

3.3. Before the DIY: Jovem Guarda and youth culture in Brazil (65-68)

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Abstract

In August 1965, the TV show Jovem Guarda (Young Guard) was released on Record, one of the most popular networks in Brazil. Consisting in a number of musical performances it targeted the youth and was presented by young working class artists heavily influenced by the rock of Paul Anka and Neil Sedaka, but mostly – musically and visually - by the Beatles. Jovem Guarda is notable in its pioneering effort with the aim to construct a youth culture around the consumption of music in Brazil, that also spread to the fields of radio, cinema, magazines, also even apparel (boots, t-shirts, bags, etc). The purpose of this article is to highlight in which way it articulated a social representation of youth within the mass media. What is the nature of this representation, how is it assumed by the artists and institutions and to which symbolic background does it relate are some of the issues covered.

Keywords: youth culture, rock and roll, Brazil

It is difficult to grasp the great modifications through which Brazilian popular music went in the 1960s, if we do not heed the entrance of a new character on stage: the youth. In less than a decade, a category that was timidly thought of as a market niche had become hyper-represented in record sleeves, song lyrics, press statements and a large advertising repertoire. Working as arbiters of taste, judgment and values, a group of artists acted as spokespersons of an alleged emerging and distinct generation that would configure a singular lifestyle, the youthful one.

The youth culture that then emerged expressed itself in new ways of dressing, speaking, spending money and managing their free time, then filled with movies, song, clothes and other articles. Thus, it made evident how cultural consumption is a fundamental field of identity production. In this equation, the media occupied a very important place, not only by offering the items for youth consumption, but mainly in the way it provided ways of seeing, framing and interpreting the youngster. The modern youth identity, therefore, it is not just represented, but mediatically constructed² (Grossberg, 1994).

In Brazil, this process is notable in the 60's when the expansion of the TV network submitted the other media – radio, cinema, magazines – to its power (Ortiz, 1986). In the youth culture then germinating, American and teenage consumption goods fought for space, as well as political and university militancy then emerging.

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² The emergence of youth as a social category harks back, at least, to the early 20th Century. However, what interests us is how it integrates itself to the mediatic circuits of consumption, what fundamentally happens only in the post-WWII period.

A landmark of this process is the première of the TV show *Jovem Guarda*, in September 1965. Presented by upcoming artists hailing from the popular classes and mixing influences of American ballad rock with the Beatles' sound and look, it brought forth songs that spoke about parties, fun, girls and cars. Soon its artists would become national celebrities, reaching cult status among a wide and young audience.

The emergence of *Jovem Guarda* helps understand how the popular music scene translates a series of modifications in the political, economic and social spheres undertaken by Brazil at that time: the entrance in a consumption society, the conservative modernization process and the urban sprawl among them. Such changes are usually thought of only through the college students that made use of music as an instrument of political protest. However, this was not the only youth project that rose in the 60's. Living concomitantly in the same media outlets, especially TV, the college students and the *Jovem Guarda* singers constructed themselves as different models of young identity. Our is to highlight in which way it articulated a social representation of youth within the mass media: what is the nature of this representation, how is it assumed by the artists and institutions and to which symbolic background does it relate are some of the issues covered. In this regard, we explore on what extent youth becomes a central category to think about music and youth becomes a central category to understanding brazilian popular music in the 60s.

Imagaries on carioca youth

In 1961, when proclaiming "Hail, hail Babeland, what I want is trouble, I'll hop on the dancefloor holding my babe tight", the composition "Hail Babeland", by samba man João de Barros, seemed to indicate that youth had migrated to the popular imaginary as an independent category, and therefore needed special adjectives.

"Broto"³ is the term used to refer to the youngsters, women, most of the time, wich supposedly inhabited a private world the "brotolândia"⁴, and almost always feminine, that becomes an increasing target of public scrutiny. Waywards, playboys and brotos register, in Brasil, the influence of north American teenage consuming culture and will be fundamental in the construction of *Jovem Guarda*'s symbolic repertoire (Palladino, 2001).

If the playboy was linked to adult universe of gossip columns, comprising of politicians, entrepreneurs and media celebrities, the teenagers were symbolized by the blue-jeans, scooters, ponytail hairdos and high waisted skirts. Both characters were becoming symbols of new consuming culture – represented by the capital values of leisure, functionality and pleasure – that was expanding world-wide in the post-war, (Osgerby, 2001).

Such values coupled with the oficial discourse of brazilian prosperity and progress, materialized in the arrival of high fidelity turntables, potato chips, shampoo and shopping centers circumscribed to the growth of the industrial complex and the urban sprawl, achieved under the auspices of foreign capital (Mello, Novais, 1998). Although the imports aimed at the american teenager could only be seized by a small fraction of brazil's urban middle classes, that did not refrain their progressive infiltration in the popular imaginary through films such as *Rebel without a cause*, *The Wild One*, *Rock around the clock*, as well as the songs of Elvis Presley, combined with the romantic tunes of Paul Anka and Neil Sedaka.

³ babe

⁴ babeland

The neighbourhood of Copacabana, in Rio de Janeiro, especially helped nurturing this imaginary. Its extremely vibrant nightlife with bars, restaurants, movie theaters and lots of clubs composed the core of the Rio de Janeiro's nightlife (Lenharo, 1995). This was the habitat of Brazilian playboys, whose routine punctuated with social events – lunches, cocktail parties, nights out, horse races – and love affairs fed the universe of gossip columns. Its figure is molded to the Brazilian imaginary in an extremely ambivalente fashion: it represented a hedonistic attitude towards life that could be both celebrated as a symptom of affluence as well as censored for its individualistic, artificial and shallow character. Thus, “playboy” becomes an adjective not rarely considered derogatory that would establish proximity with another mediatic role: the wayward.

The wayward is a category directly inherited from the American press, that since the beginning of the decade intensely debated juvenile criminality. It was the dark side of the teenager culture: “it is urgente to face the harsh reality (...) before the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency – one that constitutes a social stigma in the United States – also contaminates Brazilian youth⁵”.

Such terms are not just describing a reality, but at constructing a narrative concerning the extremely ambivalent character of urban life at the end of the fifties: highly influenced by the values of american consumption society and its youth culture. Between the celebration and the fear of change, it rebuilds an foreign imaginarie in a different context. It is this landscape of parties, fast cars and absolute luxury that will help composing Jovem Guarda's symbolic universe.

In search of a market segmentation

Despite the brotos, playboys and waywards were personified as current categories of mediatic imaginary, Brasil did not have, as the United States did, youth as a market segment. Concerning popular music, one would have to wait until the end of the Sixties in order to properly speak about a proper youth sound.

Until the previous decade, Rio de Janeiro had a vibrant musical scenario where Samba, Tango, Rumba and Guarânia could be sung and danced to at boîtes, theaters and especially at the radio auditorium in a great variety of languages: Spanish, Italian, French and English (Lenharo, 1995). In spite of the multiplicity of styles, there were not a clear market segmentation. The artists, public and orchestras dealt with the manifold musical and linguistic idioms. The international hits, therefore, blended with the local repertoire, extremely hybridized from the outset.

It is not by accident that the first Brazilian Rock 45”, “Ronda das Horas”, a reinterpretation of Rock Around The Clock by Bill Haley and the Comets is released in 1955 through Nora Ney's voice, a singer quite distant from the teenager universe and already very well known for her romantic and overly tragic songs. The first Brazilian teen idols to achieve success with rock and roll come to the fore from 1959 and onwards, having in their repertoire cover versions of Paul Anka's and Neil Sedaka's hits, which lyrics – refering to balls and romantic dating – and slow pacing sounded harmless to the dominant morality.

⁵ 17 /08/ 57, Última Hora, p.10. Última Hora was one of the main newspapers of the country in the timeframe considered for this article's topic.

When this music arrives in Brasil, the doubt regarding its success potential makes the future leaders of Jovem Guarda – Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléa – include it in their repertoire but not as the main genre; eclectic repertoires were the norm back then.

The turn of the decade, however, sees the arrival of a new generation of artists hailing from the middle classes that would reconfigure the conventions on music making, putting into check some formulas of the past. The influence of Jazz, the minimalistic performance and the treatment of guitar as a rhythmic, instead of melodic, instrument gave a novel and avantgard aura to popular music. Coming from Bahia, João Gilberto was the main exponent of Bossa Nova; a new genre adapted to intimism of apartments and nightclubs and characterized by the dilettant attitude, the aestheticizing gaze and an entrenched class habitus that discouraged new members on its circles (Napolitano, 2001).

To Roberto Carlos Braga, son of a clockmaker and a tailouress, delving into Bossa Nova was another way to success, targeted since the beginning of his puerile career in his hometown's radio stations, in the countryside of the state of Espírito Santo. He would arrive in Rio de Janeiro at fifteen years old, in 1956, pursuing his goal. From 1959 onwards, he started to perform as crooner at the Plaza club in Copacabana, with a varied repertoire that would also include some Bossa.

Notwithstanding his singing style being quite close to that of João Gilberto's, Roberto Carlos was rejected by the Bossa Nova circles, formed mainly by college and middle class youngsters; a contrasting setting from that of a dweller of the suburbs that depended on music to live. His interpretation was seen as a copy, since it was deprived of all signs of legitimation: nothing seemed more vulgar than converting an avantgarde proposal into massive market appeal.

This early moment in Roberto Carlos' career is marked by songs heavily influenced by the new rhythm such as *Brotinho sem Juízo*⁶ and *Ser Bem*⁷, both from 1961. Whereas the former recalls Sedaka's compositions fused with a Bossa beat, the latter keeps the rhythm and makes evident that "being well-off" in a young suburban kid's perspective, meant being part of the nightlife of Copacabana, represented by the high society clubs and its patrons, the playboys, made visible by gossip columns in newspapers.

None of those songs became a hit. Roberto Carlos would find better accolade with his suburban neighbours, also hailing from working classes and who dreamed of someday "being well-off". Deprived of apartments to gather and scarce consumption goods to entertain themselves, Erasmo Carlos along with Wilson Simonal e Tim Maia – future renowned artists in the realm of popular music – made the streets their playground. There, Erasmo recalls in his biography (2006) that the typical merriments of popular classes – soccer, marbles – came across the consumption of American and Brazilian mass cultures symbols: Walt Disney, Popeye and Flash Gordon comics, pin up pictures and movies such as *Rock around the Clock*, *Rebel Without a cause*, as well as westerns and carnivalesque comedies.

Music, however, was central. Roberto and his friends shared a taste for João Gilberto, Samba and especially Rock, also forming a shortlived band that performed at circuses and churches. At the beginning of the Sixties, they made themselves noticed in popular radio and TV shows that would harbor rock and roll and the way it was danced due to its somewhat excentric character.

⁶ Misbehaving babe

⁷ To be well-off

Jovem Guarda's third big name, Wanderléa Salim, hailing from the countryside of Minas, also performed since her childhood in radio show with a extremely diverse repertoire. Not until the middle of the Sixties she would assume a rocker identity, claiming for her role as a "straight talk girl", an autonomous and self-reliant woman, that would show her body in swimsuits and miniskirts, but who would also use songs with religious content that dealt themes such as marriage and true love. The attempt to gather emancipation in the field of mores also made the youngsters dealt with a conservative and dominant moral.

Relating to the biography of Roberto, Erasmo and Wanderléa is important to make sense of the link between their life trajectories and the cultural consumption that came along and would gains traction through Jovem Guarda. The construction of a youth imaginary will not come about, therefore, strictly as a well conceived market product but is produced in the crossing between the search for individual ascension, the desires of the industry and a cultural consumption populated by celebrities that served as models of success in a crucial moment of American influence in popular music.



Figure 1 - PUGIALI, p.230

Jovem Guarda on stage

To relation about youth and music another meaning with the première of the show Jovem Guarda on TV network Record in 1965. Presenting live broadcasted performances, the show was conducted by Roberto Carlos, Wanderléa and Erasmo Carlos. On its stage, the decor refered to the universe of automobiles and Beatlemania made itself felt through the garments, hairdos and songs, many of which were Portuguese covers of the British band's international hits. Adding up to this there was the influence of romantic songs, be it national, to which the public had access through the radio for the past three decades, or international, connected to the Ballad Rock of the Fifties. From all great musicals hosted by TV Record, this was the only aimed to the young and noisy audiences that would mob the venue, in and outside its premises.

In 1966, the show was already a blockbuster, being exhibited on video-tape across the country. The show's promotion was managed by the *Magaldi, Maia & Prosperi* (MM&P) advertising agency, that would even release a line of products comprising miniskirts, bags, t-shirts, shoes, boots and even school supplies inspired the young artists' image⁸

Invited to star on movies, pose to photo shoots, give interview sessions and perform in live shows, the successful singers would also act as actors, hosts as well as models. Multimediatic competences were required: the demands were fundamentally linked to the audiovisual requirements demanded by TV. The contrasted with the radio language was evident.

The multiplication of articles that would describe the intimacy and routine of the young celebrities started to increasingly blur the lines between public and private. The artists would become characters in a fiction that turned their own lives into a novel. Roberto Carlos' moniker was Brasa (Ember), the good boy from the countryside, slim, with a naive and careless look, tailor-made to please mothers, whereas Erasmo Carlos was the Tremendão (The top guy), the tall Young man, strong and rebellious, always ready to defend his and his friend's honour, as for Wanderléa, she was Ternurinha (Dollface), delicate, vain, but also independent, fierce and ambitious. Each role featured the archetypical gallery of heroes and villains from the comics, films and gossip columns. Its singers represented the heroes of consumption society, the self made people who would come from "nothing" and would conquer success from his own individual effort, being able to, at last, enjoy life as a playboy surrounded by babes (Plates 2, 3).

In between it all there was the youngster: fundamentally constructed in this multimediatic arena, it is a display and symptom of a new era of technological modernity, making the indissociable link between youth identity, mediatic coverage and consumption. The emerging generation originated on the radio, but also helped define music in relation to TV.

Many were the means used to build the juvenile specificity. The smooth tones would contrast the radio artists' potent voice. The use of orchestras and acoustic instruments would give place to the young and electrified bands. The careless manner of handling the guitar, amplifiers, keyboards and microphones would express the naturality with which the new generation would embrace the technologies. In their songs, love conquests and losses, themes from the vast romantic tradition of popular music, devoid of the tragic and fatalistic tone, would be relocated on a scenario of parties, love affairs and fun.

The musicians' visibility, performance and peculiarities would have to adapt not only to the radio's microphone, but to the camera's eye. The physical contours would be, therefore, largely exhibited in miniskirts, cleavages and open blouses that would be completed by long hair and other accessories, explored in detailed shoots to be published in colorful magazines. The bet in novelty and rupture, however, would share space with a Strong conservative bias.

Youth and the culture industry

It is undeniable that the construction of youth held by Jovem Guarda was thought of as a product. The Jovem Guarda TV show is a deliberate attempt at hopping in the success of the youth market worldwide. In its premiering moment, TV Record already had in its menu the *Bossaude* and *Fino da Bossa* shows, gathering a prestigious cast both from the old school and the nascent MPB (Música Popular Brasileira [Brazilian Popular Music]). The first group had

⁸ Jornal do Brasil, Caderno B, 19/1/68, p.9

know their pinnacle through radio, during the Forties and Fifties and was formed mainly by the popular classes. The second, on the other hand, comes about at the end of the Fifties, with the advent of Bossa Nova, which would be politically infused giving birth to the Protest Songs (Napolitano, 2001). Rock was the third great segment that would assure Record the hegemony in the popular music market on TV. Believing that the Beatles' success could be locally replicated, MM&P decided to accept the risks of a juvenile show. The conditions for the fabrication of idols whose ideal of youth was fundamentally and ideal of consumption were set.

In a moment when the big urban centers grow at astounding levels, attracting a horde of migrants with the promises of social mobility, youngsters seemed to materialize the discourses of renewal and ascension through individual effort that lies at the core of liberal propaganda. The emphasis on hedonism – expressed in narratives filled by fast cars, parties and countless dates – is essentially a bet on the ephemerality of the present, that is in tune with the passing character of the consumption of material goods. Amidst the songs, movies, records and especially items such as pants, bags and dolls, a young lifestyle was sold (Image 2).

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que novidade de arromba!
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Tôdas as quintas-feiras, às 20,20 pela TV Piratini, com reprise aos sábados às 18,30. O programa da juventude,



Chapéus para meninos, Cr\$
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para meninas, Cr\$
4.450



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3.150



Sapatilhas para rapazes, meninas e juvenil, Cr\$
5.300



PORTO ALEGRE E Canoas

Figure 2 - Revista Tv Sul, January 1966, p.4

Nonetheless, Jovem Guarda is not the result of a entrepreneurial decisions made behind closed doors. Jovem Guarda's success was largely based on the improvisation, which is the keyword to understand the way media worked before it began to be rationalised by the end of the Sixties. Until then, accounting planning and market research would not set the tone in communication enterprises, still scarcely integrated among themselves and largely based on its owners centralising spirit.

The end of the Sixties represents the start of the decline of traditional companies such as TV Record TV, one of the biggest TV networks that would still work as a family endeavour. From this moment on, however, many conventions strongly felt in the radiophonic scenario of

the Fifties still structured the reception to musical shows on TV. The search for a massive audience, music as entertainment and the appeal to the popular classes composed a grammar of spectacle and performance in which the music functioned as an element of engagement and mobilisation of the senses.

If Bossa Nova, through its minimalistic execution, would cast away the performance's sensorial dimension and would repel the audience participation, in the middle of the Sixties, the genre would become more politicised and would reencounter its lost dimension through the Song Festivals broadcast by the same TV Record. At Jovem Guarda's stage the spectacular element was even more evident, expressed in décor, artistic performance and outfits. Alongside the state of the art technological props, a sensibility inherited from the radio auditoriums would remain.

The same happened regarding the moral dimension that permeated Jovem Guarda's discourse. Its values would be flexible enough to be adapted to the new moment, but at the same time conservative to the point of not demolishing the moral conventions and musical consumption habits that made its success possible. On the TV stages, record sleeves, song lyrics and interviews, Brasa, Tremendão and Ternurinha could state that they lived to party, they were terrible, they had to maintain their bad reputation and they would race their cars through the streets.

Festa de Arromba (1964)

(Wild Party)

Composição: Erasmo Carlos

*Look to this wild party
Where I got myself on
Radio and TV all around
Cinema and paper coverage
Big crowd, a real mess
Almost couldn't reach the door
Because the mob
Was really tough
Hey, Hey, (hey, hey)
What a success
What a wild party*

(.....)

*Look who arrived suddenly
Roberto Carlos in his hotwheel
Meanwhile Tony e Demétrius
Smoked outdoors
Sérgio e Zé Ricardo
bumped on me
Outdoors a big mess
Because of the babes
It was Ed Wilson who just arrived
Hey, Hey, (hey, hey)
What a success
What a wild party
(.....)*

Eu sou terrível (1965)

Composição: Roberto Carlos

*I'm terrible
It's better to quit
Teasing me
You don't know
Where I come from
Who I am
And what I have*

(....)

*I'm terrible
I'm telling you
There won't be easy
To follow me
Girl walking by my side
Will feel the rush
My rod is hot machine

I'm terrible, I'm terrible...*

Conversely, that would publicly declare their love for their mothers and would host charity concerts⁹. Fearless, adventurous, consumerists, debauched, but also peaceful, sober, polite, devout to God and Family: those were the apparently contrasting values that Jovem Guarda projected onto their ideal of youth.

All of its symbolic universe captured the mediatic imaginary of the youth that has been under construction since the Fifties. The babes, playboys and waywards are their characters and the parties, dates and car races are their settings. It is about a mediatic narrative that fused the suburban and juvenile sociability to the dreams and desires put forth in American songs, films and comics, nurtured by the gossip columns that represented the tantalizing Copacabana's nightlife.

Being aired at Sunday afternoon, the show captured an extremely familial fraction of the audience that would first get in touch with a universe of clothes, dances, slangs and songs until then not well known by these viewers. The challenge, thus, was to captivate and sell a new young lifestyle to widest possible audience. It was about turning the hedonistic values and other youth signs of an American consumption society compatible with the remaining symbolic conventions already present in the world of music, including those of moral order.

The symbols of Jovem Guarda, thus, mingled with the life narratives of the artists themselves who would enact them, permeated by a suburban sociability and conformed by a mediatic consumption that is generalised as a market product.

Jovem Guarda vs MPB?

From the installment of the dictatorship in 1964 and onwards, the investment on communications, combined with censorship, was the way through which the State intended to materialise its project of conservative modernisation (Ortiz, 1986). This would not prevent the cultural production from being bestowed with the task of discussing the destinies of the nation that previously solely belonged to parties, committees or unions, now under siege. The sphere of music is, therefore, conceived as a counter-hegemonic tool while boosted by the then most powerful medium: the television. This is especially true in the period before 1968, the year when censorship and political persecutions would get harsher (Napolitano, 2001).

Following the juvenile revolts in international scale, the debate on youth changes radically in the Sixties: from the rebelliousness against family and school, now it turns to the call to political activism, the radicalism and the revolt against the State's and capital's dominant ideologies (Ianni, 1963). The debate would become especially acute in Brazil, where an authoritarian and technocratic modernisation process is held by the State.

Articulating a critique to the consumption society and claiming for the reestablishment of democracy, the middle class college militancy imagined the youngster as main force of social change. In the musical field, that is expressed by the formation of MPB, a cultural institution where manifold musical genres were mixed – Bossa Nova, urban Samba and regional folk songs amongst them – whose objective was to rediscover the people through music and denounce the new regime's contradictions¹⁰. It was propelled fundamentally through the *Song*

⁹ Intervalo, 12/9/66

¹⁰ A song quite representative of this trend is Opinião (Opinion), composed by Nara Leão in 1964 (They can luck me up, they can beat me up/They can even let me to starve/But my opinion I won't change(...)
]

Festivals and the musical show *O Fino da Bossa*, hosted by the duo Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues, both broadcast by Record TV (Napolitano, 2001).

It is from that same MPB that comes the critique to the sounds of Roberto, Erasmo and Wanderléa. What, up to them did not represent more than a tacky sonority, “suburban stuff” (Motta, 2000), now becomes the target of ideological reproof, for its “defeatist”, “alienated” and “americanised” tunes.

When we study the musical scene from 1964 onwards, precaution is necessary in order to not take the heroic accounts of political engagement at its face value as historical truths. The military coup did not “force” the politicization of popular music, this was one of the possible answers to an historic conjuncture. In sociological terms, the politicization does not appear as an “obligation” to artists, but as an outcome of a mobilization of a specific group that knew how to take the most of that moment. Thus it was not a fatality or an obligation.

When regarding Jovem Guarda as “alienated” we are imposing norms and judgements to the social world instead of deciphering the logics from which it operates. “Engagement” and “alienation” should be read as native categories of the discourse, means through which the actors classify and organize the world. We should understand its origins and how it works. This would allow us to perceive how the field of popular music lived the regime’s contradictions in diverse ways that did not run their course in MPB.

Jovem Guarda translated onto its own terms the modernising utopia by amalgamating elements from a popular and urban lifestyle to the dreams and desires that the American consumption society and the very official Brazilian ideology reverberated. If the answer seems uncomfortable and aligned to the official ideology, it is no less representative of the multiple ways in which the cultural field then functioned. Moreover, the rigid opposition between MPB and Jovem Guarda must not be assumed from the start; both positions were undefined in the Sixties and both were born within the mediatic vehicles – especially television – that needed massive appeal to consolidate themselves.

At times, Jovem Guarda and MPB would find themselves very similar positions. As part of the TV Record’s crew, they would frequently take part in mixed events. Presentating itself in festivals and long debates articulated in newspapers and specialised publications, MPB could also be followed in weekly TV magazines such as *Intervalo*. In short pieces filled with pictures, both Chico Buarque’s green eyes and his intention of finding the people in his music were featured. In the magazine, Erasmo Carlos’ love affairs, Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues got the same attention; it could even consider an alleged romance between Bossa Nova’s muse, Nara Leão and Jovem Guarda’s singer Jerry Adriani¹¹.

The relationship with the repressive apparatus becomes a problem to be solved by MPB: garnering new followers for a counter-hegemonic public Project meant also submit to the conventions of a Market, itself one of the main tools of the authoritarian regime. The politisation, contradictorily, lived side by side with the dynamics of spectacularisation and mercantilisation.

Despite the diverging political leanings, the notoriety of the young singers inserted them all in a grand mosaic of mediatic entertainment. The more intangible, the bigger was the interest in their private life, offered as a consumption article on the massive press. Each one’s identity would be defined, largely, not only in the content of their songs, but in the way this was integrated to the mediatic construction of an image, what depended on aspects of

¹¹ Intervalo, 9/7/66

circulation that were hard to control. The alleged “war” between MPB and Jovem Guarda was greatly fed by the same vehicles as a means of keeping the artists in display.

Nevertheless, disputes, elections and contests – best song or male singer (king), female singer (queen) - had put the musical scenario into motion since the radio days, counting on the active participation of musicians seeking for the spotlight (Calabre, 2002). The very Song Festivals followed that logic, recurring to the press that then created a “thrill” around the possible winners. Not by accident that in the 3rd edition of the Festival of Brazilian Music, the biggest display for MPB production at the time, Roberto Carlos had interpreted *Maria, Carnaval e Cinzas* [Mary, Carnival and Ashes], a composition anchored in the repertoire of “popular themes” representative of the politicised repositior of the time, achieving the 3rd place (Images 3, 4, 5, 6).



Figure 3 - Intervalo, 8 May 66, p.12



Figure 4 - Intervalo, 7 May 67, p.33



Figure 5 - Intervalo, 19 December 66, p.32



Figure 6 - Intervalo, 21 November 65, p.37

Between deliberately, fabricated factoids and “honest opinions”, all kinds of statements were subject to the mediatic treatment and also to their circulation and consumption. The rise of television would keep this dimension, even if instilling an ideological sense in it, derived from the new social function acquired by the medias.

Back to Brasil, I expected to find Samba stronger than ever, What I saw was that submusic, that noise dragging thousands of teenagers that start to feel interested in the musical language and get deviated. This Ye Ye Ye is a drug: deforms the youth’s mind. Look at the

songs they sing: the majority has very few notes and that makes them easy to sing and remember. The lyrics doesn't contain any message: they talk about dances, pretty words for the ears, futile things. Anyone who wishes can make music like that, commenting on their last quarrel with the boyfriend. This is nor serious neither good. So, why keep the aberration? We, brazilians, have found a formula to make something well taken care of for the youth, not appealing to Rocks, Twists, Ballads, but using the very groove of our Samba.¹²

Published by the Intervalo magazine, this famous statement by Elis Regina is usually read as one of the strongest proofs of the "war" between MPB and Jovem Guarda (Froes, 2000). This does not heed the fact that the magazine was entirely moved the spectacular ink with which it coloured any kind of statement. The image that goes with the article is quite illustrative (Image 7).



Figure 7 – Iê, iê iê (yeah,yeah,yeah) sucks - Intervalo, 27 March 66, p.22

Two months later, the same magazine would register a public apology from Regina to Roberto Carlos on the day of his birthday performance, which was captured with the intent of becoming part of a documentary, never finished. This makes clear how "war" and "peace", as well as "alienated" and "engaged", are more structuring categories of the mediatic discourse than instruments of sociological analysis. What is interesting to investigate, thus, is in which manners the ideological convictions negotiate with both a spectacular and a market logic.

Recognising the commercial dimension of the engaged discourse is not a cynical way of neutralising it. Even more so, it is about acknowledging the limits and dilemmas sprung by the character of products in which the cultural goods are immersed, something that does not eliminate the differences. Many are the points of contact and friction between MPB and Jovem Guarda, the line of demarcation that separates them is not stale, but negotiated in the heat of the historical conjunctures. These are two possible answers within the same universe of practices that should be understood, therefore, in their relational and indissociable character.

¹² Intervalo, 27/03/66

Radio versus TV, archaic versus modern, democracy versus dictatorship, politicised versus alienated, middle classes versus popular classes are some of the debates that took over popular music in the Sixties, translating wider problematics into specific positions. Youth, historically constructed as a locus of transition, shock and passage, helps us grasp this moment, also of rearrangement of forces. From a particular viewpoint, the one of Jovem Guarda's, we believe that is possible to think in what measure youth emerges in the music scenario and also how the latter, when incorporating youth, appears reconfigured.

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