
THE AUTHORITY OF PLANNERS AS SEEN BY THE COMMON POPULATION: REPRESENTATIONS IN POPULAR MUSIC (SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL)

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This paper aims at examining the images and discourses related to urban planners or managers as seen by the common population, especially the poorer inhabitants of the city of São Paulo (Brazil) during the 1950's and 1960's. The general purpose is to establish a contrast between the usually celebrated image of urban planners as professionals devoted to the "common good" and the popular perception that they often adopt an authoritarian approach towards the people, their lifestyles or identity places. The study examines a series of popular songs recorded during the period and, by means of a discourse analysis of their lyrics, investigates the representations of the urban authorities found in popular music. The songs can illustrate the forms by which the population dealt with the authority of State in situations of urban reforms and resettlement. The main finding of the study is that, for most of the "ordinary people", the planner is simply an authority to which the inhabitants must submit. In addition, the transformations of the city means frequently the loss of places of memory, sociability and identity, since the small, local features of a place are usually disregarded in favour of a large-scale view of city management.

Keywords

São Paulo (Brazil), urban planner, urbanization, popular music, social representations

How to Cite

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INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at examining the images related to urban planners or managers as seen by the common population during the 1950's and 1960's, and the popular perception that urban planners often adopt an authoritarian approach towards the people, their lifestyles or identity places – in contrast with the usually celebrated image of as professionals devoted to the common good¹. Here, there has been examined three different aspects of these mediations: the general political context that have induced people to this submissive treatment given to the authorities; the ways in which the discourse of law and authority had been incorporated by the population in their own conflicts in informal codes of conduct; and finally as authority figures are recognized in the narratives of urban transformations, and how the samba players are directed to these figures. This work concludes by discussing the significance of this treatment of the authorities when they relate to the urban transformations of the period.

The study examines a series of popular songs recorded during the period and, by means of a discourse analysis of their lyrics, investigates the representations of the urban authorities found in popular music. The relationship between popular songs and urbanization is an emerging field of research, and this work intends to contribute for the consolidation of this approach to urban history and planning history².

To enable the understanding of the songs, their lyrics have been freely translated. In this translation, peculiarities of the original language were not considered, such as grammar and spelling errors referring to the popular language with which of these songs were seeking to identify. Certain terms were kept as the original, especially those related to samba - the musical form, but also the dance associated with music - and peculiar forms of housing, such as the “maloca” (whose meaning is approaching ore the slum, ore tenement).

'POPULISM' AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMON PEOPLE AND AUTHORITIES

In Brazilian history, the period between 1945 and 1964 is commonly termed as “populist”³. This period, between two dictatorial regimes, is marked by intense popular mobilization and by governments seeking to legitimize the power to adopt measures aimed at popular support. What is called ‘populism’ is often understood as a political regime of charismatic leaders who availed themselves from direct and personal relationship - not institutional - with the population. Social accomplishments were treated as a direct addition from the leader, not an impersonal public policy, from which guaranteed social achievements depending on a kind of favours exchange (a boon for the vote), a relationship based as “clientelism”⁴.

There is a discussion on how this relationship weakens institutions and favoured certain authoritarianism since it weakened the notion that the population was holding rights in favour of the idea that the social achievements were concessions that should be bartered in a personal relationship. At the same time, the need to obtain a “favour” from the governing forced the population to maintain a deferential attitude and submission, that would not have cause discomfort or disgust. The ruling could even justify the adoption of authoritarian or repressive attitudes by the outrage that received from a portion of the population.

This context it is essential for the understanding of the relationships that were established between the poor and the authorities when it comes to dealing with urban problems such as lack of infrastructure, housing precariousness or urban spaces transformations - especially when these were promoted directly by the government⁵. Popular dissatisfaction was expressed in several cases, in the form of demands or complaints, or even irony and satire, but was less common in direct demonstrations or frontal opposition⁶.

The composers have used this same very language - deferential, submissive and conciliatory - in several of their sambas, creating fictional narratives with the authorities as a way to address urban issues of interest to the samba players. An example of this approach is the samba “Court Hearing to the Mayor,” recorded by Germano Mathias in 1958:

*I'll request a court hearing to the mayor
Because it isn't right for the favela to be knocked down
I'm a samba dancer from the new generation
I'll make my appeal against the end of the favela, I will*

(“Audiência ao prefeito”, Tobis & Orlando Líbero)⁷

The demands for the inclusion of a more significant portion of the population, particularly by the poorest of the city, is a common theme for the “sambistas” (samba players) of the period. It is interesting to note that the artist proposes to make use of his state of “new generation sambista” to be heard, becoming the bearer of a demand from the other residents of the slum where he would himself practice his samba. Here, what matters is not the population’s right to housing, but the personal intervention. It is worth noting, moreover, as the samba player uses not only a condition that allows acceptance by the leaders, but also the appropriate language for this cry, and an equally recognized proceeding: asks a court hearing to present his appeal. This appropriation of the language and the resources available to forward their demands is also illustrated by the samba “Petition” by Elzo Augusto, recorded by group Demônios da Garoa also in 1959:

*Sir, the undersigned ones in this petition
With your excuse hereby ask you sir
We want to make samba in the borough of Bexiga
Every night we have samba but we fight
It's the neighbours that don't like the sound of the drums
They want to get rid of the samba with their bare hands
To the Chief of Police, I hereby request deferral
The ones who sign the document with five cross
We want providence.*

(“Abaixo assinado”, Elzo Augusto)⁸

Samba does not fail to exploit the witty effect of the fancy language used on the “petition” appropriated by the unschooled (“the ones who signs five crosses”) and the language that is not attached to the document formality (“wants to get rid of samba with their bare hands”). But also these terms as “petition”, “Chief of Police” “request deferral”.

On Adoniran Barbosa's samba, it is possible to observe an intermediary between the artist and the representatives of government on two different occasions: in "Vagabonds Shelter", 1959, and "Eviction in the slum", 1969. The military dictatorship that settles in the range between the two compositions seems to reverberate in the way the relationship with power occurs in these two situations. In the first case, there is a clear clientelism relationship established between the narrator and John Saracura's character:

*I was told that it can't be built without a floor plan
But those who work can achieve it all
Joao Saracura who is the town hall inspector
Was a great friend indeed.
He arranged everything for me*

("Abrigo de vagabundos", Adoniran Barbosa)⁹

"Despejo na favela" (Eviction in the slum) portrays the dialogue of a slum resident with the bailiff that brings the narrator an eviction notice for the slum residents, the two main characters are portrayed in a powerlessness situation before "a higher order". Both the official excuse and the resignation of Narciso indicate that the eviction order will be fulfilled.

*When the bailiff arrived
At the favela
And against his wishes he handled to Narciso
A warning, an eviction notice
Signed your Lordship, the petition read:
"Within ten days I want everyone out and all the sheds on the ground "
It's a superior order
Oh my Lord, it's a superior order
That's ok your lordship, that's ok
I'll leave my house tomorrow, that's ok
That's ok your lordship, I'm gonna leave here
To avoid listening to the sound of the tractors
[...] But all those people, huh? What would they do?*

("Despejo na favela", Adoniran Barbosa)¹⁰

What is in question here in that samba is the absence of a solution to the collective housing problem. The call that should be taken into account "those people" also shows dissatisfaction with the selective inclusion strategy, which puts the possibilities of maintenance of standards of living, its dignity or merely the living conditions on the resources individually accumulated by people in question¹¹.

THE APPROPRIATION OF A LANGUAGE: POLITICS AND THE SAMBA RIGHTS

The official authority is present in sambas in at least one important situation: at the image of the police figure¹². There are many are samba songs that the police figures are present, usually depicted as a timely intervention in times of "disorder". In these situations, the narrator identifies as a "swindler"¹³ who uses his cunning to outwit or sensitize the police, managing it to avoid more drastic resolution like the arrest of those involved in such disorder.

Paulo Vanzolini narrates a conflict that takes place between several women in a poor community that ends with the arrival of a police car, taking them all to the “district” (the police station), where the issue is resolved by arresting those involved.

A police car arrived
taking all women with them
[...] They all went to the police district
Not satisfied they kept protesting
The Chief of Police was apprehensive
And yelled loudly
“Take these skanks, lock the door and lose the keys”

(“Alberto”, Paulo Vanzolini)¹⁴

The reports often show flexibility in the relationship between the samba players and officials, which testifies, from the perspective of the narrators, the “intelligence” that they deal with persecution. Samba “Senhor delegado” (Chief of Police), recorded by Germano Mathias in 1957, narrates well how swindler smooth things up when dealing with the authority:

Chief of Police
Your substitute has mistaken me
I once was a rascal
I am now reformed
[...] If you arrest me
It will be a great injustice
Tomorrow is Sunday
I have to take my wife to the mass.

(“Senhor Delegado”, Ernani Silva e Antoninho Lopes)¹⁵

In other sambas, one can observe how the samba players appropriate the language and procedures of the law, not only in order to circumvent the possibility of repression, but subverting itself in a peculiar form of its own usage. Another example serves to illustrate this strategy. In “Baiano capoeira”, recorded in 1962 by Germano Mathias, a very particular code is presented in terms of territories for each swindler:

Let's look for a different territory
To resolve this situation
Don't be cocky here in my district
So I won't invade your jurisdiction
I don't believe in brave man
Because my name hasn't died yet
Be cocky at your yard
Because here at up the hill I'm the boss
(You make a mistake, you die)

(“Baiano capoeira”, Jorge Costa e Geraldo Filme)¹⁶

THE URBAN PLANNER AS AN AUTHORITY: “YOUR LORDSHIP”

Public authorities were also summoned when it comes to directly mediate social conflict, and even issues related to the city and its transformations were taken by the population itself to those authorities. An example is given in samba “Lei do Inquilinato” (Tenancy Act), recorded by the Demônios da Garoa in 1958:

Your Lordship, I beg your pardon
We have come to ask you
Only your lordship can answer us
We live in a shack town
With no flooring and no windows
On which we can barely even breath
We pay four hundred thousand “reis” to live in
And that’s ok
But on top of it we have to pay
An extra million “reis”
As if our situation were not enough
The landlord wants to tear the property down to the ground
Saying that the taxes have rose
And if we don’t pay extra, he will build a hen house
So we came seeking information
Tenancy Act, where is it?

(“Lei do Inquilinato”, Lino Tedesco)¹⁷

The context narrated in this samba is the housing crisis caused by the collapse of the rentier housing production from the freezing of nominal values of rents, determined by the Tenancy Act which was in force between 1942 and 1964, as analysed by Bonduki¹⁸. The general complaint can be summarized as follows: housing is precarious and too expensive for what it offers; yet the owner’s threat to evict residents if they do not accept an increase of the amount paid. The law, therefore, should protect them from the owner’s abuse. The way the song ends (with a question) shows a distrust of the effectiveness of the law to protect tenants, but still is a recognized means.

The deference expressed in the opening verse illustrate the way of relationship with the power that requires attention, and shows in other examples, which will be examined further: the law, impersonal and remote, can represent an abstract right and to be treated with disbelief; since the agent of the law, “Lordship”, is treated personally and closely: in your favour depends on the realization of abstraction rights. So the narrator expressed the way is part of a favoured structure and deference that has been so often associated with clientelism practice of populism - the same kind of favouritism that allows the Adoniran character in “Abrigo dos Vagabundos” (noted before) realize their attempt to build a new construction.

After the establishment of the military regime, this possibility was restricted significantly. Throughout the period covered here, the city transformations undertook with the support of - and sometimes promoted directly by - the government in São Paulo have not gone unnoticed by samba players¹⁹. Still in the early 1950s, the Praça da Sé, the main square in the city center, was the subject of a comprehensive reform for the celebrations of the four hundred years of foundation of the city (1954). The transformation of the square was accompanied by the removal of many informal workers who had then worked in the area. Among them, the shoe shiners were the workers whose removal was more pitied by samba players: that because many of the shoeshine boys were also samba players who used their tools to samba at the end of the day, to close down the hours. The reform of the square was reported by samba “Adeus, praça da Sé”, recorded in 1952 by group Titulares do Ritmo²⁰:

*When they told me I didn't believe
But learning the truth, I have chocked
The damn progress will take place
And our Sé square will be over
The Fourth Centerary is coming
The city needs to be remoulded
Farewell my Sé square, farewell
Not even your clock will be respected.*

The square, of course, has not gone away effectively - but perhaps, in a sense, has ceased to be the one that sambistas recognized and held as owned space. It is important to note that it had been attributed to the disappearance of the square: the “progress con” and the need for the city to be remodel for the official celebrations. Cathedral da Se’s reform is unequivocally an official initiative, and in this case the emotional significance attached to the square were, to say the least, undervalued relation to that assigned to the ephemeris²¹. In 1952, it was expected a tragedy that, in fact, was not confirmed. After the celebrations, however, it was still possible to Germano Mathias to sing verses like these, from de 1958 recording:

*At the heart of the city
Lives today its sorrow
The old Sé square
Our tradition
The square of the drums
Remoulded today
Only left its remembrance
Even the shoe polisher
Was evicted
And had to move away
With your box
Oh how I miss
The drums*

*From the can of shoe polish
("Lata de Graxa", Geraldo Blota e Mário Vieira)²²*

In addition to the works made to the Cathedral, the square itself was an undergoing construction object and, although in a sad way, the removal of “undesirable elements”, which included the shoeshine boys who worked there. Even though it was recognized that the initiative was not the primary purpose of removing the shoeshine boys from the square, which the initiative evidence is that the presence of these workers was not indifferent to the bearers of “progress con”, or its return would have been allowed after remodelling. And if it was not, what is apparent is that the practice of samba in the public space was still stigmatized and frowned upon by the authorities. It had been seen as a possibly of disorder or rioting.

The criticism is not directed to any transformation. There are examples where the works and the changes of the urban spaces were greeted with euphoria. The construction of a viaduct overpassing the crossing of the railway line E. F. Brazil's Central in Brás, was a theme to the composition "Porteira do Brás", recorded in 1968:

*Farewell farewell to the gate of Bras
Going, too late gone
Long live Penha
And Agua Rasa, Tatuape and Belém
Long live Vila Maria
And Quarta Parada too
Instead of this gate
A viaduct took place
Farewell to the gate of Bras
Long gone to the museum*

("Porteira do Brás", Victor Simon e Lys Monteiro)²³

About the episode, it is said that with the passage of the trains of the São Paulo Railway to Santos, the wooden gate caused traffic jams on all sort of traffic between the Centre and the East of the city. Faria Lima's administration (between 1965 and 1969, analysed by Leme²⁴) is attributed to the construction of the viaduct. Thus, it does illustrate a case where an urban intervention was recognized as beneficial for the population. In another situation, the solution was quite different - for instance, in this samba composed by Geraldo Filme in late 1960's:

*I no longer have my samba school yard
I no longer can samba dance
Sambista without the Banana square
Barra funda will stop
A viaduct has risen, it's progress
I cannot protest
[...] I'm gonna go away
I'm gonna samba dance somewhere else.*

("Vou sambar noutra lugar", Geraldo Filme)²⁵

What, by the logic of favour to urban automobile which called for the construction of viaducts²⁶, is only a construction for the good of the city is qualitatively different for those who live the spaces subject to these constructions. The disappearance of the Banana Square had seemed to have been negligible in the face of "progress" which means that the construction of the viaduct itself. For samba players, however, it meant nothing less than the loss the "samba cradle" - probably one of the most important places for the samba and its memory of the city. Reason why the sambista Geraldo Filme returns to the theme in "Ultimo sambista" recorded by Demonios da Garoa in 1968:

*Farewell, the time is coming
Samba is over; farewell Barra funda
I'm gonna go
Progress has come
A borough turned into a city
It took our joy away
As well as our simplicity*

*I take the memories from the Banana square with me
Where we made samba
Every night of the week*

(“Último sambista”, Geraldo Filme)²⁷

The change is irreversible, the progress seems an unquestionable value, but its result does not have the unrestricted approval of samba players. In this situation, as the samba Geraldo Movie announces it is necessary to look for another place to practice samba. The feeling of incapacity is a recurrent feature in several of the sambas of this period having to deal with these changes in the city. In many cases, the cause of the change is attributed to an impersonal process - the “progress”. In some others, progress is embodied in the figure of an authority to which it may not appeal or claim. This figure is called in several sambas like “your lordship”.

The reference to “your lordship “ means concretely only that it is a person in a position of power in relation to the narrator; but the recognition of this position is that to suggest that it is an “authority,” and not just a person with more education or resources. The name is also used by Adoniran in “Despejo na favela”, quoted above, and appears in “Maloca dos meus amores”, recorded in 1958 by Demônios da Garoa:

*How I miss the maloca I lived in
It had everything that a building doesn't
Water at source, always running
Our lighting from kerosene
Never switched off
[...] Since I moved to the city
I'm sorry for the truth,
I don't feel well
Every time a “maloca” is knocked down to the ground
Your Lordship says
It's the progress coming
Oh, how I miss, ladies and gentleman's
The malocas of my loved ones.*

(“Maloca dos meus amores”, Canarinho)²⁸

In the comparison between the old housing and a present situation, which the samba suggests that is in a new building, the malocas are idealized as having “ everything that a building doesn't”. Scepticism toward “building” (increasingly present form of construction for housing in the city) by what appear to be normal situations, the lack of water and lighting, indicates a sense of frustration or dissatisfaction with the non-fulfilment of promise modernization. The change felt from the song is, somewhat the testimony of recurrent demolitions of the malocas - “every time” indicates that this is not a single case, or exceptions. To take-over the malocas follows by the legitimizing discourse (“progress is coming”), given precisely by the authority figure called “your lordship”.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined several ways by which the population of São Paulo conceived the urban transformations during a critical period of the city history in the 20th Century, and how such transformations led to different forms of dialogue and negotiation with the authorities established. These forms were mainly limited by the perception of an authoritarian initiative, specially in late 1960's, and resulted in a careful, deferent approach. The figures of authority with which that population used to deal is also determinant to this tone: the police is one of the most frequently cited authority. One of the main findings of the study is that the urban transformations promoted by the State is often seen by the population as an action from above, from a rather unquestionable authority, symbolized by the urban planner or manager (who could be a political authority, such as the city mayor, or a generic "lordship").

The definition of the term "your lordship" does not state that it be always a direct criticism of planners and urban planners. Observing the narrated contexts, yet, one can associate the figure of general authority to the professional accountable for promoting or authorizing the urban transformations that sambistas mourn in his compositions. Urban authorities represented by the bailiff or the police personify the "progress" as a distant and indisputable authority. The appeal to the progress or evasive "higher order" reveals the limitations of the populist clientelism in São Paulo (as in Brazil in general during this period), and becomes the justification of authoritarian actions increasingly common after the establishment of the military dictatorship, but that already was presented before. So, the resignation is an attitude that permeates the various narratives of urban transformations observed in this work, and seem a possible response to an increasingly tight power to popular demands. Even the deference that the "your lordship" gets in several of the songs does not open a wider possibility for further negotiation or mediation when it comes to reviewing urban interventions of interest to the ruling class.

In conclusion, if it is not possible to say that the "your lordship" is always the urban planner, it does seem clear that the planner would be in the eyes of sambistas a "your lordship". For most ordinary people, those responsible for planning and city management, those who promote or permit processing in certain aspects, are simply authorities to whom people should reverence and be submissive. The city changes promoted by these agents also are promoted on an authoritative way, without the community being able to intervene or influence, and often result on the loss of places with memories, sociability and identity, as the small details and sites are usually disregarded in favour of a large-scale vision by the city authorities. That is a situation very specific of the Brazilian political context at the time, and São Paulo offers a typical case of how the State promoted transformations of the cities in their period (being São Paulo one of the most privileged in terms of public investment, given the growing importance of the city for national economy).

The memories of the old places prior to the reforms, and the recurrence to report these changes in tone of sadness and nostalgia are an indicative of how the ruling classes were maintained over the entire period studied, indifferent (or insensitive) the value attributed by samba players - in his dark skin and poor majority - a few places in town. The Praça da Sé, another key reference for samba players, has had its extirpated attendance on behalf of a celebration of design that absolutely had been denied the right to memory, it had showed how these residents were permanently bound to be noticed for and perhaps may be heard and considered. The use of the song, in this case is more than a mere record, it was a way found to preserve their places in the city as the powerful agents, including the governors themselves, tried to destroy them. From this particular case, several questions can be raised in order to discuss the limits of the representation of urban planners as simply neutral professionals aiming at the common good. The real conditions of dialogue and negotiation are a crucial factor for evaluating the verity of such assumption.

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Notes on contributor

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Endnotes

- 1 The contrast between formal and informal discourses on the city and urbanization is object of a wide debate, which extrapolates the limits of this paper. In order to indicate a few references of this subject, there can be cited some recent works, such as: Langford, Will. "Gerald Sutton Brown and the Discourse of City Planning Expertise in Vancouver, 1953-1959." *Urban History Review / Revue D'histoire Urbaine* 41, no. 2 (2013): 30-41; Zitoun, Madani Safar. "The Development of the Bay of Algiers: Rethinking the City through Contemporary Paradigms." *Built Environment (1978-)* 36, no. 2 (2010): 206-15; Sies, Mary Corbin. "North American Urban History: The Everyday Politics and Spatial Logics of Metropolitan Life." *Urban History Review / Revue D'histoire Urbaine* 32, no. 1 (2003): 28-42.
- 2 Some works with the same approach can be seen in: *Music and the City: Musical Cultures and Urban Societies in the Southern Netherlands and Beyond, C.1650-1800*, edited by Beghein Stefanie, Blondé Bruno, Beghein Stefanie, Blondé Bruno, and Schreurs Eugeen, 7-16. Leuven University Press, 2013. See also: KLOOSTERMAN, ROBERT C. "Come Together: An Introduction to Music and the City." *Built Environment (1978-)* 31, no. 3 (2005): 180-91, as well as other articles from the same issue of that periodical.
- 3 See Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Edusp/FDE, 1998).
- 4 For a broader discussion of populismo in Brazil, see Jorge Ferreira, *O populismo e sua história: debate e crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001).
- 5 See, for an account of the city transformations in this period: Semple, R. Keith, Gauthier Howard L., and Youngmann Carl E. "Growth Poles in Sao Paulo, Brazil." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62, no. 4 (1972): 591-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2561915>. As a context of São Paulo case in terms of Brazilian urbanization, see Gall, Norman. "Brazil's Impossible City." *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 31, no. 3 (2007): 14-21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40262438>.
- 6 Lucia Maria Machado Bógus, "Urbanização e Metropolização: O Caso de São Paulo", in *A luta pela cidade de São Paulo*, edited by Lucia Bógus and L. E. Wanderley (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, OBSUR, 1992), 29-51.
- 7 "Eu vou pedir audiência ao prefeito / porque não está direito com a favela acabar / Sou sambista da nova geração / vou fazer o meu apelo pra não acabar com a favela não". Germano Mathias. *Em continência ao samba*. RGE XRLP 5016, 1958, long play disc. The sound recording can be heard at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=QFj-v4B3FP0
- 8 Demônios da Garoa. *Pafunça*. Odeon MOCB 3036, 1959, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/abaixo-assinado/>
- 9 "Me disseram que sem planta não se pode construir / Mas quem trabalha tudo pode conseguir / João Saracura, que é fiscal da prefeitura / Foi um grande amigo sim / Arranjou tudo pra mim". *Pafunça*. Odeon MOCB 3036, 1959, long play disc. Sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMYME7NZfXI>
- 10 Adoniran Barbosa. *Adoniran Barbosa - 70 anos*. EMI-Odeon 064 422868, 1980, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/adoniran-barbosa/43966/>
- 11 See Maria da Glória Gohn and Lucio Kowarick, "As lutas sociais e a cidade", *Espaço & Debates* 25 (1989), 105-109.
- 12 For the understanding of the structure and functioning of the police in São Paulo during the period, see Thais Battibugli, "Democracia e segurança pública em São Paulo (1946-1964)" (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 2006).
- 13 About the "swindler" in Brazil, see Gilberto Vasconcelos and M. Suzuki Jr, "A malandragem e a formação da música popular brasileira", in *História geral da civilização brasileira*, edited by Boris Fausto (São Paulo: Difel, 1984). Cf. Márcia Regina Ciscati, *Malandros da terra do trabalho: malandragem e boemia na cidade de São Paulo, 1930-1950* (São Paulo: Annablume / FAPESP, 2000), for specifics related to São Paulo.
- 14 Paulo Vanzoni. *Paulo Vanzolini por ele mesmo*. Eldorado 14.79.0340, 1979, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound record can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/paulo-vanzolini/1670314/>
- 15 Germano Mathias, op. cit.
- 16 Germano Mathias. *Ginga no Asfalto*. Odeon MOFB 3278, 1962, long play recording. Original lyrics and sound recording at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/germano-mathias/baiano-capoeira/>.
- 17 Demônios da Garoa. *Os Demônios da Garoa*. Odeon MOCB 3023, 1958, long play disc. Original lyrics and sound recording can be check at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/576970/>.
- 18 Nabil Georges Bonduki, *Origens da habitação social no Brasil: arquitetura moderna, lei do inquilinato e difusão da casa própria* (São Paulo: Estação Liberdade, 1998).
- 19 A panoram of these interventions can be seen in Maria Lucia Refinetti Rodrigues Martins, "São Paulo, metrópole e isso tudo - 1920 a 1980" (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 1982). The general context of the transformations of the city in the period is available in Juergen Langenbuch, *A estruturação da grande São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação IBGE, 1971).
- 20 "Quando me contaram não acreditei / Mas conhecendo a verdade me assustei / A picareta do progresso vai funcionar / E a nossa praça da Sé vai se acabar / O Quarto Centenário vem aí / A cidade precisa se remodelar / Adeus, minha praça da Sé, adeus / Nem seu relógio vão respeitar". *Titulares do Ritmo. Bem ou mal*. RCA Victor 80-1008-a, 78 rpm disc. No accessible version of the song was found.
- 21 Silvio Luiz Lofego, *IV Centenário da cidade de São Paulo: uma cidade entre o passado e o futuro* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2004).

- 22 “No coração da cidade / Hoje mora uma saudade / A velha praça da Sé, nossa tradição / Da praça da batucada / Agora remodelada / Só ficou recordação / Até o engraxate foi despejado / E teve que se mudar com sua caixa / Ai, que saudade / Da batucada feita na lata de graxa”. Germano Mathias. *Em continência ao samba*. RGE XRLP 5016, 1958, long play disc. Sound record can be checked at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRgpWpj5uHc>
- 23 “Adeus, adeus, porteira do Brás/ já vai embora e já vai tarde demais / Salve Penha / E Água Rasa, Tatuapé e Belém / Salve a Vila Maria e Quarta Parada também / Em lugar da tal porteira / Um viaduto se ergueu / Adeus porteira do Brás / Já vai tarde pro museu”. Wilson Roberto. *Porteira do Braz*. ProPago P-472-B, [1968], 78 rpm disc. The sound recording can be found at: <https://youtu.be/eC8iwT49Anw>
- 24 Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, “Planejamento em São Paulo: 1930-1969” (Masters thesis, University of São Paulo, 1982).
- 25 “Fiquei sem o terreiro da escola / Já não posso mais sambar / Sambista sem o largo da Banana / A Barra Funda vai parar / Surgiu um viaduto, é progresso / Eu não posso protestar / [...] Eu vou embora / Vou sambar n'outro lugar”. Plínio Marcos. *Plínio Marcos em prosa e samba – “Nas Quebradas Do Mundaréu” – Geraldo Filme, Zeca da Casa Verde e Toniquinho Batuqueiro*. Chantecler CMGS 9072, long play disc, 1974.
- 26 Nadia Somekh and Cândido Malta Campos, *A cidade que não pode parar: planos urbanísticos de São Paulo no século XX* (São Paulo: Mackpesquisa, 2002)
- 27 “Adeus, tá chegando a hora / Acabou o samba / Adeus, Barra Funda / Eu vou embora / Veio o progresso / Fez do bairro uma cidade / Levou a nossa alegria / Também a simplicidade / Levo saudade lá do Largo da Banana / Onde nós fazia samba / Toda noite da semana”. Demônios da Garoa. *Leva Este*. Chantecler CMG 2486, long play disc, 1968. Sound recording available at: <http://www.musicasamba.com/dem-nios-da-garoa/leva-este/ultimo-sambista/>.
- 28 *Demônios da Garoa. Os Demônios da Garoa*. Odeon MOCB 3023, 1958, long play disc. The original lyrics and sound recording can be checked at: <https://www.letras.mus.br/demonios-da-garoa/1370959/>.

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