

**CULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS AND REAPPROPRIATIONS IN SALVADOR-BA:
ABOUT URBAN SPECTACULARIZATION AND THE DIALECTICS OF
MALANDRAGEM**

**APROPRIAÇÕES E REAPROPRIAÇÕES CULTURAIS EM SALVADOR-BA: SOBRE A
ESPETACULARIZAÇÃO URBANA E A DIALÉTICA DA MALANDRAGEM**

**APROPIACIONES Y REAPROPIACIONES CULTURALES EN SALVADOR DE
BAHÍA: SOBRE LA ESPECTACULARIZACIÓN URBANA Y LA DIALÉCTICA DEL
MALANDRAJE**

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ABSTRACT: This text seeks, at first, to present an analytical typology about cultural practices, uses and tensions of meanings woven in the context of the experience of urban life in certain spaces of the city of Salvador-BA, during the context of preparation and realization of mega-events of the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA). In this perspective, the work links the theoretical and empirical immersion, carried out within the scope of the doctoral research, with the thematization about the relationships between the logics of urban production and the effects of these processes on the behaviors that experience and (re)signify the uses of spaces. More broadly, the question of cultural practices is interpenetrated by the horizon that moves from the right to the city to the ideals of spectacular cities, expressed above all by the paradigm of creativity. Finally, I propose to reread the relationship between cultural appropriations and reappropriations from the idea of the dialectic of “*malandragem*”, characterized by Antonio Candido as a formative spectrum of Brazilian culture.

KEYWORDS: Appropriation cultural. Reappropriation cultural. Salvador-BA. Urban spectacularization. Dialectic of *malandragem*.

RESUMO: Este texto busca, em um primeiro momento, apresentar uma tipologia analítica acerca das práticas culturais, usos e tensões de significados tecidos no contexto da experiência da vida urbana em determinados espaços da cidade de Salvador-BA, durante o contexto de preparação e realização dos megaeventos esportivos da *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA). Nesta perspectiva, o trabalho vincula a imersão teórica e empírica, realizada no âmbito da pesquisa doutoral, com a tematização acerca das relações entre as lógicas de produção urbana e os efeitos desses processos nos comportamentos que experimentam e (res)significam os usos dos espaços. De maneira mais ampla, a questão das práticas culturais é interpenetrada pelo horizonte que transita do direito à cidade ao ideário de cidades espetacularizadas, expressas sobretudo pelo paradigma da criatividade. Por fim, proponho reler a relação entre as apropriações e

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reapropriações culturais a partir da ideia de dialética da malandragem, caracterizada por Antonio Candido como espectro formativo da cultura brasileira.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Apropriação cultural. Reapropriação cultural. Salvador-BA. Espectacularização urbana. Dialética da malandragem.*

RESUMEN: *Este texto busca, en un primer momento, presentar una tipología analítica acerca de las prácticas culturales, usos y tensiones de significados basados en el contexto de la experiencia de vida urbana en determinados espacios de la ciudad de Salvador de Bahía, durante el contexto de preparación y realización de los megaeventos deportivos de la Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). En esta perspectiva, el trabajo vincula la inmersión teórica y empírica, realizada en el ámbito de la investigación doctoral, con la tematización sobre las relaciones entre las lógicas de producción urbana y los efectos de estos procesos en los comportamientos que experimentan y (re)significan los usos de los espacios. En términos más generales, la cuestión de las prácticas culturales está interpenetrada por el horizonte que transita desde el derecho a la ciudad al ideal de ciudades espectaculares, expresado sobre todo por el paradigma de la creatividad. Finalmente, propongo una relectura de la relación entre apropiaciones y reapropiaciones culturales desde la idea de dialéctica de malandraje, caracterizada por Antonio Candido como un espectro formativo de la cultura brasileña.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Apropiación cultural. Reapropiación cultural. Salvador de Bahía. Espectacularización urbana. Dialéctica de malandraje.*

Introduction

Cities contain contradictory universes, which are sometimes juxtaposed, showing conflicts, sometimes interpenetrating, building meanings and complex forms of existence. From this perspective, apparently abstract, questions relevant to studies on the logics of contemporary urban production and management are insinuated. Likewise, in the micro scope of analysis, cultural practices also constitute important research agendas, especially when we seek to apprehend them in dialogue with their contexts and historical circumstances.

In this wake, the plural character of cities, as Carlos Fortuna and Rogerio Proença Leite (2009) emphasize, indicates, in my view, less the absence of normative tendencies within urban production and practice, and more a necessary epistemic posture in face of their verifiable complexities. This means that it is fundamental not to neglect the potential seams and resignifications that (extra)ordinarily forge the conflicts between the various existing cities within the one that is intended, many times and in different ways, to be defined as unique and consensual.



In the terms of Professor Ana Fernandes (2006), what has been evident since the last three decades of the 20th century is this relationship between the *rupture* and the *promise*. Requalified, governed and legitimized by culturalist dynamics, cities are inscribed in the paradox: on the one hand lies the *promise* in enhancing ways of being in the world, based on a kind of cultural *justification* (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009); on the other hand, from the hegemonic tendency of commodification, there is a *rupture*, in which what could be emancipated, is impoverished by the central purpose of consumption and mercantile exchange. Even so, we know that this does not exhaust the possibilities of resistance and confrontations against what Fernandes (2006) highlighted as a hegemonic trend, since the *rupture* and the *promise* dialogue from the specificities of each city in question.

In this article, at first, I seek to present an analytical typology about cultural practices, uses and tensions of meanings woven in the context of the experience of urban life in certain spaces of the city of Salvador-BA, during the context of preparation and realization of mega-events. of the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) (2013-2014). The aim is to link the theoretical and empirical immersion, carried out within the scope of the doctoral research, with the thematization about the relationships between the logics of urban production and the effects of these processes on the behaviors that experience and (re)signify the uses of spaces. Through systematic field research, some conflicting characteristics became quite emblematic, as were the cases involving the *baianas de acarajé* and the situation of prohibition and authorization for the commercial exercise of their trades; the organization and entrepreneurial action of the Afro group *Tambores do Mundo*; the dynamics of informal vendors (street vendors) and non-consumer actors in consumption spaces; and the playful protests represented by the carnival groups *Pipoca Indignada* and *Rodante*. In view of these empirical situations, I suggested a typology about the practices of cultural (re)appropriation, in view of its analytical potential in the apprehension of contemporary urban phenomena, notably marked by conflicts and negotiations between the various constituent actors of cities.

More broadly, the issue of cultural practices is interpenetrated by the horizon that moves from *the right to the city* (LEFEBVRE, 2008) to the ideals of *spectacular cities* (DEBORD, 1997; VIEIRA, 2016), expressed mainly by the creativity paradigm (VIVANT, 2012); SELDIN, 2017; VIEIRA, 2020; 2021). Finally, I propose to reread the relationship between *cultural appropriations and reappropriations* (VIEIRA, 2016) from the idea of the *dialectic of malandragem*, characterized by Antonio Candido (2015 [1970]), in an essay that has exactly that title. It is interesting, in this case, to reflect on how the formative spectrum of Brazilian culture that resides in the interpretative perspective of *malandragem* indicates



correspondences and eventual dissidences of cultural practices, observed in urban experiences from their oscillating characteristics between order and disorder, domination and resistance.

At first, based on the doctoral research carried out, I argue that the experience of hosting the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup and the 2014 FIFA World Cup fostered the fraying of the urban and cultural commodification of the Bahian capital, through the normative and general tendency to mobilize supposed local particularities as spectacular ways of reinventing *the consumption images of cities* (FORTUNA, 1997; ZUKIN, 2000a; 2000b), notably endowed by tourism promotion. Observed “closely”, these mobilizations, carried out in *narratives* (BARREIRA, 2013) and concrete interventions in urban spaces, reflect both official modes of objectification of local culture and marginal survivals, perceived as tensioned faces of the *urban cultural spectacularization* process (VIEIRA, 2016).

However, in the analytical wake that conceives cultural practices as conflictive actions, forged by power relations and disputes, which are read sometimes as strategies, sometimes as *tactics* (CERTEAU, 1998), or even as *uses and counter-uses* (LEITE, 2007) of urban and public spaces, I suggested, as a contribution to the debate, the notions of *cultural appropriation and reappropriation*. Despite the conceptual specificities of the aforementioned categories of analysis, in my view, they establish as common points, the reference of the dissident possibilities that reside in the public living and experiencing the cities. In this way, they take as clippings, objects of study marked by contexts in which certain interventions are established with the intention of regulating uses and selecting practices and users, whether based on planning policies, urban requalification or specifically of a spectacular nature.

Urban spectacularization and practices of cultural (re)appropriation: the case of the city of Salvador-BA in times of mega sporting events

For the analysis of the process of urban and cultural commodification, I base myself primarily on the notion of “spectacle”, conceptualized and developed by a set of aphorisms that form the classic work *The society of the spectacle*, by Guy Debord (1997 [1967]). Among other possible ideas that are launched by Debord (1997), regarding a certain transformation in the practical way of capitalism (re)producing itself, I highlight above all the assertions that emphasize the centrality of the logic of the commodity in the social world², and the dissimulated relationship that it establishes between the apparent and the real form.

² See aphorisms 11 and 15 (DEBORD, 1997), even if it is understood in fragments, the spectacle is the real totality of social life, transformed, however, into appearance. Under this tendency, the spectacle presents itself as the main social form of contemporaneity..



According to Debord³ (1997), although it may seem like it, the spectacle is not the images themselves, but the relationships they mediate. In this vein, I argue that one of the characteristics present in what we have called urban spectacularization is the mediation of social relations by the objectified human practice itself. This means that it is not necessarily only through the media image that the relations of social life are represented, as it is not literally something that replaces the living subject, but living subjects subjugated to the scenic logic of their ordinary and cultural practice. From this perspective, they simulate themselves as a subordinate expression of the market. The spectacle is a way of being, seeing, thinking and feeling objectified. A kind of world view that objectified itself. At the same time, it is project and result, production and consumption⁴.

In a similar way, the image of *Bahianity*, composed by the attributes of “difference” identified in the local culture and the positivized postulates of “joy” and “happiness” were thus *spectacularly* promoted in the city of Salvador. Diluted, the reinvented consumption image of the capital of Bahia is presented as a product of tourist and financial attractiveness, even though this marketing appropriation may also be partially present in the social relations of the most diverse locations in that city. Although urban entrepreneurs envision the promotion of a positive image of the city from the objectification of local culture, the object of this staging is the producers themselves in their duly mediated cultural practices. They act in the representation of themselves, stipulated as a generic form of the urban spectacle. In this way, the abstract narrative of *happiness*, the party, and *tradition*, materializes in the presentation and performance of Afro and Bahian acarajé blocks, for example.

Urban spectacularization is centrally speculative. It converges, therefore, with the dominant form of production of contemporary urban space, where the *culture of financial servitude* (ARANTES, 2009; CEVASCO, 2010) is expressed in the midst of speculative bubbles of a real dynamic guided by abstract and fictitious statements, such as which the fictitious capitals of financialization and the *model-images* (SANCHEZ, 2001) of cities promoted by urban-cultural policies are related. This characterization permeates the processes of *urban regeneration* (FERREIRA, 2010) and makes the requalified spaces monumentalizations that, through aesthetics and performance, transform the dynamics of urban life into a *spectacularized culture* (LEITE, 2010), that is, fetishized, often as pastiche (JAMESON, 2006) for consumption. In my view, this configuration is not conditioned by the

³ See aphorism 4, “the spectacle is not a set of images, but a social relationship between people, mediated by images” (DEBORD, 1997, p.14).

⁴ See aphorisms 5 and 6 (DEBORD, 1997).



realization of mega-events, but, in fact, it becomes especially more intense in these cases (DELGADO, 2007; LA BARRE, 2013).

According to Christine Boyer (1994) and Manuel Delgado (2007) we can consider that the city that *figures* (BOYER, 1994) in this logic is, to some degree, the result of *fraud and misery* (DELGADO, 2007), because its idealized projection it occurs to the detriment of the reality that is hidden, controlled and, to a certain extent, exterminated. This is not just the effect of ideation or symbolic alienation. The exception of military interventions and legislative changes, such as the formulation of the General Law of the Cup no. 12,663 (BRASIL, 2012) are some of the elements that make up the coercive force of the full establishment of the *city of exception* (VAINER, 2011), which became a fundamental rule in the business management and its opposite, *barbarism* (MENEGAT, 2008).

The whole articulated set of these actions, not fortuitously hidden, culminates in the process that I interpret as *urban spectacularization*. A normative project of cultural urban commodification, which involves tensions and conflicts of uses and meanings, expressed in practices of *cultural appropriation and reappropriation*, dynamized around the creation of certain spaces of consumption. In this perspective, consumption is fostered by an intentional production of human interventions and cultural practices that, although presented under the guise of experience and the singular image of oneself, are, in fact, averse to human and *political activity* (RANCIÈRE, 1996), because, above all, they are conditioned by the generation of value. For this reason, I argue that urban cultural policies, which (re)construct images of consumption, tend to be characterized by a kind of inverted politics, speculated by an aesthetics subordinated to the logic of the market and depriving of the spontaneous dynamics existing in relationships and local cultural activities.

But it is important to understand that this is not established in an absolute and deterministic way. As Beatriz Sarlo (2014) observes, in the study on the imagery production of the urban and culture, in the city of Buenos Aires-AR, the city logos are not always the result of a direct concept of the urban production logic of the market. It is not that this has nothing to do with the process, but that, eventually, it acts as a sphere of assemblages of what exists locally. However, in the case of Salvador-BA, the very literal idea of *difference* was *culturally appropriated* by the city's official building agents. Along with the motto “*Salvador, você sente que é diferente*” (Salvador, you feel that it is different), enunciated by the City Hall at the time, materializations and abstractions about the dynamics of festivities are intertwined in a *Bahianity* logo, reinvented and frayed in the context of FIFA’s mega sporting events (2013-2014).



It is not just a matter of perceiving the city between its real face and its imagined face, ontologically opposing reality versus illusion, but of noticing, from cultural practices, the negotiations, conflicts and complex complementarities that occur in logics of border productions and sociability. In this wake, species of *interstitial spaces* (LEITE, 2009) stand out with analytical relevance, as has been suggested by Rafael Arantes (2020), in the analysis of the most recent processes of gastronomic fairs held in public spaces in the capital of Bahia.

Strictly speaking, what is often assumed to be “authentic” (original) does not exist in any city. Authenticity results from what is experienced and what is recognized. This *figuration* of the city is always just one face of what can also be its *disfigurement*, but which, due to specific interests, is instrumentally hidden, as Boyer (1994) argues. In fact, what is experienced refers to a certain imagination, as well as what is imagined is linked to other forms of experimentation in the city.

For Carina Gomes (2012), this is a recurring issue in urban requalification processes, notably concentrated around a projection of new uses and users in certain spaces of the city. Thus, from the requalified historic centers, the meanings of the *lived city* (further from tourist appropriation) and the *visible city* (offered for consumption by those who visit) intertwine and sometimes conflict. Also, for this reason, we argue that cities coexist within a city (FORTUNA, 1997; GOMES, 2012; VIEIRA, 2016). According to Manuel Delgado (2007), this is how the *frauds* of the visible are configured and the *miseries* of the real are hidden, which, not by chance, constitute the faces of the unconsumed realities of the city.

For Maité Clavel (2006), these fractures of cultural objectification forge the great characteristic of the relationship between cities and cultures. Despite all the entrepreneurial efforts, in the *spectacularization* lies a kind of imperfect product of the projects, adaptable to ordinary individuals, not as a planning that aims to guarantee the right to the city, but because of the disarrangements of the dynamics that follows the experience of living the daily life in its differences and inequalities.

In the realm of the theory of practices, this qualification seems to have influenced Micheal De Certeau (1998) to conceive that there are, on the (extra)ordinary horizon of everyday life, a set of uses that dynamize power relations and conflicts, expressed by *tactics* and *strategies*. While the former is characterized as the “art of the weak”, in which individuals lacking a stability of political, institutional and/or economic power, mobilize cunning as a form of resistance; *strategies* are characterized as an action of established power. In this vein, Professor Rogerio Proença Leite (2007) suggested the conceptualization of *counter-use* as a way of characterizing the bias of misunderstanding (RANCIÈRE, 1996) that manifests itself



in contemporary public life. Unlike the notion of *tactics* (CERTEAU, 1998), *counter-use* (LEITE, 2007) signals a deliberately confrontational individual posture, which politically affects the regulation of spaces, planned for certain uses of cultural consumption.

Instigated by these interpretative keys about cultural practices and uses of spaces in cities, I have suggested, as a way of contributing to the debate, the notions of *cultural appropriation and reappropriation* (VIEIRA, 2016). These categories were formulated to analyze how certain actions linked to *urban spectacularization* projects end up producing socio-spatial exclusions, which, nevertheless, reveal contesting practices by those excluded. As oppositions to the cultural appropriations carried out in the *urban spectacularization* process, I identified four main types of *cultural reappropriation*, characterized, in general, by dissident experiences that intend the political and managerial sphere of the show, namely: I- *Cultural reappropriation as a spectacular counter-scene*; II- *Cultural reappropriation as a popular enterprise of reified culture*; III- *Cultural reappropriation as a differential trade tactic*; IV- *Cultural reappropriation through the critical playfulness of the show*.

The variations of the notions of *cultural reappropriations* suggested corresponding to four empirical references studied during the field research of the *urban and cultural spectacularization* process of the city of Salvador-BA, in the context of preparation and realization of FIFA's mega sporting events (2013-2014). Thus, respectively, the key cases of each type of *cultural reappropriation* are: I) The case of the *baianas de acarajé* (I); II) The Afro group *Tambores do Mundo*; III) Informal sellers and non-consumer actors in *consumption spaces*; IV) The carnival groups *Pipoca Indignada* and *Rodante*.

The occurrences of these conceptual types can coexist, as they do not invalidate each other, nor are they intended to say about some watertight property of urban life. Eventually, the types are related to each other in the same case, in order to have reaffirmed or even contested characteristics, depending on each process in question. In *cultural re-appropriation as a spectacular counter-scene*, I observed, from the acts of protest carried out by *Baianas do acarajé*, organized through the Bahia Association of Municipal Tax Auditors (ABAM), the production of a *spectacular* dismissal of consensus. Through claims that demanded inclusion, appreciation of customs and the immaterial culture of their crafts, the Bahian women ended up demanding the right to work, to be able to participate in the World Cup event circuits. At first, this condition would be denied, since they did not constitute themselves as official supporters or sponsors of FIFA and, therefore, would not have the right to use the space, exceptionally managed by the International Football Federation, to sell their acarajé dumplings.



It is important to note that even when what was in the orbit of questioning narratives was the argument of valuing culture and intangible heritage, it was a protest for the right to work. Which evidently does not mean any demerit for these actors, but also does not imply a subversion of the production logic of *urban spectacularization*. The Bahian protests resulted in the partial absorption of their demands. The partiality here corresponds to the very conditionings of the commodification of this broader spectacular process. In fact, only 12 Bahian women were allowed to sell their dumplings within FIFA's commercial exclusivity zone.

In *cultural reappropriation as a popular enterprise of reified culture*, I analyzed the case of the dynamics operated by the Cultural Exchange Group Tambores do Mundo. Coordinated by black musicians who report having grown up in Curuzu (neighborhood Liberdade, Salvador-BA), a locality recognized internally as peripheral and poor, the Group promotes a set of events and percussion workshops in other countries. One of the coordinators even resided in Paris-FR. In particular, Carnival in Salvador is publicized during most of the year in several European countries. The product offered includes exchanges in the city of Salvador and percussion lessons. The possibility of knowing/visiting the country and, above all, being able to experience the city of Salvador from the musical representation of Curuzu are elements that make up part of the *cultural reappropriation* operated by the organizers.

In this way, they undertake a scenic alteration of mercantile regulation, where those we could imagine to be consumers present themselves as cultural producers, while the producers then become *cultural entrepreneurs*. In view of the *cultural appropriation* that occurs in the process of *urban spectacularization*, the notions of “land of happiness” and musical expressiveness of African origin, end up being reused by the coordinators of the Group. Here, it joins the spectacular course of the city promoted by the local *cultural appropriation*, the *reappropriation* that reveals itself in an effective exercise of *popular enterprise of the reified culture*.

In *terms of cultural reappropriation as a differential trade tactic*, I identified from the street vendors a set of actions that are fundamentally characterized as an apparent kind of *political confrontation* (RANCIÈRE, 1996), on the part of those who did not have free authorization to sell in public spaces, during the World Cup mega-events. Not accepting to pay the Municipality of Salvador, for the permit to release the trade, either because they do not have the financial conditions or because they believe that the collection is abusive, these actors end up expressing *tactical cunning* (CERTEAU, 1998) within a context of *marginal survival* of the production process of *urban spectacularization*.



In this sense, street vendors not only take risks and clandestinely sell products in these restricted spaces, but also operate particular relationships with consumers, which reflect some degree of selectivity, insofar as they differentiate the price charged for the products depending on the “customer ” in question. In general, the prices charged to the so-called “gringos” are higher than to others considered “local”. Under this logic, *cultural reappropriation* operated as a *tactic* concerns the political practices of destitution of the spectacular consensus, through mercantile use not projected to space. In this anti-normative variant of the *cultural reappropriation* of street vendors, there is no significant incidence against the production of the show. However, to a lesser or greater degree, there is an implication in spectacular governance, insofar as it is necessary to guarantee the norms of the foreseen uses or adapt them to subtly observed forms of permissiveness.

Finally, in the *cultural reappropriation through the critical playfulness of the show*, I observed, from the carnival blocks Pipoca Indignada and Rodante, how playfulness can be used as a questioning mechanism of the entertainment industry, also appropriate in the process of *urban spectacularization*. Here, a fine line seems to be established between the spectacularized experience of life in the city and the insurgency of erratic movements. According to Paola Jacques (2006), *wandering* is constituted as a subversive power of spectacular regulation, experienced by the bodily relationship of individuals with cities. In fact, on the one hand, the exercise of *critical playfulness* (TRACHANA, 2014) is constantly under the imminent risk of being assimilated into the regularity of the “diversity” brand and, therefore, ending up composing yet another spectacular product. On the other hand, in an effectively erratic condition, this is the type of cultural reappropriation that reveals itself as a critical practice, which under the use of public spaces, publicizes the emergence of a city stripped of its spectacular makeup.

Regulation and *anti-normativities*: what is the meaning of the dialectic of *malandragem* in contemporary urban spectacularization?

Since the middle of the first half of the 20th century, notably in the 1930s, the idea of culture has been one of the dimensions mobilized in an attempt to build an original interpretation of Brazil. Authors such as Gilberto Freyre, in *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (2006 [1933]), and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, especially in the work *Raízes do Brasil* (1995 [1936]), make up part of this generation. It is not my objective here to make a specific analysis of these authors and works, but rather to observe how this perspective on what



constitutes us was, at different times, linked to the relationship we establish with certain general principles of universality, and, so to speak, normativity, behaviors and cultural practices, characterized by the particularity of dealing with norms. From racial relations and compositions, intensely criticized for raising interpretations based on a harmonic bias, to the specific cordiality of Brazilian culture, questions of order and disorder seem to constitute a communicative reference of Brazil's social formation.

Still in the 20th century, Antonio Candido (2015 [1970]), an important literary critic, wrote the essay entitled *Dialectic of Malandragem*. In this text, the author criticizes the novel *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (2015 [1854]), by Manuel Antônio de Almeida. Among other aspects elaborated by Candido (2015) about this work, I am specifically interested in the elements that characterize the notion of “malandragem”. According to Candido himself (2000), this displacement between the literary text and the social analysis is possible to the extent that we propose to perceive, in addition to the content portrayed in the work, its constitution. “As a whole as in the detail of each part, the same structural principles form the matter” (CANDIDO, 2000, p. 8). The social element is not just an external reference to interfere in the work. Indeed, the exercise of criticism made by Candido (2015) on the novel *Memórias de um sargento de milícias*, permeates not simply a characterization of the supposed anticipation of the realist style, at the time, but concerns an interpenetrated conjunction between aesthetics and structural content of the work.

Although it raises associations between the opposition of the “hero” and the “anti-hero”, the notion of *malandragem* that I seek to consider here concerns more with a characterization of a contradictory condition, in which individuals, enrolled in an unequal, unfair and violent world, survive. In other words, *malandragem* does not inform about an exclusively rationalized and desired behavior in the context of the formative processes of Brazilian culture. In the terms that I interpret the brilliant essay by Antonio Candido (2015), *malandragem* is read as a characteristic of social relations that are organized dialectically between a kind of *foolishness that saves and cleverness that potentiates tragic conditions*. From this perspective, there is the voluntary and the involuntary plan that make up the *dialectic of malandragem*.

These plans function as a certain formative spectrum of Brazilian culture or the idea of “Brazilianness”, which I take here as a correspondence to think about the notion of “Bahianity” and the types of *cultural (re)appropriations* manifested in the processes of *urban spectacularization*. This applies to the extent that these notions are supported by the particularized qualification that stands out in the face of a universal framework. It is within



this imaginative capacity that the conflicting elements between order and disorder, good and evil, moral and immoral, need to be managed.

According to Candido (2015), this debate is represented in two strata, in the novel *Memórias de um sargento de milícias*. In the first, the universalizing dimension is established, “where valid archetypes ferment for the imagination of a broad cycle of culture, which delights in the same cases of tricksters⁵ or in the same situations born of the whim of fate” (CANDIDO, 2015, p. 31). In the second stratum, universality is more restricted, as it is “where representations of life capable of stimulating the imagination of a smaller universe within this cycle are found: the Brazilian. In the *Memórias*, the second stratum is constituted by the dialectic of order and disorder [...]”. (CANDIDO, 2015, p. 31).

It is important to note that *disorder* does not inherently have the valid condition of its disapproval. For Candido (2015), it can even be legitimized as a constitutive instance of the desired *order*. In this way, societies tend to live between the strata of *order* and their relative permissiveness, which is why *disorder* forms a spectrum both of moral and civic rectitude, and of the legitimation of error and immorality, as tolerable ways to ensure survival. In the analysis of the literary plot, Candido (2015 p. 37, our translation) notes that:

Order and disorder are therefore solidly articulated; the hierarchical world in appearance turns out to be essentially subverted, when extremes meet and the characters' overall skill is vindicated by the slip that brings the Major from the sanctioned heights of the law to dubious complacencies with the layers he represses endlessly.

As an exercise in the re-reading proposed in this article, I think it is important to consider the analysis of cultural practices inscribed in the dynamics of production and urban experiences, under the reference interpenetrated by the nuances of resistance and rupture, composition and tension. It is, therefore, the tenuous link between what is constituted *erratically* (JACQUES, 2006) and what forging the *spectacularization* processes, places them at different levels of political and managerial tension. This binding is both contingent and normative. For Antonio Candido (2015 p. 44, our translation),

In Brazil, groups or individuals have never actually found such forms; they have never been obsessed with order as anything other than an abstract principle, nor with freedom except as a whim. The spontaneous forms of sociability acted with greater ease and therefore softened the clashes between the norm and the conduct, making the conflicts of conscience less dramatic.

⁵ In this context, we can understand “tricksters” as subjects who do not comply with the order, who adopt a kind of deviant behavior, typical of the so-called cheaters.



According to this author's understanding, it is possible to consider that the dialectic of *malandragem* is, in fact, projected as a formative spectrum of culture and cultural practices in Brazil. Nevertheless, as Leomir Hilário (2017) points out, Antonio Candido can be read as one of the authors that make up the group of intellectuals and interpreters who aimed to analyze Brazilian society through the modernization process that took place throughout the 20th century. According to Hilário, along with Caio Prado Jr., Candido would be within the critical tradition, qualified by the *formation model* in Brazil. In this, Brazilian society was perceived through the diagnosis that would indicate what we lack. In other words, it would be this tense relationship between order and disorder, constituting the stage of development in Brazil, that would mark our underdeveloped condition. However, it is essential to note, as Hilário (2017) has rightly pointed out, that in the historical horizon there was a belief in modernization and national development, notably urban-industrial.

But when we observe the course of the 20th century to the present day, what seems to emerge as an unresolved question is: what is the place of the *dialectic of malandragem* in a historical time marked by high deindustrialization and productive restructuring, objective conditions that drive processes of *urban spectacularization*? If, on the one hand, the *dialectic of malandragem* holds a presupposition of desire for a positive formation of Brazilian culture, based on the projection of a diagnosis, in which, before the norm, the survival of the Brazilian in the hostility of homelessness, inequalities and exploitation it is marked by a structure of resistance, subversive of the external norm. On the other hand, in contemporary times, what is announced as a historical horizon can be characterized by a kind of deformation or collapse of form, as suggested by Leomir Hilário (2017).

Are we going from the formative spectrum of the *dialectic of malandragem* (CANDIDO, 2015) to an eventual *dialectic of marginality*⁶? In this assumption, the *experiences of creativity policies* (VIEIRA, 2020), characterized in a neoliberal domain, would indicate the ideology of *entrepreneurship* and the performance of individual *performances* as a condition of personal survival and local development of cities. In this perspective, the correspondence of the *collapse of form* (HILÁRIO, 2017) is the *individualized form of survival*, which can eventually be observed in the practices of cultural reappropriations, perversely fostered by *the new spirit and culture of capitalism* (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009; SENNETT, 2019).

⁶ See suggested João Cezar de Castro Rocha, in an article entitled Dialectics of marginality: characterization of contemporary Brazilian culture, published in the Folha de São Paulo newspaper, on 29 February 2004. The author's central argument is that the generalized violence, which mainly characterizes the favelas of Brazilian cities, would be provoking the newest dialectical characteristic that forms the national culture.



Final considerations

In this article, I sought to present the types of cultural (re)appropriation relevant to contexts characterized by processes of commodification of contemporary cities, qualified by urban spectacularization. The arguments presented took the empirical reality of the city of Salvador-BA, researched within the scope of the doctoral work, through the bibliographic survey of the theme, documentary survey of the main urban and cultural policies planned and implemented in the capital of Bahia, during the context of preparation and realization of FIFA's sporting mega-events. The field research resorted to direct observation, in which a mapping of the main spaces of consumption forged by the spectacularization policies was carried out, in addition to carrying out semi-structured interviews with the various actors involved in the process, both in terms of production and cultural consumption of the city in question.

Therefore, the general purpose of this text was to relate urban spectacularization with the debate of cultural practices, narrowing their particular and historical characteristics with broader issues, which concern the logics of contemporary urban production and management. Finally, I sought to re-read the notions of cultural (re)appropriation, based on the notion of *dialectic of malandragem*, developed by Antonio Candido (2015). From this perspective, the formative spectrum of Brazilian culture and cultural practices needs to be read in the present day of the history that constitutes us. This means that, against the generalized collapse, the tendency of absolutely individualized failures grows. In this sense, where collective organization is neglected by tactical cunning (CERTEAU, 1998) or isolated practices of individual counter-uses (LEITE, 2007), not even playful actions (TRACHANA, 2014) and other types of cultural reappropriation seem to be configured as necessary conditions of resistances and subversions. On the contrary, through the characterization of this scenario, what is suggested is a hostile horizon of “save yourself if you can”, which, at best, has apparently become attenuated by the perverse ideation of entrepreneurship and creativity.

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