



## THE BLACK SAMBA SCHOOLS OF PERIPHERIES AND CARNIVAL HIERARCHY IN SÃO PAULO: DIFFICULT ACCESSES

**GLEUSON PINHEIRO SILVA**

Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo – Rua do Lago, 876 – Butantã, São Paulo - SP, 05508-080. Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo pela FAUUSP, Mestre em Arquitetura e Urbanismo pela FAUUSP  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8159-9240>  
[gleuson@alumni.usp.br](mailto:gleuson@alumni.usp.br)

Submitted on: 05/08/2020

Accepted Date: 15/02/2021

### ABSTRACT

This article proposes a reflection about the relationship between the location of the Samba Schools in the city of São Paulo and their position in the carnival hierarchy. It is considering the transformations that the Samba Schools carnival has undergone since the creation of the first carnival groups to the present day, passing through the institutionalization and incorporation in the official events of the city. It is observed that the important transformations of the carnival happened when the city experienced intense expansion of the urbanization and population growth and that the Samba Schools had an important role in the urbanity of the peripheries of the city.

Keywords: Carnival, Urban evolution, Peripheries

### RESUMO

Este artigo propõe uma reflexão sobre a relação entre a localização das agremiações carnavalescas da cidade de São Paulo e sua posição na hierarquia do carnaval, considerando as transformações pelas quais o carnaval de Escolas de Samba passou, desde a fundação dos primeiros cordões carnavalescos até a atualidade, passando pela institucionalização e incorporação nos eventos oficiais da cidade. Observa-se que os importantes marcos do carnaval aconteceram quando a cidade conheceu intensa expansão da mancha urbana e crescimento populacional e que as Escolas de Samba tiveram importante papel na urbanidade das periferias da cidade.

Palavras-chave: Carnaval, Evolução Urbana, Periferia



## INTRODUCTION

The genesis of São Paulo's samba dates back to the rhythms practiced by enslaved blacks in coffee plantations in the interior of the State of São Paulo. This population came to these plantations mainly during the 19th century, in the context of the international ban on the trafficking of enslaved Africans and the consequent increase in internal trafficking. They came mainly from sugar cane mills, which were in the process of de-cay, in the region now recognized as the Northeast (MARTINS, 2010).

At the end of the 19th century, the migration of blacks to urban centers intensified, due to the progressive replacement of black labor in coffee plantations. Thus, drumming was brought to the city of São Paulo. During the first decades of the 20th century, exchanges were preserved between samba musicians from the capital and those from the interior, especially in the festivities in Pirapora (MANZATTI, 2005, p. 57).

The massive arrival of blacks in the capital of São Paulo at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century contributed to the population and ethnic increase both in the traditional Afro-Brazilian territories, as well as in the future metropolis. While in Pirapora's festivities the celebration of the rhythmic tradition of the State of São Paulo was maintained, or of the musical manifestations that were still related to the rural environment. In the capital, in turn, transformations were introduced resulting from the new constituent references of the urban environment (SILVA, 2011, p. 78).

In addition, influences from the cultural manifestations of blacks in the city of Rio de Janeiro were assimilated, especially from groups that emerged in the then federal capital, mainly in the first two decades of the 20th century. Reports of visits to Rio de Janeiro and monitoring of carnival activities in that city are

recurrent in testimonies by pioneers of samba from São Paulo such as Dionísio Barbosa and Madrinha Eunice, members of the digital collection of the São Paulo Museum of Image and Sound (MIS). Dionísio Barbosa was the founder of the first carnival group in São Paulo that lasted, Grupo da Barra Funda, in 1914. Deolinda Madre, known as Madrinha Eunice, was the founder of the Baianas Teimosas block and, later, of the Lavapés Samba School, 1937.

Even after the abolition of slavery in 1888, and with the significant contingent of freed blacks in large urban centers, the various playful and recreational manifestations of the black population suffered repression. Eventually through demonstrations that denounced this oppressive situation, as in the case of the Caiapós<sup>1</sup> in São Paulo, or the Cacumbis<sup>2</sup>, the Zé Pereiras and, later, the Cordões (groups) in Rio de Janeiro.

Clóvis Moura (1980) refutes the casuistry argument as an interpretation for the emergence of black organizations:

*This tendency for blacks to organize did not come about by chance. Groups that identify themselves in class society by a stigma that society has imposed on them can, instead of seeking to escape this mark [author's emphasis], transform it into a positive heritage and organize themselves through an ethos created from the awareness of the difference that the privileged layers of an ethnically differentiated society establish (MOURA In: SINGER & BRANT, 1980, p. 144).*

In the city of São Paulo, at the beginning of the 20th century, it was common to organize meetings, parties and events, with emphasis on the organization of the Pilgrimage to Pirapora do Bom Jesus, to

<sup>1</sup> In this dramatic auto there would be an homage by the blacks to the indigenous tribes more resistant to Portuguese repression. It is also indicative of the indiscrimination between blacks and natives in colonial São Paulo (SIMSON, 2007).

<sup>2</sup>The Cacumbis were also constituted in a drama in which a shaman resurrected the son of the King of Congo (BRASIL, 2014).

maintain community integration or kinship among the newly arrived blacks from interior, (BRITTO, 1986; SIMSON, 2007). Generally, these events took place on the street, which, in addition to being a place for the work activities of a significant part of the black community, was also an important place of fellowship. On the situation of blacks on the street, Florestan Fernandes points out the difficulties faced by blacks in São Paulo, when compared to other capitals:

*As a rule, in the cities mentioned [Recife, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro], it was the services associated with urban handicraft that gave the freedman conditions for economic and social ascension. (...) [In São Paulo] When the city's economic growth accelerated, still at the end of the 19th century, all the strategic positions of the artisanal economy and urban commerce were monopolized by whites and served as a springboard for the sudden changes in fortune that brighten up many foreign families" (FERNANDES, 2008, e-book).*

Thus, the foundation of the first carnival associations was also linked to these festive events and black matriarchs played an important role in them. These women, generally responsible for the sustenance of their families, were fundamental for the organization of the first associations. This is because, many times, they offered their homes for meet-ings and rehearsals, or even organized parties in the streets of their homes, and a considerable part of the funding depended on them<sup>3</sup>. In the post-abolition period, it was common for black families to be led by women. Who were more easily employed in house-work, with greater security of remuneration, when compared to men, for whom “odd jobs, small cargo services, repairing roofs, scraping floorboards, fixing gutters, to do these things as a sporadic job” were available (SIMISON 2007; FERNANDES, 2008).

It is also important to mention the relationship between the practice of soccer and the foundation of the first associations, a relationship that will last throughout the history of samba in São Paulo. The practice of soccer was also an important alternative for leisure and socializing for blacks and the samba circles on the edge of the fields were also where the “batuques” of the associations were formed (DOMINGUES, 2013).

In the 1930s, carnival associations gained significant prestige based on the policy of promoting national identity, including some Afro-Brazilian cultural manifestations. In the 1930s, carnival associations gained significant prestige based on the policy of promoting national identity, including some Afro-Brazilian cultural manifestations. In this context, the Carnival of Samba Schools in Rio de Janeiro was publicized on a national scale. Thus, when the São Paulo manifestations resembled the Rio model, they also enjoyed a certain prestige.

The persistence of the samba musicians, the achievement of prestige and the reduction of restrictions on the holding of parades were consolidated with the institutionalization of the carnival contest in 1968. The public subsidy became an attraction and stimulus for the proliferation of associations. Thus, this type of event, characteristic and even stigma-tized as typical of the black population, began to be disputed by other social strata.

Next, we present a periodization of the foundation of the associations, according to some important facts of the São Paulo carnival, superimposed on the urban expansion of the metropolis of São Paulo in the 20th century. Considering that several carnival associations were created had a short duration, these maps contemplate the associations founded and that have remained until the present day. The exception are

---

<sup>3</sup> Madrinha Eunice, in a statement, reported that she worked, from January until Carnival, at the 4 fruit stands she had in Praça da Sé only to finance the Lavapés Samba School. (TV CULTURA, 2007).

some associations that marked an era, such as Cordão Campos Elyseos. Which during its existence, due to its importance, shared the leading role of the period with the Barra Funda Group (Camisa Verde e Branco), and the Escola de Samba Primeira de São Paulo – first association founded as Samba School in the city.

This mapping considered the groups (professors of the Samba Schools), the Samba Schools themselves and those currently called Blocks of Fantasy, which are associations similar to the Samba Schools, but smaller and with different assessment rules in the carnival contest. According to the interest of this article, Blocks of Fantasy have the same kind of connection with the localities in which they are based.

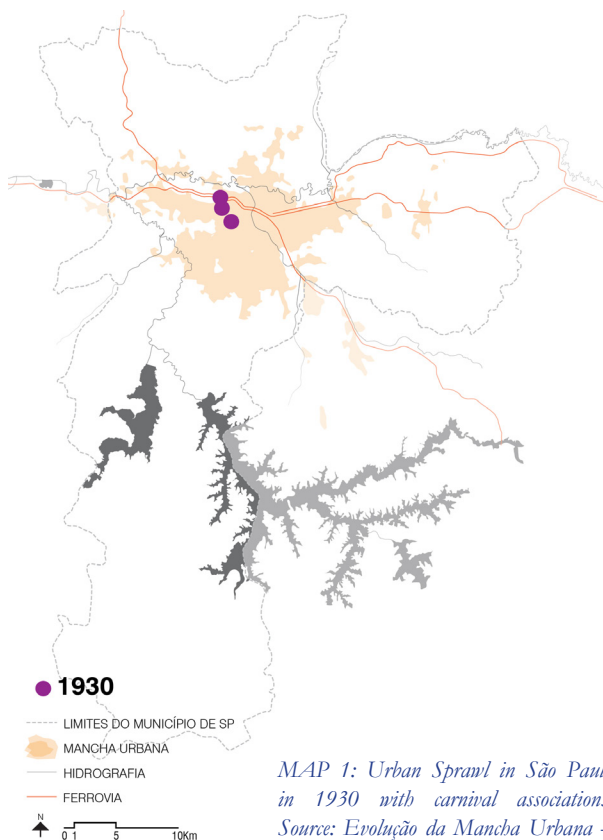
Carnival associations and the expanding metropolis.

In 1914, the first carnival group that managed to consolidate itself was founded, the Barra Funda Group, which would give rise to the Camisa Verde e Branco Samba School. Until the 1930s, associations emerged

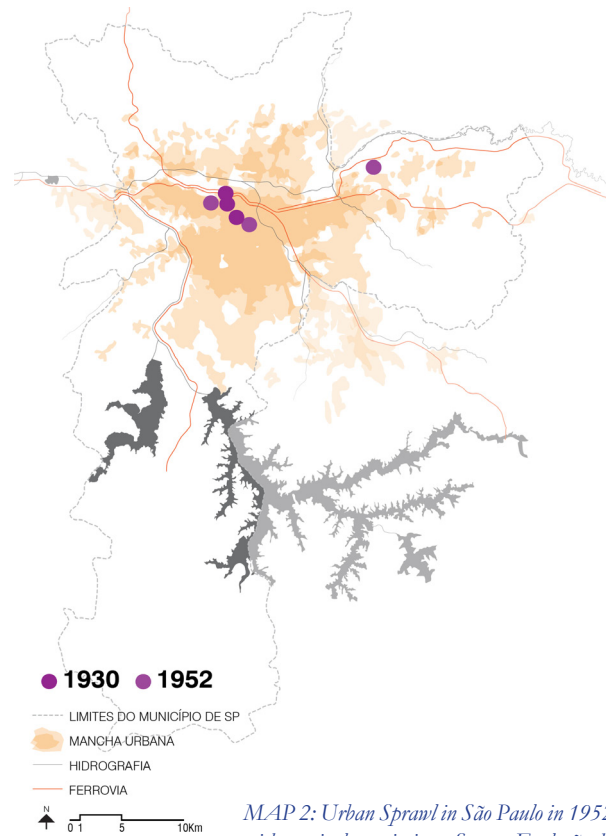
mainly linked to the old territories that concentrated the black population near downtown.

During this period, São Paulo underwent urban transformations that aimed to resemble the city to European capitals, as a demonstration of the modernity and strength of the coffee economy. In this context, works began such as the Sé Cathedral, started in 1913, and the remodeling of the Vale do Anhangabaú, from 1915. The city, which registered 240,000 inhabitants in the 1900 census, had around 579,000 in 1920 (IBGE).

Urban policies in the first decades of the 20th century, in the context of this desired modernity for the city, contributed to the expulsion of social strata considered inadequate for the imagined urban development, which primarily included blacks. Thus, these policies dealt not only with expelling unwanted populations from central areas, but also with eliminating the spaces and buildings in which they developed their activities (ROLNIK, 1997, p. 106).



MAP 1: *Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 1930 with carnival associations.* Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana – CESAD FAUUSP.*



MAP 2: *Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 1952 with carnival associations.* Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana – CESAD FAUUSP.*

Thus, the carnival activities of black associations were allowed through negotiations between the leaders of the groups and the various authorities in the city, especially the police, with special presentations being common in front of the residences of these authorities (SIMSON, 2007).

In the 1910s, several carnival groups emerged, but which, given the repression and other difficulties faced, were unable to remain active. During this period, two more structured groups lasted and shared the protagonism: the Barra Funda Group (Camisa Verde e Branco) and the Campos Elyseos Group (CUÍCA & DOMINGUES, 2009; DOMINGUES, 2013).

From 1930 onwards, the groups had a rapid growth, influenced by the carnival activity of blacks in the then federal capital, which was in evidence and reflected in the media, especially on the radio (CABRAL, 1998; SIMSON, 2007). In 1930, Vai-Vai Group was founded, which would also come to rival the two leading groups until then. The three pioneering associations were linked to the regions of the city where there was still a significant black presence: Barra Funda and Bixiga.

In the 1930s, for three years, there was support from the municipal administration for the organization of the contest of carnival associations in São Paulo. Late January and February 1935 issues of the *Correio Paulistano* present the call for entries for a contest of “blocks, groups and ranchos” with prizes, promoted by the newspaper and by the “Official Commission”. A 1937 issue spoke of the “sponsorship” of the municipality by its Department of Culture. (CORREIO PAULISTANO, 25-01-1937).

From the 1940s, with the expansion of the city, in the then peripheral neighborhoods of the north and east, carnival associations were created related to the black population that left the central region, moving to these localities. Even with this dispersion in the territory, contacts remained between the black community through community parties (especially those celebrating May 13), meetings in the Race Halls and through carnival associations, until the mid-1950s.

Since the 1920s, black boys and girls from the various neighborhoods of the city formed friendships at the balls at the race halls in downtown. Thus, they ended up forming small groups to have fun in Cidade da Folia or in Shanghai Park, to organize pilgrimages to Pirapora do Bom Jesus, or even on Carnival (...). This most common leisure, held in the most central area of the city of São Paulo, gave young black people, regardless of the neighborhood or suburb in which they lived, the feeling of belonging to something broader than their own family or community of origin. It allowed them to build solid bonds of friendship and cooperation, in addition to a certain knowledge and mastery of the city's central area, making them less suburban than many of their neighbors with immigrant backgrounds (SIMSON, 2007, p. 211).

According to the 1940 census, the municipality had 1,326,261 inhabitants, an increase of almost 230% in 20 years. In addition to the blacks who left the central region of the city, large populations who arrived in São Paulo, mainly from 1940 onwards, massively occupied the new outskirts of the city. Thus, the Samba Schools represented sociability for the black population expelled from the central areas and for these migrants.

In 1952, the city expanded into new peripheral neighborhoods, mainly to the north, east and south. The first junctions of the city of São Paulo with neighboring cities to the west, northeast and southeast were already established.

Nenê de Vila Matilde was the precursor of a change that marked the emergence of new associations from then on. Founded by a group of samba friends led by Alberto Alves da Silva, Seu Nenê – a migrant from the state of Minas Gerais – the association emerged linked to the meetings of samba musicians in Largo do Peixe (Vila Matilde) and to the Vila Esperança carnival, which would become one of the most traditional in the city (SIMSON, 2007; CUÍCA & DOMINGUES, 2009). Thus, the association emerged fundamentally linked to the establishment of black territoriality on the outskirts of the city. Therefore, it did not emerge linked only to the movement of samba musicians from central black territories to the peripheries.



The population influx to the city of São Paulo, notoriously intense in the 1950s and 1960s, gave rise to new neighborhoods and brought together new residents from the most diverse origins. From those who moved through the city itself, among whom so many expelled from the central areas in the process of verticalization, as well as migrants (from the interior of São Paulo, from neighboring states, from the North and Northeast). As in the previous case, in this rearticulation on the outskirts of the city there was an intensification of contacts and an “exchange”, even if involuntary, between various musical forms: the samba musicians came into direct contact with cocos, baiões, emboladas and other creations from the North and Northeast; and vice versa. (SILVA, 2011, p.87).

*The institutionalization was decisive for the significant increase in the number of Carnival Schools and Blocks. However, one must also consider the intensification of city expansion, demographic explosion and migration in this period (FERRARI, 2005; FONTES, 2008). Which also demanded the foundation of several new leisure and sociability institutions in these new neighborhoods.*

After the institutionalization, a large part of the new associations emerged unrelated to the neighborhoods where the black population was present. In this context, there was the foundation of associations led by white segments with greater dialogue with the government and with greater capacity to attract extra resources through private sponsors. These Schools even had facilities in conquering privileged spaces and locations, which allowed them to explore their rehearsals more profitably. According to Geraldo Filme<sup>4</sup>, institutionalization was crucial for the approximation and incorporation of white elements in the associations, in a significant way, and for black people to cease to be, necessarily, the predominant contingent.

Their penetration [of the whites] began exactly in 68. With the institutionalization. They started to feel... The students started going to samba; they started to go to a samba circle, a court (...). At the Peruche, at the time, I always worked with Plínio Marcos, (...) so the students already went there to the Peruche (GERALDO FILME, ACERVO MIS, 1981).

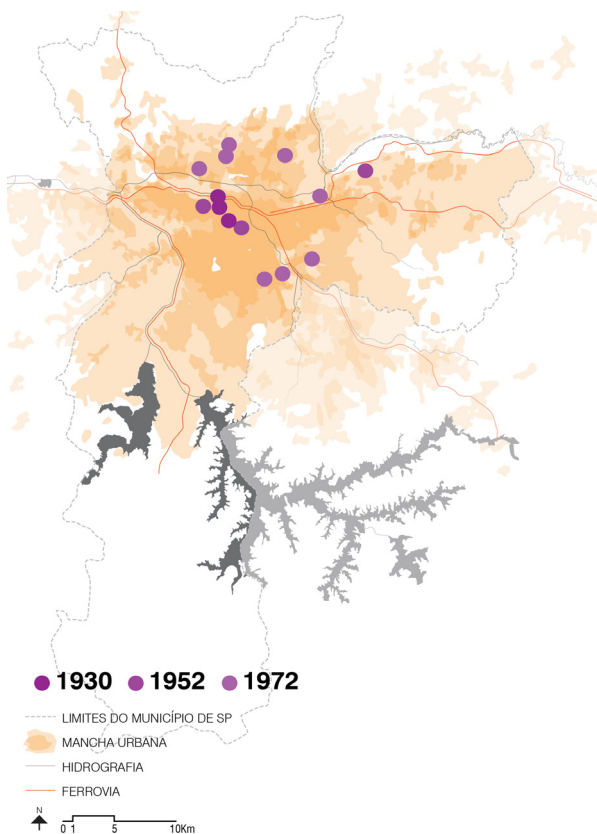
The attendance of university students at the samba schools also expressed social changes the country was going through. These university students were part of “a new middle class that was part of the expanding Brazilian higher education system”, interested in “popular artistic manifestations” in a counterpoint behavior to US imperialism, common to “large part of the leftist spectrum” (FERNANDES, 2010, p. 155).

Thus, institutionalization had ambiguous meanings. On the one hand, it represented the recognition of the activity of samba musicians by the State. Thus, the allocation of the subsidy removed the associations from a marginal condition and, at the same time, attracted other segments of society to the samba school carnival. On the other hand, it marked the moment when institutions typical of blacks became attractive to the white population.

In 1970, the municipality of São Paulo had 5,924,615 inhabitants, which corresponded to an increase of around 150% of the city’s population in a decade (IBGE). In 1972, the metropolitan area was already established with the junction of the municipality of São Paulo with its neighbors in all directions, except to the north – due to the natural barrier of the Serra da Cantareira – and to the south due to the barriers constituted by the Serra do Mar. The extreme south region where the districts of Parelheiros and Masilac are currently located – with the lowest urbanization in the municipality – have been protected by environmental legislation since 1975<sup>5</sup>. Along the intense expansion

<sup>4</sup> Geraldo Filme (1927-1995) was a samba musician from São Paulo. In his compositions and testimonies, he recorded his passage through the various samba spaces in the city. “His lyrics allow us to understand popular culture of Afro-descendant matrix as an intrinsic part of everyday life” (SIQUEIRA, 2019, p.15)

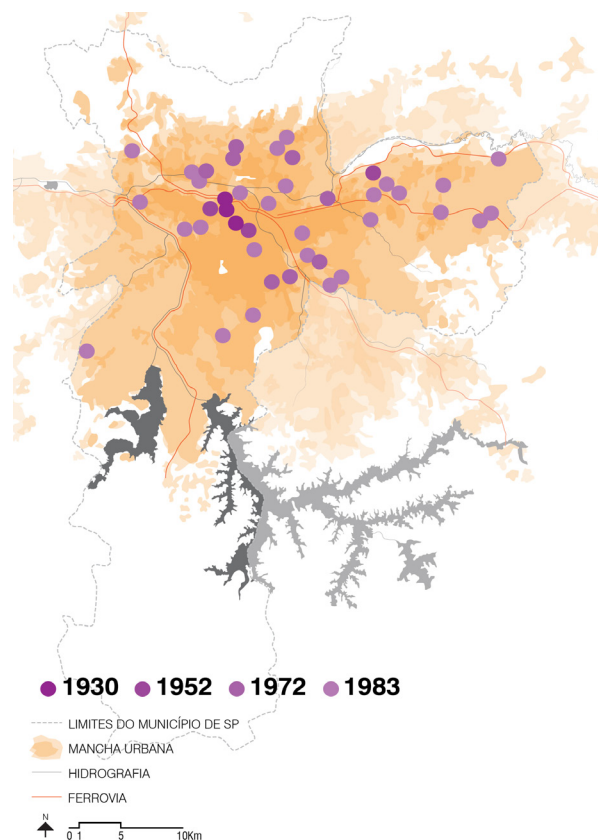
<sup>5</sup> Diário Oficial do Estado de São Paulo: <http://dobuscadireta.imprensaoficial.com.br/default.aspx?DataPublicacao=19751219&Caderno=Poder%20Executivo&NumeroPagina=1>.



MAP 3: *Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 1972 with carnival associations.*  
 Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana – CESAD FAUUSP.*

of the city in other directions, it is possible to make some considerations about the slowdown of the expansion towards the south: a) the expansion based on road transport took place in the directions in which communication was established with a neighboring municipality and the Serra do Mar impeded the feasibility of this communication with the neighbors of the Baixada Santista region; b) the establishment of Interlagos as a district for the elites, for a period, blocked the occupation of the region by the popular classes.

New associations were founded in the northern, eastern and southwestern outskirts, indicating the expansion of the black population in the various regions of the city. Associations in the northern region such as Vila Maria, Morro da Casa Verde, Unidos do Peruche and Acadêmicos do Tatuapé represented the consolidation of these areas of the city, which were no longer peripheries and become regional centers.



MAP 4: *Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 1983 with carnival associations.*  
 Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana – CESAD FAUUSP.*

In addition, during the 1960s, the occupations of Ipiranga and Vila Prudente were consolidated, mainly near the Tamanduateí River and its tributaries. Furthermore, the map shows that new associations were founded in addition to the neighborhoods of Cambuci, Belém and Brás, neighborhoods that, in that period, still had many factories. In turn, no association was headquartered in the west and southwest regions, vectors of expansion occupied mainly by the middle and upper classes of the city.

In 1983, there was already an intense occupation of the outskirts, which had expanded strongly from the 1970s onwards. The urban sprawl approached the current occupation within the city of São Paulo and from then on would undergo a great densification. During this period, housing complexes were inaugurated in Cidade Tiradentes, inducing urbanization in one of the last areas of semi-rural occupation in the east of

the city. Thus, the eastern region reached the limits of the municipality and completed the junction with all neighbors on that side of the metropolis.

The main regions where associations emerged were to the east, along the railroad axis, and to the southeast, along the Tamanduateí axis, branching towards Vila Prudente and Jabaquara. However, associations emerged, including towards the west, which gave the dimension of the change of context in that period. Neighborhoods such as Vila Madalena (where there was a significant black population) and Sumaré started to host Samba Schools. In addition, in 1979, a first association emerged on the periphery of the southwest region. There was also a concentration of new associations in the northwestern and southern outskirts (in the region of Jabaquara), according to the two vectors of urban expansion in the two possible directions for expansion in the Municipality of São Paulo.

The urban sprawl had already reached the municipal limits to the east and west, leaving only north and south as a possibility for expansion. A complex network of popular organizations emerged, arising from the achievements of the Base Movements, as well as the State's responses to questions about the pattern of peripheral expansion (BARONE, 2013). It was a moment in which the accentuation of inequalities within the periphery itself was also identified – until then, seen as unequal in relation to the city with infrastructure, in a more or less hegemonic way. This peripheral inequality characterizes what Marques and Torres (2001) called “Hyperperiphery”.

In the mid-1980s, the first group's carnival parades began to be broadcast on television. With this, with the arrival of the television resource, the inequalities between the first group and the other divisions of the carnival were accentuated. The difficulties of the associations in the extreme periphery to gain access to the first groups were also accentuated, making the relationship between the peripheral location and the permanence in the last divisions of the carnival more evident.

The 1990s presented important developments for the transformation of the Samba School parades. Since the beginning of the first group's television transmissions in São Paulo, in 1984, the demand for a space prepared to receive the TV infrastructure has intensified. In addition, the experience of building the sambadromes in Rio de Janeiro (1984) would be reproduced in other capitals that also had Samba School parades, such as Vitória (1987), Manaus (1994) and Porto Alegre (2004).

The shift from street parades to sambadromes marked a distance between the Samba Schools of the first divisions and the city, as well as an increase in inequalities between the schools of the first group and the other divisions. The schools in the Special Group, which already concentrated the funds for broadcasting rights and the sponsorships resulting from the television exposure, began to be able to explore a space with more adequate infrastructure, including for the completion of allegories and ornaments before the parades. In turn, the associations of the last divisions fought in search of spaces for re-hearsals and the making of the allegories and ornaments for the parades.

The Anhembi Sambadrome was inaugurated in 1991, with the parade of the Special Group, on a still unfinished catwalk that suffered from the rains on the days of the parade. In the words of Maria Aparecida Urbano, in an interview with Belo (2008):

*(...) samba was played at Anhembi. Because there was a flood-plain. An empty land was of no value. It was excluded terrain. Marginal. Thus, on this Marginal, that huge building was built for exhibitions, that's all. Up ahead there, there was nothing.*

*So, let us get all those blacks there. So what did they do? They made a catwalk. That was in the government of Erundina. Fortunately! Because we were asking for so much. When the Anhangabaú was renovated, we intended it to be there, to have a large space for schools to parade during carnival, and after that period all this space would be free. No, but in downtown this will get in the way, so, let us put it there. Nobody thought that there are no*



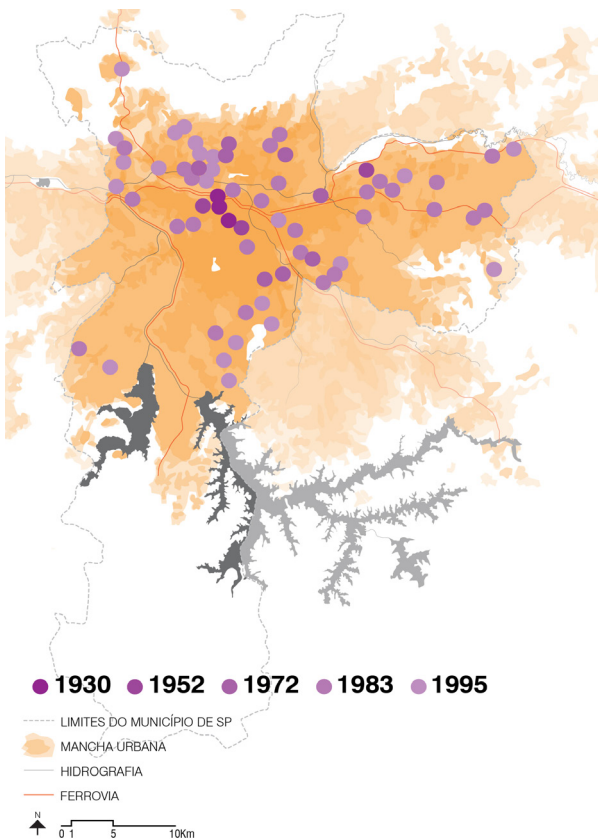
*buses there, there is no transport, no way, access is difficult. There is no bar, no cafeteria, nothing there. However, thankfully, we got this space* (URBANO apud BELO, 2008).

In the 2000s, there was a stabilization of the urban sprawl while the densification continued. There was a reorganization in the city's growth mode, as until then, the peripheral districts led the city's population growth. From the 2000s onwards, districts closer to downtown, and which until then had a negative growth rate, also appearing in the first positions of growth ((DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUSES 1990 and 2001).

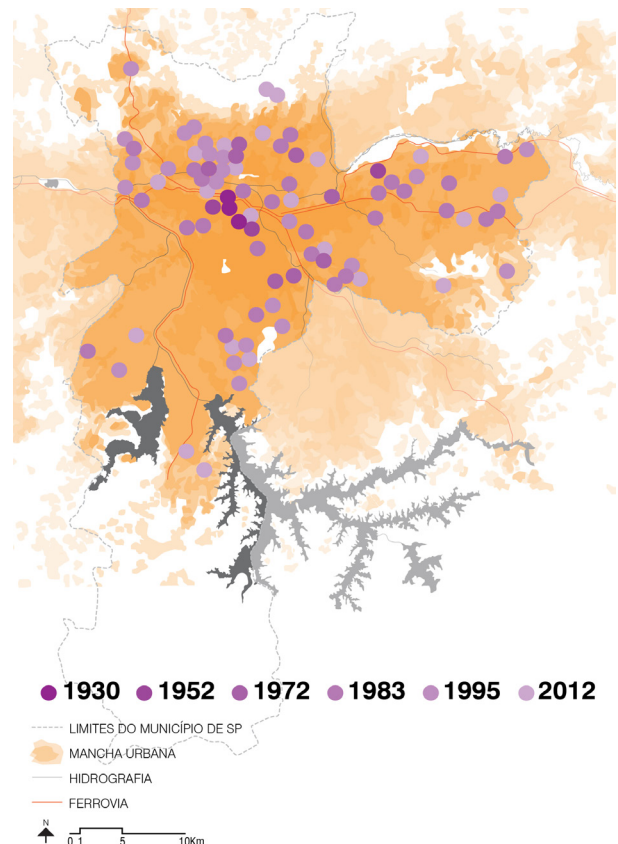
Most of the new associations were created on the outskirts, mainly in the north, east and southeast. There was a large concentration of Schools and Blocks in the region of the Casa Verde, Limão and Freguesia do Ó. Many of them as dissent from traditional asso-

ciations, indicating the strength of black culture based on samba in this region of the city. In the eastern region, the few associations that emerged continued to be located, mainly, along the oldest axis of expansion in the region, the two railway branches. To the southeast, the associations were distributed close to the axis of the Tamanduateí River, penetrating from Vila Prudente. To the south, they follow the vector from Ipiranga towards Jabaquara.

Thus, it is possible to verify that the distribution of carnival associations in the city was not spread out, but concentrated in some vectors. To the east, they followed the oldest expansion vector in this region, constituted by the railways. The southwest vector appears as secondary, from Brás, towards Mooca and Vila Prudente. Towards the south, they were concentrated mainly on the Ipiranga-Jabaquara axis. This region, especially in the vicinity of the neighboring



MAP 5: Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 1995 with carnival associations. Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana* – CESAD FAUUSP.



MAP 6: Urban Sprawl in São Paulo in 2012 with carnival associations. Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana* – CESAD FAUUSP.

municipality Diadema, is characterized by low-income neighborhoods with a lot of infrastructure needs. In recent years, some associations have emerged in the extreme south and southwest. Finally, the northern region has the greatest density of carnival associations and, as it does not have a major axis that ordered the occupation – complex connecting the Anchieta highway to the south –, the associations are concentrated in the region of the Casa Verde and Limão, towards the Brasilândia. Even so, it has several associations distributed throughout its districts.

Close to downtown and in the first divisions, on the outskirts and away from the first groups.

Currently, the Carnival of Samba Schools in São Paulo has seven divisions, the first three being gathered in the League of Samba Schools (Liga), which parades in the sambadrome. The others, gathered at the Union of the Samba Schools of São Paulo (UESP), parade in the so-called Neighborhood Carnival, which currently takes place at the Bu-tantã and Vila Esperança:

- Special Group
- Access Group 1 (League)
- Access Group 2 (League)
- Special Group of Neighborhoods (UESP)
- Access Group 1 of Neighborhoods (UESP)
- Access Group 2 of Neighborhoods (UESP)
- Access Group 3 of Neighborhoods (UESP)

Until Carnival 2017, UESP was responsible for Group I (current Access 2), the only group of the entity that paraded in the Anhembi Sambadrome. The migration of schools from this group from the UESP to the League was mainly justified by the negotiations regarding the privatization of the Anhembi Complex and the supposed need for the future concessionaire to dialogue with only one entity representing the Samba Schools (PORTAL SRZD CARNAVAL: <https://www.srzd.com/carnaval/sao-paulo/mudanca-estrutural-no-carnaval-de-sp-liga-incorpora-grupo-1-da-uesp-agora-acesso-2/>).

The groups coordinated by the UESP concentrate most of the Samba Schools located in the most remote neighborhoods of the city. In these remote neighborhoods, the role of associations is different from that observed in more consolidated neighborhoods with better infrastructure and investment conditions. Frangiotti (2007), studying the Samba School Valença Perus, on the northern outskirts of the city, points out that the School's activities are not limited to actions related to carnival, but are also part of assistance programs: at the time of the research, Valença was registered as a distribution point for the milk supply program of the state:

*The president of Valença requested participation in the program, giving the space on the court, as there are many needy families in the neighborhood and the School, being in a central location, facilitates people's access. School receives the milk and stores it in the bar's freezer (FRANGIOTTI, 2007, p.50).*

The association occupied a public area under a viaduct in the center of Perus and, despite the irregular land tenure situation, covered a deficiency or lack of physical structure of the State Government in the locality (FRANGIOTTI, 2007, p.40-1).

This example of the Valença illustrates the recurrence of irregular land tenure situation by the Samba Schools, despite the conquest of regular state subsidy:

*For example, of the 14 schools in the special group, nine occupy public areas with their courts; in the case of sheds, only one is installed in a private area. The Access Group [second group] is not very different, but it is already beginning to reveal a harsh reality that becomes even more serious when groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 are analyzed. Of the eight schools, six have their courts in public areas, one pays rent and one does not have a court, which complicates the dispute. In the lower categories, there are few cases of schools with courts and sheds (CENSO DO SAMBA PAULISTANO, 2014, p.27).*

The associations that somehow have a rehearsal court and can develop activities that allow them not to depend only on the subsidy, find it easier to ascend within the hierarchy of the carnival, even though they are far from the more central neighborhoods.

This is the case of the Samba School Estrela do Terceiro Milênio, founded in 1998 in the Grajaú neighborhood. The association, which has Milton Leite as its patron (current president of the City Council of São Paulo), achieved a rapid rise within the divisions of the São Paulo carnival today it is in Access Group 1. The School has a large court for rehearsals and political force, due to the presence of the councilor on its team. However, the existence of an association in the first divisions with headquarters so far from the sambadrome is an exception in the São Paulo carnival.

The parades in Vila Esperança are held on Avenida Alvinópolis, next to the Vila Matilde subway station, which has several bus lines, both on Alvinópolis Avenue and on the side of the Radial Leste. Anhembi Sambadrome, in turn, is about 2 km from Tietê subway station and only two bus lines run along Olavo Fontoura Avenue (access to the sambadrome). However, on parade days, the avenue is closed. Due to the distance and isolation, in the sambadrome, there are also difficulties in the consumption of drinks and food. Those who attend the parades are limited to consumption in the complex's internal stores. In the parades in the neighborhood, there is the proximity of bars, bakeries and food stands in the surroundings.

Although far from the focus of the media, the parades of UESP groups mobilize a large number of members and provide visibility to the Samba Schools in the peripheral neighborhoods where they are held. Even if from a different perspective from the media spectacle character of the Special Group.

It is also possible to analyze the inequality between the associations from a racial perspective. We can

consider that the definition of the Black Samba School is not restricted to its link to traditionally identified black territories, nor is it limited to a quantitative analysis of the number of black members, nor to the theme of black identity in its artistic production. The Black Samba School is a possible identification for the associations that are still structured by the feeling of community. Which were able to organize themselves or can maintain themselves as a place of experience and sociability in their respective locations. They are in opposition to all the Samba Schools founded under the aegis of the institutionalization of carnival, in 1968<sup>6</sup>, of the public promotion of events through the distribution of resources, and of broadcasting on television, from the mid-1980s onwards.

Of the central neighborhoods, traditionally recognized as a black stronghold – Barra Funda, Bixiga and Glicério –, only the first two have maintained associations in the first divisions of carnival (Vai-Vai and Camisa Verde e Branco). Even so, for a few years Camisa Verde e Branco has been in the second division and has not been able to return to the first group and Vai-Vai fell for the first time in its history to the second division in 2019. Glicério's association, Lavapés, since the 1980s, has occupied the last divisions of the carnival.

We can also distinguish the group of older and more traditional associations, linked to the black community, in which we would include – in addition to the Vai-Vai and the Camisa Verde e Branco, the Unidos do Peruche and the Morro da Casa Verde. In this context, from the 2000s onwards, the Nenê de Vila Matilde, Camisa Verde e Branco, Unidos do Peruche and Morro da Casa Verde began to have difficulties in staying in the first group. The Nenê de Vila Matilde, from the 2010s onwards, also began to have difficulties.

At the same time, associations founded after institutionalization, structured around other social segments – not necessarily from communities or neighborhoods with a black presence – have dominated the first group. Evidently, just as Vai-Vai's

---

<sup>6</sup> Although, as we have seen, the struggle for institutionalization was an agenda for samba musicians and black Samba Schools.

position in the first group, including winning some championships in recent years, does not allow generalizing the situation of crisis of associations that could be classified as black. Likewise, there are several associations after institutionalization that also find it difficult to remain in the first divisions.

Even so, it is possible to observe that the schools that have achieved the greatest sponsorship and investments for the making of the allegories and ornaments for the parades and, consequently, more visibility in the media, are precisely the associations not linked to black communities. This allows us to state that the Vai-Vai situation in the first group is an exception.

Thus, we can conclude that the decline of black associations within the carnival hierarchy was a slow process, mainly due to the resilience of the Vai-Vai, the Nenê de Vila Matilde and the Camisa Verde e Branco. This process took the 1990s and 2000s. This process took place during the 1990s and 2000s. In turn, the rise of the new 'white' associations, comparatively, was a much faster process, which took place during the 1970s and early 1980s.

When we look at the maps of the schools in the first group (Special Group) and the last group (Access 3 of

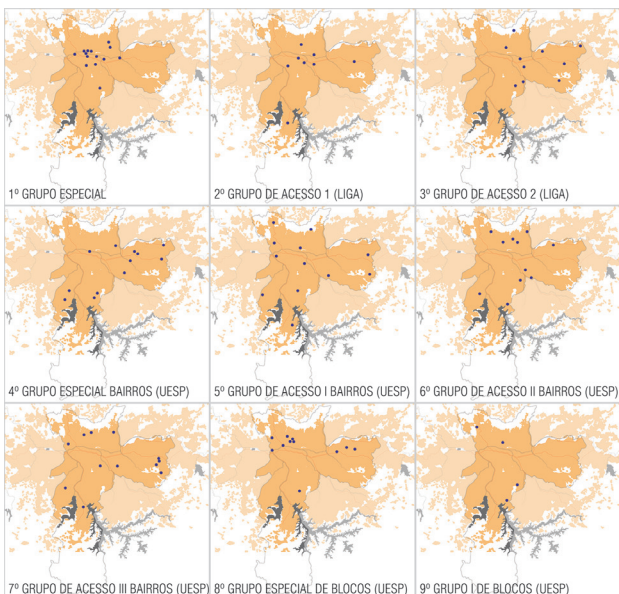


Figure 1: Location of carnival associations in the city by carnival division. Source: *Evolução da Mancha Urbana* – CESAD FAUUSP.

Neighborhoods), the separation between downtown and periphery is evidenced. The schools in the first group, in general, are closer to each other, concentrated mainly in the neighborhoods of the west and north zones, on the banks of the Tietê River. In turn, the associations of the last group are located mainly in neighborhoods on the extreme periphery.

The sixth group, Access 2 of Neighborhoods, is the only one that goes against the logic of locating the associations in the last divisions. However, the two points that appear located in the central region are two very special cases. One of them is the Lavapés Samba School, one of the oldest associations in the city, destructured after many black residents of Glicério left it, who founded new associations in the new outskirts of the city where they went to live. The other is the Primeira da Aclimação Samba School, founded in 1980 and which was few times in the first groups of the carnival. The so-called Blocks of Fantasy are also found on the outskirts, except for some located in the north zone, near the Tietê River.

Therefore, we can conclude that associations located on the outskirts of the city pre-dominantly constitute the last divisions of the carnival. As already mentioned, these associations played an important role in the urbanity of these locations, resulting from the intense expansion of the metropolis, especially in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. In turn, most of the associations of the first groups, which also emerged in this period of rapid growth in the city, are those located in the more structured neighborhoods and that managed to benefit more from the transformations that took place during the carnival, from its institutionalization.

## REFERENCES

### COLLECTIONS:

ACERVO DIGITAL BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL – HEMEROTECA DIGITAL: <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>.

ACERVO SASP - SOCIEDADE AMANTES DO SAMBA PAULISTA: [http://www.carnavalpaulistano.com.br/A\\_CARNAVAIS.asp#.XytDyChKjDc](http://www.carnavalpaulistano.com.br/A_CARNAVAIS.asp#.XytDyChKjDc).



## INTERVIEWS:

Memória do carnaval paulista: Entrevista de Geraldo Filme de Souza. FARO, C. F.; SIMSON, O. V.; PUTTEMAN, P. M. Audio acervo MIS. São Paulo, 1981.

Samba à Paulista: fragmentos de uma história esquecida. Parte 1, 48:12min., TV Cultu-ra – Fundação Padre Anchieta, São Paulo, 2007.

Samba à Paulista: fragmentos de uma história esquecida. Parte 2, 48:35min., TV Cultura – Fundação Padre Anchieta, São Paulo, 2007.

Samba à Paulista: fragmentos de uma história esquecida. Parte 3, 48:43min., TV Cultu-ra – Fundação Padre Anchieta, São Paulo, 2007.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BARONE, Ana Claudia C. Periferia como questão: São Paulo na década de 1970. Re-vista da Pós, São Paulo, v.20, n.33, jun/2013, p.64-80.

DOI:<https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2317-2762.v20i33p64-85>.

BELO, Vanir de Lima. O enredo do carnaval nos enredos da cidade: dinâmica territorial das Escolas de Samba em São Paulo. 2008. 215p. Dissertação (Mestrado em Geografia) - FFLCH USP, São Paulo. 2008.

BRITTO, Ieda Marques. Samba na cidade de São Paulo (1900-1930): um exercício de resistência cultural. São Paulo: FFLCH-USP, 1986. 114p.

CABRAL, Muniz Sodré. Samba, o dono do corpo. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 1998. 111p.

CENSO DO SAMBA PAULISTANO 3ª Ed. São Paulo: São Paulo Turismo, 2014. 136p.

CUÍCA, Osvaldinho e DOMINGUES, André. Os batuqueiros da Paulicéia: Enredo do samba de São Paulo. São Paulo: Editora Bracarolla, 2009. 230p.

DOMINGUES, Petrônio. O “tríduo da loucura”: Campos Elyseos e o carnaval afro-diaspórico. Revista Tempo, Niterói, v. 19, n.35, dez/2013, p. 117-142.

DOI: 10.5533/TEM-1980-542X-2013173508

FERNANDES, Dmitri Cerboncini. A inteligência da Música Popular. A “autenticidade” no samba e no choro. 2010. 414p. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia). São Paulo: FFLCH-USP, 2010.

FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do Negro na sociedade de classes: o legado da “raça branca”, volume 1 – (5ª edição), São Paulo: Globo, 2008. 440p.

FRANGIOTTI, Nanci. O espaço do carnaval na cidade de São Paulo. 2007. 125p. Dissertação (Mestrado em Geografia) – FFLCH USP, São Paulo, 2007.

MANZATTI, Marcelo Simon. Samba Paulista, do centro cafeeiro à periferia do centro: estudo sobre o Samba de Bumbo ou samba Rural Paulista. 2005. 377p. Dissertação (Mestrado em Ciências Sociais) – PUC SP, São Paulo, 2005.

MARQUES, E. C.; TORRES, H. G. Reflexões sobre a Hiperperiferia: Novas e velhas faces da pobreza no entorno municipal. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos, Rio de Janeiro, n° 4, mai/2001, p.49-70. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22296/2317-1529.2001n4p49>.

MARTINS, José de Souza. O Cativo da Terra. São Paulo: Contexto, 2010. 288p.

MOURA, Clóvis. Organizações negras, In: SINGER, Paul; BRANT, Vinicius Caldeira. (Orgs.). São Paulo: o povo em movimento, Petrópolis, Vozes/Cebrap, 1980.

ROLNIK, Raquel. A cidade e a Lei: legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo. São Paulo: FAPESP: Studio Nobel, 1997. 242p.

SILVA, Marcos Virgílio da. Debaixo do ‘progrêssio’: Urbanização, Cultura e Experiência Popular em João Rubinato e outros sambistas paulistanos (1951-1969). 2011. 287p. Tese (Doutorado em Arquitetura e Urbanismo) – FAU USP, São Paulo, 2011.

