

performance, communication, and circulation. For example, he provides a cogent explanation of how a performance's "accountability to an audience" is related to the construction of "a public," and how the poetic focus on "the message" is related to "the way a message's meaning gets established *across* interactional space" (46). He operationalizes and expands genre theory as a central tool of cultural analysis that reveals the kinds of subject-positions that are available for inhabitation. He grounds all this in Bourdieuan "fields of cultural production," an attempt to avoid reductive, individualistic accounts of social change and instead focus on the "dialogue between individuals, institutions, and practices" that involves "mutually reinforcing components of social life" (90).

With the *JLACA* readership in mind, I will note that Dent gives less attention to the broader regional context of Latin American music and media, perhaps because Brazil has historically followed a unique path in many respects. I was, however, left wondering about some clear points of connection to other parts of Latin America which are touched on in passing, if at all—for example, the relation of music to dictatorships and popular nationalism, the layers of communicative practices and genres frequently embedded in Latin American media, and the "interplay of tradition and modernity" (or folklorization and commodification) that characterized Latin American aesthetic histories long before the neoliberal era. No book can do everything, and *River of Tears* already does a lot. For scholars of other Latin American musics, the book serves as a valuable stimulus for re-thinking the relations between genre, public culture, and subjectivity. Beyond discourses of music, *River of Tears* should prompt closer examination of the

terms "rural" and "rural migrants" too often used cursorily across Latin American cultural contexts.

Junto e Misturado: uma etnografia do PCC. Karina Biondi, São Paulo: Editora Terceiro Nome, 2010. 248 pp.

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Karina Biondi's bold ethnography *Junto e misturado (Together and Mixed)*, a study of Brazil's most important crime organization, the PCC, or Primeiro Comando do Capital [First Command of the Capital], gives new meaning to the notion that anthropologists should work from wherever we find ourselves. The PCC formed equal presences within the state of São Paulo's massive penitentiary system and on its cities' streets during the 2 years in which Biondi's husband was imprisoned on a murder charge. At this time the illicit organization effectively controlled over 90 percent of São Paulo state's 147 prison facilities. Biondi introduces the work from her angle as a visiting wife who, chagrined at already having over 200 people ahead of her, would arrive at 4 a.m. on visiting day to take a number for a place in line when the doors would open hours later.

In Brazilian prisons "of" the PCC today, prisoners and family members alike submit themselves to the PCC "ethic." Biondi's husband was thus positioned to introduce her to PCC command, from which she obtained permission to make the organization the focus of fieldwork. Biondi addresses the methodological challenges of working via visitation, as a prisoner's wife, and thus a relative outsider, by detailing how her husband mediated interactions and helped her

gain access. From the opening, visiting-day vignette through the dizzying complexity of other PCC-controlled systems, Biondi learns how to navigate, her writing continues in a reflexive, but refreshingly no-nonsense, voice. She provides epistemological clarity about how she learned about experiences she was by definition barred from knowing directly. And, as Jorge Mattar Villela points out in the forward to the work, this ethnography gains strength by remaining insistently anti-reductionist. Biondi also painstakingly avoids pitfalls of (even semi-) “native” ethnography by systematically footnoting vernacular Brazilian Portuguese expressions that take on particular meanings in the PCC context. In this way she provides an accessible, nuanced read for nonnative readers and readers unfamiliar with the PCC and its lexicon and grammars.

The early chapters are organized historically, taking the 1992 riots at the Carandiru prison in São Paulo, which resulted in a massacre of 111 prisoners, as a point of departure. Subsequent years saw the explosion of the prison population, and then decentralization to smaller units. In 2001, a simultaneous rebellion involved 29 prisons, created a state of alarm that forced recognition that the ripple effects of prison riots could resound well beyond the custodial system. This was followed in 2006 by a rebellion in 84 prisons, with 299 attacks on public offices, 82 buses burned, and dozens of police killed and wounded in a confirmation of the PCC’s strengths beyond prison walls. Biondi traces the processes through which PCC expanded its territorial holdings, both on streets and in the prisons, and the emergence of often kin-based categories—brother, cousin, resident, and “*primário*” or “primary one”

for those with command authority—that describe an individual’s location within the *Comando*. (In Biondi’s account, such terms are invoked almost exclusively in masculine form; women’s roles are generally confined to wife/partner extensions of prisoner-men, who enforce avoidance of a woman as a form of respect to the PCC “kinsman.”)

The chapters that follow chronicle the decentralizing of the initial, pyramidal structure in the *Comando* as efforts to balance egalitarianism with directive leadership emerge. Biondi looks closely at how leaders play on nonauthoritarian, shared values (equality, peace, justice, and liberty), along with us-versus-them, *ladrões* (thieves)-versus-police values to mobilize support and resources. “War with the police, peace among the *ladrões*,” sums up this ethic. Participants experience their practices and discipline as undertaken voluntarily, Biondi argues, and as based on commonalities with others walking a similar path (*caminhada*) through prison sentences and opposition to the police more generally. She posits, therefore, that the PCC embodies “The Politics of Transcendence” (this is also the title of chapter three), of a position capable of shaping the thinking and understanding of participants, reproducing their collective identification with an organization both comprised of, but also autonomous from, its decentralized, independent parts.

These observations lead up to the most significant claim of the book: that the influence of the PCC is responsible for the diminished rates of violent crime in São Paulo (but, I note, notably not cities like Salvador where the PCC does not hold a powerful presence), far more than the recently updated policing practices often credited for the decline. Here Biondi

invites us to consider the real costs of extreme social inequality in Brazil which, alongside of the inhumanity of the criminal justice system and the *de facto* civil war between police and the marginals (*marginais*), prefigure circumstances in which an illicit, criminal organization is able to produce far more in the way of conflict management and public security than the official, “legitimate” state, federal and state governmental capacities. Even as she makes no attempt to mute why these should be sobering facts indeed, she also allows for noncondemnatory celebration of the collective accomplishments. The book’s title, *Junto e misturado*, “*Together and Mixed*,” is taken from a 2006 popular rap song that articulates a rising sense of power in populist, mobster solidarity.

One stanza reads,
Aos guerreiros e guerreiras que lutaram
“Tamo junto”
É fácil copiar, difícil é criar
Se for falso é como água e óleo
Não consegue misturar
REFRÃO
Tamo junto!
O bonde ta formado
eu sou um elo da corrente que é ruim de
quebrar
Tamo junto!
Se quer subtrair
fique por ai se não tiver a fim de somar
Tamo junto e misturado, é lado a lado
Tamo junto e misturado, é lado a lado*

To the warrior and warrioresses who
fought
“We’re together”
It’s easy to copy, but hard to create
If you are untruthful it is like oil and water
You cannot mix it up
[REFRAIN]

We’re together
The trolley is all hooked up
I am a link in the chain that’s hard to break
We’re together
If you want to take away from us
Stay away if you have nothing to add
We’re together and mixed, side by side
We’re together and mixed, side by side

*Song “*Junto e misturado*” by Bagulho e Doido, 2006 on the album *Falcão* <http://letras.terra.com.br/mv-bill/611631/>, reviewer Hautzinger’s translation, consulted 11/24/2011.

The “mixing” here is only secondarily related to issues of race, class or gender, though she attends directly to each of these facets. In fact, Biondi conceives of her analysis, in part, as postsocial and postindividualist; the together and mixed she points to, in relation to PCC, is one that transcends individual or social cleavages in favor of processes that collectivize, through shared paths, interests, and elective affiliation.

Film Review

Cinderelas, Lobos & Um Príncipe Encantado (Cinderellas, Wolves & A Prince Charming). *Joel Zito Araújo*. Documentary, 107 min, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 2008

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In what appears a beautiful twilight, an equally stunning dancer performs a classical ballet solo atop a wooden stage. Abruptly, and as the music shifts, she goes up on her toes and begins to dance Brazilian samba, frenetically. The audience is delighted and the dancer’s eyes shine. In