

BETWEEN MAINSTREAM AND UNDERGROUND: ORIGINS, TRAJECTORIES AND CAPITALS IN THE TWO POLES OF BRAZILIAN ROCK IN THE 1980s

ENTRE O MAINSTREAM E O UNDERGROUND: ORIGENS, TRAJETÓRIAS E CAPITAIS NOS DOIS POLOS DO ROCK BRASILEIRO DOS ANOS 1980

ENTRE MAINSTREAM Y UNDERGROUND: ORÍGENES, TRAYECTORIAS Y CAPITALES EN LOS DOS POLOS DEL ROCK BRASILEÑO EN LA DÉCADA DE 1980

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ABSTRACT: This is a comparative study between two strands of Brazilian rock in the 1980s, the mainstream and the underground, undertaken through the study of the individual and collective trajectory of Brazilian rockers of the period, in dialogue with Pierre Bourdieu's concepts, seeking to identify the capitals held by rock exponents who received the preference of the music industry of the period (mainstream), compared to a second group, which was on the fringes of the music industry (underground). The research points out that the different capitals (social, cultural and economic) held by the first group facilitated their recruitment by the music industry, catapulting them to commercial success and musical consecration, to the detriment of the second group, which did not have the same material and symbolic assets.

KEYWORDS: Brazilian rock. Trajectory. Capitals. Distinction. Music industry.

RESUMO: *Trata-se de um estudo comparativo entre dois polos do rock brasileiro dos anos 1980 – o mainstream e o underground –, empreendido por meio do estudo da trajetória individual e coletiva dos roqueiros brasileiros do período, em diálogo com conceitos de Pierre Bourdieu, buscando identificar os capitais detidos pelos expoentes do rock que receberam a preferência da indústria fonográfica do período, em comparação com um segundo grupo, que ficou à margem da indústria da música. A pesquisa aponta que os distintos capitais (social, cultural e econômico) detidos pelo primeiro grupo foram condicionantes importantes para o recrutamento destes pela indústria da música, catapultando-os para o sucesso comercial e a consagração artística, em detrimento do segundo grupo, que não dispunha dos mesmos trunfos materiais e simbólicos.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Rock brasileiro. Trajetória. Capitais. Distinção. Indústria fonográfica.*

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RESUMEN: Se trata de un estudio comparativo entre dos vertientes del rock brasileño de la década de 1980, el mainstream y el underground, realizado a través del estudio de la trayectoria individual y colectiva de los rockeros brasileños de la época, en diálogo con los conceptos de Pierre Bourdieu, buscando identificar los capitales en manos de exponentes del rock que recibieron la preferencia de la industria musical de la época (mainstream), frente a un segundo grupo, que se encontraba al margen de la industria musical (underground). La investigación señala que los diferentes capitales (social, cultural y económico) que ostentaba el primer grupo facilitaron su captación por la industria musical, catapultándolos al éxito comercial y la consagración musical, en detrimento del segundo grupo, que no contó con la mismos bienes materiales y simbólicos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Rock brasileño. Trayectoria. Capitales. Distinción. Industria de la música.

Introduction

The objective of this article – based on our master's thesis (ROSA, 2021) – is to identify the capital held by agents recruited by the phonographic industry in the 1980s in Brazil and considered, even today, as some of the greatest representatives of Brazilian rock in all times, that is, we are referring mainly to the main composers of bands such as *Barão Vermelho* (Roberto Frejat and Cazuzza), *Paralamas do Sucesso* (Herbert Viana and Bi Ribeiro), *Legião Urbana* (Renato Russo and Dado Villa-Lobos), *Capital Inicial* (Dinho Ouro-Preto and his brothers Fê and Flávio Lemos), *Titãs* (Sérgio Britto, Arnaldo Antunes, Nando Reis and Tony Belloto) and *Ultraje a Rigor* (Roger Moreira), whom we are calling mainstream, comparing them to a group of rockers who gained little or no attention from the same industry, despite having legitimacy in the so-called alternative scene and being active until today with their bands, such as the groups *Ratos de Porão*, *Cólera* and *Inocentes*.

Our research suggests that the capital (social, cultural and economic) held by the first group facilitated their recruitment by the main recording companies in the market; to the detriment of the second group, which did not have the same symbolic and material assets.

Based on a prosopographical study, that is, a study of the collective biography of these prominent figures of Brazilian Rock in the 1980s, we saw that these agents formed two very distinct social groupings (being homogeneous in terms of the social profile within each of them). In the case of agents belonging to the mainstream, the research indicates that they were men, young, white, from the Rio-São Paulo axis, heirs of families with a high degree of social, cultural and economic capital, with international circulation even before the beginning of their careers.

This social profile was opposed to the individual-collective characteristics of the members of the most representative bands that emerged within the punk movement in the city of São Paulo and ABC Paulista, which were formed by young people living in working-class and peripheral neighborhoods of these cities, mostly salaried workers (mainly office boys), students from state schools in their respective neighborhoods and also from technical courses (a social marker of popular classes), who reported economic difficulties in acquiring records, instruments and musical equipment.

Thus, in both spheres, in the mainstream and in the underground, young people of the same age group, in the same period (late 1970s and early 1980s), playing and composing “protest” music, influenced by same international bands that, at a certain point, shared the stages in nightclubs in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. However, while the first group received the greatest material and symbolic rewards provided by the music market at that time, the members of the second group never even managed to dedicate themselves and live exclusively from their careers, being forced to maintain parallel jobs to survive.

In addition to this introduction and final considerations, this article is divided into four sections: in the first, we will summarize the emergence of *Rock Brasil* in the national cultural scene, through its insertion in the music industry and in the media; in the second, we will present the social profile and capital of the exponents of *Rock Brasil*; in the third, we will present the emergence of punk bands from São Paulo (underground), giving special attention to the history of the band *Inocentes* and its founder Clemente Nascimento; finally, in the fourth section, we will analyze the competitive advantages held, in the music space, by mainstream agents based on their class capital or *habitus*.

Arrival of *Rock Brasil* in the music industry and in the mass media

The Brazilian rock of the 1980s – also called Rock Brasil – was the dominant musical genre in commercial terms during that decade, and its emergence was linked to the convergence of social, economic and political events, such as the gradual end of the civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985) and the consequent softening of censorship and ideological patrolling; the financial crisis that Brazil and the phonographic industry were going through at the time; and the wear and tear of artists who were then hegemonic in the cultural scene, above all, in the face of a new consumer public, which did not identify with the metaphorical and politicized language of Brazilian Popular Music (MPB, Portuguese initials) as before. (MAGI, 2011; ALEXANDRE, 2013; DAPIEVE, 2015; PAIVA, 2016).

As for musical groups, before reaching national prominence through major record labels and mass communication vehicles, most of these young people and their embryonic bands were recognized by a restricted audience, in an alternative circuit or scene, that is, nightclubs or dance clubs and festivals where anonymous rock bands – especially influenced by punk bands like the Ramones, The Clash and Sex Pistols, and post-punk or new wave bands like The Police, The Cure, The Smiths etc. – presented themselves and spreaded throughout the country.

Venues such as *Madame Satã*, *Napalm*, *Carbono 14* and *Rose Bom Bom* in São Paulo, and *Circo-Voador* and *Noites Cariocas*, in Rio de Janeiro, were spaces that became famous for hosting bands that are now renowned, but that were, at the time, totally unknown, such as *Blitz*, *Paralamas do Sucesso*, *Legião Urbana*, *Capital Inicial*, *Ira!*, *Titãs*, *Ultraje a Rigor*, *RPM*, *Kid Abelha* etc. (MAGI, 2011; ALEXANDRE, 2013; DAPIEVE, 2015; PAIVA, 2016; ROSA, 2021).

After the unexpected and overwhelming success of the band Blitz, with the single *Você não soube me amar* (You didn't knew how to love me), which reached the mark of 1 million copies sold in a few months, becoming a “media phenomenon like the country had not yet known” (DAPIEVE, 2015, p. 61, our translation), the major record labels began to send “scouts” to the aforementioned nightclubs, seeking to find new groups to produce and launch on the market. Thus, many musical groups, even those that failed to establish themselves commercially and artistically, were “discovered” by record companies and began to develop their careers professionally, supported by managers and producers, touring throughout the country.

At that moment, an increasing number of radio stations began to play songs produced by these groups and, in a short period of time, some of these young people would occupy the most powerful instances of dissemination and consecration of the Brazilian cultural industry: in addition to the aforementioned radios, magazines and newspapers with national circulation and soap operas and television programs, especially those from Rede Globo.

The distinction of the rock elite: social profile of national mainstream rock agents ²

In this section we will detail the origins and social trajectories of the main composers of six important national rock bands, which we highlight in our dissertation. We selected,

² The data presented in this section, in addition to appearing in our dissertation, were exposed in greater detail in the article *O rock brasileiro dos anos 1980: qual o perfil social dos roqueiros incorporados pela indústria da música?* (Revista Sinais, UFES, V. 1, N. 24, 2020).

therefore, two of the main bands that emerged in the 1980s in Rio de Janeiro (*Barão Vermelho* and *Paralamas do Sucesso*), in São Paulo (*Titãs* and *Ultraje a Rigor*) and in Brasília (*Legião Urbana* and *Capital Inicial*), according to the bibliography studied (MAGI, 2011; DAPIEVE, 2015; ALONSO, 2015; ALEXANDRE, 2016; SEVILLANO, 2019) and specialized cultural criticism.

The aforementioned bands share, to a greater or lesser extent, commercial success in the 1980s and also, contemporarily, recognition from cultural critics and songs considered politicized.

As for the trajectories and social profiles of our initial sample of musicians, it can be seen with Bourdieu that one of the fundamental elements to objectify the social position of origin of a certain agent is the profession of the parents, especially the father, since in the text *The contradictions in inheritance*, from the book *The weight of the world* (1993), Bourdieu shows the role of the family in the transmission of cultural heritage, with emphasis on the father, who, according to him, would be most responsible for transmitting an inheritance to the heir.

In this sense, the leaders and composers of the Carioca group *Barão Vermelho*, Roberto Frejat (guitar) and Cazuzza (vocals), are the sons, respectively, of José Frejat, a politician who developed his career from Rio de Janeiro, even being elected and re-elected federal deputy in 1978 and 1982, and João Araújo, music producer and music industry executive. João Araújo became known for being responsible for hiring Gal Costa, Jorge Ben Jor and Caetano Veloso for the Phillips label in the mid-1960s. In 1969, at the request of Roberto Marinho, he founded the Som Livre label, belonging to Globo Organization, becoming its president from the foundation until the year 2005, when he retired.

Sérgio Britto's father, keyboardist, vocalist and composer of *Titãs*, Almino Monteiro Alves Afonso, was elected federal deputy for Amazonas in 1958, and re-elected in 1962. He assumed the post of Minister of Labor and Social Security in the government of João Goulart in 1963. After forced exile in Chile, he returns to Brazil in 1976; he was elected deputy governor of São Paulo on the ticket of Orestes Quercia, in the 1986 election.

Nando Reis (vocalist, bassist and composer of *Titãs*) is the son of engineer José Carlos Galvão Gomes dos Reis, heir to a traditional family of rural landowners. Nando Reis's grandfather, agronomist José Cassiano Gomes dos Reis, was an important dairy producer and owner of a large coffee farm (Frei Galvão) in the interior of São Paulo.

Bi Ribeiro, bassist, founder and composer of *Paralamas do Sucesso*, is the son of diplomat and ambassador Jorge Carlos Ribeiro. In 1973, Jorge Carlos Ribeiro assumed the

leadership of the Ceremonial of the Presidency of the Republic, in the then government of Emílio Garrastazu Médici; in 1981 he was appointed ambassador to Santiago de Chile.

Dado Villa-Lobos, guitarist, founder and composer of *Legião Urbana*, is the great-nephew of composer Heitor Villa-Lobos and son of diplomat Jayme Villa-Lobos.

The lead singer and composer of the *Capital Inicial* group Dinho Ouro-Preto is the great-grandson of Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, the Viscount of Ouro Preto, magistrate and politician, who held the positions of Minister of the Navy (1865), Minister of Finance during the Empire (1879 and 1889) and was the last President of the Council of Ministers of Emperor Pedro II. Dinho Ouro-Preto is the grandson of diplomat Carlos Celso de Ouro Preto, ambassador to Chile (1946-1950) and France (1950-1953) and son of diplomat Afonso Celso de Ouro Preto, ambassador to Bissau (1983-1987), Stockholm (1990-1993), Vienna (1995-1999) and Beijing (1999-2003).

The father of Herbert Vianna (vocalist, guitarist and composer of *Paralamas do Sucesso*), Hermano Vianna, was a military man, Air Force brigadier, and responsible for flights for the presidency of the republic during the governments of Ernesto Geisel and João Figueiredo.

Renato Russo, from *Legião Urbana*, is the son of economist Renato Manfredini, a career civil servant at Banco do Brasil, who came to hold the position of advisor to the presidency of this bank.

The father of the brothers Felipe and Flávio Lemos, respectively drummer and bassist for *Capital Inicial*, Antônio Agenor Briquet de Lemos, was a professor of Librarianship at UNB. Briquet Lemos directed the Documentation Center of the Ministry of Health, the Brazilian Institute of Information in Science and Technology (IBICT) and the University of Brasília Publishing House.

Other exponents of *Rock Brasil* were also the children of university professors from renowned institutions, such as Tony Bellotto, founder, guitarist and composer of *Titãs*. He is the son of Manoel Lelo Bellotto, who was professor of History at the São Paulo State University (UNESP), and director of the College of Sciences and Letters of Assis, from 1964 to 1985.

Arnaldo Antunes, founder, vocalist and composer of *Titãs*, is the son of engineer and professor retired from the Polytechnic School of USP, Arnaldo Augusto Nora Antunes.

Another important issue in Bourdieu's sociology concerns the formal education received by agents. The educational trajectory of individuals, basic and higher education and the institutions in which they studied, are constitutive – although not exclusively – of what Bourdieu called legitimate cultural capital.

As the data show, the rockers of the 1980s generation studied, for the most part, in renowned private schools, such as Cazuza, who studied from the age of 5 until he finished high school, at the traditional Santo Inácio Catholic school in Rio de Janeiro, where also passed: Vinícius de Moraes, Armínio Fraga, Pedro Malan, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, Luís Gastão de Orléans e Bragança, among other prominent names from the most varied fields of Brazilian society. His bandmate, Roberto Frejat, studied at Andrews School, also one of the most renowned and expensive in Rio de Janeiro.

In Brasília, Renato Russo studied at Colégio Marista, a private, traditional Catholic school where many children of politicians (deputies, ministers etc.) studied. Renato's bandmate, Dado Villa-Lobos, and Dinho Ouro-Preto also studied at Colégio Marista in Brasília.

Still with regard to basic educational training, the case of the *Titãs* group is significant. With the exception of guitarist Tony Bellotto, the other members of the band's original lineup met and started playing together on the premises of the school where they studied, the São Paulo school Equipe, which became a reference for developing a strong art-education work, valuing and encouraging artistic activities within the school.

As for higher education, it is interesting to note that many of the musicians observed here entered universities, however, as this period coincided with the moment when they began to become professional with their bands, they ended up abandoning their courses.

The data indicate that the members of the analyzed bands studied: architecture, like Tony Bellotto (UNISANTOS), Herbert Vianna (UFRJ) and Roger Moreira (Mackenzie), journalism, like Renato Russo (UNICEUB) and Paulo Ricardo (USP), letters (Arnaldo Antunes – USP), mathematics (Nando Reis – UFSCAR), plastic arts and philosophy (Sérgio Britto – FAAP and USP), zootechnics (Bi Ribeiro – UFRRJ), photography (Cazuza – Berkeley), geography (Roberto Frejat – UFRJ), science social (Dado Villa-Lobos – UNB), psychology (Fê Lemos – UNB) and physics (Flávio Lemos – UNB).

International circulation (prior to the artistic career) – travel and periods living abroad – was also a defining trait of this generation. In addition to the children of diplomats, such as Dinho Ouro-Preto and Dado Villa-Lobos, who lived in different countries during their childhood and adolescence, we have records of other Brazilian rockers who were able to take advantage of this opportunity and incorporate capital, such as mastering a foreign language and proximity to the artistic production of other countries.

In this sense, Renato Russo moved from Rio de Janeiro to New York in 1968, when he was eight years old, due to a scholarship from his father, living for two years in that locality.

Roger Moreira lived for a year and a half, between 1979 and 1980, in San Francisco, a US city in the state of California linked to rock music, as did Cazuza, who studied photography at the University of Berkeley for seven months in 1979.

Felipe and Flávio Lemos, from *Capital Inicial*, on the occasion of a master's scholarship obtained by their father in 1977, moved to England. The Lemos brothers arrived in British territory at the height of the punk movement, which ended up having a great influence on their artistic careers.

Sérgio Britto, in a different context from the other rockers, lived in Chile from the age of five to fourteen, due to his father's exile, forced to leave the country after the 1964 coup.

The data collected in our research demonstrate that the agents selected for this study have very similar origins, trajectories and symbolic capital, with emphasis on the fact that their parents were part of the high state bureaucracy.

The appearance of undergrounds: rock from the periphery and its restricted circulation

One of the first musical groups with a punk theme recorded in Brazil is the band *Restos de Nada*, created in 1978 by Clemente Nascimento, in Vila Carolina, North Zone of São Paulo (PAIVA, 2016; ALEXANDRE, 2013). The band split a few years later and Clemente founded the band *Inocentes* in 1981.

In 1979 *Cólera* was formed by the brothers Pierre and Redson Pozzi. Residents of Capão Redondo, “dangerous region of the south zone”, the older brother, Redson, had studied until the eighth grade and worked as an office boy in a law firm in the center of the city (ALEXANDRE, 2013, p. 63). During its first months of formation, the band *Cólera* had as musical instruments a guitar and a sofa performing the function of improvised drums.

The band *Ratos de Porão*, also an icon of the São Paulo punk movement, was formed at the end of 1981, in a shed in Vila Piauí, by João Carlos Molina Esteves, Jão (guitar/vocals), his cousin Roberto Massetti, Betinho (drums), and by Jarbas Alves, Jabá (bass). In 1983, at the age of eighteen, João Francisco Benedan, the famous João Gordo, would join the band as vocalist and composer. João Gordo lived his childhood and youth in a working-class neighborhood in São Paulo, Vila Gustavo, and was the son of a military police sergeant, whom he describes as absent and violent. The founder, Jão, took a technical course at SENAI and worked as a helper in a motorcycle workshop. It should also be noted that the bassist of the group, Jabá, had a passage through the former FEBEM (Juvenile Reformatory), for armed robbery.

At the beginning of the decade, punk bands from São Paulo began to sell out shows in the suburbs and organize festivals, such as the one that took place in 1981, at the PUC theater, where only bands of that style performed, gathering around 600 people (ALEXANDRE, 2013; PAIVA, 2016).

The following year saw the recording and release of the compilation *Grito Suburbano*, an LP that compiled recordings by three bands – *Olho Seco*, *Inocentes* and *Cólera* – being the first time that these bands recorded their music on a disc, the first release exclusively of its kind in the country. The strategy of producing, on independent or rented labels, in the form of compilations with different bands on the same disc, was widely used by punk musicians from São Paulo at that time.

In 1983, the compilation SUB was released, an album recorded and distributed by the independent label Estúdios Vermelhos, created by Redson Pozzi. For the recording of this LP, the musicians of the bands joined in a consortium to finance the recording. The album had twenty-four songs distributed among four bands – *Cólera*, *Psikóse*, *Fogo Cruzado* and *Ratos de Porão*.

Between 1983 and 1986, with the consolidation of the punk/new wave style among São Paulo's youth, both from the periphery and the middle class, there was a boom in nightclubs that came to be identified with this musical style, such as such as *Madame Satã*, *Napalm*, *Carbono 14* and *Rose Bom Bom*, the same houses where the agents who would reach the mainstream began to play.

Therefore, here we have a crossing of trajectories between the bands that reached the dominant positions in the rock space and the bands that were restricted to the so-called underground scene, since they started to share the same stages.

Due to the scarcity of public data on the members of underground bands, it was not possible to draw the trajectory of each member of the bands selected by us (*Ratos do Porão*, *Inocentes*, *Cólera*). To fill this gap, we will present the trajectory of Clemente Nascimento and his band, *Inocentes*, as a synthesis of the trajectory of punk rock bands from São Paulo. Among the punk bands, it is the one that most approached the mainstream.

Thus, below, we will see the personal and artistic path of Clemente Nascimento, “a black boy, son of a maid and a Bahian, who grew up in the North Zone of São Paulo, a zone of gangs” (PAIVA, 2016, p. 29, our translation).

Clemente and his band: representative trajectory of the undergrounds

Clemente Nascimento was born in Bairro do Limão, in São Paulo, in 1963, of black origin, he is the son of a Bahian man, who came to try to make a living in São Paulo as a street vendor, and of a São Paulo woman, from the interior, who went to the capital to try life as a maid; his father did not finish primary school and his mother finished primary school in the former MOBREAL (PAIVA, 2016).

Around the age of sixteen, in 1978, when he was studying at Tarcísio Lobo State School and working as an office boy, Clemente founded, together with friends, one of the first punk bands in the country, *Restos de Nada*.

In 1981, after leaving his first band, Clemente created together with guitarist Antônio Carlos Callegari, drummer Marcelino Gonzales and vocalist Maurício, the band *Inocentes*.

Inocentes started to make several presentations at parties and halls in the north zone, being quite present in the São Paulo music scene. They were one of the three bands that participated in the LP *Grito Suburbano*, the first release of the genre in the country.

Inocentes had an outstanding participation in the documentary *Garotos do Subúrbio* (Peripheral Kids), directed by Fernando Meirelles, and shown at MASP in 1982, and in the short *Pânico em SP* (Panic in São Paulo), directed by Mário Dalcêndio Jr. At the end of the same year, they participated in the festival *O Começo do Fim do Mundo* (The beginning of the end of the World), at SESC Pompéia, in São Paulo.

In 1983, they played with six other São Paulo punk bands and with *Paralamas do Sucesso* at the famous *Circo Voador* venue in Rio. In the same year, they released their first single, *Miséria e Fome*, self-financed by the band, and released by the Punk Rock Discos label.

During this period, the band began to perform, with very positive feedback from the public, in the famous concert halls mentioned in this article, where the rockers who would become part of the mainstream also played. With the popularization of the genre in Brazil, *Inocentes* became one of the main exponents of the style, gaining national prominence.

Between 1983 and 1984, Clemente and the *Inocentes* began to perform on the *Fábrica do Som* program, recorded at SESC Pompéia, and shown on TV Cultura, alongside *Capital Inicial*, *Ultraje a Rigor*, *Paralamas do Sucesso* and *Titãs*, the first time that these bands performed on a television program (PAIVA, 2016).

In 1985, the band opened a historic concert by *Legião Urbana* at *Circo Voador*, in Rio de Janeiro, and began to artistically and personally approach bands from São Paulo such as *Ultraje a Rigor* and *Titãs*.

At that time, several bands that played in nightclubs in São Paulo were being hired and releasing albums by major labels. Within that context of the expansion of national rock, and the increase in opportunities to publicize their work, in addition to the possibility of signing with a major label, Clemente and the other musicians decided to dedicate themselves full-time to their artistic career, abandoning their jobs.

Around 1986, with the performance of Branco Mello, from *Titãs*, *Inocentes* managed to sign with the multinational Warner, becoming the only band, from that wave of dozens of bands that emerged in the peripheral neighborhoods of São Paulo, to be hired by a major label (PAIVA, 2016); later, in 1988, the band *Garotos Podres*, from Mauá, released an album on the *Continental* label.

The official launch of the LP *Pânico em SP*, sold by Warner, was made in São Paulo, at *Madame Satã*, and in Rio de Janeiro, at *Circo Voador*. They toured Brazil, played on programs on Rede Globo and other television networks, in addition to being praised by music critics at the time. Sales of the record, however, were around 30,000 copies.

The band released two more albums for Warner during the 1980s, *Adeus Carne* (1987) and *Inocentes* (1989), but they were released in the early 1990s after the low sales of said records.

In this context, Clemente reflects that “at that point *Legião*, *Titãs* had already exploded, all the heavier rock had already exploded, everyone. We managed to do some cool things, but it didn't explode” (PAIVA, 2016, p. 186, our translation).

Faced with the dismissal of the record company, Clemente returned to work, in 1990, selling umbrellas, in Sé Square, with his father.

The trajectory of Clemente e *Inocentes* is quite representative of the other groups presented here, all of them were exponents of the São Paulo and national alternative scene, as well as precursors of Brazilian rock in the 1980s, however, these agents did not even manage to live professionally and exclusively from their musical careers.

In other words, despite being formed from the same musical influences as mainstream agents, having a similar style or “sound” (at the beginning of their career) and having the themes of the lyrics (critical, protest songs) very close to this first group, they failed to establish themselves beyond a very restricted, alternative or underground music scene.

Notes on the capture of rockers by the phonographic industry in the 1980s

The comparison between the trajectories of mainstream and underground members provides elements to understand who is the rocker recruited by the music industry in the 1980s. The objectification of the main capital held by mainstream rockers indicates that there is a relationship between trajectories and capital owned and assimilation by the rock industry.

With regard to economic capital, we can indicate a clear competitive advantage for mainstream youth; for example, access to foreign musical production (records) and editorial (biographies, magazines, newspapers) about pop/rock bands that were emerging in the United States and England; as well as access to musical instruments and equipment, since, at that time, it was not only the costs that prevented most of the population from purchasing these products, there were also a series of import restrictions in force in Brazil.

In the case, mainly, of young people who had come from Brasília, these restrictions were circumvented thanks to the large flow of travel abroad by these agents, by relatives or friends, when records, souvenirs, magazines, books and musical equipment could arrive in their personal luggage or circumvent customs on return from official trips. Herbert Vianna, for example, was given a Gibson guitar (one of the best known in the world) at the age of fourteen, brought by his father (pilot of the presidential plane) from the United States, this type of instrument being quite rare in the country in the 1990s. 1970.

In contrast, underground agents always reported difficulties in acquiring instruments and equipment (microphones, amplifiers, speakers, etc.), being forced to improvise and borrow the necessary items from other bands.

The same logic prevails with regard to records and publications that covered the universe of pop/punk/new-wave at the time, with access and financial conditions to acquire these imported articles much more common in mainstream agents, which provided the former with a much broader perspective on the “state of the art” of international rock, providing them with up-to-date cultural capital on this topic.

A paradigmatic case of accumulating cultural capital is that of Renato Russo, always remembered in interviews given by musicians from Brasilia for his encyclopedic knowledge about an infinity of bands, styles, sonorities, artist biographies and everything else that refers to the context of pop/rock culture that existed until then, and even of classical literature, poetry and philosophy, represented in authors such as Arthur Rimbaud, Manuel Bandeira, Thomas Mann, Camões, Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Proust (to which he makes references direct or indirect in their songs).

As seen in Bourdieu (2006, p.10, our translation), familiarity with the legitimate culture – the legitimate, dominant culture – brings gains in school life, in the university field and in the labor market, favoring those who in early childhood had access to this legitimate culture, “as a direct experience”, a “simple delight”, at first, “outside school subjects”, marked as “pedant”. Thus, “the acquisition of legitimate culture through insensible familiarization within the family tends to favor an enchanted experience of culture”.

In this regard, we have the testimony of Lucinha Araújo, Cazuza's mother, in the book *Só as mães são felizes* (Only mothers are happy) (2014, our translation): “Since he was a little boy, my son had his attention naturally awakened to the world of music. For Cazuza, it also happened to get to know the artists who frequented our house up close [...]”.

As for the social capital of established artists, this can be measured, among other ways, through the position and profession of their parents, many of whom were at the height of their careers when their children joined the largest companies in the national phonographic sector, as shown in the previous section.

Continuing with our considerations, we will point out the aspects related to the construction of the subjectivity and “bodily properties” of the musicians we are referring to – based on their material conditions and their class *habitus* – which, in our perspective, also contributed to the commercial triumph and symbolic of some of these agents.

Thus, with great probability, in their way of being (for others and for themselves), the agents belonging to the ruling class have the security of being adjusted to the standards demanded in most social spaces, and carry the set of traits that make up the “bourgeois distinction”: posture, charm, ease, diction, pronunciation etc. – which are assimilated or incorporated during primary socialization within the family, being personal characteristics not taught by the school system, but recognized and subtly rewarded within it (BOURDIEU, 2006).

In this way, the naturalness, self-confidence, charm and charisma that designate different individuals – or, we might think, the “true” artist, endowed with a “natural” talent – also derive from this “freedom from the obligations that dominate common people”, constituting an “indisputable confirmation of capital as the capacity to satisfy social demands or the authority that authorizes ignoring them” (BOURDIEU, 2006, p. 238, our translation).

As for bodily properties, it can be seen that “the body is the most irrefutable objectification” of social class. It is “culture made nature [personal], that is, incorporated, class made body” (BOURDIEU, 2006, p. 179, our translation).

Thus, members of the mainstream, holders of bodily properties and personal traits and emblems in accordance with the prevailing and dominant parameters in Brazilian society, were

able to extract advantages from the possession of this symbolic capital. Many of these artists were even considered aesthetically beautiful, sex symbols, recruiting an expressive female audience and appearing on the covers of newspapers and television programs dedicated to this audience.

Therefore,

The provisions, that is, the set of incorporated properties, including elegance, naturalness or even beauty, and capital in its various forms, economic, cultural, social, constitute assets that will command the way of playing and success in the game (BOURDIEU, 2010, p. 24, our translation).

In short, we see in *As Regras da Arte* (2010, our translation) that:

The "heirs" have a decisive advantage when it comes to pure art: the inherited economic capital, which frees them from the constraints and urgencies of immediate demand and gives the possibility of "resisting" in the absence of a market, is one of the most important factors of the differential success of vanguard undertakings. [...] And yet, it is money (inherited) that ensures freedom from money. All the more so as, by providing certainties, guarantees, safety nets, fortune bestows the audacity on which fortune smiles – in matters of art, no doubt more than in anything else.

As we move towards the end of this section, some reflections on commercial and symbolic consecration are in order from the point of view of the artists who did not manage to obtain it, that is, in the present case, of the artists who were not successful and started to receive the label from underground. Thus, according to Bourdieu:

Non-success is in itself ambiguous, since it can be perceived either as chosen or as suffered, and that the signs of peer recognition, which separates "accursed artists" from "frustrated artists", are always uncertain and ambiguous, both for the observers and for the artists themselves (BOURDIEU, 2010, p. 248, our translation).

In this sense, the narrative construction that some of these musicians, cultural journalists and, mainly, the admirers of these bands adopt, develops in the sense of justifying the non-commercial consecration as a conscious choice, the result of the refusal to accept the dictates of the market, that is, they would have been excluded from the so-called mainstream space because they did not "bow", did not "sold to the system", remaining faithful to their ideological, political and artistic values.

Painters without a clientele, actors without roles, writers without publications or an audience can conceal their failure by making use of the ambiguity of the criteria for success, which makes it possible to confuse the elective and

provisional failure of the "accursed artist" with the outright failure of the "frustrated" (BOURDIEU, 2010, p. 248, our translation).

In this way, it is proposed that the bands that we cite as belonging to the underground can occupy this ambiguous position about which Bourdieu refers, as the "damned artist", being this parallel, in our view, quite pertinent in the context that we are highlighting.

Finally, it is important to note that, with very few exceptions, the Brazilian music industry in the 1980s, in terms of pop/rock, excluded or restricted the participation of women and black people, as we point out in greater detail in our dissertation.

Final considerations

The article sought to demonstrate that the most famous Brazilian rock agents of the 1980s constituted a very homogeneous – and *distinct* – group of individuals. Holders of so-called legitimate symbolic markers, this generation was formed by young males, white, born in the southeast of the country or abroad, with international circulation, coming from families with high economic, cultural and social capital, being children of national expression politicians, diplomats, university professors and senior executives from public and private companies. Therefore, they came from a group with significant symbolic power, a ruling class, in Bourdieu's terms.

As it turned out, such a social profile was opposed to the individual-collective characteristics of the members of the bands that emerged within the punk movement in the city of São Paulo and surrounding areas – made up of young people of the same age group, residents of working-class and peripheral neighborhoods in São Paulo, who worked and they often had low levels of education – these being restricted to a so-called alternative or underground music scene.

The study carried out allowed to objectify the social construction of the talent and success of these young people, which were provided, to a large extent, by the dispositions and incorporated capital they had, and these were in orchestration with the implicit demands of the phonographic industry of the time.

Therefore, in this article, based mainly on the notes in *Distinction* (BOURDIEU, 2006) and *The Rules of Art* (BOURDIEU, 2010), we propose that there was a homology between the positions originally occupied by these young people in the social hierarchy and the positions occupied in the musical field, that is, the existing stratification in the artistic field reflected or

reproduced the stratification of classes and social class fractions to which these musicians originally belonged.

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