

O CORPO É TUDO: THEORY, PRACTICE AND RESISTANCE IN THE BODY ⁱ

O corpo é tudo: teoria, prática e resistência no corpo

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ABSTRACT

This essay is a reflection on my experience in Pernambuco in 2018 studying regional popular dances, including frevo, capoeira, cavalo marinho and maracatu rural. My research focused on how these dances are “dances of resistance” that demonstrate strategies for decolonization of the mind and the body – both the individual body and the collective body of a community. As a white woman from the United States, I had experiences that prompted me to reflect on how embodied knowledge is constructed and on what decolonial pedagogies and indigenous epistemologies can teach us about how marginalized groups produce theory through bodily practices. In this essay, I focus specifically on one teacher, Fábio Soares da Silva, who instilled respect and empathy in his students through steps and stories from his community in the town of Condado in the Zona da Mata, in the rural interior of Pernambuco. I consider the importance of verbal and non-verbal language in dance transmission and how to navigate the physical and mental challenges that accompany new cultural encounters.

Key-words: Dance; Resistance; Embodied knowledge; Popular culture; Pernambuco.

RESUMO

Esse artigo é uma reflexão sobre minha experiência em Pernambuco em 2018, quando eu estudei danças populares regionais, incluindo frevo, capoeira, cavalo marinho e maracatu rural. Minha pesquisa focou nessas danças como “danças de resistência” que manifestam estratégias de descolonização da mente e do corpo – o corpo individual e também o corpo comunitário. Como uma mulher branca dos Estados Unidos, eu tive experiências que me estimularam a refletir sobre como o conhecimento corporal é construído. Analiso pedagogias decoloniais e epistemologias indígenas que podem nos ensinar sobre como grupos marginalizados produzem teoria através de práticas corporais. Nesse ensaio, eu foco especificamente em um professor, Fábio Soares da Silva, que estimulou respeito e empatia nos seus alunos através de passos e histórias da sua comunidade na cidade de Condado na Zona da Mata, no interior rural de Pernambuco. Discuto a importância da língua verbal e não-verbal na transmissão de dança e como podemos navegar desafios físicos e mentais que acompanham encontros culturais novos.

Palavras chave: Dança; Resistência; Conhecimento corporal; Cultura popular; Pernambuco.

“O CORPO É TUDO” - THE BODY IS EVERYTHING

Instructor Fábio Soares da Silva repeated this phrase during each of our *cavalo marinho* classes. Cavalo marinho is a *folgado* or *brincadeira* (a type of cultural practice) performed in Pernambuco around Christmastime that involves music, dance and storytelling. It is practiced in the Pernambuco’s rural Zona da Mata communities that subsist on the physically demanding work of sugarcane farming.¹ Soares is from Condado in the Zona da Mata and now lives in Recife as an independent dance artist. Our class was full of “foreigners” to his culture, and I, a white woman from the United States, was noticeably the most foreign as the only non-Brazilian in the class. But even among the Brazilians, most came from an urban, middle class background and none from the Zona da Mata. Everything that Soares taught us started from the inside out, *de dentro pra fora*. Although we danced in a studio (with Marley floors, mirrors and high ceilings), he brought the feeling of Condado’s dusty, narrow streets to us. We learned five steps in as many months, but we went deep into the nuances of those steps. I arrived early and stayed late to listen to him talk about his family and his community, as well as the persecution they face as poor, rural and black/indigenous people in the Zona da Mata.

He opened every class with the reminder, “*Vai morrer* – you’re gonna die.” He did not say this because he thought the dance was particularly hard, but because, “*A gente é fraco*, we are weak. We have been persecuted and we are going to die” (interview with the author, 24 May 2018). He explained that the steps were “simple,” but I found them difficult and exhausting. He wanted us to feel that urgent, almost hopeless feeling of living a life that has been threatened by colonial violence and discrimination for centuries. I knew that, as an outsider, I could not fully understand that feeling, but his words prompted me to sense the weight of such trauma in my body: I felt the soles of my feet pounding the ground and the skin on my toes burning from the friction. Just as in any dance technique, every detail mattered. I had to lean my body forward, like that of someone who worked in the sugarcane

¹ Cavalo marinho is practiced in towns in Pernambuco such as Aliança, Condado, Nazaré, Goiana, Ferreiros, Camutanga, Itambé and Itaquitinga. Another similar but different cavalo marinho variation is practiced throughout the state of Paraíba.

fields all day, even though I had no idea what that work entailed – physically, emotionally or politically. I mimicked his slight tilt of the head. I struggled through staggered weight shifts, crossing my legs over not too much and not too little and dropping my heel at just the right moment. Even when I was told to keep a natural posture and “do nothing,” it became clear that my baseline of “nothing” was incorrect. Through practice, I felt myself connecting to and empathizing with a community that I had never met. Even though I had (and still have) much to learn about cavalo marinho and its music, characters and stories, I was inspired by Soares’ ability to instill so much of his community knowledge into us – not just through his words, but more profoundly through the body.

This essay is not a research article about Pernambuco’s popular dances, but it is a reflection on my experience learning about these dances and what the experience taught me about embodied knowledge transmission and indigenous epistemologies. There is much more to explore, and I write not from a place of authority, but of curiosity, respect and constant questioning. What I learned in Soares’ classes was a different kind of embodied resistance than I had experienced before, with a strategy that was less about fighting back and more about giving in. Initially, I thought it was defeatist to just let that weight and hopelessness take over. But I also felt a certain hardness take over my body through these classes, and I found a different kind of strength and persistence that expanded my ideas about what a dance of resistance can be and how cultural knowledge is transmitted. The body is everything – not just the individual body, but the *corpo comunitário*, the collective body.

This was in 2018, and I was in Pernambuco to learn about frevo. I had received a Fulbright U.S. Scholar grant to spend six months studying frevo dance (or *o passo*, as locals call it) as a dance of resistance, its origins in the martial art of *capoeira* (Oliveira 1985) and how it represents a regional variation on Brazilian national identity. This was my first time in Brazil. I had started training capoeira ten years earlier during my Master’s program in traditional Irish dance in Ireland in 2008, and I continued intensive training when I returned to the US. I was initially interested in capoeira simply because, as a lifelong Irish dancer trained to be as straight, upright and vertical as possible, I wanted to go upside down: *queria virar de ponta cabeça*. Capoeira is often described as a “fight disguised as a dance” – a dance

of resistance developed by enslaved Africans in Brazil that is known for its African origins and has become a global dance phenomenon in recent years. I quickly learned the profound significance of capoeira and I felt a responsibility to dive deeper into the culture, learn the language and train not only the physical components of the art form, but also the mental, emotional and philosophical elements that challenged me beyond what any other “dance” form had asked of me before. I struggled to develop the strategies of *malícia* and *malandragem* (cunning and deception) that are central to the capoeira game. This experience seeded my interest in what I refer to as “dances of resistance,” or dances that are involved in strategic processes of liberation, activism and/or marginalized racial, social or ethnic identity formation for a specific group of people (Spanos 2021). I consider the “cultural substance” of these dances to be the techniques and patterns that embody philosophies and social value systems through movement.

Frevo presented a unique case study because, from my uninitiated perspective, it looked to me nothing like capoeira or resistance. All the colorful umbrellas and costumes, loud brass instruments, joyful smiles and ecstatic leaps that I saw on YouTube before arriving in Recife seemed completely disconnected from what I knew of the martial art. I experienced capoeira as sometimes playful, but also serious, aggressive and full of *malícia*. Even when friendly, it was certainly not as lighthearted and buoyant as frevo seemed to be. My research question emerged: How can two dances with shared origins in resistance look so different? What strategies of resistance do capoeira and frevo share, and where do they diverge? How do other *danças populares* from Pernambuco like cavalo marinho and maracatu fit into the narrative of resistance in this part of Brazil?

I arrived in Recife on January 1, 2018, just in time for the month of *prévias*, or parties, before Carnival. I was accompanied by my partner, Pablo Regis de Oliveira, a Brazilian Peruvian American who is a native Portuguese speaker and helped us get oriented. As we ventured out into the city, we began to meet important members of the popular dance community and learned about events and classes. Forming these community relationships was central to my ethnographic research methodology, which included interviews with practitioners and participant-observation of frevo events. The most important part of my methodology involved what I call “sweaty struggles,” which refer to how I, as a dancer,

always take the opportunity to actually dance and sweat with people. I find that the willingness to be uncomfortable and vulnerable in trying something new shows a certain respect for a culture and people. The breathless conversations that come out of dancing together are, for me, much more enlightening than formal interviews that take place seated in front of a microphone. Carnival certainly provided many opportunities for “sweaty struggles,” as we packed into tight, ecstatic and sometimes violent crowds in the *ladeiras*, or hills, of Olinda and at Marco Zero in Recife.

I was soon dancing every day of the week. I trained twice a week with Júnior Viégas at the Escola Municipal de Frevo Maestro Fernando Borges in Encruzilhada neighborhood, twice a week “Guerreiros do Passo” group at Praça do Hipódromo and once a week with Otávio Bastos at Recife’s Paço do Frevo. I also took cavalo marinho and maracatu rural classes with Soares at the Paço do Frevo twice a week, as well as capoeira classes with Mestre Perna Pesada at his academy in Encruzilhada neighborhood. During the day, I read about frevo non-stop and absorbed as much local culture (and food) as I could in the city. I had entered a new world that required every last drop of physical, mental and emotional energy. I sweated through each class and struggled through my difficulties with learning Portuguese, but I was also invigorated by the energy around me. My body was buzzing with new kinesthetic patterns, a new language, new streets to navigate and hundreds of historical facts and stories. The community of *passistas* and *foliões* with whom I studied in Recife lived and breathed frevo, and *o passo* provided a complete philosophy upon which the community was built.

I have previously written in depth about what I learned about frevo as a dance of resistance and its connections to capoeira (Spanos 2019), but here I would like to highlight frevo’s concept of *munganga*. I understand *munganga* to be a strategy of resistance that combines frevo’s playful and carnivalesque nature with improvisational techniques. Specifically, *munganga* describes how *passistas* and *foliões* work through unpredictable circumstances during Carnival and in life in general. I am interested in the pedagogical methods that frevo dance instructors use to encourage dancers to practice improvisational skills that develop self-expression and resist elitist and exclusionary trends in mainstream frevo. I learned that developing *munganga* and the carnivalesque energy that comes from

dancing with masses of people in the streets is the most important component of the dance, not the ability to do virtuosic leaps, squats and tricks with the *sombrinha*. As I continue to take weekly classes online with Otávio Bastos through his “Mexe com Tudo” method² from my home in the US, I find that accessing that dynamic energy is crucial to finding my personal self-expression, and I am less focused on what other people might think and more on my own pleasure. Frevo feels frenetic, urgent and cathartic.

The cavalo marinho and maracatu rural (also known as *maracatu de baque solto*) classes I took with Fábio (Fabinho) Soares provided an interesting counterpoint to the effervescent, “boiling” frevo energy that I was soaking up. I registered for the classes because I saw a video of cavalo marinho shortly before arriving in Recife and was immediately drawn to it. I saw a *roda* of dancers and a *banco* of musicians that looked and sounded distantly familiar. I thought that the *rabeca* sounded much like the fiddle in American “old time” music and the footwork looked like the Appalachian flatfooting that accompanies that music (Appalachia is a mountainous region in the eastern United States). Old time music and flatfooting are forms that arise from African, Native American and Scots-Irish cultural encounters in the United States (Jamison 2015), and I wondered about any connections to African, indigenous and European cultural influences in Pernambuco’s cavalo marinho. At the same time, I could see that cavalo marinho involved much more that I did not recognize, like stories, characters and jokes that were beyond my comprehension. While frevo seemed like an open book, with so many resources to read and so many people to talk to, cavalo marinho and maracatu rural seemed to come from a world that I could only peek into under the careful guidance of my teacher. I also understood that my experience with these dances was not through direct connection with the community itself, but in a studio with one member of that community.

Soares’ classes expanded my ideas about what decolonized pedagogy looks like. He guided us through exercises that prompted me to reflect on how embodied knowledge is transmitted within the community and also how it is shared with outsiders in ways that

² Otávio Bastos is a highly regarded frevo dance teacher and practitioner who has developed his own teaching method, “Mexe com Tudo.” His approach focuses on building courage for self-expression and embracing “outros tipos de beleza,” or other types of beauty than those valued in classical dance. He has an award-winning YouTube channel of the same name. During the COVID-19 pandemic, he launched “Mexe com Tudo” classes online for students around the world.

demand respect – avoiding, as much as possible, the threat of cultural appropriation. He insisted that one cannot attain the overall energy without studying the nuances of the steps. For example, it would be inappropriate to apply the buoyant energy of frevo to earth-driven cavalo marinho or maracatu rural. The steps themselves are associated with ritual and, as in any ritual dance, the details of *how* one performs the steps matter. As I have learned in my studies of traditional West African dances, footwork from different traditions may seem similar, but subtleties of posture, rhythm and energy are particular to the ritual and ethnic group. Any variation makes it something else and may invalidate the ritual. In cavalo marinho and maracatu rural classes, I wanted to shed my own ingrained bodily habits to see how deep my kinesthetic empathy could go. Even though some of the gestural footwork in cavalo marinho is similar to Irish dance footwork, the dynamic energy, posture and flow are entirely different from my vertical, upright tendencies, so I had to avoid reverting to my default technique. As Soares repeated, we could not let the movement become “*outra coisa*,” or something else.

Dance is often compared to language, in the sense that each dance has a certain vocabulary of steps or gestures and also a grammatical syntax that organizes this vocabulary into meaningful phrases or patterns. In many ways, I like this analogy because it helps people understand (and respect) dance as a structured mode of embodied communication and not just as random expression. However, I also think that the analogy ignores the non-linguistic aspects of dance as a physical, kinesthetic experience. It becomes easy to get bogged down with structural analysis when, I believe, so much in dance is beyond categorization and verbal description. In fact, there is an inherent contradiction when we say that dance is communication or dance is language, but trying to verbalize it undermines the true power of the moving, unspeaking body as a vehicle for individual and collective expression. Just as Soares told us that “o corpo é tudo,” he also repeated, “Além de tudo, é dança” (“Besides all that, it is dance”), suggesting that all the history and details that he had just explained to us were beside the point because it is, in the end, just a dance, just a part of life, and maybe we do not always need to take it so seriously.

One of the biggest problems with using language to describe dance is that language itself has been used as a weapon in colonization, forcing not only dominant languages on

subaltern communities, but also hegemonic concepts, ideologies and epistemologies. In an interview, Soares explained to me that cavalo marinho and maracatu rural are actually not “dance,” not “popular culture” and not “performance” – these are words that outsiders use (interview with the author, 24 May 2018). When I asked him if there is an appropriate word to describe the practice in a language besides Portuguese or English, he said that he does not know – maybe there was at one point, but the enslaved and colonized people who created this practice lost everything, including their language. Cavalo marinho is not just what one sees in the dance itself, but also what one hears, tastes, touches and smells when it is practiced at community events. He noted that even before children learn to speak, they absorb the culture through their bodies, and so he points to this as evidence that the transmission process may be pre-linguistic (personal communication, 11 March 2021). The community also does not distinguish between music, dance and storytelling as separate categories. In fact, within the Zona da Mata, Soares insists that the *brincadeira* is not “art” and does not need to be formally trained, rehearsed or practiced beyond daily life. When I went to a cavalo marinho event in Condado with Soares, I noted how the practitioners were clearly not “performing” for us – the outsiders who had driven out from the city to watch – but they were doing it for themselves. Separating “art” from life is part of what he describes as the *escravidão do corpo*, or the enslavement of the body (ConVIDA! - Conversa Cabôca Com Joab Jó [PE] 2020).

Our Westernized social institutions are so focused on words – that is, what can be verbalized or written – that the body is ignored. We are told, “mind over body,” and to discipline the body through the intellect, as though the body has no intellect or ability to “know.” I certainly felt this pressure in my early training in competitive Irish dance,³ when I used to approach dance as a mathematical exercise that always had a “right answer.” I sought “perfection” by striving to be rhythmically on time, have proper technique, memorize pre-choreographed steps, create steps to fit neatly into the melodic grid of the music and choreograph figures based on geometric symmetry. When I started training Brazilian movement forms, beginning with capoeira, I began to see the value of (and the freedom in)

³ Contemporary competitive Irish dance is a notably rigid technique that does not exemplify all styles of Irish dance, such as “old style” step dance or *sean nós*, an improvisational style from western Ireland (Foley 2001).

accepting ambiguity and ambivalence in dance – to exist in the liminal space between seriousness and play and between mind and body, where expression arises from the spontaneous dialogue with another person and where one begins to feel at home upside down and in the unstable swing of the *ginga* (as discussed by Browning 1995 and Rosa 2015). This is a profound lesson that I am still exploring both in dance and in life.

As a dance scholar, I am required to put the embodied knowledge of dance into words in articles, books and conference presentations. I emphasize the words of the people to whom the dance belongs, but there is always some imperfect translation from field to paper. So much is transmitted through the body that we are not aware of and cannot even begin to verbalize. Frevo felt more familiar to me than cavalo marinho, maybe because the teaching methods were more in line with the high energy, demanding training that I was used to and maybe also because I found more freedom to explore my own improvisational munganga. In Soares' classes, I became acutely and inwardly aware of my kinesthetic struggles, partly because the dance and its culture were so new to me, and also because I could not rely on language in the same way that I could in my native English. I missed out on some important tips and stories in my struggle to understand Portuguese, but there were also many nuances packed into every gesture, shift of weight and rhythmic variation that I may not have noticed if I were more attuned to my teacher's verbal guidance. I had to rely on my body more. I felt my whole body – not just my mind – absorbing information in a way that I never had before, and I still do not have the words to fully verbalize the experience.



Figure 1: Fábio Soares da Silva (center) teaches a cavalo marinho class at Paço do Frevo in Recife. 19 April 2018. Photo credit: Luiz Santos, Paço do Frevo.

Some of the most difficult exercises for me in Soares' classes were the *mergulhão* in cavalo marinho (he referred to it as the *magui*, citing that “mergulhão” is a word that outsiders use) and *cabôco de lança* games that we played in maracatu rural classes. The *mergulhão* (or “dive”) happens in a roda formation in which one person enters the roda and “calls” another person by grabbing their arm or just making eye contact; that person calls another person and the process continues. Sometimes the call involves a kick or a *rasteira* (“sweep”) that is reminiscent of a capoeira attack, but one difference is that each encounter lasts just a couple of seconds and each call does not receive a direct response. As soon as you are called, you immediately choose someone else to call, so moments of connection pass in an instant. I was also reminded of capoeira in the *cabôco de lança* games that we played in maracatu rural classes, except that these felt much slower because of the ways that Soares directed us to skulk around our partner suspiciously while holding long wooden sticks (*guiadas*), only to interrupt the tension every so often with playful *giros* or spins that were meant to deflect or distract, or quick jabs that kept us on guard. We also played with *o empurrão* – we pushed or shoved each other off balance in order to feel more weight and

resistance as we fought to keep moving forward. These exercises were difficult for me because they required a very different type of interaction with my classmates. I was often unsure if I should laugh or be afraid, and I felt the tension of the serious and the playful converging in my body. I understood this uncertainty to be the point of the exercise – to enjoy the game, but to also watch my back at all times.

To say that “o corpo é tudo” is a decolonial proposition. We are resisting the Western notion that the mind is superior to the body. Sociologist Jessé Souza describes the history of this hierarchy in the construction of morality in the middle class in Brazil, which he traces back to the opposition between the body and the spirit in European Christianity. In this (often racialized and gendered) moral system, the body is seen as “animalistic” and inferior, and the mind or the spirit as an elevated state of being (2018, 24-77). As a dancer, I feel that it is impossible to separate the two. I know from experience that sometimes my feet know things (like Irish dance patterns) that my mind is no longer conscious of. I do not have to think about the steps anymore and they are part of my embodied memory, formed by neural patterns in my motor system. In improvisational or interactive forms like the Brazilian movement forms I have studied, the notion of the body as mind becomes apparent in the spontaneous dialogue between practitioners in the roda. This spontaneity seems simple, but it comes from years of training to “play within the crystal ball” or “play within the mind,” to cite capoeira master Bira Almeida, also known as Mestre Acordeon (1986). In cavalo marinho and maracatu rural, I was aware of the struggle between body and mind because the steps did seem “simple,” as Soares described them, but I could not access the heaviness that he asked us to embody and I could not react quickly enough to keep up with the mergulhão or cabôco de lança games. My body was not prepared, not necessarily because of a lack of physical strength or endurance, but because of a lack of the embodied technique that comes from living and breathing in a community. One must only look at the elders in a community to see how the essence of the dance truly “lives” in the body through the slightest movements, such as the subtlest tilt of the head, jutting of the hip or shuffle of the foot. The body has an intellect of its own that “speaks” as it moves.

One day when I was talking to José “Ferreirinha” da Silva Irmão of frevo group Brincantes das Ladeiras, he said, “Frevo não conta história . . . ele conta um estado de espírito

sem palavras,” or, “Frevo does not tell a story...it relates a state of being without words” (interview with the author, 6 May 2018). When I compare my experience learning cavalo marinho and frevo (dances that are new to me) to Irish dance (a dance that I grew up doing and connects me with my heritage), I think about all the ancestral knowledge that I gained about Ireland and Irish America that no one ever explained to me in depth as a child. I had to do research as an adult to learn a fuller history beyond my community of Irish dancers in the eastern United States, as well as the history of Irish culture in Ireland itself. This knowledge enriches my understanding of the dance, myself and my family’s past. But, as a child, I just enjoyed hopping around while learning steps from my teacher, and I found a certain comfort in committing the steps to bodily memory. The steps themselves tell a story, an experience or a “state of being” (to use Ferreirinha’s words) that counts for something, just as smells, tastes and other haptic sensations evoke specific and fully-formed memories. When I took cavalo marinho classes, I became more attuned to the process of how embodied knowledge is constructed and how that knowledge is transmitted to community insiders versus outsiders. What seem like “just steps” (and even ostensibly “simple” steps) have a great amount of history in them and they tell that history without words. The steps hold a tremendous amount of suffering and also pride in them.⁴ Outsiders may not recognize these stories, and insiders may not even consciously think about them while dancing, but the stories are there, in the body.

When I teach dance ethnography, I tell my students to not study the dance by itself. We must be responsible about considering the cultural context of the dance and the people who do it. It is difficult to verbalize the embodied knowledge that is communicated through movement, and arguably, sometimes we should not try. Let the dance be – *além de tudo, é dança*. But outside of the movements, what are people saying to each other? What do they care about? What are they whispering about? The dance both is and is not everything—one must talk with people to understand its meaning and cultural context, but it is also not enough to only speak about dance. One must experience the movements in the body and become attuned to what the body is saying. Understanding that sometimes contradictions

⁴ The notion that theory arises from the dancing body relates to Cherríe Moraga’s influential writings about communities (especially women) of color and how difficult and often contradictory physical experiences in the world create a “theory in the flesh” out of necessity (2015, 19).

arise in what people say and what they do, or how they dance, is part of the ethnographic process, and I believe it is the dance ethnographer's responsibility to listen attentively with the ears and the entire body and not worry about reconciling tensions and contradictions. The difficult part is continuing to engage with the discourse behind the dance. When we stop questioning, we stop challenging our assumptions about what we think is true.

Finally, I continue to ask myself, what is the role of the ethnographic researcher? What does it mean to be an outsider to a community and how does one build respect for that community? I was never unclear about whether I was an outsider to the communities that practice cavalo marinho and maracatu rural. As Soares repeated in class, "Cavalo marinho não é para quem quer, mas é para quem é" ("Cavalo marinho is not for those who want it, but it is for those who are [it]"). It is not enough to *want* to be part of the community, but one must already just *be* a part of the community. However, he also said, "Em nenhum momento, eu excluo, em nenhum momento a brincadeira exclui. Se não, você volta pra colonização" ("At no time do I exclude [others from participating], at no time does the brincadeira exclude. If it does, you go back to colonization," interview, 24 May 2018). These traditions are not exclusionary, and all are welcome to learn about them. We must recognize that culture is always changing and that it is dangerous to try to define the boundaries of who is "inside" the community and who is "outside." However, these cultural practices demand respect and they require an instructor, mentor or guide who can instill that respect. Respect, to me, means continually assessing your relationship to the practice and challenging what you think you already know by never ceasing to ask questions. As Soares said to me, "A brincadeira é uma brincadeira de questionamento" ("The brincadeira is a brincadeira of [continual] questioning," personal communication, 11 March 2021). Respect also means that the moment you think you understand something or have mastered something, even after a lifetime of training, it is time to go back to the beginning, as there is always something more to learn and another perspective to consider, even when contradictions arise. For me, this is central to dances of resistance—understanding how the body (and bodies) challenge assumptions about how a community defines itself and what its values are, as culture and the politics surrounding culture are ever-changing.

O corpo é tudo, the body is everything, and we are bodies, moving together.

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