

BUSINESS, TRANSNATIONALISM, AND PATRIMONY: COMPARING ENTREPRENEURIAL MUSICIANS IN RECIFE, PERNAMBUCO

ABSTRACT

This article examines how musicians in Recife, Brazil, are engaging with new federal and state-based opportunities to formalize and professionalize their informal labor. I compare how three musicians engage with these bureaucratic mechanisms: for example, by registering as an Individual Micro-Entrepreneur, playing at state-sponsored events, and becoming designated as Living Patrimony. In the process, I show they are creating different versions of the 'entrepreneurial self', a form of neoliberal subjectivity that emphasizes autonomy. However, through comparing these musicians' practices and narratives, I argue the entrepreneurial selves which they construct depend on relationships to state institutions, peer networks, and other individuals. This suggests that although neoliberal policies and ideologies are associated with autonomy and a lack of regulation, they nonetheless involve new modes of interdependence and bureaucracy. I also demonstrate that the kinds of entrepreneurial selves these musicians construct are facilitated and constrained by discourses and policies which reinforce racial and class-based stratification. Finally, this article highlights what similar studies suggest, but often leave implicit: professionalism and entrepreneurialism are increasingly interdependent.

Keywords: Brazil, music, entrepreneurialism, self and subjectivity, neoliberalism

INTRODUCTION¹

In 2011, soon after I left the city of Recife after a year of fieldwork, local media outlets publicized the impending arrival of the former Beatle, Ringo Starr. As the capital of the state of Pernambuco, Recife encompasses a large metropolitan area, but concerts featuring

foreign artists as famous as Ringo are seldom. As I followed the coverage from afar and read a journalist's review of the show, I was struck by the author's enthusiasm about the concert's timing:

Ringo Starr conquistou a plateia logo ao pisar no palco simplesmente por respeitá-la. Com

o show marcado para começar às 20h30, a banda entrou no palco, precisamente, às 20h29. O baterista soltou a voz para cantar “It Don’t Come Easy” exatamente na hora prevista. Uma aula de profissionalismo para muitos artistas brasileiros (Cavalcante 2011).

Ringo Starr conquered the audience immediately as he stepped onstage simply because he respected it. With the show set to begin at 8:30pm, the band emerged onstage at precisely 8:29. The drummer [Starr] began singing “It Don’t Come Easy” at the exact scheduled time. [It was] a lesson in professionalism for many Brazilian artists.²

This passage resonated with discourses I have frequently heard throughout my nine years of conducting participant observation and interviewing musicians and cultural bureaucrats in the Recife area; they emphasize qualities like punctuality and minute details like grammatically correct press kits as hallmarks of professionalism. Even experienced musicians, whom one would expect to focus on an artist’s aesthetic and technical expertise, often evaluate professionalism based on practical traits. In part, I interpret this attention to such details as a response to the fact that Recife’s musicians generally operate within the historically inferior and marginalized informal economy. Consequently, as I discuss in this article, they are trying new entrepreneurial strategies to become more legible as professionals and gain more financial stability and status. This is especially crucial now that musicians in Recife—like other Brazilians—are facing increasing economic instability due to the country’s economic crisis, while also trying to succeed in an industry which has undergone dramatic global shifts caused by

the rise of internet access, social media, and the increased affordability of digital technology.

My interlocutors are also responding to the fact that state sponsorship, a resource upon which most of them rely, is becoming increasingly bureaucratized. To perform during state-sponsored events, like Carnival, musicians must now submit applications to state agencies and, in the process, present themselves as professionals. In addition, senior musicians who perform folklorized genres can obtain official designation as Living Patrimony (*Patrimônio Vivo*), which gives them more stable access to state sponsorship and, in theory, more visibility and professional opportunities. Meanwhile, musicians in Recife are also registering as Individual Micro Entrepreneurs (*Micro-Empreendedor Individual*), a federal tax status instituted in 2006 that formalizes the generally informal activities of small scale entrepreneurs like street vendors and manicurists.³ New bureaucratic interventions are thus enabling musicians to formalize their entrepreneurial activities and, in turn, become more legible as professionals.

This article examines how musicians in the Recife area engage with these bureaucratic mechanisms, while adapting to broader changes, like the increasing importance of social media in music’s circulation. By examining these musicians’ descriptions of themselves and their work, and analyzing their stylistic approaches, I show how they (meta)musically perform different versions of what I and others call the ‘entrepreneurial self’, a form of subjectivity facilitated and promoted by neoliberal discourses and policies (Gil and Ganesh 2007; Kelly 2006; Peters 2001). Analyzing these processes contributes to understanding how individuals cope with neoliberal discourses and policies that emphasize entrepreneurialism as an increasingly important part of citizenship (see Dávila 2012; Shipley 2013).

I understand neoliberalism to be a set of policies that deregulates the economy and privatizes public services and an ideology which emphasizes individualism, entrepreneurialism, and the expansion of market logics to all realms of life, including the state⁴ (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Dávila 2012; C. Gordon, 1991; K. Gordon 2011; Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012). Within neoliberal frameworks, actors calculate and rationalize their activities based on cost-benefit logics, competition, individualist consumption, and personal choice (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Dávila 2012; Dent 2009; Foucault 2010; Harvey 2005).

The neoliberal entrepreneurial self is predicated on an autonomous individual who, in theory, can flexibly respond to the market without hindrance from the state (Kelly 2006; Foucault 2010; Peters 2001; Rose 1998).⁵ However, I argue the entrepreneurial selves which Pernambucan musicians construct depend on relationships to state institutions, peer networks, and other individuals. The article therefore builds on anthropological studies that investigate how non-neoliberal and even anti-neoliberal cultural formations, like social assistance programs and kinship, coexist with and, in turn, reshape neoliberal policies and ideologies (Dent 2012; Ferguson 2015; K. Gordon 2011; Ong and Collier (eds.) 2005). The cases discussed herein suggest that although neoliberal policies and ideologies are associated with a lack of regulation, in practice, they involve new modes of bureaucracy and interdependence.

The comparisons I present here also highlight what similar studies suggest, but often leave implicit: professionalism and entrepreneurialism are becoming increasingly intertwined (Dumont 2015; Gershon 2014, 2017; Kelly 2006; Win 2014). As Ilana Gershon (2014; 2017) explains, for most of the twentieth century, white-collar professionals leased their

labor to corporate employers on a long-term basis in exchange for benefits and salaries; however, these professionals must now market themselves as their own businesses and enter short-term, mutually beneficial relationships with other corporations. Thus, formal sector professionals must take on the risks and responsibilities which were once the domain of entrepreneurs (Kelly 2006). Across many professions, therefore, the most effective way to present oneself as a professional is through being entrepreneurial; this is increasingly apparent among creative professionals, like visual artists, who can no longer rely on elite and/or institutional patronage (Win 2014).

Through profiling three musicians, I examine the tensions which emerge from the fact that while neoliberalism facilitates new socio-economic opportunities, it can also exacerbate racial, class, and gender-based stratification (Dávila 2012; Hale 2006; Thomas and Clarke 2013). Specifically, the cases I describe show how cultural workers are encountering new opportunities *and* obstacles as governments ‘upscale’ the creative economy and require citizens to take on new responsibilities related to standardization and entrepreneurship (Dávila 2012; Shipley 2013; Turino 2000). For example, Pernambucan musicians must now master skills like grant-writing in order to receive sponsorship. Yet, the primarily lower-class, racialized people who perform folklorized genres often lack access to these skills and/or the resources to hire others to assist them.

I focus on three musicians which I posit as particular types of musical entrepreneurs: Eduardo Braga, a business-oriented entrepreneur; Jam da Silva, a transnational entrepreneur; and João da Guabiraba, a patrimonial entrepreneur. They are all professionals because they earn a living from music and approach it as a career, not a hobby. However, they perform musical

styles that are not popular within the mainstream and do not necessarily aspire to be part of it.⁶

The music my interlocutors play is most audible during seasonal, state-sponsored festivals like Carnival, online through sites like Youtube.com, and, to a lesser degree, on public radio and television.⁷ João da Guabiraba plays *ciranda*, a traditional genre commonly classified as a form of *cultura popular* (folk culture).⁸ *Cultura popular* not only encompasses many folklorized musical practices, but it also popularly connotes Brazil's racialized, impoverished, rural folk. Therefore, *cultura popular* is an institutionalized segment of Brazilian music and a marked social category.⁹

Eduardo and Jam circulate within a scene locally glossed as *independente* (independent) or *alternativo* (alternative). This scene is a loose network of bands who work in Recife and the adjacent city of Olinda, whose historical center is a UNESCO World Heritage site. These bands use stylistic elements from *cultura popular* in combination with inter/national pop genres like rock, soul, and Caribbean dance music. They understand these combinations as expressions of Pernambucan identity which are at once locally-rooted and cosmopolitan. Nevertheless, they are more pop-oriented than performers like João da Guabiraba.

The typology I present reveals a range of entrepreneurial roles and subjectivities possible within the orbit of state sponsorship in Pernambuco, a mechanism which is helping to redefine citizenship on entrepreneurial terms. Musicians in Brazil and elsewhere have long been entrepreneurial (see, for example, Hertzman 2013; McCann 2004; Weber (ed.) 2004), but these cases suggest the emergence of new kinds of entrepreneurial subjects who must balance the demands of governmental and social norms with commercial pressures (see also Dent 2012).

Nevertheless, I do not presume the types which the musicians represent are settled, fully realized categories; they are practical and symbolic responses to a constantly shifting terrain of socioeconomic, aesthetic, and technological contingencies. Instead, I see each musician as a different point along a continuum, one which includes other potential kinds of musical entrepreneurs. Moreover, in theory, a business-oriented musical entrepreneur could become more transnational, and a patrimonial entrepreneur could become more business-oriented; yet, as I show, the stratified social order and the institutionalized boundaries between musical genres limit this fluidity.¹⁰ Consequently, this article builds on my broader argument that Pernambuco's cultural sponsorship reinforces inequality along intersecting lines of class and race (see Enriquez 2014). State sponsorship provides a platform for some musicians to become more entrepreneurial and professional, but it does not adequately address the structural inequalities which marginalize lower-class, racially marked musicians. Before profiling the three aforementioned musicians in more detail, the following three sections provide the theoretical background which shapes my arguments and contextualizes the milieu in which these musicians operate.

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE ENTREPRENEURIAL SELF

The entrepreneurial self is a new form of subjectivity which has precipitated from neoliberal discourses. Its existence and popularity in diverse locations reflects, in part, how neoliberal ideologies and policies have reconfigured the relationships between the state, market, and citizens. Contrary to common sense notions that neoliberalism diminishes the state's power, it requires the state to create

the conditions where ostensibly autonomous individuals not only participate in the market but also contribute to the enterprise of the state (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009; Foucault 2010; Hoffman 2010; Rose 1998). Accordingly, the forms of state sponsorship I discuss herein are posited as incentives for individuals to foment economic growth; the state is therefore acting as a corporate investor rather than a patron.

Under neoliberalism, therefore, citizens are no longer individuals whose rights are guaranteed by the state; they are instead self-reliant businesses / consumers with stakes in the corporate nation (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Gershon 2014; C. Gordon 1991). Citizens are therefore construed as entrepreneurial subjects who prioritize self-regulation, freedom of choice, and personal responsibility (Gill and Ganesh 2007; Kelly 2006; Peters 2001; Rose 1998). These principles constitute an 'ethic of personhood' (du Gay 1996) which gives rise to economic and moral norms (Peters 2001); they shape individuals' relationships to the state, their employers, and each other (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Gershon 2017; K. Gordon 2011). The entrepreneurial self that emerges from these discourses is also a continuous project which requires constant improvement and consists of a malleable collection of skills, social networks, and assets (Gershon 2017; C. Gordon 1991; Kelly 2006; Urciuoli 2008).

This article focuses on autonomy, a quality commonly attributed to the entrepreneurial self and a measure of entrepreneurial success (Gil and Ganesh 2007). Within neoliberal ideologies, such autonomy is facilitated by a lack of state interference and regulation. The musicians I profile have achieved a level of autonomy which enables them to cultivate a professional, entrepreneurial self. However, as I reveal, this autonomy is only possible through dependence on their peer networks, other individuals, and

to varying degrees, state sponsorship, and state regulation.

These circumstances parallel other contexts across the Global South where economic insecurity and the preponderance of an informal economy means individuals must engage in various forms of interdependency. Katherine Browne (1995) shows how middle and upper-class people in Martinique gain more success within the informal sector because they have denser personal networks. Likewise, in Francophone West Africa, economic instability and a small pool of skilled workers, among other factors, have pushed entrepreneurs, including musicians, to depend on traditional, extended kin networks and friends (Mbaye 2013; Spring and McDade 1998).

While informal entrepreneurs depend on a variety of social connections, some also depend on the state. As James Ferguson (2015) demonstrates, Southern African countries have integrated members of the surplus labor force through administering unconditional cash transfer programs which provide a springboard for entrepreneurial economic growth and strengthen recipients' social relationships. This also resembles Steven Robins' (2008) insights into how some members of homeless activist groups in South Africa aspire to certain forms of surveillance and enumeration because these provide inclusion, recognition, and support that are otherwise unavailable. Lastly, Arlene Dávila (2012) demonstrates how Puerto Rican folk artisans pursue state certifications to access more consumers and enhance their professional legitimacy. These cases, and those I present herein, therefore demonstrate that people are adapting the entrepreneurial self to suit contexts where (inter)dependency is necessary and preferable to neoliberal ideals of autonomy.

More broadly, neoliberal policies and ideologies are shaped by the historical and

sociocultural conditions in which its proponents (and opponents) are embedded (K. Gordon 2011; Ferguson 2015; Ong and Collier (eds.) 2005). During the 2000s, several South American governments, including Brazil, promoted anti-neoliberal discourses and sought to strengthen the state's role in social inclusion and welfare; this led scholars to proclaim a post-neoliberal phase (see, for example, Grugel and Ruggirozzi 2012). Nevertheless, these regimes also enforced neoliberal policies, including privatization, entrepreneurial expansion, and multiculturalism (Ansell 2014; Dávila 2012; Hale 2006). Meanwhile, citizens in these countries accommodated neoliberal discourses related to production / exchange, entrepreneurialism, and consumption (see Dent 2009, 2012; K. Gordon 2011). Accordingly, the musicians I profile demonstrate that the impacts of neoliberal ideologies reach beyond political proclamations and party platforms. A regime may be post- or anti-neoliberal, but individuals' everyday economic activities are nonetheless shaped by the intensification of commodification; consequently, musicians are embracing entrepreneurialism and cultivating new kinds of entrepreneurial selves.

PAST IN/FORMALITIES

This section outlines the historical divide between Brazil's in/formal economic sectors and musicians' relationships to them from the 1930s until the present. As in many (post)colonial countries in the Global South, most Brazilians have relied on informal labor. Economist Mário Theodoro (2005) argues informality has been an integral part of the labor market since the early twentieth century, when the state failed to integrate ex-slaves into the formal economy; this produced a stratified labor market between skilled, formalized, white workers and

a more numerous population of racialized, underemployed 'marginal masses' (102). This stratification is also regional since the Southeast, where Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are located, benefited most from industrialization, European immigration, and labor regulations. Meanwhile, the state spent less effort incorporating the more rural, racialized, Northeast into the formal sector (Albuquerque 1999; Theodoro 2005).

The Brazilian labor market's inequalities were entrenched when the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (1937–45) established an interventionist state dedicated to industrializing Brazil. Since this required a stable workforce, the state established bureaucratized labor regulations, which included issuing workers a *carteira assinada* (lit. signed card), the official document employers still supply to full-time employees.¹¹ However, as historian Bryan McCann (2004) details, although *Estado Novo* propaganda radio stations employed some of Rio de Janeiro's *samba* musicians, most remained outside of the formal sector. *Samba* musicians were thus vulnerable to harassment from the police, who treated them as racialized vagrants (Hertzman 2013). Other musicians formed professional associations; but, as historian Marc Hertzman (2013) explains, these mainly benefited white members who dominated group leadership and had the social capital to acquire more professional(izing) opportunities. These examples illustrate the racial stratification of Brazil's labor market and, as I describe in a later section, they foreshadow the stigmatization Pernambucan musicians still face today.

As the government shifted to democracy after World War II, it used developmentalist policies to foment economic growth, but without adequately addressing the labor market's structural inequalities (Theodoro 2005). The mainstream music industry also reflected these inequalities: (multi)national record companies

often used the profits they accrued from 'kitschy', lower-class pop musicians to fund avant-garde albums targeted at middle / upper-class consumers (Araújo 2013).

Musicians experienced more direct relationships to the state from 1964–1985, when another military dictatorship established a bureaucracy to censor artistic content and incarcerate oppositional musicians (see Araújo 2013; Veloso 2002). The dictatorship also engaged in cultural sponsorship. In 1975, the Geisel administration instituted new programs, including the *Política Nacional de Cultura* (National Cultural Policy) and the *Fundação Nacional de Artes* (National Foundation of the Arts), which sought to preserve folk culture, champion Brazilian music, create jobs, and curry favor with oppositional middle-class artists and intellectuals (Stroud 2008). Such policies also proliferated in states like Pernambuco and Bahia (see Collins 2015).

The cultural policies of the 1970s were strengthened during the re-democratization period of the 1980s, when the ability to produce and access culture was established as a constitutional right. However, enforcing these and other newly enshrined rights was complicated by a national financial crisis. Politicians responded by adopting neoliberal strategies to minimize inflation and integrate Brazil into the global economy (Caldeira and Holston 2005); nevertheless, these maintained the labor market's stratification (Theodoro 2005). The federal government also applied neoliberal approaches to enforcing cultural rights, including the *Lei Federal de Incentivo à Cultura* (Federal Cultural Incentive Law), which channels corporate and individual income tax deductions towards financing cultural projects (Olivieri 2004).¹²

During President Luiz 'Lula' da Silva's administrations (2003–2011), the Cultural

Incentive Law became part of a broader cultural sponsorship system, which included new programs to make culture more democratic and economically viable.¹³ While discourses of democratic participation were central features of these and other interventions, such as Bolsa Família, a conditional cash transfer program, such policies also incorporated entrepreneurial ideologies. Hegemonic discourses were therefore shifting from defining citizenship in terms of participatory democracy to entrepreneurialism. As Aaron Ansell (2014) discusses, federal assistance programs re-imagined impoverished citizens as small-scale entrepreneurs who could contribute to economic growth. Similarly, Erika Robb Larkins (2015) reveals the state's economic pacification of Rio de Janeiro's *favelas* (slums) pushed residents to market themselves as part of the commodified, tourist-friendly landscape.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Brazilian musicians have been pivoting towards neoliberal-style entrepreneurialism since the 1990s, when major recording companies decreased their budgets for developing talent and the Cultural Incentive Law enabled musicians to access funding on their own (Dent 2009; Moehn 2012).

The Cultural Incentive Law also reproduced the labor market's regional stratification. It benefited industrialized, high income states like São Paulo, more than rural, less populated states like Pernambuco (Olivieri 2004).¹⁵ However, federal funding enabled Pernambuco's state government to bolster its own cultural programs. In 2002, it established Funcultura, a program funded by corporate tax incentives and hybrid private/public organizations like the state's electricity and gas companies.¹⁶

Pernambuco's current cultural programs were also shaped by local phenomena. Most notably, during the 1990s, young, primarily middle-class Recife residents fused rock and hip-hop with local genres like *ciranda* and

maracatu to produce a stylistic sensibility called *mangue beat*.¹⁷ The (inter)national success of *mangue beat* bands like Chico Science & Nação Zumbi and Mundo Livre S/A, inspired musicians and other creative professionals to develop a Pernambuco-centric aesthetic that bridged tradition and modernity. By the early 2000s, the teenagers who grew up during this era became the bureaucrats, academics, and creative professionals who expanded the official definition of Pernambucan culture beyond *cultura popular* and Eurocentric high art. *Mangue beat* thus facilitated the institutional recognition of the regionally-inspired, cosmopolitan sounds which influence today's local independent musicians.¹⁸ In sum, the fact that current Pernambucan musicians primarily operate within the informal economy and rely on state sponsorship reflects the historical stratification between Brazil's labor sectors and the effects of federal and state cultural policies.

SETTING THE SCENE

The premise behind most Pernambucan cultural initiatives is to scaffold individuals' entrepreneurial efforts and, in turn, strengthen the private sector. However, Recife's private sector offers few opportunities for independent and *cultura popular* musicians. Consequently, most musicians in/directly rely on state sponsorship and struggle to earn a living. State sponsorship requires musicians to engage with a bureaucratic system that demands a high level of professionalism but does not provide the stability and benefits of formal employment. In the past, state agencies appointed Carnival performers as part of a patronage system. However, since the early 2000s and in keeping with federal programs, the state has employed an application system (*edital*). Now, potential Carnival performers must fill out forms

and include press kits, musical recordings, and budgets. These are then evaluated by an anonymous committee comprising musicians and other music professionals.

Nevertheless, Recife's musicians and cultural promoters do not generally have access to formal professionalizing opportunities; instead, they informally learn the tools of their trade from their peers.¹⁹ This lacuna seems to be influencing a gender imbalance among professional musicians, one which compounds broader structural inequalities. The fact that the musicians I highlight in this article are all men reflects the composition of Recife's music scene and echoes neoliberal discourses of entrepreneurialism, which generally construe the entrepreneurial self as male (see Gill and Ganesh 2007). This lack of formalization makes it difficult for women to justify a music-related career to family members who associate the music world with financial instability, machismo, and marginality.²⁰ In an interview in 2018, Rute Pajeú talked about the resistance she faced from her father, a lawyer, when she began working as a cultural promoter. He apparently wanted her to follow in his footsteps and avoid the economic instability that creative professionals face. As she recounted, 'At the beginning he was very unsure [about it], [but] now he's my biggest supporter.'

Music professionals' opportunities are also limited by a lack of adequate venues and the local market's seasonality. As a metropolitan area with almost three million residents, Recife has several concert halls, but these are mainly for major national artists who can afford to book them. Furthermore, most of the hipster bars which showcase independent musicians are too small to accommodate bands with more than a few members. Meanwhile, larger nightclubs and middle-class bars prioritize mainstream music like electronic dance music, *música*

sertaneja (Brazilian country-pop), and classic rock cover bands. In addition, state-sponsored events are seasonal and revolve around Carnival and the *Festas Juninas* (June Festivals). Most musicians therefore endure cycles of feast and famine, which are exacerbated by bureaucratic inefficiency. Among my informants, it is standard to wait six months to a year to receive payment for performing at a state-sponsored event; this entails a significant burden, given that musicians must front all expenses, including transportation.

The payment delays musicians endure often surface as polemics in local media. In 2013, two musicians originally from Recife, China Ina and Alessandra Leão, released public statements explaining they would not be performing in that year's official Carnival because it took them six months to receive payment for the prior year. However, money was their secondary concern; they emphasized that the delay revealed government agencies' unprofessionalism and lack of respect for professional musicians. Their critiques focused on their expectations of professional business interactions rather than the government's duties to foster citizens' cultural rights. China Ina explained: 'Every time [government agencies] hired me, I put on the highest quality shows possible. I never missed any commitments' (Jornal do Commercio 2013). Meanwhile, Alessandra Leão characterized these delays as '*desrespeitosa[s]*' (disrespectful), while highlighting her and her peers' dedication to their profession (Diário de Pernambuco 2013).²¹

The state's Secretary of Culture, Fernando Duarte, publicly responded to the protests via Recife's *Jornal do Commercio* newspaper. He and the other bureaucrats cited asserted that more than 90% of 2012's Carnival performers had been paid, while the rest had not submitted adequate documentation (Moura 2013a;

Moura 2013b).²² Secretary Duarte affirmed the state's commitment to expedite payments, but qualified that payments are not the 'center of cultural policy'; instead, he emphasized the state's efforts to make cultural policies more democratic, transparent, and inclusive (Moura 2013c). This response echoed similar discourses I have heard among bureaucrats in Recife. They dislike bureaucratic inefficiency, but are frustrated by external critiques which, in their view, disregard the progress they have achieved and the importance of their institutions' goals.

This debate reveals impasses between artists and bureaucrats. Whereas bureaucrats emphasize long-term interventions, musicians focus on immediate concerns like paying their bills. Also, state sponsorship pushes artists to compete for public funding and present themselves as professionals. Accordingly, musicians have professional-grade expectations, like efficient remuneration. Yet, although some musicians' relationships with government agencies have become less focused on cultural rights and more business-oriented, agencies do not uphold the professional standards which characterize business-to-business interactions (see Gershon 2017). As I describe below, musicians not only feel disrespected by state agencies, but also by strangers, friends, and family. This disrespect fueled Eduardo's desire to employ entrepreneurial strategies to professionalize his work and image.

THE BUSINESS-ORIENTED MUSICAL ENTREPRENEUR

I met Eduardo in 2010 when he was playing in a rock/jazz/Afrobeat band called *A Roda* (see Enriquez 2014). However, he soon began freelancing as a producer / composer of commercial and political jingles. I describe him as a business-oriented entrepreneur because,

although he considers himself an artist, one of his main goals has been to gain financial stability and respect. As Eduardo explained, people do not take musicians seriously as professionals; they think they ‘live with their parents their entire lives’.

When Eduardo began playing music as a teenager in the 1990s, his middle-class parents disapproved of his ambitions. His mother, a civil servant at the state supreme court, was somewhat supportive because she had played drums in school. But his father, an independent businessman, was dismissive. Eduardo recounted that, when one of his bands was invited to play at *Abril Pro Rock*, Recife’s biggest rock festival, rather than congratulating Eduardo, his father admonished him: ‘Go study so you can pass the civil servant’s test... [music is] not going to earn you any money.’

The tensions he faced are not unique. Many of my interlocutors described facing disapproval from friends, family, and strangers who dismiss them as hobbyists, *vagabundos* (vagabonds), or *maconheiros* (potheads). The financial instability associated with economic informality contributes to the perception that being a musician is not a viable or respectable profession even among relatively well-off, racially unmarked families like Eduardo’s. It is important to note that labels like ‘vagabond’ and ‘pothead’ connote racial markedness and marginality, themes which resonate with the Brazilian informal sector’s ‘marginal masses’ and the policing of *samba* musicians I discussed earlier. The negative stereotypes which contemporary musicians face are thus part of a longer history.

For many years, Eduardo oscillated between pursuing music as a profession and a hobby, with stints working for a beverage distribution company and with his father. Eventually, he decided to fully dedicate himself

to music and wanted to make himself legible as a professional. In 2011, he planned to register as a *Micro-Empreendedor Individual* (henceforth, MEI), which he saw as an important step because it would give him *a marca de uma empresa* (the mark of a business). MEI status would also theoretically streamline his business interactions; as an MEI he could issue a bill of sale (*nota fiscal*) without having to rely on—and pay—a third party. He also commented on the benefits of MEI status by saying, ‘It’s good to regulate [your work].’ The word he used, *regularizar*, connotes regulation in the sense of government oversight and making one’s work more consistent and normative. MEI status is therefore a mechanism for self-regulation, a central aspect of the entrepreneurial self (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). His comment also coincides with what Ferguson (2015) and Robins (2008) have observed among impoverished, marginalized people in Southern Africa who desire a closer bureaucratic relationship to the state to gain recognition and status. Eduardo’s case reveals these aspirations can also apply to more privileged people who operate within the informal economy.

Although state sponsorship remained a central resource for most independent musicians, Eduardo’s former bandmates also expressed a desire to register as MEIs in order to gain more financial stability and flexibility. A Roda’s conga player, Irandê, saw MEI status as evidence the market is ‘more autonomous, more independent’. Since 2011, many of my musician friends in Recife/Olinda have registered as MEIs; statistics show that, as of April 2018, these cities were home to a total of 574 MEI musicians.²³

One of the major advantages of registering as an MEI which Eduardo mentioned was that the approximately \$17 monthly fee associated with maintaining MEI status goes towards

contributions to Social Security and to health and worker's compensation insurance.²⁴ Although these are small amounts, they are an improvement, given that most informal vendors—and certainly the musicians with whom I interacted—rarely had any savings or insurance. However, although the MEI saved him money by enabling him to generate his own bills of sale, it did not significantly speed up the payment process.

Being an MEI also does little to protect musicians from economic fluctuations. In 2012, Eduardo had considerable success composing political campaign jingles. During that year, his father began to see being a musician 'really was a business that generates money and a job like any other'. Unfortunately, 2013, a non-election year, was less profitable. Due to an economic downturn, businesses reduced publicity funds from their budgets, which left Eduardo with fewer opportunities.

Yet enrolling as an MEI partially enabled Eduardo to save money and move out of his home studio. He established his own office space at a production company; this enhanced his professional (self)-image. Before doing so, he commented, 'Man, I've got to get out of the house because I seem like [just] a freelancer.'²⁵ Eduardo's reflexive thinking mirrors Gershon's (2017) point that hegemonic entrepreneurial discourses envision individual workers as conscious managers who take on the labor of evaluating their own performance, skills, and assets.

Eduardo stayed productive during another slow year by joining forces with two acquaintances to form their own production company. Although they had a minimal budget, they drew on mutual friends to develop their business. For example, Eduardo's former bandmate designed the company's logo. By 2015, the company had moved into

a well-appointed downtown office. Three years later, they are doing well and Eduardo has shed his MEI status to become a partner in the business, which is classified as an LTD.

Eduardo's experiences reveal MEI status can be part of a musician's entrepreneurial tool-kit to enhance their professional image. It provided him with a financial and bureaucratic bridge between his work as a freelancer and, later, becoming a partner in a small business. Moreover, MEI status impacted how he and his family saw himself; it was part of his evolution from a freelancer to a businessman. However, Eduardo's personal connections were ultimately more fruitful than MEI status on its own, because they led to the formation of a larger business. In other words, he traded some of the autonomy he had as freelancer for more security and productivity in a collaborative effort.

Eduardo's professional transformation also entailed another trade-off. While he has been composing and recording his own music at home, he has not had time to play in a band. In 2018, he described getting together for a jam session with his former bandmates. After a couple of hours, they were tired and ready to leave, but he was still energized and hungry (*faminto*) to continue. Thus, for Eduardo, establishing the 'mark of a business' is not artistically satisfying and lacks the conviviality he experienced as a musician in a band.

Eduardo's case shows how bureaucratic mechanisms for economic formalization provide some support for entrepreneurs but that individuals also depend on social networks to achieve professional success and manage economic declines. Thus, the kind of business-oriented, musical entrepreneurial self which Eduardo exemplifies is most accessible, and perhaps most desirable, to those with relatively high social status, financial resources, and access to networks of skilled professionals. His case

also suggests becoming a business-oriented musical entrepreneur can entail sacrificing artistic satisfaction for professional productivity.

THE TRANSNATIONAL MUSICAL ENTREPRENEUR

Eduardo's experiences resemble those of Jam da Silva: both have participated in projects which blend elements of Pernambucan music with cosmopolitan and Afro-diasporic sounds like rock and soul, and their largely middle-class social networks overlap due to their personal and professional ties to a common set of peers in their 30s–50s. However, they differ in ways which illuminate the range of musical entrepreneurialism in Pernambuco.

Like Eduardo, Jam is originally from the Recife area, but has led a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. Jam spent more than a decade living in Rio and France until returning to the city in 2015. He has released two albums as a solo artist, played with multiple bands—including a French reggae band called Massilia Sound System—produced film soundtracks, and composed songs recorded by Brazilian and European musicians. Whereas Eduardo has focused on establishing himself as a business, Jam emphasizes his musical labor as art and classifies his work as 'not just business' (*não só business*). Jam's music, social media presence, and narratives about his work also reveal how his professional endeavors contribute to transforming his artistic persona into a transnational, cosmopolitan brand. By analyzing these elements below, I show he achieves this brand through a variety of strategies and relationships.

While artists like Eduardo desire more bureaucratic regulation, Jam is somewhat removed from it. In 2015 when I first met him, he was not pursuing MEI status, which would have required him to be more actively involved

in bureaucratic matters; instead, he relied on a management agency to assist with his business interactions. Jam nevertheless benefits from state sponsorship. For example, in 2014, he shared the bill with two prominent musicians from Recife, Siba and the famous jazz percussionist, Naná Vasconcelos (1944–2016). They headlined the *Festival Conexão PE*, a tour co-sponsored by Pernambuco's state government intended to promote the state's music in Argentina and Uruguay.

However, Jam generally produces albums and performs without public sponsorship. In 2016, he performed at New York University's Abu Dhabi Arts Center as a member of Orchestra Santa Massa, a band comprising other *pernambucanos*: DJ Dolores, Fábio Trummer, Isaac, and Maciel Salú. The band was hired by the Arts Center, whose executive director, Bill Bragin, has been connected to Recife since the 1990s when he facilitated Chico Science & Nação Zumbi's 1995 SummerStage concert in Central Park. Bragin has been an important cultural broker for local musicians and has maintained his connection to Recife through his friend, Paulo André, a veteran cultural promoter who founded *Abril Pro Rock*, one of Brazil's most important rock festivals. Social and professional connections to people like Paulo André and Bill Bragin enable Jam and his peers to establish themselves as transnational artists.

Jam's aesthetic approaches reinforce his stance as a transnational musical entrepreneur. While touring in Iceland in 2014, he filmed a music video for the song '*Gaiola da Saudade*' (Cage of Longing). The video juxtaposes scenes filmed in Pernambuco's *sertão* (desert) with Icelandic landscapes; its visual parallels blur the distinction between the two places. As he told me in an interview in 2015, he wanted to tell a story of lost love which combines 'three deserts': the 'cold desert of Iceland, the hot

[desert] of the *sertão*, and a desert of [the] hearts [of the protagonists]'. Accordingly, in the video, Jam wears the same solid purple button-up shirt and black pants in each location as he walks by similar rural houses surrounded by shrubs and trees which are either dry from drought or from the Icelandic winter. This parallelism presents Jam as someone who moves across national boundaries within a cosmopolitan framework which, in keeping with Turino (2000), draws from outside influences but adapts these to local aesthetics and conditions. Thus, the video posits Iceland and Pernambuco as part of a continuum—rather than a rupture—which is enacted by Jam's presence and the music itself.

Jam described the song, which he wrote with his bandmate, Maciel Salú, as 'very universal' and specified he 'doesn't see it as a Pernambucan thing'. For him, this universality emanates from the song's sound design. Guitar and bass arpeggiations form the core of the groove, while the drum kit remains distant. He learned this sparse approach in France and it has become part of his aesthetic. He resists using too many 'layers' and minimizes the amounts of recorded tracks to 'bring out the essence of the music'.²⁶

Jam commented that when Brazilians hear his songs, they think it is a 'gringo [North American/foreign] production ... Because it's sparse [and] everything is in its place.' I interpret this comment as part of Jam's transnational brand. By referencing other Brazilians who think his music sounds like a 'gringo' production, he is performatively inserting it within the 'gringo' market. Thus, his transnational brand partially depends on others' opinions and his ability to draw from them.

However, the 'gringo-ness' of his production style is not always audible. I have played the aforementioned song to fellow Brazilianists who heard it as part of a longer

lineage of modern Brazilian popular music. I also elicited comments about his music from a few middle-class, non-musician Pernambucan friends. One commented how a few songs from Jam's album, *Nord*, reminded him of Lucas Santtana, a Bahian musician who has blended Brazilian and international sounds since the early 2000s. Yet my friends also commented that if not for the Portuguese language lyrics, it would be impossible to identify *Nord* as a Brazilian production; nevertheless, for them, the percussion marks it as Latin American. Jam's use of Latin American / Afro-diasporic percussion, middle-class status, and membership within a multiracial, artistic peer network, enable him to shape his phenotypic blackness into a sign of cosmopolitan transnationalism; moreover, as the next section will clarify, this is also due to his lack of identification with *cultura popular*.

Jam reinforces the aesthetic elements of his transnational brand via his online presence. Social media platforms are not only increasingly necessary for contemporary entrepreneurial activity, but they are also well-suited for creating a transnational, entrepreneurial self because, as Ilana Gershon (2014, 2017) argues, they accommodate multiple authors through a dialogical participant structure. Analyzing social media therefore helps elucidate how online personae are collaboratively authored.

While Jam personally manages most of this content, he also occasionally hires publicity agents to post on his behalf; the phrase 'updated by the production [team]' appears below his name on his Twitter profile. In keeping with his comment about how other Brazilians hear his music as 'gringo', he also uses social media in order to draw from the credibility of his professional peers to enhance his own image. His photos, textual posts, and videos of collaborations with other artists like DJ Dolores from Recife, Bárbara Eugênia from Rio de

Janeiro, and Nicolas Weil from France, clarify he is not a neophyte or amateur and embed him within a transnational network.²⁷ Meanwhile, the dialogical structure of Instagram and Twitter helps Jam strengthen his network and brand via contributions from thousands of fans, friends, and family in multiple geographic locations who help publicize his work through ‘likes’ and retweets.²⁸

Jam is part of a peer group of established musicians from Recife who do not always have to rely on state sponsorship. Nevertheless, and to differing degrees, these artists draw from local traditional and modern music which state sponsorship promotes and sponsors. These sponsored genres inform transnational musicians’ sounds and brands, and, in turn, distinguish them within the Brazilian indie and World Music scenes in which they operate.

Jam and his peers are exceptional relative to thousands of Pernambucan musicians who work day jobs to support their art, spend their pensions to participate in Carnival, and can only aspire to perform at a major public event. While entrepreneurial transnationalism presents new possibilities for self-determination and profit, it is therefore not universally accessible. As Donald Robotham (1998) argued, anthropologists must consider ‘*whose transnationalism is at stake, and what ends it serves*’ (emphasis original, 308). Educated, middle-class musicians are not only more likely to succeed in Recife’s independent scene, but their social capital and connections enable them to become transnational entrepreneurs.

Finally, Jam’s earlier statement that his work is ‘not just business’, also indexes his success because he can prioritize his image as an artist. His brand is thus more expansive than Eduardo’s because it exceeds the ‘mark of a business’ and branches into the artistic side Eduardo has had to de-prioritize. Also, while

Jam’s brand is situated in specific places—Recife, France, Rio de Janeiro—it also exceeds these places. This resembles Constantine Nakassis’ (2012) discussions of how people’s engagements with brands—through counterfeit merchandise, for example—create new meanings which exceed the brand’s original message. Jam’s brand exceeds its role as the ‘mark of a business’ and instead serves as a more encompassing part of his identity. Nevertheless, while he can claim to be a transnational artist, his class status and cosmopolitan orientation make him less likely to present himself as an embodiment of Pernambucan culture like João da Guabiraba, discussed below.

THE PATRIMONIAL MUSICAL ENTREPRENEUR

João da Guabiraba is a senior practitioner of the folk genre, *ciranda*. In 2010, I saw him perform to about one hundred people at a state-sponsored concert in Recife’s historic district. In between songs, he proudly declared ‘*Eu sou cultura!*’ (I am culture). I was taken aback by this statement. Folk performers typically make statements hailing local culture, like ‘*salve a cultura pernambucana!*’ (long live Pernambucan culture) or express their desire to ‘*preservar*’ (preserve) certain practices, but they do not typically claim to embody culture.

I later learned João da Guabiraba’s statement echoed his designation as *Patrimônio Vivo* or Living Patrimony (henceforth, PV designation), a category informed by local and broader (inter)national discourses which have transformed traditional / heritage forms of cultural knowledge into objectified, commodified assets within the global marketplace (see Collins 2015; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; da Cunha 2009; Dávila 2012).

Patrimonialization is an institutional

process which objectifies marginalized people as embodiments of collective heritage. In Brazil and across Latin America, patrimonial discourses have been crucial for solidifying nationalism and (re)producing state power. Transnational discourses, led by UNESCO and reinforced at local levels, have championed intangible culture and patrimonialized people as resources for economic growth (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Collins 2015; Rozental et al. 2016).

I therefore hear Mestre Guabiraba's claim to be culture not just as an expression of his love for *ciranda*, but as an entrepreneurial response to the state's commodification of patrimony. Accordingly, I posit Mestre (band leader) Guabiraba as a patrimonial entrepreneur who illustrates PV designation as a new form of subjectivity which enables *cultura popular* practitioners to gain legitimacy in the public sphere. Before discussing Mestre Guabiraba, I will briefly outline the PV program and discuss Pernambucan *cultura popular*.

Pernambuco became the first Brazilian state to institute PV designation. Since its establishment in 2002, the program has recognized more than 30 musicians, craftspeople, and cultural groups who have been active for at least twenty years within the realm of *cultura popular*.²⁹ The designation includes a monthly stipend which supports artists / groups in their efforts to teach their practices. For individuals, the stipend serves as a pension for a population that generally lacks access to one due to the generally informal nature of their work.

Folk artists have long had to deploy entrepreneurial strategies to maintain *cultura popular* (see Guillen (ed.) 2008; Sharp 2014). Mestre Salustiano (Manuel Salustiano Soares 1945–2008), a 2005 PV designee, would buy, repair, and re-sell old cars to eke out a living for his family in the small town of Aliança and

fund his passion for *cultura popular*. I learned this in 2018 while conversing with his son, the aforementioned Maciel Salú, a musician who straddles *cultura popular* and independent music. He described his father as a 'major cultural entrepreneur' (*grande empreendedor na cultura*). Similarly, Daniel Sharp (2014) discusses how performers of *samba de coco*, another form of Pernambucan *cultura popular*, see themselves as modern cultural entrepreneurs despite scholarly and popular discourses which have long construed *cultura popular* practitioners as pre-modern, 'authentic' figures (see also Guillen (ed.) 2008).

PV designation provides *cultura popular* practitioners with a stable financial and symbolic foundation that allows them to directly channel their entrepreneurial efforts towards local culture. The formalization and professionalization which PV designation provides also counters the broad marginalization and stigmatization of *cultura popular*. As I mentioned in the Introduction, *cultura popular* is a marked social category which encompasses class, race, and rurality. Maciel Salú commented he 'has experienced a lot of prejudice' because he 'came from *cultura popular*, from a humble family'. I also learned about these issues in 2010–11 when I conducted participant observation of a *maracatu* group: Cambinda Estrela.³⁰ Group members described being perceived as 'favelados' (slum-dwellers) relative to other, better-funded *maracatus* and in other contexts like at a local university where several of them were on scholarships. As the cultural promoter, Rute Pajeú, noted, these circumstances diminish *cultura popular* practitioners' 'confiança' (self-confidence) and present a problem that state-funded workshops and genre-based *associações* (associations) cannot fully resolve.

The marginalization of *cultura popular* is also reflected in state funding, which routinely

budgets less money for this category than for general music.³¹ In 2011, when I conversed with bureaucrats about these disparities, they cited a lack of demand, specifying that project applications for ‘music’ are usually three times more numerous than those for *cultura popular*. In her capacity as a cultural promoter, Rute Pajeú finds it difficult to acquire corporate sponsorship for *cultura popular* groups. In part, she attributes this to *racismo estrutural* (structural racism), a factor which became clear to her in 2014 when police were shutting down traditional events called *sambadas de maracatu*, ostensibly due to noise ordinances. Yet *maracatu* practitioners and legal experts successfully argued these ordinances do not apply to cultural / religious manifestations like *sambadas*, and depicted the police interventions as racially motivated repression.³²

Despite the marginalization of *cultura popular*, commercial and governmental organizations profit from it. As Rute specified, the same businesses that refuse to sponsor *cultura popular* hire folk dancers to advertise their products during the Carnival season. I have also observed that numerous business and state agencies use figures from *cultura popular* in advertisements and as decorations, most notably the *caboclo de lança*, a mixed-race indigenous lancer from *maracatu*.³³

The tensions between the simultaneous valorization, commodification, and stigmatization of *cultura popular* form the backdrop for Mestre Guabiraba’s claim to be *cultura*. In addition to his 30+ years of experience playing *ciranda*, his social and physical characteristics enhance his legibility as PV. As someone with a rural speaking style and relatively dark skin, Mestre Guabiraba not only plays *ciranda*, but for local institutions and members of the public, he looks and sounds like it too. For musicians like Mestre Guabiraba, embodying culture provides

a new way to transform their marginalized identity into a legitimate form of social capital. While musicians like Eduardo and Jam can rely on their middle-class status, social connections, and cosmopolitan musical approaches, their *cultura popular* counterparts must pursue other forms of cultural capital, including taking on categories like PV.

Mestre Guabiraba’s declaration reinforces essentializing discourses, but it also pushes against the passivity these entail. As John Collins (2015) and Alexis Bunten (2008) have revealed, investigating how exoticized people are transformed—and transform themselves—into entrepreneurs shows how the power generated by these processes are simultaneously productive and repressive. By announcing he ‘is culture’ at a state-sponsored event, Mestre Guabiraba anticipates how he will be interpreted and, in so doing, performatively invokes his own authority. I thus see his declaration as an example of what Summerson Carr (2009) calls ‘anticipatory interpellation’; this is when a person is aware of the institutional subjectivity ascribed to them and elicits those in power to address them as such. Mestre Guabiraba’s declaration and self-presentation thus compel local institutions and audiences to view him as a cultural embodiment. He gains legitimacy and recognition by branding himself in accordance with government discourses that harness *cultura popular* performers as part of Pernambuco’s official brand.

Mestre Guabiraba’s status also rests on his ability as a composer; this influenced his inclusion in the aforementioned concert, which was part of a concert series showcasing non-mainstream, original Pernambucan music. I witnessed how his reputation as a composer shaped a debate among state agency committee members who selected performers for these concerts. The committee included Daniel,

a professional musician; Clayton, a cultural promoter; and Raúl, a radio deejay. They debated whether a specific *mestre* who only performs music from the public domain should be included in the concert. Raúl answered in the affirmative because most *mestres* within the ‘universe of traditional culture’, perform public domain songs.³⁴ However, Daniel cited Mestre Guabiraba as an example of a *mestre* who writes his own songs and thus argued some *mestres* could fit the event’s parameters. Similarly, Clayton discussed how the applicant’s work was culturally relevant, but ‘lacking in terms of artistry’. Raúl relented and agreed that since the purpose of the event was to stimulate (*estimular*) musicians to create original work, the *mestre* in question should not be included.

Mestre Guabiraba thus served as an example that *cultura popular* musicians can stretch into the category of artistic music. Mestre Guabiraba, therefore, does not just represent folk music, he creates it. His ability to compose *ciranda* is an entrepreneurial skill which enhances his value. Paradoxically, Mestre Guabiraba’s claim to be *cultura* seems to emanate less from an essential quality than from his ability to manipulate culture. Consequently, he can maintain himself and *ciranda* in the present and future, instead of being relegated to the past, whereas many other *cultura popular* practitioners struggle to be recognized as part of the ‘here-and-now’ (Sharp 2014: 91).

Mestre Guabiraba reveals that the PV designation entails a closer relationship to the state government which enables him and, in theory, other designees, to turn essentializing discourses into a platform for highlighting their artistry. Yet, while Mestre Guabiraba can experience his embodiment of culture as a positive part of his identity, he and his PV-designated peers are exceptions within a broader context where *cultura popular*

practitioners are objectified and subject to structural violence. Furthermore, these artists provide the semiotic material for government agencies, business, and other locals to promote Pernambucan identity. Thus, while embodying culture can provide new entrepreneurial and socially inclusive opportunities for some, the discourses which enable these processes also reinforce stratification and exclusion.

CONCLUSION

The three musicians discussed above demonstrate that musical professionalism entails more than practical elements like punctuality; it requires various entrepreneurial skills and different degrees of formalization. As musicians negotiate new institutional demands and commercial conditions, they are giving rise to subjectivities and relationships which shape their ability to survive. My interlocutors use bureaucratic mechanisms like the MEI, government sponsorship, PV designation, and their peer and social media networks to transform themselves from a freelancer to a businessman, a local musician to a transnational artist, and a member of a marked social category to a government-endorsed cultural embodiment. While these musicians are self-employed professionals, the different degrees of autonomy they experience thus depend on a variety of people and institutions. The cases discussed herein suggest, therefore, that although neoliberal policies and ideologies are associated with a lack of formalization and regulation, in practice, they involve new modes of bureaucracy and interdependence.

In addition, these musicians reveal that professionalism and entrepreneurialism are mutually reinforcing qualities which enable them to carve out different identities. Yet these processes are limited by structural inequalities

which are reflected in and reproduced through (meta)musical discourses. Ultimately, these circumstances suggest that embracing entrepreneurialism and its associated neoliberal ideologies can further integrate individuals within the state, the market, and social communities; however, such integration is accompanied by additional responsibilities and *structural inequalities*.

NOTES

- 1 I am grateful to Matti Eräsaari and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments. I would also like to acknowledge the insights provided by participants at two events where I presented early fragments of this article: a panel at the 2016 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting entitled 'Interpreting the Evidence, Constructing Global Images: Rediscovering the Brazilian Self', organized by Audrey Ricke with Maureen O'Dougherty as discussant; and a lecture at Brown University's Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs in November 2017, organized by James Green and Ramón Stern. Support for this research was provided by a Fulbright IIE Grant and the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Graduate School. Finally, special thanks to Eduardo Braga, Jam da Silva, Rute Pajeú, and Maciel Salú for their candor, to Andy Graan for introducing me to *Suomen Antropologi*, and to Larry Nesper for his advice.
- 2 I translated this passage and all other Portuguese text and speech herein.
- 3 As of 2015, five million Brazilians had registered as MEIs. Conselho Federal de Administração: <http://www.cfa.org.br/servicos/news/cfanews/brasil-comemora-marca-de-5-milhoes-de-meis>
- 4 This article demonstrates that as musicians engage with sponsorship provided by Pernambucan institutions, they are simultaneously negotiating and experiencing the effects of a broader system of power. Therefore, I use 'state' (uncapitalized) to refer to the typically sovereign political structure that monopolizes the legitimate use of force within a territory, the Brazilian federal government, and constituent states, like the Brazilian state of Pernambuco and its governmental institutions.
- 5 Foucault (2004 [1979]) used 'Homo Economicus' and Rose (1998) used 'enterprising self' to describe the centrality of entrepreneurial subjectivity within neoliberalism.
- 6 By mainstream music, I mean genres played on corporate radio stations and on major television networks, like *música sertaneja* (Brazilian pop-country); *Música Popular Brasileira* (middle-class, adult contemporary pop); *funk carioca* and similar variants of hip-hop influenced, electronic dance music; and Anglophone, international pop like Beyoncé.
- 7 Two FM radio stations in Recife sometimes feature *cultura popular* and independent local music: 99.9, which belongs to the Federal University of Pernambuco, and the recently established public station, Radio Frei Caneca 101.5.
- 8 *Ciranda* is characterized by a rolling quaternary rhythm executed by the snare drum. The *mestre* leads a small chorus in call-and-response singing and dancers hold hands in a circle.
- 9 The category of *cultura popular* was institutionalized during the 1930s by scholars like Mario de Andrade and the *Estado Novo* dictatorship. Its separation from the commercial mainstream became hegemonic and, in turn, led to an economic/ideological hierarchy between 'pre-modern' *cultura popular* and modern music (e.g., see Guillen (ed.) 2008; Sharp 2014).
- 10 In 2018, Maciel Salú commented that few *mestres* with whom he is familiar have registered as MEIs; most do not need to since their groups are often registered as juridical persons.
- 11 *A carteira assinada* entitles workers to benefits like paid vacations, unemployment insurance, a 44-hour work limit, and overtime pay beyond those hours.
- 12 Law no. 8.313 December 23, 1991, a.k.a., the Lei Rouanet.
- 13 Most notably via Decree no. 4.805, August 12, 2003.
- 14 These shifts are not exclusive to Brazil; they are prevalent in places where de-industrialization, privatization, and underemployment have pushed people to rely on mostly informal, entrepreneurial work (Dávila 2012).
- 15 E.g., in 2015, São Paulo's per capita tax revenue (R\$9,510.70) was over two times more than

- Recife's (R\$4,624.92) (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Ministério da Saúde).
- 16 Funcultura's official title is the *Fundo Pernambucano de Incentivo à Cultura* (the Pernambucan Fund for Cultural Incentives)
- 17 Manguê beat, a.k.a. manguêbit, juxtaposes the local, natural mangrove (*manguê*) with the modern, man-made computing unit, 'bit'.
- 18 See Crook (2009) for more information on Pernambucan music.
- 19 New courses related to audiovisual and musical production are available at Aeso Faculdades Integradas Barros Melo, a university in Olinda, and through Recife's Porto Digital, a multinational software consortium.
- 20 Recife's classical music groups include a visibly higher proportion of women, suggesting classical music includes more professionalizing mechanisms. One can learn Western music theory and classical music performance at the state conservatory (*Conservatório Pernambucano de Música*) and/or the Federal University (*Universidade Federal de Pernambuco*), but courses in folk or pop are less common.
- 21 'Nos dedicamos diariamente com muito afincio à nossa profissão.'
- 22 Ana Almeida, who manages China Ina and Nação Zumbi, countered these claims by asserting her clients' documentation was complete (Moura 2013b).
- 23 As of January 31, 2018, there were 81,848 total MEIs registered in Recife and Olinda <http://www.portaldoempreendedor.gov.br/estatisticas>
- 24 *Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social*
- 25 Eduardo used the English word 'freelancer'.
- 26 Jam used the English word 'layers'.
- 27 Similarly, Dumont (2015) discusses how professional photographers use social media to distinguish themselves from amateurs.
- 28 As of April 2018, Jam had 4,522 Instagram followers and 382 on Twitter.
- 29 E.g., the brass band, Banda Curica.
- 30 *Maracatu* encompasses highly percussive, often processional musical / religious practices associated with Pernambuco's African descendants.
- 31 E.g., funding for the 2017/18 edition of Funcultura budgeted R\$2.392 million for *cultura popular* versus R\$ 4.68 million for non-*cultura popular* music. <http://fade.org.br/secult-pe-e-fundarpe-lancam-editais-do-funcultura-2018/>
- 32 After a public hearing, the Public Ministry ruled *maracatu* practitioners have the right to assemble until sunrise, the customary end of their ritualized performances.
- 33 *Caboclos de lança* wear enormous, dense wigs made of multicolored, metallic tinsel, and an elaborate, sequined cape.
- 34 Lia de Itamaracá, a *ciranda* performer and PV designee also composes her own music.

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