsón). Castro considers this time period the end of the social history of tango, stating, "It was not until the time of Perón did the tango lose its currency as a source of social comment. The close ties of the tango poets to Perón and their apparent sense of loyalty to the regime created a 'new' tango focused on nostalgia and dance form....Thus ended the tango as a useful source for Argentine social history" (1991, 251).

Tango as Peronist Propaganda

Once transformed into its more socially benign format, Perón was easily able to use the tango for his own political purpose[5]. Directly employed as a form of propaganda, Perón encouraged and commissioned the composition of songs that glorified his

[5] While this entire paper focuses on populist leaders' alteration and use of national dances to support their national ideology and foster nationalism, these leaders adopted many other political, social and cultural techniques to accomplish these two tasks. In reality, the use of dance is a minor example of their propagandistic tendencies. However, it remains an important example for investigation due to the iconic role that many of these dances have in their host nations.

presence. This trend was especially prevalent at the beginning of Perón's time in office. As Pinsón writes, "when the figure of then Colonel Perón was surfacing as the people's candidate to the nation, songs with words or titles that paid homage to his persona were appearing". Some of these songs were *Oda a Perón, Juan Perón, Los muchachos peronistas, Marcha Peronista, Descamisado* and *Caballero Juan Perón.* Supporting the Peronist usurpation of tango as a tool of political propaganda was the aforementioned power and support, which Perón received from many of the nation's tango composers (Pinsón). For example, Discépolo, a tango composer and radio personality, frequently used his radio character, "el Mandatorio", to spread the Peronist doctrine and convince the nation of Perón's personal integrity (Castro 1991, 240).

While the use of songs as propaganda and the employment of tango composers as political patrons *directly* placed Peronism within the culture of tango, tango was also *indirectly* utilized by Perón to shape his own personal identity. In other words, Perón attempted to outwardly identify with tango by bringing its culture into the political realm; I title this associative propaganda. The Perón administration created this associative propaganda by promoting tango dance festivals, using tango orchestras at their state events and either imposing or repealing laws in the hope of maintaining the national nature of the Argentine tango (Azzi 2002; Rocchi and Sotelo 2004). For example, Perón re-initiated the Argentine tradition of having "bailes populares" or popular dances. These dances, organized by the state, broadcast Argentine national music, such as the tango, into the streets, creating massive dance parties in the process. The Peronist agenda for these "bailes populares" was to promote the tango, while simultaneously celebrating Perón and the power he had granted to the working classes. As author María Susana

Azzi describes this experience, "the image of workers dancing in the streets traditionally monopolized by the upper classes served as a symbolic recreation of the 'take over' of the city and its symbols of power" (2002, 33).

Samba: The Censored Version

In contrast to Perón's more subtle appropriation of tango and its newly crafted message, Vargas challenged the samba's integrity in a more direct and forceful manner. One way he did this was through the DIP or the Department of Press and Propaganda. Created in 1939, one of the main objectives of the DIP was the alteration of the samba's content. The DIP performed this task by censoring the messages and lyrics of the sambas broadcast on the radio. Similar to "la ley seca" instituted in Argentina during the military regime of 1943, the DIP attempted to project an image of a new Brazil through the dissemination and regulation of samba lyrics. While the severity of these regulations remains debatable, it is clear that they did affect the composition of samba and its ability to represent society. As Martins Castelos, the DIP's "semiregular radio critic" said about this censorship, the goal was "to prohibit the release of compositions which employ slang corrosive to the national language and present insipid elegies to malandragem" (in Williams 2001, 84). For example, the enormously popular samba *O Bonde de São Januário* was forced to replace the word *otário* (vagabond) with *operário* (worker) in order to fit the ideals of the Estado Novo. As opposed to Perón's eventual elimination of this type of censorship, Vargas encouraged these lyrical alterations, claiming that they were beneficial to samba and society. This favoring of censorship highlights the way in which Vargas viewed the samba. Rather than truly accepting it as a form of cultural

expression, he viewed it as a crucial instrument in the management of Brazil. For Vargas, the samba was a tool for an end.

Samba as Propaganda

The Ministry of Education in collaboration with the DIP insured that Vargas could properly use this tool. The initial censorship of the samba worked to transform it, "often maligned for its glorification of the *malandro* (rogue) and use of pulsating sensual rhythms, into musical compositions which extolled the virtues of hard work, moral rectitude, and patriotism", three themes that were much more complementary to Vargas's vision of Brazil (Williams 2001, 85). Vargas was now easily able to use the samba for his own political purposes. Directly employed as a form of propaganda, the Ministry of Education and the DIP commissioned the composition of songs that proudly declared Brazil's modernity, Vargas' competency and the people's nationalism. As Williams clearly lays out this process:

> The DIP, hoping to 'educate' samba, called upon well-known musicians and lyricists to compose samba lyrics that praised the Estado Novo or Vargas for the bounty of gifts that they had bestowed upon the nation. When these compositions hit the airwaves, they helped popularize and commercialize hyperpatriotic lyrics that complemented the Vargas regime's goal of civic renewal and social uplift (2001, 86).

Some of these hyperpatriotic songs included, *Glóricas do Brasil* (Glories of Brazil), *Salve 19 de Abril* (Long live April 19th- Vargas birthday), and *É Negócio Cesar* (It's time to get married) (Levine 1984, 16; Williams 2001, 86).

The distribution of these songs, as well as their influence was increased by the commanding presence of the DIP and the Vargas administration's access to the radio. As opposed to the Peronist bent of many tango composers, the majority of the popular samba composers disagreed with Vargas's decision to censor the samba and alter its content.

Nevertheless, these composers bowed to the will of the DIP. As Levine states, "Most writers and musicians voluntarily bent their production to DIP guidelines rather than to risk costly penalties. Few editors or program directors could afford to risk angering the censors, since one bad mark would guarantee 'special' attention in the future" (1984, 15). By using the DIP in this way, Vargas was able to compensate for the lack of power and support, which he received from Brazil's samba composers.

Introduced to Brazil in 1922, the radio greatly increased Vargas' ability to use the samba as a tool of political propaganda, for it allowed him to "capitalize on the growing popularity of the samba" (Sheriff 199, 13). The radio provided the Vargas administration with a new means of broadcasting their political and personal messages. Some say it even, "served as the regime's major weapon in the campaign to uplift civic attitudes" (Levine 1999, 16). For example, the show *Hora do Brasil*, which presented a large quantity of state-commissioned samba music, acted as an advertisement for Vargas. As Levine describes this show:

> The *Hora do Brazil*, a compendium of speeches, propaganda, and music which by law was carried on all stations from 7:00 to 8:00 each evening, and which therefore reached as many as two-thirds of all Brazilian house-hold with radios on any given night, was laced with performances by the country's most popular singers and musicians, including Francisco Alves and Carmen Miranda, under government contract (1999, 16).

While the use of songs as propaganda, the broadcast capabilities of the radio and the manipulation of samba composers directly situated Vargas's ideology within the culture of samba, samba was also indirectly utilized by Vargas to shape his own personal identity. Similar to Perón, Vargas attempted to outwardly identify with samba by bringing its culture into the political realm. Vargas accomplished this goal by making state-oriented sambas a central part of Brazil's Carnival. Considered by many the most

Brazilian of all elements of popular culture, Carnival is an annual parade that is most generally associated with Rio de Janeiro, the birthplace of the samba (Oliven 1984). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a thorough description of the evolution of Carnival, it is interesting to note that Carnival's development trajectory opposed that of the samba, as the popular classes appropriated the Carnival from the dominant classes (Oliven 1984, 103). Yet, despite these opposing trajectories, Carnival and the samba complement each other. Providing a venue for the development of sambistas and prompting the creation of the *escolas de samba* (samba schools), samba and Carnival work in conjunction. Vargas recognized this complementary relationship and thus lauded Carnival as an outlet to both promote the samba and his own vision of the nation. As Oliven details:

> As soon as it perceived the political importance of the carnival groups, the state assumed a fundamental role in this process. After 1935, the escolas de samba were recognized, legalized and obliged to register as official entities under the title of Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba. Thereafter their parades were organized and financed by the state. All escolas were 'asked to collaborate with the official extremely vainglorious political propaganda, the tradition was started of parades that tell a story capable of stimulating popular affection for patriotic symbols and the glories of the nation' (quoted in Oliven: Tinhorão, 1975: 173).

Conclusion

Through the use of samba and tango in participatory performances, the manipulation of each dance's lyrics and the patronage of composers, Vargas and Perón attempted to appropriate the popularity of the samba and tango as their own. In this way, both leaders propagated their respective dances, strengthening these dance's claim to national status, while strengthening their personal status as populist leaders and supporters of the nation's cultural diversity. Vargas and Perón, thus, played essential

roles in the symbolic journey of the samba and tango. Completing the process of national acceptance begun decades ago, Vargas and Perón successful propagation and dissemination of the samba and tango allowed both of these dances to become national symbols not just in the eyes of the international community, but in the hearts of their nation's actual inhabitants.

Conclusion

Tango and samba began their symbolic journeys from a position of disadvantage. Repressed and rejected by society due to their "primitive" origins, few people would believe that these dances would become iconic national symbols. How did these dances overcome intense rejection to become integral components of Argentine and Brazilian nationalism? This process of national acceptance can be seen as occurring in two main stages. The first stage, presented in Chapter 3, outlines the parallel historical pathways of these dances from their invention up until their appropriation by populist leaders Juan Perón and Getúlio Vargas. It is within this stage that the tango and samba first rose above their scorned societal position and became accepted on an international scale. However, being internationally viewed as national symbols does nothing to guarantee the development of that same symbolic status in one's home nation. In order to understand the consolidation of these dances' national status one must look to the next stage of national acceptance.

The second stage of national acceptance is considerably more complex. This complexity stems from the numerous possible explanations for the tango and samba's ascension to national iconic status. Certain academics (e.g. Azzi and Savigliano) appear to suggest that Perón and Vargas used the tango and samba as propaganda due to these dances' already consolidated positions as national symbols. Nevertheless, this argument remains incomplete. It is not consistent with these dances' previous symbolic journey (the first stage of ascension); for the foreign popularity of these dances and their acceptance among the elites of their home nations does nothing to account for their eventual mass popularity and national status.

I argue that the tango and samba were consolidated as national symbols within their home nations not before Vargas and Perón took power, but in large part as a result of their political power. Up until this point, the samba and tango were seen as regional dances. Their visibility and relative popularity were limited to the nation's large urban centers, in particular Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. Vargas and Perón extended the reach of these dances' prominence through their employment of both dances as propaganda. As detailed in Chapter 4, both Vargas and Perón altered the integrity of these dances in an attempt to associate themselves and their political ideology with these cultural symbols of urban popularity.

Vargas and Perón went to great lengths to associate themselves with these dances, appropriate their regionalized popularity and transform them into national symbols capable of carrying their political message. Both leaders convinced, whether through persuasion or censorship, composers to directly broadcast their message. In addition, Vargas and Perón indirectly associated themselves with these dances by encouraging their performance in festivals (bailes populares and carnival) and inviting dancers to state events. Thus, Vargas and Perón repeatedly placed themselves in the same context as these dances, using these dances as a form of associative propaganda.

However, the question remains; why associate with the samba and tango? My primary argument, contained in Chapter 4, is that these dances' possessed already consolidated regionalized popularity. The samba and tango were the dances of the urban working class, precisely the group that Vargas and Perón claimed to represent. Secondly, these dances could be drawn upon to explain the exceptionalism of each nation. Particularly in the case of Brazil, the country was looking for something that would

distinguish them in the eyes of the international community. The country's Afro-Brazilian population and resulting racial mixing became that distinguishing factor. Finally, the tango and samba were used because of their effectiveness as propaganda. While the purpose of this research is not to measure this degree of success or failure, Chapter 2 illuminates the general potential of dance as propaganda and how this potential was capitalized on by Vargas and Perón.

Dance's propagandistic potential stems from its possible emotional power, cultural significance and accessibility, as well as its existence as a form of nonverbal communication and association with music. The administrations of Vargas and Perón strove to maximize these advantages, while minimizing the drawbacks of using dance as propaganda. These disadvantages include dance's transient nature and openness to multiple interpretations. In order to overcome these disadvantages, both leaders focused on broadly associating these dances with their persons. Thus, Vargas and Perón did not choose to express their message through the actual dance, but rather through their abstract endorsement of samba and tango.

The few scholars that have studied the samba and tango in relation to Vargas and Perón insist that neither leader created propagandistic dances. As Azzi, author of "The Tango, Peronism and Astor Piazzolla during the 1940s and 1950s", argues, "with a few possible exceptions, there are no Peronist tangos" (2003, 27). At first glance, this statement might seem to undermine my main argument. However, it merely reinforces my claim that Vargas and Perón did not directly infuse these dances with their political message. Both dances were instead used as associative propaganda. Azzi's claim that there were few expressly Peronist tangos overlooks this subtle, but important distinction.

Just because the majority of the sambas and tangos were contextually related to Vargas and Perón as opposed to behaving as obvious forms of propaganda, does not diminish their political influence (2003). In fact, a variety of scholars (e.g. Vianni, Pickle and Castro) have articulated the strength of this political influence.

Vianna, Pickle and Castro each offer unique historical arguments on the individual role that samba and tango have played in the development of a new form of nationalism (1987; 1991; 1999). For example, in his book *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity*, Vianna presents a convincing argument on how Brazilian nationalism relies on the nation's constructed concept of exceptionalism (1999). This argument further emphasizes the constructed nature of nationalism, stating that a nation's national consciousness is "not natural and primordial, but rather a socially constructed and fairly recent phenomenon- a distinct modern way of viewing the world" (1999, 33). Thus, Vianna supports one of my main theoretical claims by identifying and explaining the overlap between a constructed political nationalism and a society's cultural practices, in particular the samba. Nevertheless, this argument is weakened by its limited applicability. Similar to Pickle and Castro, who also provide detailed studies on the national appeal and political use of the samba and tango, these scholars limit themselves by only exploring one dance, one nation and one culture (1987; 1999). Their narrow focus makes it difficult for their ideas on cultural nationalism and artistic propaganda to be extrapolated on in a theoretical manner. My investigation's purposeful adoption of comparative case studies attempts to address these limitations found in previous scholarship, as well as present a more cohesive look at the samba and tango as dances.

In the end, both Vargas and Perón hoped that their approval of the samba and tango would bring them multiple benefits. By associating themselves with these dances before their consolidation as national symbols, they would receive minor benefits from the dances' urban significance. By propagating these dances as national symbols, they would be able to draw upon these dances as examples of the esteem they held for the nation's working class. And finally, by including these dances as important facets of nationalism, they could successfully use the tango and samba as representations of a national culture that embraced their personal politics.

The conclusions reached within this paper sit at the intersection of nationalism, politics and dance. An intersection that has received relatively little scholarly attention; I hope that this research and my resulting conclusions will serve as a jumping off point for further studies on the subject. In particular, I hope that this research will inspire others to investigate the potential of dance, as well as its applicability to other areas of study.

Dance has hidden potential and its own story to tell. This research has shown that it can simultaneously unite nations, act as a political instrument and function as a means of embodied expression. Yet, this investigation remains limited, offering only a glimpse of dance's hidden potential. Much is left to be uncovered as dance's political power continues to beg for elaboration.

Appendices

Appendix 1: "Altering Attitude" Performance DVD

See attached DVD

Appendix 2: The Dancer Speaks: An Exploration of "Altering Attitude"

The stories of tango and samba are defined within this paper as stories of manipulation and control. Appropriated from their actual inventors, the samba and tango found national popularity only after being propagated as symbols of nationalism. This propagation, in turn, altered the integrity of both dances, changing their themes, musical accompaniment and stylistic elements in ways, which were at times antithetical to the dances' origins (see for example the eradication of the samba's connection to malandragem). While this degree of control and manipulation is easily articulated through words, its bodily application complicates the situation. How can political control and manipulation be accurately portrayed in dance? This appendix briefly addresses this question as it applies to the choreographic process I used to formulate my dance composition, "Altering Attitude."

The idea to do a choreographic extension of this paper initiated from a conversation I had with my honors thesis advisor. As we discussed the weaknesses of analyzing dance within a social science context, it quickly became clear that one of the most effective ways of minimizing this weakness was to invert this relationship. In other words, I would kinesthetically connect these two disciplines in an alternate way by communicating my social science findings through dance. Thus, the initial decision was made. I would choreograph a dance based on my focused examination of the tango and samba's positions as tools of political propaganda and carriers of nationalist sentiment.

One of the most important parts of my choreographic process was realizing to what extent I could feasibly adapt my theoretical findings into an artistic performance. For example, it quickly became clear to me that in order to communicate to my audience the intention behind my dance, I would have to limit the scope of my message. In other words, I would have to narrow the focus of my dance to one particular aspect of how systems of political control have effectively forced moving bodies to propagate nationalism. In order to complete this narrowing, I drew from this paper's discussion of Vargas and Perón's purposeful manipulation and alteration of the integrity of the samba and tango to serve their personal ideologies (Chapter 4). I became particularly enamored with these concepts of manipulation, control and authority; for not only were they powerful forces in the eventual consolidation of the tango and samba as national symbols, but they are very active, danceable concepts. My commitment to exploring these concepts can be seen in the three sections of my final choreographic composition.

The decision to break the piece "Altering Attitude" into three chronological segments comes from my personal desire to have this piece act as a narrative. I could have just as easily represented the concepts of manipulation, control and authority in a purely abstract way, detached from characters or plot; however, I did not want to loose the tango and samba's symbolic journey, something I consider a crucial aspect of these dances' current character and national significance. Thus, while it would have been easy to present my whole piece as a series of manipulations, I strove to have all the movements come together as a narrative.

The composition begins with a fight for control, with the state (represented by the male dancer) fighting against both the people and their cultural self-determination

(represented by the female dancer). This fight is carried out on the dance floor, with both participants initiating movement and at times leading the dance. The second section of my composition represents the actual manipulation and alteration of tang, as well as the accompanying effect of this manipulation on the masses. Particularly noticeable in this section is a shift in control and dynamic. As the state demonstrates increasing influence over the shape and quality of both the masses' actions and the tango, the dance takes on a slower, almost premeditated feel. This feeling is meant to represent the care and thought that goes into any form of political manipulation and propaganda creation. The final section of the dance represents complete control. When describing this dance to others, I frequently refer to this section as the section of conformity. It is at this point, when the state has finally shaped the attitude of the masses to its specifications and similarly forced the dance to reinforce these specifications. This conformity is represented by the two dancers moving in unison, but detached from one another; for the state no longer feels the need to physically mold the masses, as they are seemingly acquiescent.

The very end of the piece, which I purposefully exclude from my sectioning of the piece, is meant to problematize many of the previous assumptions that have been made throughout this paper on cultural and populist nationalism. In particular, this section directly questions the idea that popular culture and public opinion can be controlled. Thus, the female dancer's final revolt acts as a reminder of the unpredictability of dance and the freedom that manages to survive within a seemingly controlled society.

Once the format of the dance had been decided upon, two of my major remaining tasks were to choose (1) the movement style(s) that I would adopt within the piece and

(2) how I would use this movement style to communicate my message to the audience. First, I will discuss the movement style/ dance vocabulary that I drew upon in the piece.

One of the first decisions that I made regarding this choreographic exploration was to loosely base the piece on my existing technical knowledge of the Argentine tango. While I do not pretend to be an expert of this dance style, the previous training that I received in Buenos Aires prepared me for this endeavor. Inversely, my lack of technical training in the Brazilian samba informed my decision to not include this dance form within my piece. In the end, the choreography was considerably more influenced by the Argentine tango than I had previously anticipated. However, I feel that this benefits the piece, allowing it to visually connect more effectively with my broader written analysis. The completed dance piece also pulled from my previous training in modern dance and jazz dance, both of which appear in the more organic moments of the dance. For example, the second section pulls heavily from modern dance, as I attempt to offer a more grounded and perhaps gritty interpretation of the effects of state control.

My eventual choice to formulate this piece as an amalgamation of tango, modern and jazz dance vocabulary not only affected the quality of the movements, but perhaps more importantly how this quality aided or abetted in the communication of my intended message. The biggest challenge on this front was detaching myself from the dance enough to analyze how others would interpret the movement. For instance, I questioned how much the audience would understand the power play occurring at the beginning of the dance given that it was presented in the language of tango, a dance form largely unfamiliar to those watching. In a similar vein, I worried that the tango's connotation as a dance of unbridled passion would encourage the audience to read my dance as a purely

sexual encounter as opposed to a more abstract fight, manipulation and conformation. These questions and concerns echo dance's openness to multiple interpretations or freedom of interpretation. In order to control some of this freedom, I utilized alternate media and props within my composition.

Two of the main ways through which I attempted to concretely convey my desired message were through the deliberate use of prop costumes and slides. The costumes that were worn in my piece worked to tie the two dancers together and yet still present their differences. For example, the male dancer as representative of the state dressed in formal, classic garb, while the female dancer as representative of both the tango and the masses wore the common dress of the tanguera. However, probably the most important costume piece was the trench coat.

Used at intervals throughout the piece, the trench coat functioned as a means of visually emphasizing state control. The dance begins with the female dancer visibly hiding beneath the trench coat, a scene reminiscent of the early repression of the tango and the masses. The trench coat later appears towards the end of the piece when the male dancer carefully places it on the female dancer's body. The female dancer then proceeds to dance in unison with her state counterpart. In this moment, the female has returned to her original state of fear and manipulation. She as representative of the masses and the tango is conforming not only through her movements, but also through her dress and appearance. Finally at the end of the piece, the coat takes on a completely new tone, serving as a source of rebelliousness and power for the female dancer, which she then uses to successfully free herself from state control. The background slides that punctuate the piece serve a similar purpose as that of the trench coat, visually emphasizing the

stages of the narrative from a state-oriented perspective. Also, the slides work to contextualize the dance, placing it in a more firm time period and place- Buenos Aires in the 1940s.

In the end, this choreographic composition acted not only as a vital educational experience for me, but also for my audience. By staging this performance, I was personally able to gain a deeper understanding of the technical nature of tango, the intrinsic emotional responses it generates, and the difficulty of transforming written messages into bodily movement. On the other hand, my audience was offered an opportunity to briefly investigate an idea they had perhaps never considered. This choreographic composition's eventual performance extended the reach of my research, touching a larger and more diverse audience than I could have previously imagined.

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