TROPICÁLIA: STRATEGIC MANOUVERS IN ARTISTS´ NETWORKS

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Summary

This article aims to build bridges between three theoretical fields: Organizational Strategy, Social Networks, and Social Identities. By analyzing the networks of Brazilian musicians (interpreters and composers), we monitor the emergence of new styles, along with the structural changes in the network. Within the period in analysis, from 1958 to 1969, four musical styles emerge and consolidate: Bossa Nova, Jovem Guarda, MPB and Tropicália. We utilized Social Networks in order to grasp three dimensions of the field evolution: network evolution, creation of structural holes and transformation of actors´ centrality. The key insights we provide are: (1) interpreters identities suffer transformations as their repertoires change, (2) composers´ centrality increase as they become more influential in the field and (3) new styles may emerge from the exploration of structural holes. This paper attempts to exhibit the potential contributions Social Networks theory may provide to the Organizations Theory.

1. Introduction

This article builds bridges among three important concepts in organizational theory. It brings together a theory of networks, a theory of identity and a theory of strategic behavior. Its intended contribution is integrating these three perspectives into a single theoretical explanation of strategic behavior that is dependent both from the individual identity of the social actors and from the network configuration they are embedded.

After a brief introduction (1), our study starts by (2) revisiting the literature on strategic behavior in networks (mostly based on the rational choice paradigm). This perspective is complemented with (3) a proposal that individual identity and network position are mutually reinforcing concepts, giving birth to the idea of relational identity. Following, we introduce our object of study: (4) networks of artists (interpreters and composers) in the Brazilian phonographic industry during the 1960´s. The period under analysis, from 1958 to 1969, revealed the emergence of several new musical styles in Brazil, including Bossa Nova, MPB, Jovem Guarda and Tropicália. In a first analysis we qualitatively explore the history of these concurrent styles. The review of this musical history will provide the needed background in order to understand the quantitative network analysis we performed next. By stating the (5) entities analyzed along this network (interpreters, composers, LPs, songs and styles), we are able to describe the methodology used (6) and the observed results (7). Discussion and suggestions for further research follows (8).

2 – The literature on strategic behavior in networks

In a review article on network studies in sociology Powell suggests two approaches researchers have analyzed social networks: (a) as an “Analytical Device” and (b) as a “Governance Device” (POWELL e SMITH-DOERR, 1994). From the former perspective, which is the focus of this paper, network structures may explain actors´ behavior: “Networks of relations among individuals in different organizations and among organizations in a field are critical in explaining how organizations adopt similar structures and pursue common strategies” (POWELL e SMITH-DOERR, 1994, pg 368). The intuitive idea is that an actor’s position in a network might provide a privileged way or an obstacle for access to relevant resources and information. In other words network positions influence the strategies actors
may adopt. To clarify this concept we analyze tow seminal contributions to network theory, from Hotelling and Burt (BURT, 1992; HOTELLING, 1929).

2.1 The Hotelling Game

In the early 20th century Harold Hotelling introduces the idea of equilibrium in unidimensional competitive games. Hotelling imagined that several competitive settings could be expressed spatially, where competitors would struggle for consumers along one-dimension scale (HOTELLING, 1929). Let suppose that in a given one-dimension scale (see Figure 1), consumers’ preferences are equally distributed from 0 to 100. In order to make the example more concrete, let us imagine that the product is cereals, and the feature measured in the scale is degree of sugar.

![Figure 1: The Hotelling Game](image)

If companies A and B position themselves in positions “25” and “75” of sugar, respectively, it can be shown, from Hotelling’s model, that both will converge to position “50”, at the center. This convergence occurs because both A and B realize that by changing their products to be “50” in sugar, it will be accepted by a larger number of consumers for two reasons: first, consumers in the extremes will continue to purchase only from that producer that has relatively better fit to their preferences; second, players will dispute moderate consumers that fall in the middle the extremes.

This model has been traditionally applied in Political Science, for voting analysis (see for instance Bierman e Fernandez and Downs. In spite of the criticism it has received, for not contemplating multidimensional positioning, for instance, it still provides a powerful insight on basic positioning dynamics that can be found from store positioning to product development (BIERMAN e FERNANDEZ, 1998; DOWNS, 1999).

For the purpose of this paper, one basic modification into Hotelling’s model may be useful to introduce social identity as a relevant dimension: in a game where players adopt positions embedded in strong social identities, the mobility to the center is blocked or heavily hindered. As a consequence, the middle point, “50”, may be left open for third parties to enter. We will further develop this issue later.

2.2 The Challenge of Exploiting Structural Holes

Burt (1992) has taken this basic insight linking positions and strategies to its next level, in order to answer a fundamental question “how certain structural arrangements generate benefits and opportunities” (POWELL e SMITH-DOERR, 1994),– italics in the original). In his analysis of social networks, Burt conceived the idea of “structural holes”.
From Simmel’s conception of situations where an individual benefits from the conflict of another two, Burt (1992) suggests the idea of structural holes. Simmel’s original idea, inspired in the Latin expression “Tertius Gaudens”, explains the freedom of action an individual obtains from intermediating a triad, which would be otherwise closed (SIMMEL, 1950).

Throughout this proposition, Burt disagreed from a previous position expressed by Granovetter on “forbidden triads”. According to Granovetter, if A is strongly connected to B and B is strongly connected to C, then A and C are necessarily connected (GRANOVETTER, 1973). This is due the scarcity of resources available to relationship maintenance. If the resource “time” is heavily invested by A on its relationship with B, there will be too little spare time to be invested by B with C, unless there is a large overlapping between the time A spends with B and the time B spends with C; therefore, A and C must have a relationship (see Figure 2a). Burt opposed this vision offering a conception of triad with only two edges (see Figure 2b), opening the possibility of brokerage strategies to the actor that occupies the central position in the triad.

This brokerage (and the very maintenance of the open triad) is possible only if the intermediary exploits or foments discord or significant separation between the intermediated. To be sure, if discord or separation is necessary in order to maintain the open triad, then we should observe, in the due time, the formation of strong opposing identities between the intermediated members. If this segregation provides to the entrepreneur an opportunity for intermediation, it also brings a challenge: how is it possible to establish relationships with both contending parties, without jeopardizing her own legitimacy?

Figure 2: Closed and Opened Triads

The definition of structural holes, for Burt, “is the relationship of nonredundancy between two contacts.” (BURT, 1992, pg. 18).

From Burt’s perspective, if an actor X’s surrounding nodes are highly interconnected among themselves, there is little opportunity for arbitrage for X. This is due to the high redundancy of X’s ties – very little new information flow among these ties. Conversely, if X’s surrounding nodes are sparsely interconnected among themselves, X will have several opportunities to brokerage information among them, which will provide high importance to its position in the network.

3 - Social Networks and Social Identities

Social identity has been traditionally viewed in sociological theory as an attribute of individuals. Hogg, Terry and White for example draw a picture of the research on identity in which they depict identity theory and social identity theory as two similar perspectives on the
dynamic mediation of the socially constructed self between individual behavior and social structures. They argue that while there is almost no systematic communication between these two perspectives; they have many similarities. Identity theory is a micro-sociological theory that aims at explaining role-related behaviors. In contrast Social Identity theory is rooted in social psychology studies and aims at explaining group and inter-group behavior (HOGG, TERRY e WHITE, 1995). These identity theories, while taking into account several aspects of the individual’s environment, define identity in terms of espoused values and the belonging to certain predefined categories (such as race, nationality, profession, etc.).

In this article we advance a different perspective on social identity. Based on Hotelling and Burt’s propositions we suggest that “social identity” may function, for strategic purposes, in a similar way to “position” in a network. Our definition of identity is not “categorical”, in the sense that we can not understand an actor’s identity solely by his or her attributes or the categories he or she fits in. To define social identity we should include relational aspects to her identity building. From this perspective, relational identity is constantly transformed, as the actor establishes new relationships along her trajectory. This idea has been advanced by DiMaggio when exploring what he calls the Nadel’s paradox (DIMAGGIO, 1992).

Because identity adoption is the entry ticket in order to integrate the field network, actors will embrace identities. However, identity adoption has its price: once adopted, an identity may lock actors into their positions, diminishing their mobility.

4 - Musicians in Social Networks: Emergence of Tropicália

The object chosen for this investigation is networks of musicians. We found this object appropriate, for the following reasons: (a) the consumption of cultural goods is strongly related with identity creation (SIMMEL, 1957), (b) artists themselves must engage, at least in the beginning of their careers, in one identity group, in order to be accepted by the industry (RAO, MONIN e DURAND, 2003) and (c) artists will try to differentiate their perceived identities, in order to create an unique image to the Industry and public.

Specifically, we chose the 1958-1969 period in the Brazilian Popular Music, for the rapid emergence of several new styles: Bossa Nova (BN), Jovem Guarda (JV), MPB and Tropicália. Each of these styles not only were based on different musical rules, but also corresponded to different social identities.

The phenomenon that we want to observe is the interplay of these styles, from the perspective of network based creation of identity by these artists.

4.1 Bossa Nova (BN): the paradigm of the ascending middle-class

The emergence of BN is understood by several Brazilian music historians as a Rio de Janeiro middle-class phenomenon. Tinhorão, for instance, observes the movement of the emerging middle-class to the South area of Rio de Janeiro as one prerequisite to the BN (TINHORÃO, 1966). As this new middle class started to take shape, a new identity needed to be established. In the musical field, they could not identify with the romantic music adopted by the traditional higher class, and could no longer identify with the traditional samba of lower classes. The solution seemed to incorporate Jazz to Brazilian music. The influence of Jazz in the Brazilian music is observed since the forties (MEDAGLIA, 2003). When Antônio Carlos Jobim and other pioneers of BN started to experiment the first combinations of samba and jazz, the music played was still a hybrid style. It was the incorporation of João Gilberto to the group (CASTRO, 2003) and his unique way of playing the guitar, that allowed BN to gain a very distinct musical identity. In parallel, BN became the most influential music style of that generation of musicians (CASTRO, 2001).
4.2 The pop Jovem Guarda (JG) and its counterpoint to BN

In parallel to the emergence of BN, a number of artists started to introduce Rock and Roll to the Brazilian music. Led mostly by Roberto Carlos and Erasmo Carlos, the Jovem Guarda (JG) style aimed to create or recreate rock music in Portuguese. They were also known as “iê-iê-iê”, for their adaptations of early Beatle songs, or just pop music. It is important to notice that the JG style was mostly bounded to fifties and early sixties Rock. The revolution Rock experienced with the emergence of Rolling Stones or the second phase of the Beatles was not absorbed by JG.

If BN aligned the emergent middle class to the same intellectualized spirit of Jazz, JG brought the same joviality of Rock. Hence, the opposition of Jazz and Rock was translated into the Brazilian music.

4.3 Emergence of MPB, and its clash with JG

Since the emergence of BN, there were disputes around whether BN was a legitimate national style, or just an adaptation of Jazz. Carlos Lyra, one of the pioneers of BN, at some point initiates the creation of a new version BN with a more Brazilian face. Nara Leão, along with Lyra, started to launch songs with strong social criticism content, attempting to provide a synthesis between BN with protest music. This was the beginning of MPB.

Exponents of MPB, like Elis Regina and Chico Buarque, occupied a musical space left behind by traditional BN musicians, who were developing their careers outside Brazil. The creation of a nationalist identity, in both content and form provided revitalization to BN and the re-introduction of traditional samba composers, like Noel Rosa.

This “nationalist” and “protest” features of MPB´s identity led many of its composers and interpreters to refuse any music expression that could reveal foreign influence. Although the very traditional BN was heavily influenced by Jazz, it was the JG style the target of MPB’s charges. For MPB’s musicians, JG’s use of electric guitars and attempt to absorb Rock was equivalent to attempt to alienate Brazilian youth from Brazilian reality.

The conflict achieved its peak when “Fino da Bossa”, a TV show led by Elis Regina, started to loose audience to “Jovem Guarda”, a TV show led by Roberto Carlos. Elis Regina, in reaction to JG advances, promoted a parade, entitled “Parade against the electric guitars”. This parade established strong boundaries around MPB and JG, clarifying the identities around these styles.

Because of the common heritage of the BN and the MPB groups, and strong mobility of artists between them, they could be considered to integrate the same BN/MPB community.

4.4 “Baianos” penetrate the BN/MPB community

In spite of the strength of the MPB group, it could not articulate all artists of the BN/MPB community to position themselves against the JG style. BN traditional musicians, like Tom Jobim and João Gilberto, continued their careers overseas. On the other hand, new comers like the “Baianos” (from the state of Bahia), would be more resistant to discard new musical possibilities, like the use of electric guitars. As Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and the Mutantes started utilizing electric guitars, they positioned themselves between the BN/MPB and JG styles. This position was strongly attacked by MPB artists.

4.5 Tropicália is established and becomes influential

The use of electric guitars, alternative outfits and lyrics not rarely close to non-sense, positioned the group of “Baianos” and the Mutantes in a uncomfortable position. If not attacked by the MPB community, they were just regarded as an exotique experiment, that wouldn’t survive for a long time.
The creation of a new identity was needed in order to provide legitimacy to the music played by Caetano, Gil and the Mutantes (CALADO, 1997). When the identity “Tropicália” was born, its discourse differed from BN/MPB ones. It defended that the Brazilian music should not close itself to the world. As a matter of fact, the Tropicália music incorporated elements from BN, MPB and JG. Moreover, it claimed that art should not be subordinated to politics. In that sense, the Tropicália movement resembled the XIX century writers’ movement. This movement aimed the creation of an autonomous artistic field, independent from both aristocracy and from the market (BOURDIEU, 2002).

Its success led several new artists to become more ecletic in their styles. Probably, the most impressive fact of Tropicalia’s influence is the very Elis Regina’s interpretation of a Roberto Carlos song in 1969, proclaiming the fall of the wall between MPB and JG.

Following, a summary of the mentioned Brazilian musical styles.

Table 1: Profiles of Bossa Nova, Jovem Guarda, MPB and Tropicália

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Styles</th>
<th>Musical Features</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Key -composers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bossa Nova (BN)</td>
<td>Jazz influence</td>
<td>Love, nature</td>
<td>João Gilbert, Vinicius de Morais, Tom Jobim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.Gilberto´s guitar beat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPB</td>
<td>Return to samba and Brazilian roots</td>
<td>Social criticism</td>
<td>Chico Buarque, Edu Lobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jovem Guarda (JG)</td>
<td>Electric Guitar, Rock influence</td>
<td>Youth themes</td>
<td>Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropicália</td>
<td>Eclectic influences</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5- Understanding Styles and Identities from a Network/Relational Perspective

A key question for this article is to answer how network analysis may improve or provide any additional insight not already described qualitatively. The answer to this question lies on the very definition of identity.

5.1 Identities among Musicians

When analyzing a musician’s style, the direct object for investigation is her interpreted song (see Figure 3). Songs are born from earlier composers’ work, which adds up to a repository of knowledge. Next, interpreters access this knowledge repository and borrow songs in order to record them. By interpreting a song, an interpreter applies her own style to it. Her style, then, is the blending of the song utilized, the instruments used, and the very way of interpreting the song. Once the title is recorded, music critics (as well as Industry personnel, musicians and the very public) will label a style to it accordingly to their set of criteria (DIMAGGIO, 1987). Hence, style is an enacted social form, attributed to art objects. In consequence, an art object might be recategorized, as the underlying criteria change with time (POLOS, HANNAN e CARROLL, 2002).

For instance, “Coração Materno” (Motherly Heart), written by Vicente Celestino, was considered “tacky” by the BN/MPB community in the middle sixties. However, when
Caetano Veloso interpreted this song and recorded for the Long-Play “Tropicália”, it was regarded by critics as something new, if not satiric, and yet, a recovery of Brazilian roots.

Therefore, we are able to trace an artist evolution simply by understanding from whom she borrows her songs. The pattern of repertoire (the set of songs interpreted) may vary in ways unpredicted by the formal identity. Another example: take Nara Leão’s evolution. She was one of the pioneer interpreters of BN. Nevertheless, she was one of the first interpreters to start recovering old samba composers. It took a while until the MPB established itself as a synthesis between BN and the previous samba style, in order to categorize Nara Leão under MPB. Our claim is that it is possible to uncover the emerging identity of an artist from the changes in her repertoire.

**Figure 3: How Styles and Musicians Interact**

5.3 Repertoire creates Networks

We can imagine three networks among musicians: (1) network of composers, (2) network of interpreters and (3) network of composers and interpreters.

All three networks are important for understanding the structure of musicians’ field. However, in this article, we will focus mostly on the network between composers and interpreters, for it reveals one dimension of interpreters’ identity creation.

As interpreters change their repertoire, they are signaling a change in identity. Conversely, if a composer’s songs are increasingly played, we could say that he became more influential in defining the interpreters’ identities. The concept of Influence encompasses several meanings. João Gilberto’s way of playing the guitar might be considered a kind of influence. In this article, however, we define the concept of influence to the degree a composer lends songs to interpreters.

From a network perspective, interpreters’ ego networks change as their identities change (an ego network is the immediate network surrounding the actor under analysis). In parallel, composer’s centrality may increase or decrease, as his influence increases or decreases.
6 - Methodology

In this section, we describe the database of artists, songs and records underlying our analysis. Following, we display the methodology used for building the networks, which will be the basis of our analysis.

6.1 Database

Period of analysis: Our period of analysis spans from 1958 to 1969. Specifically, it starts with the launching of the LP “Canção do Amor Demais” (Vinicius de Morais, 1958), ending with the LP “Elis Regina in London” (Elis Regina, 1969). The choice of these two LPs, marking the time boundaries of our analysis, is not arbitrary. The former established BN as a new style, while the later brings Elis Regina interpreting Roberto Carlos, which contributed to blur MPB, JG and Tropicália borders.

Source of Information: we included in our database 89 long-plays recorded by selected interpreters during this period (see Table 2 for a summary). The records included were those in the web site http://chiquemusic.uol.com.br/artistas, which excludes compact records. The interpreters chosen were:

- BN: João Gilberto, Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Morais, Carlos Lyra and Nara Leão
- MPB: Elis Regina, Chico Buarque and Edu Lobo
- JG: Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderlea
- “Baianos” and Tropicália²: Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Maria Bethânia, Gal Costa and Mutantes

Although we dealt with a limited sample of interpreters, we believe each one is highly representative of his or her represented style. From each LP, we included all songs, and their composers. That totaled a database of 950 songs and 552 musicians, including the mentioned interpreters, co-interpreters and composers.

From the LPs, we were able to build three basic relational databases:

1. LPs and interpreters
2. LPs and Songs
3. Songs and Composers

From these basic relational databases, we are able to construct a fourth database, relating Interpreters and Composers: interpreter X is present in LP “A”, which contains song “B”. Song “B” is a composition of composer “Y”. Hence, transitively, “X” borrowed a song from “Y”, establishing a link. The Relational Database between composers and interpreters is the basis of the networks we want to build in order to analyze the interpreters’ identity.

6.2 Sociograms

Sub-Periods: From the database of Composers and Interpreters, we built four sociograms displaying graphically the relationships between composers and interpreters. The four sociograms correspond to four sub-periods: (i) from 58 to 61, (ii) from 62 to 65, (iii) from 66 to 67, and (iv) from 68 to 69.

The reason the first 8 years are grouped in periods of 4 years is due to the low density of relationships in these years. The field of BN was just starting by 1958, hence several of selected interpreters either were not still recording, or were not producing in a relevant level. Once the field achieved a high density (1966), we grouped the remaining years in periods of 2 years.

Filtering: In each of these periods, we counted the number of songs lent from each composer to each interpreter. That produced a m to n matrix, where m is the number of composers and n is the number of interpreters. Due to the large number of composers, we had to choose the criteria to capture only those relationships relevant to our analysis. Therefore, we maintained from each matrix only those relationships equal or higher than 2, which means
that for a composer/interpreter relationship be graphed, the composer had had to lend at least 2 song to that interpreter in the period under analysis.

**Dichotomy:** In addition, we transformed all relationships in dichotomy relationships. For instance, if composer Y lent 10 songs to interpreter X, and composer Z lent 3 songs to interpreter X, both relationships, Y to X and Z to X will gain the value of 1, otherwise, if less than 2 songs were lent, than the relationship receives the null value. Although networks techniques permit the analysis of relationship strength, we are investigating only whether there exists relationships among artists. That also affects the sociograms interpretation: the length of the ties do not mean anything, but the existence of a relationship.

### 6.3 Composers Networks

From the relational database of composers and interpreters, we built a symmetric (squared matrix) network of composers, in a similar way to Lima e Silva et al’s effort of mapping the network of Brazilian musicians (LIMA E SILVA, et al., 2004). The composer’s relationship strength was established by the number of songs they appear together. From this network, we extracted Freeman’s centrality degree, in order to monitor the composers’ movements in the networks (see Table 4). The more central a composer is, the more links she provides to interpreters (WASSERMAN e FAUST, 1994). As a consequence, the higher the centrality of a composer, the higher her influence.

### 7 Results

The presentation of the results follows three steps. First, we describe the whole network evolution: number of composers, number of ties and density (ties per composer) See Table 3 for reference. Next, we introduce the sociogram of composers and interpreters, in order to illustrate, visually, the special arrangement of the actors. Finally, we comment on the composers centrality in the composers’ network. This final analysis permits the grounding of the qualitative insights from the sociogram into hard figures from the centrality degree.

#### 7.1 Emergence of BN and JG: 1958 to 1961

The appearance of BN in the phonographic industry counted with a low density of composers (69), due to the low number of LPs recorded. Nevertheless, the density of ties is high: 10.9, which indicates an important overlap of composers and LPs launched.

The analysis of the sociogram (see Figure 4) shows two distinct networks forming: BN on the left and JG on the right. No ties uniting these to networks are present, which permits us to state that from its beginning, both movements counted with very distinct sources of repertoire.

When we shift to the analysis of the Freeman’s Centrality degree, Carlos Lyra appears as the composer with highest number of ties, followed by Tom Jobim, Dorival Caymmi and Ronaldo Boscoli. All BN composers. João Gilberto, surprisingly, comes only as the fifth in ranking. Nonetheless, João Gilberto lower centrality degree confirms the interpreters’ account that Gilberto was mainly a model for interpretation, rather than a source of songs (HOMEM DE MELLO, 1976).
7.2 Consolidation of BN and JG: 1962 to 1965

From 1962 to 1965 (beginning of the Musical Festivals on TV), the BN and JG movements gain scale. The number of LPs registered in this period increases to 25, and the number of composers achieve the 225 mark. Density, however, decreases to 5.5, which suggests a higher diversification in repertoire.

The sociogram of this period (Figure 5) still shows two almost completely separated networks, BN on the top and JG on the bottom. As a matter of fact, only Castro Perret established the link between the two movements, not enough to blur their frontiers.

Nonetheless, some important new players appear to the scene: Elis Regina and Nara Leão. Both will start to articulate not only traditional BN composers, but also traditional samba composers, as well new composers, like Edu Lobo and Baden Powell, who...
reinvigorated the BN and opened a way for MPB. Interestingly, we notice some disconnected nodes from both major networks: Maria Bethania, borrowing songs from Caetano and Noel Rosa. This marks the appearance of the “Baianos”, not yet well integrated to neither networks.

Carlos Lyra is still the most central composer in the network, followed by Vinicius de Morais. However, new BN actors emerge: Edu Lobo in fourth and Zé Keti in ninth. In parallel, as JG structures itself, its composers increase centrality: Erasmo Carlos achieves the 6th position, followed by Roberto Carlos.

7.3 Emergence of MPB: 1966 to 1967

Although the number of years covered decreased to two years, the effervescence of this period is revealed by its basic figures. The number of LPs achieves 26, the number of composers achieves 200. Not surprisingly, the density of composers decreases to 4.6. As the field structures itself, interpreters seek higher diversity of repertoire, in order to differentiate themselves.

A glance on the period’s sociogram (Figure 6) reveals the peak of the Festivals era. MPB is emerging as a derivation of BN network. As a matter of fact, both networks are highly interconnected, which suggests a relatively integrated community, although not homogeneous. The BN core is highly dense, while the recently integrated MPB composers appear as sparse and peripheral. Still separated, we observe JG network (on top). The “Baianos” were absorbed by the BN/MPB community, lending songs mostly to MPB interpreters (e.g. Elis Regina).

The lack of bridges between the networks suggests the existence of a structural hole that might be eventually explored. Caetano, Gil, Mutantes and other musicians yearned to create a bridge between BN/MPB and JG, tapping this structural hole. However, there was an obstacle to tackle: how to introduce a new style, if the boundaries between BN/MPB and JG were so rigid?

Figure 6: Network of Interpreters and Composers from 1966 to 1967

Actors’ centrality reveals some important changes, as MPB emerges. BN composers are still central (Vinicius de Morais occupies the first position), however, Gilberto Gil already
achieved the second position, and Chico Buarque gained the fourth position in centrality rank. JG composers maintain the high centrality, due to JG increasing success: Erasmo Carlos occupies the third position, and Carlos Imperial the sixth. Caetano Veloso, not as well connected as Gilberto Gil, occupies the 65th position. In spite of this poor position, in comparison to his peer Gil, Caetano will preserve higher freedom movement in the next phase of Brazilian Music evolution.

### 7.4 Emergence of Tropicália: 1968 to 1969

In the period under analysis, the number of LPs slightly increased to 28, while the number of composers decreased to 178. Density also dropped to 6.3, which suggest diminishing diversity, as the field achieves higher consolidation.

The analysis of the sociogram (Figure 7), finally visually delivers the answer to our hypothesis: the emergence of the Tropicália movement explores the structural hole between the BN/MPB and JG groups.

The “Baianos” (Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa) and other allies (e.g. Mutantes) places themselves in the middle of the BN/MPB and JG movements, both as interpreters, borrowing songs, and as composers, lending songs. JG interpreters will lend songs to Tropicália, and play Tropicália songs. The same is true for the BN/MPB group.

**Figure 7: Network of Interpreters and Composers from 1968 to 1969**

The emergence of Tropicália as an intermediary in the network granted its actors a privileged position of influence. Caetano Veloso becomes the highest central composer in the network, from a previous position of 65th, while Gilberto Gil occupies the fifth position. Nonetheless, this shift does not mean the disappearance of previous well positioned players. Traditional BN/MPB and JG actors are still important. Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Morais, Capinan and Edu Lobo occupy respectively the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th positions, while Erasmo Carlos and Roberto Carlos occupy the 7th and 8th positions.
8 - Discussion and Conclusion

Along this paper we aimed to show that Identity, especially “Relational Identity” is not fixed in time. As interpreters evolve in their careers, they seek diversification of repertoire, which brings modification in their relationships, both to peer interpreters and to composers, the source of songs. This diversification will provide to the interpreter a unique identity, which will be key for her career advancement.

Nonetheless, identity change poses a paradox: how is it possible to change an identity, while avoiding disruption with the Industry’s and public’s perception? Artists want to be unique, but at the same time they can not break entirely with their communities. Otherwise, they might become marginalized in the industry.

One solution, we suggest, is the gradual change in one’s identity. This happened with Elis Regina, who was strongly tied to the BN community, and slowly started to introduce new composers (including Gilberto Gil) to her repertoire. Another solution might be observed in the path chosen by Caetano Veloso. His change in repertoire was abrupt, once he adopted songs from JG, and occupied a structural hole left behind by BN/MPB and JG actors.

These two paths, Elis Regina´s and Caetano Veloso´s, suggest two ways how innovation might occur in artistic networks. The former, evolutionary and always legitimate, where small changes in repertoire yield a change in perceived identity in the long run. The later, revolutionary and in the outskirts of legitimacy, explores a structural hole and creates a hybrid style that could not be admitted before.

8.1 Future Research Opportunities

The insights observed in this research are limited due to its partial sample of interpreters and titles collected. Future research might benefit from expanding both the interpreters and LPs analyzes.

Furthermore, once the network becomes closer to the population, more advanced social network techniques might be applied, from block modeling to structural roles analyses.

From the composers´ network, it is possible to understand how actors’ structural hole measures evolve, vis-à-vis the evolution of styles.

Finally, the expansion of the sample to cover recent years might provide a better insight whether relational identities stay stable, vis-à-vis the formal identities attributed by music critics.

Attachments

Table 2: Number of LPs consulted by Interpreter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Interpreter</th>
<th>58-61</th>
<th>62-65</th>
<th>66-67</th>
<th>68-69</th>
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<tr>
<td>Carlos Lyra</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Caetano Veloso</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erasmo Carlos</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Edu Lobo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis Regina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gal Costa</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Gilberto</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Maria Bethania</td>
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<td>Nara Leão</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Roberto Carlos</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Jobim</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinicius de Morais</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanderlea</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
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</table>

Table 3: Network Evolution – Main Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Composers</th>
<th>Number of Ties</th>
<th>Density (Ties/Composer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58-61</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>10.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62-65</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1227</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-67</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68-69</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Freeman Centrality Degree for Selected Composers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>58-61</th>
<th>62-65</th>
<th>66-67</th>
<th>68-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caetano Veloso</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>176 (0.2%)</td>
<td>65 (0.4%)</td>
<td>1 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Jobim</td>
<td>2 (4.6%)</td>
<td>34 (0.6%)</td>
<td>5 (1.5%)</td>
<td>2 (2.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinicius de Morais</td>
<td>7 (2.7%)</td>
<td>2 (2.1%)</td>
<td>1 (3.3%)</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capinan</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>14 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (2.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilberto Gil</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>5 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edu Lobo</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4 (1.8%)</td>
<td>9 (1.2%)</td>
<td>6 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erasmo Carlos</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>6 (1.7%)</td>
<td>3 (1.8%)</td>
<td>7 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Carlos</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>7 (1.7%)</td>
<td>13 (1%)</td>
<td>8 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torquato Neto</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>8 (1.2%)</td>
<td>9 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronaldo Bôscoli</td>
<td>4 (3.6%)</td>
<td>212 (0.1%)</td>
<td>57 (0.5%)</td>
<td>10 (1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden Powell</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>12 (1.1%)</td>
<td>10 (1.1%)</td>
<td>11 (1.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chico Buarque</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4 (1.6%)</td>
<td>13 (1.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Centrality Share</td>
<td>Normalized Centrality</td>
<td>Share of Normalized Centrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Menescal</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>14 (1.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos Lyra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2 (4.2%)</td>
<td>7 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorival Caymmi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>18 (0.8%)</td>
<td>32 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos Imperial</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>6 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Gilberto</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>155 (0.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton Mendonça</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>225 (0.1%)</td>
<td>159 (0.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zé Keti</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
<td>9 (1.3%)</td>
<td>16 (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Rank in centrality (share of normalized centrality)

Source of LPs information
http://cliquemusic.uol.com.br/artistas

References


NOTES

1 “The third party profits”
2 We maintained the label “Baianos” together with Tropicália in order to integrate to this group Maria Bethania, sister of Caetano Veloso. She resisted to join the “Tropicalist” group as a way of avoiding being categorized as a member of any group.
3 Every time a composer appears, she receives a tie to herself and to peer composers.
4 The Freeman’s Degree Centrality measure is simply the number of ties to others. The normalized version of this measure divides simple degree by the maximum degree possible, which is usually N-1, yielding measure ranging from 0 to 1. See Wasserman and Faust (1994), pg. 178.