



How do Outsider Styles Become Legitimated? The Introduction of Bossa Nova in the Jazz Field

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How do Outsider Styles Become Legitimated? The Introduction of Bossa Nova in the Jazz Field

This paper explores the emergence and enactment of new musical styles from the perspective of critics. As the field absorbs a new style, the critics assess whether it belongs or not to the established tradition. In parallel, as musicians produce art works following the new style, critics classify and rate them. This signaling activity helps us to understand how the legitimacy process takes place vis-à-vis the production of new records. For that purpose, we explore the introduction of Bossa Nova in the Jazz field. Our results show that as this process evolved, records that combined Bossa Nova elements with Jazz were more likely to penetrate the core of the community. Conversely, musicians who played pure Bossa Nova were kept in the periphery. Finally, the assessment of “what is Bossa Nova” moved back and forth from positive statements (BN “is” Brazilian Music, *inter alia*) to negative statements (e.g. BN “is not” Jazz, *inter alia*). This swing between positive and negative statements accompanied distinctive inflection points in the institutionalization of Bossa Nova.

1. Introduction

The central concern of this paper is to explore how new musical styles get legitimated. This question is not only localized within Sociology of Art and the study of Creative Industries, but it also refers to a broader institutional question: what is the underlying process that leads to the legitimacy of new categories?

Like an institution, a musical style works as a system of beliefs and cognitive frames that organizes collective action (DOUGLAS, 1986). It is through style that critics categorize musicians and their records (DIMAGGIO, 1987; HSU ; PODOLNY, 2005). It is also through styles that musicians negotiate their way of playing. Conversely, musical innovation occurs through stretching a style to its limits, or introducing unexpected elements to an enacted identity (WHITE, 1992a).

The institutionalization of a new style refers to the institutionalization of new social forms. Generally, the neo-institutional tradition has explored how new forms are diffused within an organizational field (BURT, 1987, GALASKIEWICZ ; WASSERMAN, 1989, BAUM ; OLIVER, 1992). Although such tradition has its roots in a phenomenological approach to the cognitive systems of actors in an organizational field, less attention has been devoted to how the underlying belief systems change (one important exception is RAO; MONIN ; DURAND, 2003). The aim of this paper is to explore the process of legitimating beyond the analysis of diffusion of new social forms.

The emergence and institutionalization of new musical styles is a privileged object for such investigation, for there is a split between musicians and critics in the production of music and discourse. In a schematic way, while musicians produce new records, critics generate the discursive analysis about this production. To be sure, this separation is not rigid, and the moments when boundaries were blurred constitute important events in the evolution of any artistic field (for an example in Jazz studies, see PORTER, 2002). Nevertheless, if we assume that critics are an important source of discursive production in a field, we should also expect that major changes in the fields’ discursive space should occur within critics’ discourse.

Critics are generally viewed as taste formers of Art Worlds (BECKER, 1982, DIMAGGIO, 1977). By playing this role, critics have been able to promote new artists, art works and styles in a field. White (1993) characterizes critics as playing the role of supervisors of an agent-principal relationship. While final consumers are the principal, musicians are the agents in creating new music. Critics, then, categorize, rate and compare new art works with previous works. Bourdieu (1993b, p.78) radicalizes such view as portraying critics as belonging to a close-knit network and sanctioning any art work that

deviates from the consecrated rules. Such critics are “guardians of a temple” who seek the monopoly of discourse creation. If we accept such proposition as our departing point, we face a paradox: if critics enact and protect the hegemonic rules in a field, how is it possible to explain the acceptance of new styles?

Conversely, if our findings show that established critics do accept new styles a new problem emerges: if the enactment of new styles occurs in an easy and frictionless way, we should suspect that the precedent institutions were not strong enough. As a consequence, if the institution has always been weak, the very role of criticism would be meaningless. In order to avoid such dead-end conclusion, I explore how critics change their belief systems *while* maintaining the strength of institutions. In other words: as new styles are enacted into an established tradition, critics have the role of reconciling the new art works with the established tradition and explain why such musical innovation (and perhaps not others) should be welcomed into the field. Following this line of reasoning, the conflict that marked the division between musicians and critics is now transferred to the realm of critics. It is in this realm where new discourses are formed, through the activity of coupling and uncoupling the new style within the web of meanings shared by the community of critics.

The object that I chose for this investigation is the introduction of Bossa Nova in the Jazz field in the sixties. While Bossa Nova sprung from a hybridism of Samba and Jazz, the Jazz tradition was well established, after sixty years of history.

2. Theory on new Styles

2.1. Outsider as a source of innovation

Simmel (1955) suggested that individuals must be regarded as intersections of groups. Also, groups can not be understood as closed entities, but intersecting with other groups through their individuals' co-memberships (SIMMEL, 1955). Pescosolido and Rubin (2000) radicalize the original simmelian intuition to depict a structure where the criss-crossing group affiliations give room to complex social network structures and social boundaries are loosely defined.

In contrast with this description, sociologists have suggested the existence of boundaries around social groups. The study of social boundaries is one of the most important themes in sociology. Its origins bring us back to the very origins of sociology (DURKHEIM, 1915, WEBER, 1978), leading to contemporary scholars like Bourdieu and Douglas.

Mary Douglas, from an anthropological perspective, and drawing on the durkheimian tradition, proposes the comparison of social boundaries to the boundaries of an individual's body (DOUGLAS, 1984, p.115). From this perspective, one's body is regarded as sacred and the exchanges with the environment are strongly regulated. Douglas goes on to describe how different societies preserve the relationship of purity of the body by avoiding the ingestion of specific kinds of food. Conversely, the appearance of certain body fluids is interpreted as impurity, or “pollution”, and requires a ritual of purification in order to reincorporate the individual to the society. The requirement of maintenance of body purity is central for these societies, for two reasons. First, and more obvious, a society concerned with purity should restrain to accept polluted elements. But most importantly, by excluding impure elements, the society thinks itself as a body, that needs to expel those inappropriate elements.

When we tie Douglas's discussion back to the innovation in music, we observe several phenomena that suggest an analogy to her model. One may speculate that as a genre becomes institutionalized, and its internal rules more crystallized, the absorption of foreign musical elements becomes increasingly regulated by such norms. Nonetheless, through the history of Jazz, for instance, periods of strong institutionalization of norms were followed by periods of deinstitutionalization of old norms and enactment of new ones. As a matter of fact, the

development of new styles in Jazz, from Hot Jazz, Swing to Avant-Garde and Fusion might be interpreted as such normative upheavals.

In contrast with the concept of sacredness of the individual, DOUGLAS (1984) points the role of becoming an outsider as an important stage for rites of passage. For instance, in order to be accepted as an adult, a child has to go outside the limits of the community in order to challenge the community's rules. In his return, the individual embraces again the community's rules, but now as an adult. WHITE (1993) recovers the idea of liminal experiences in order to explain how artists decouple their activities from their field's established rules. However, in contrast with Douglas, White foresees in this movement of return as a source of innovation to the community of artists, as new artistic forms are developed and brought back by the artist. Conversely, while the return of the recent adult within Douglas's theory is unproblematic, for she embraces her community's rules, the return of White's artist is prone to conflict, as her new creation is likely to clash with the established rules.

2.2. Making sense of change

From a phenomenological perspective, styles are categories that entail cognitive schemata for classification of art works (BOURDIEU, 1990; DIMAGGIO, 1987). A central question we should approach concerns the flexibility of these categories in order to accommodate change. As Becker (1982) points out, although new art works to be successfully accepted by an Art World should comply with its conventions, entirely conforming works are perceived as non-creative.

In spite of the requirement of constant innovation, changes that go beyond the boundaries set by the standards decrease the value of the institutions for its participants (CAVES, 2000, p. 202). As a consequence, critics have to apply a meta-classification on new labels and determine whether they are fads or should be accepted as new categories within the tradition.

Weick's study on the sensemaking phenomena in organizations (1969) clarifies that categories and labels emerge as ex-post to action. In that sense, a practice that has been occurring as 'emergent' is eventually recognized by the organization and legitimized. The process of legitimating occurs in tandem with the very labeling of the phenomena. This perspective doesn't contradict Douglas's model, for the enactment process is strongly regulated by the boundary setting rules defined by the purity laws. Nonetheless, such model is not able to explain some extreme changes in the Jazz field like the introduction of Bop scales or the Fusion's electric guitar. Such new practices went against the institutionalized rules.

To be sure, Weick's studies on sensemaking accounts for two opposing situations to explain change in crystallized schemata. The first situation is extreme crises, which led Weick to study disruptive events like fires and accidents. On the other extreme, Weick brings the very example of Jazz, where musicians consciously improvise and eventually create new ways of playing Jazz (MEYER; FROST ; WEICK, 1998). Although Weick's account on Jazz musicians might well explain the behavior of innovators, it is still left to investigation how disruptive new art forms are enacted and legitimized by other types of actors (critics, producers, etc.).

2.3. Conflict and Changes in Power

Musicians do not depend entirely on critics to establish new styles. In relation to the critics' community, musicians count on external or semi-external forces like increasing audience (as in the case of Rock and Roll, see PETERSON, 1990) or the establishment of new media organizations. Bourdieu (1993b, p.89) mentions how newly created avant-garde periodicals support avant-garde artists. If that is true, new styles should be always

accompanied with the creation of new organizations that hire sympathetic critics. This proposition is much in line with Christensen's (1997) idea that disruptive technologies emerge within new organizations.

The creation of new organizations that permit the introduction of new styles reflects changes in the power sources in a field, as the distribution of resources shifts to accommodate new players. This power-based interpretation of how institutions endure or change is supported by recent scholarship on institutional change (HOLM, 1995, HININGS et al, 2003). This perspective assumes that established critics, as well as their recipient organizations, stick to their belief systems and schemata, denying change. Nonetheless, such proposition would assume that critics do not review their belief systems even under extraordinary pressure from musicians, audience and recording companies.

An interpretation of new styles as emerging out of conflicts among musicians, critics and organizations bring us back to Bourdieu's concept of field (1993a). Within a field, artists position themselves accordingly to the quantities of capital that they control, and the composition of such capital. As a consequence, the search for external new forms or subversion of internal rules might be better described as the consequences of a practice from actors who are seeking to improve or consolidate their positions and achieve a better conversion of their capitals. From this perspective, Bourdieu departs from an orthodox durkheimian view of social boundaries as a matter moral density, to understand how social boundaries encompass not a body, but a field where its different components continuously struggle.

Nonetheless, although the internal conflicts are described as confrontations in a battle field, the boundary setting with the external world is still treated as if Jazz were a body. As a consequence, internal conflicts might be translated into the discussion on where the external boundaries are enacted. Musicians in different positions might be more or less conservative in relation to established boundaries.

2.4. From Periphery to Core: latency and visibility

As the innovative artist migrates from the periphery to the center of a community, he enters in a social space that is not only dense in social ties, but also saturated with symbolic network ties and correspondent conflicts. As Melucci (1985) puts it, such movement describes a trajectory from latency to visibility. As an artist penetrates denser areas of the community, his art works are also appreciated by a larger audience. The increase in audience leads to a sharper separation between artist and his audience. For instance, listeners to Jazz are much closer to artists when they attend to jam session rather than when they listen to records. As this separation increases, the need for exposition through media and the scrutiny of critics also increases.

As a new style migrates to the core of a community, its distinctive elements might be preserved. In that case, the host community is itself also embracing a new set of elements that hasn't recognized as part of its tradition. This migration has the effect of provoking conflict for it challenges the established traditions and stretch the established boundaries. Another possibility of diffusion is the absorption of diluted versions of the new artistic form into art works that compromise with traditional elements. Following this way, we should expect lower resistance to the new style.

These two phenomena are of central interest for us, not only because they permit us to trace the trajectory of new styles, but also because whenever a new style is introduced, critics are forced to verbalize what they believe the traditions are. Also, as the new style is accepted, critics also verbalize what the new style is. Conversely, while the field lacks a set of agreed exemplars and criteria to establish a style, for every new art work assessed, critics will express

whether in their opinion that art work belongs or not to the host tradition and whether it belongs or not to the emergent style.

Following, I will approach the construction of the Jazz tradition and the Bossa Nova history, in order to introduce my analytical strategy to this process.

3. *Jazz and Bossa Nova*

3.1. Enacting the Jazz Tradition

Gridley's (2003) identifies the most important styles in Jazz and poses a question for his readers: how can we set the boundaries of Jazz? The author offers four visions. The strictest of them requires that a song to be considered part of the Jazz repertoire must present elements of improvisation and a certain feeling of swing. Given the failure that many pieces face in matching these requirements, Gridley reviews his criteria, loosening either the improvisation or the swing dimensions (respectively the second and third views). But still several art works don't attend to any of these requirements (several of Duke Ellington's pieces are among the most prominent examples). As a consequence, we are left with the fourth, more inclusive definition: if a piece resembles the consolidated repertoire of the Jazz tradition, we should consider it Jazz (ibid. p. 6). In an earlier study, Gridley, Maxham and Hoff (1989) draw on Wittgenstein to explain what he means for "resemblance". Wittgenstein proposes to group theories under families given a similarity of epistemological approach. In analogy, Gridley proposes that the critic of Jazz is able to assess the proximity of a given piece to Jazz by analyzing in which extent it resembles the elements present in the Jazz tradition.

Although this later definition is quite inclusive, it raises at least two crucial questions. The first question is whether, by loosening so much the membership criteria, Gridley is not proposing a definition that is unable to distinguish Jazz from non-Jazz. A possible answer could argue that such evaluation is grounded on a comparison with the Jazz tradition's musical elements. But then, it leads us to this paper's central question: who established the Jazz tradition? Also, if Gridley's later definition is comprehensive, we should not assume that it has been in the same way along the history of Jazz. As a matter of fact, harsh conflicts over what is Jazz paved the development of this genre as critics resisted to new variations (KOFISKY, 1998, LOPES, 2000).

Both questions relate to the Jazz's boundaries. Moreover, they challenge us to understand the historical process that formed the institution of Jazz.

3.2. Bossa Nova in the Jazz Field

Medaglia, a writer on Bossa Nova (2003), affirms that BN was a one of the most important musical innovations in Brazil in the last century. Some historians go even farther in their defense of the importance of this new style. Bossa Nova would have played an important role in revitalizing the American Jazz, as the Jazz family of styles (bop, hard-bop, post-bop, cool) lost its ability to innovate (SEVERIANO ; HOMEM DE MELO, 1997). Other observers place the introduction of Bossa Nova in the American market as an impressive success history, for it shows how a musical style developed in a peripheral country was introduced in an large and central marketplace as the American one was in the beginning of the sixties (CASTRO, 1990). From the American side, Jazz writers describe the Bossa Nova style as an important influence in the sixties, and a still viable idiom (YANOW, 2005). Based on these statements, we are tempted to infer that Bossa Nova was warmly received by musicians, critics and public in the American Jazz community. Such inference couldn't be farther from reality, for it dismisses the institutionalization process of this new idiom. Such procedure privileges the point-of-view of an observer placed at an ex-post temporal moment, and detached from the participants' perspectives.

4. Methodology

4.1. A theory of Jazz and Bossa Nova

Jazz critics need a theory of what is Jazz (in the durkeimian sense of “belief system”) in order to assess whether a given record fit to the Jazz tradition. We collected 184 record reviews from the magazine *Down Beat*, from 1962 to 1969 (Table 1 for a longitudinal evolution of the sample). Whenever a record review had the word “Bossa Nova” in the body of the text, we considered it as part of our sample. For each review, we analyzed how the critic perceived the relationship between the following entities: “Bossa Nova”, “Samba/Brazilian Music” and “Jazz”. For that purpose, we set four questions for coding:

1. Is Bossa Nova considered either Brazilian Music or Samba?
2. Is Bossa Nova considered a blend between Samba and Jazz?
3. Is Bossa Nova considered part of the Jazz tradition?

For each of these questions, our coding procedure admitted three possible answers: the statement is true (e.g. Bossa Nova is equivalent to Brazilian music), the statement is false (e.g. Bossa Nova is not equivalent to Brazilian music) or neutral (the review is silent towards this question). Figure 1 summarizes the findings of this analysis, where we report only the affirmative and negative assessments, but not the neutral ones (total number of assessments is disclosed in Table 1).

Table 1: Evolution of Bossa Nova Records and Assessments

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Total Sample	12	52	17	35	26	14	21	7	184
BN Theory Assessments	12	44	4	7	6	4	5	2	84
% on sample	100%	85%	24%	20%	23%	29%	24%	29%	46%
Records Classified	11	49	16	33	26	14	21	7	177
% on sample	92%	94%	94%	94%	100%	100%	100%	100%	96%

Source: Author’s analysis

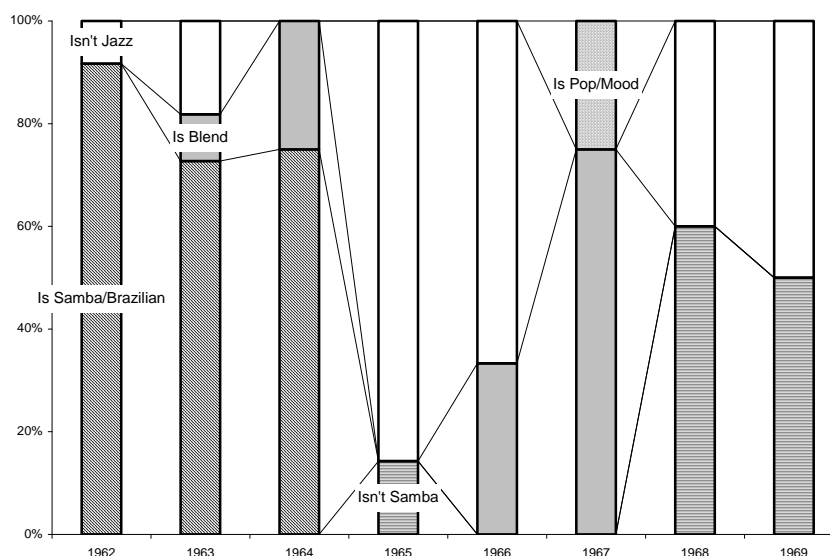


Figure 1: Evolution of the Theory of Bossa Nova

Note: 100% denotes the total number of record reviews that contained statements on what is Bossa Nova

4.2. Classification of Records

Following Burke’s suggestion that there are several types of hybridization, we identified four levels of Bossa Nova presence. The highest presence of BN was classified as “Record is BN”, indicating that the whole album followed the idiom. Following, we coded “Song is BN” whenever a record had one or more BN tracks, although some tracks were not identified as belonging to this idiom. We classified “Record has a BN flavor” whenever the critic identified an influence of BN, but not the idiom per se. Finally, the mildest classification was “Song has BN flavor”, indicating that the critic observed BN influence in one or more tracks (but not in the whole album). As we proceeded in our coding of the evolution of BN theory, we allowed the assessment to be negative as well (e.g. “Record is not BN”). As we can observe on Figure 2, such negative form of valuation occurs in a much lower frequency when compared to other classification groups. Table 1 brings the total number of records classified under the categories mentioned above.

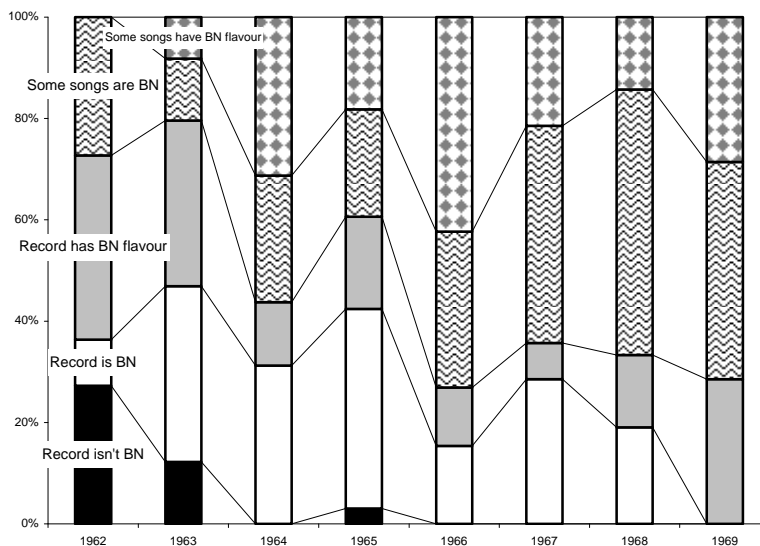


Figure 2: Classification of Records

Note: 100% denotes the total number of record reviews that contained statements on whether the record belonged to Bossa Nova.

4.3. Ratings

Down Beat critics rated each record under a rating system that ranged from 1 to 5, where 1 is a poor record, and 5 is an excellent record. The average rating of the universe of records reviewed by Down Beat in the sixties was slightly above the mid point, achieving 3.5. Not differently, the average rating of our Bossa Nova sample was 3.42. The longitudinal analysis of the trend in rating hasn’t revealed any important deviation from this level.

For each record classification category, we calculated the mean rating for each year. Next, we standardized this figures using the year’s global average rating as a benchmark.

Figure 3 brings the trends of relative ratings by record classification group, where the horizontal axis stands for the year's global average rating.

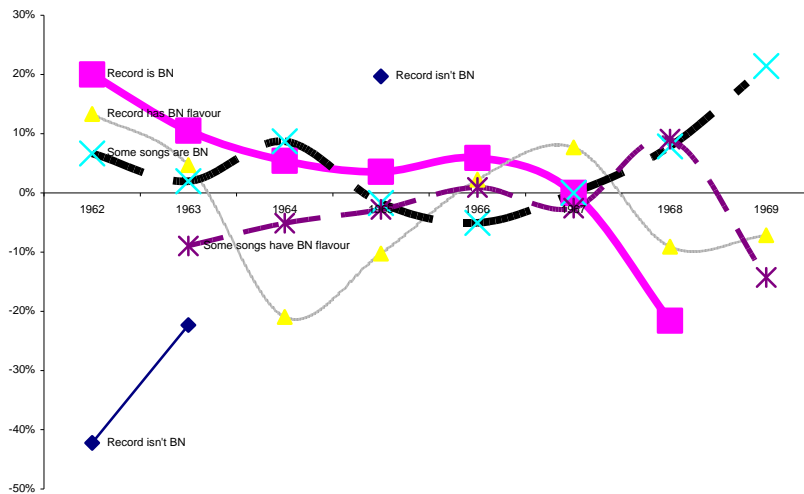


Figure 3: Evolution of Rating by Record Classification

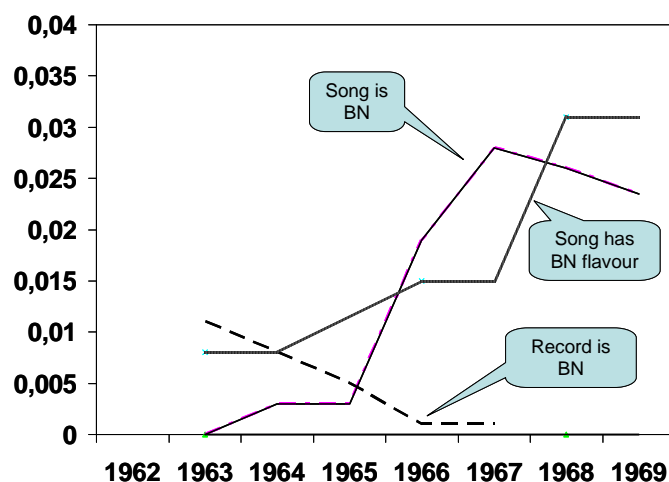
4.4. Social Networks

The analysis of social networks provides an alternative approach to assess the penetration of a social form in a community. Traditionally, social scientists analyze the adoption and diffusion of social forms in a social space by keeping constant the social form. In our analysis, we attempt to observe the penetration of Bossa Nova in the Jazz community by identifying whose actors in the social space adopted the idiom. In addition, we mapped the diffusion of BN in its different record classifications. As a consequence, we let mutation of the social form be a dimension of our analysis.

In order to gather the LPs data, we collected a sample of credit information from Jazz LPs on the “Crazy Jazz” web site. Crazy Jazz is a CD seller, specialized in Jazz titles. It is recommended by the “Penguin Guide to Jazz on CD” as the best Jazz CD seller. Furthermore, Crazy Jazz shows up to nine most important musicians involved in the LP. Our original sample covered 5,572 LPs, between 1930 and 1969. A sub-sample was extracted covering the period under analysis, from 1962 to 1969.

Ideally, we should consider as relational data only those titles that reflect original recording sessions. However, many titles available are collections and compilations that might interfere with our interpretation. Collection titles might establish relationships that were inexistent (e.g. “All Star Swing players” could wrongly link Benny Goodman to Duke Ellington). On the other hand, compilations might cover a quite long period of the artist’s production and changes of style, bringing difficulty in establishing when those relationships were established, and when that artist developed that style (e.g. “Dizzy Gillespie’s biography” could mistakenly relate Swing to Afro-Cuban Jazz).

In order to minimize these effects, we eliminated from our database collection titles. Nonetheless, we could not just eliminate compilation titles. The reason is that several titles were originally recorded in compacts, and were relaunched in compilation CDs. Nonetheless, we restricted compilations to maximum of five years range, and considered its release year the initial year of the covered period.



4.5. Preparation of the Network

From the information of LPs and its featuring artists, we built three preliminary databases: a list of musicians, a list of LPs and the relationships between LPs and musicians.

We divided the LPs database in eight years, from 1962 to 1969. For each period, we counted the number of titles recorded by all pairs of musicians. Whenever a pair of musicians shared at least one record, we considered that the musicians had a tie in that year. Next, we dichotomized all relationships, not considering the strength of the tie.

4.6. Preliminary Analysis

We used extensively the software UCINET, version 6.0, in order to calculate the betweenness centrality of each musician. Next, we calculated the average betweenness centrality for each record classification category. Kadushin (2004a) suggests that the between centrality measure provides some insight on the extent that an actor controls a brokering position in a network. Figure 4 shows the two-year moving average by classification category.

Figure 4: Evolution of Average Betweenness Centrality by Record Classification Category

Note: the vertical axis denotes musicians' Average Betweenness Centrality per record classification

4.7. History and Narratives

In a recent study on the institutionalization of the Nouvelle Cousine in France, its authors (RAO, MONIN and DURAND, 2003) introduce their investigation with the history of the origins this new style of cooking. In the history of Jazz, we find such approach problematic. There exist a wide variety of narratives on the “true” origins of Jazz. A narrative that gives emphasis on the Blues roots strengthens the link between Jazz and its Afro-American identity. In contrast, a narrative that places the New Orleans' Creole origins as more central will give more salience to the syncretic aspect of Jazz. Finally, a narrative that explores non-American influences, as Gypsie's (Reinhardt), Cuban (Gillespie) or Brazilian (Getz) will shed a “global” flavor to Jazz. To be sure, each of these narratives attempts to establish the “true” identity of Jazz in two ways. First, they aim at establishing a link between Jazz and a given social group. Second, they seek to influence the formalization of the essential characteristics that define the boundaries of Jazz.

The same phenomena occur when we analyze the history, or histories, of Bossa Nova. Rather than trying to establish the true roots of Bossa Nova, which would turn this study in a Musicology or History of Art piece, we take a neutral approach to its roots, displacing it from the background of the article towards a position where the narratives become part of the material to be analyzed. Part of our motivation is to monitor the emergence of new narratives in tandem with the very process of institutionalization of Bossa Nova. In parallel to the records' reviews, the editors of Down Beat devoted considerable space to explain and clarify

the history of Bossa Nova. As a matter of fact, several narratives coexisted for a while, providing ambiguity on which records would be the true exemplars for Bossa Nova.

5. Results

5.1. Bossa Nova Narratives

In 1962, Bossa Nova was officially introduced by Down Beat. At that point, the “new thing” achieved a considerable commercial success among Jazz consumers, especially among those closer to the Cool style. The most prominent musician playing Bossa Nova was Stan Getz, who was believed by many to be the very one who brought it from Brazil. This first version of the origins of Bossa Nova was problematic for many for two reasons: first, it dismissed the role of other musicians, like Charlie Byrd, in its introduction in the U.S. Second, it signaled to consumers and musicians that such style was entirely created by Brazilian musicians.

In reaction, Tynan (1962) offered an alternative narrative on the origins of Bossa Nova. Laurindo Almeida (Brazilian) and Bud Shank (American) would have developed the origins of Bossa Nova in a studio in Los Angeles in 1953. Although Shank and his colleagues perceived in the new thing an opportunity for innovation, Laurindo preferred to follow a classic guitar career, overlooking the potential of the new style. As the narrative goes, eventually a Shank-Almeida’s record achieved João Gilberto and Antonio Carlos Jobim in Brazil. These Brazilian musicians would have taken the original BN from Shank and Almeida and formalized it to follow a more rigid beat, robbing from the percussion its original freedom. As a consequence, the Brazilian adaptation of BN dismissed the freedom of percussion, crucial for identifying the new style with Jazz. A return to its American roots would lead BN to the Jazz tradition:

Despite several attempts at delineation in the press and liner commentary on recordings, a central fact concerning the practical beginnings of this jazz samba has been ignored: bossa nova, as we know it, is neither new nor wholly Brazilian. Its roots trail back a decade, and its practical application as a new form found birth in Hollywood, Calif. (Ibid, p. 21).

This later version was not accepted by either Antonio Carlos Jobim or Laurindo Almeida. Jobim, in an interview to Gene Lees, stated that Bossa Nova was not Jazz, but a “tamed” version of samba, with strong Jazz influences:

Bossa Nova has a jazz influence. Gerry Mulligan had a great influence on us. You could call bossa nova ‘cool samba’ and somebody did call it that in Brazil. The authentic Negro samba is very primitive. They use maybe 10 percussion instruments and maybe four or five singers. They shout and the music is very hot and wonderful. Bossa Nova is cool and contained, on the other hand. It tells the story, including the lyrics, trying to be simple and serious and lyrical. (...) You could call bossa nova a clean, washed samba without the loss of the momentum. (LEES, 1963).

Also, the Brazilian musician claimed that he had never heard the Shank-Almeida experiment, but it was Gerry Mulligan’s influence on his and Gilberto’s playing that led to the development of Bossa Nova: “We never heard Laurindo Almeida. Gerry influenced us, you must tell the people.” (Ibid).

In addition, Laurindo Almeida stated that his experiment with Shank was far from Gilberto’s and Jobim’s style. Theirs, affirmed Almeida, was the real Bossa Nova. In

summary: Bossa Nova was considered by the Brazilian musicians as an evolution of samba, influenced by Jazz.

By the end of 1963, Stan Getz received the Grammy award for his “Jazz Samba” record, placing him as the best known musician associated with Bossa Nova. In reaction, Leonard Feather tried to provide to the readers of *Down Beat* a more complete picture of the Bossa Nova style, collecting Charlie Byrd’s narrative on the emergence of Bossa Nova. By 1965 the critics declared the Bossa Nova fad over, and tried to assess its “profit and loss” balance:

Though interest in Bossa Nova has abated quite a bit after the deluge of a couple of years ago, it hardly has withered on the vine of popular acceptance. The flood of BN discs apparently had the result of creating a stable core of fans for the delightful, airy, graceful music of contemporary Brazil. (WELDING, *Down Beat*, 1965, 32:26, p. 24)

5.2. The Evolution of the BN Theory

A first analysis on the evolution of the sample shows that the apex of critics’ attention towards Bossa Nova occurred in 1963, with 52 records reviewed. There was a fall in 1964 to 17 records, as a result of a band-wagon bursting, but a significant recovery in 1965 as a lagged reaction to Getz’s award. After 1965, there is a declining trend in the number of BN records reviewed.

As we observe the evolution of the Theory of Bossa Nova on Figure 1 and the number of records in our sample, we are able to complement the existing narratives of the reception of BN in the U.S. with intuitions on its different stages of institutionalization. From 1962, since its inception, towards 1964, we observe a predominant, although declining, classification of Bossa Nova as a type of Samba or Brazilian music. Few critics ventured to classify BN as a blend of Jazz and Brazilian music, while few already expressed that BN was not Jazz.

In 1965 we observe a reversal in this trend. Bossa Nova is no longer considered Brazilian music or Samba. In contrast, several critics point out that Bossa Nova is not Samba, whenever they identified in the record under criticism that traditional “samba” elements were introduced under the disguise of the Bossa Nova label. Nonetheless, we observe in parallel an increase in criticisms that considered Bossa Nova as different from Jazz. It is worth noting that in 1965, we observe either neutral or negative assessments of Bossa Nova, which marks a point of inflection in the institutionalization of the idiom. Also, we see a significant drop of assessments of “what is Bossa Nova” on a percentage basis, in comparison to previous years levels (Table 1).

In the couple of years that followed this point of inflection, we observe an increase in positive assessments, and most of these reviews classified Bossa Nova as a blend of Jazz and Brazilian music. In 1967, we observe any negative assessment of Bossa Nova, which indicated a trend towards the institutionalization of BN as a separate and distinct field from the Brazilian and the Jazz fields.

Nevertheless, the years of 1968 and 1969 are marked by a return of the negative assessments. Classifications of Bossa Nova either excluded the idiom from Samba or excluded it from Jazz. By performing this double negation, the critics could at the same time accept the absorption of Bossa Nova without either defining it or putting in jeopardy the formal boundaries of Jazz.

5.3. Evolution of Record Classification

In the beginning of the history of BN, we observe a bandwagon of records with some BN influence. As a matter of fact, on Figure 2 few of the records reviewed in 1962 were

entirely BN. In parallel, many reviews point out the launching of records that are not genuinely following the Bossa Nova style. This bandwagon effect is a consequence to the perception that the new style is only a momentary fad. At this moment, the critics play a disciplinary role in the field. They recognize those records that claim to be Bossa Nova (“Record isn’t Bossa Nova”) from those that are, in their opinion, the true Bossa Nova. In order to establish the new style as sacred, the critics refer to the “original” Bossa Nova, electing exemplar records as referential points.

As a consequence of this movement, critics, and in consequence consumers and the field as a whole, give higher priority to those exemplars that will serve as a compass to the coming production. From 1963 to 1965 there is an increase of “pure” Bossa Nova records reviewed by Down Beat.

Nonetheless, from 1963 to 1965 we observe a decrease in the number of records classified as Bossa Nova, probably as a consequence of the higher institutionalization of the new style. As a consequence, pure BN records leave room to records with only some influence of Bossa Nova.

5.4. Evolution of Ratings by Record Category

The trends described above are accompanied by significant changes in the average rating by “record category”. Records that are fake BN, or just free-riders of the bandwagon effect are severely punished with below average ratings. In contrast, the BN records that serve as exemplars to critics receive the highest scores in comparison with the other categories.

As BN becomes more institutionalized, and its presence felt as a mild influence in “traditional” Jazz musicians’ work (e.g., Duke Ellington or Miles Davis), records with some BN influence (especially those where “some songs have BN flavor”) increase in their average rating (Figure 3). In contrast, the rating of pure BN records decreases.

5.5. Penetration of BN in the Jazz community

Figure 4 indicates that high centrality actors introduced BN to the Jazz community in the early sixties (e.g. Stan Getz). Nonetheless, as the most prominent original musicians shifted to other styles (Stan Getz eventually migrated back to hard bop) or adopted milder forms of Bossa Nova, the pure BN leaders decreased in centrality.

The result is twofold. First, the pure BN players remained in the periphery of the community, becoming a quasi-outsider reference. In contrast, milder versions of Bossa Nova were adopted by more prominent and central musicians in the community. We observe on Figure 4 an increase of in the average betweenness centrality of those musicians who adopted milder versions of BN.

6. Discussion: a tentative model for a process of institutionalization

The introduction and evolution of Bossa Nova in the Jazz field suggests a pattern of institutionalization of new social forms. Following, we will attempt to combine these insights in a cohesive model.

The first stage is the introduction of the new style: a musician launches the “new thing” and achieves a sudden and unexpected success. The recognition of a new style occurs with full publicity and high awareness of all actors, although its creation might have been buffered for years before its recognition. This characteristic is similar to technology oriented fields, such those described by Christensen (1997), where new technologies evolve and are buffered in peripheral sectors of a community of organizations. However, in contrast with technological fields, cultural fields permit a wider ceremonial adoption of the new style (analogously to the ceremonial adoption of social forms proposed by MEYER and ROWAN, 1991). Such practice leads musicians to adopt the new style label, without truly absorbing any

of its characteristics. At this stage, the critics emerge as playing an important disciplinary role in the field, for they identify those records that deviate from the perceived standard. The sanction against “free-riders” is expressed in bad ratings, which serve as signaling to consumers, distribution channel and other musicians. In a very mechanical flavor, we may perceive the critics as the executors of the function of selection in this system.

In order to establish the legitimacy of the “standard” of the new styles, the critics elect those records that will play the role of exemplars to the field. At this second stage, reviews give higher priority to “pure” exemplars, in order to consecrate a new tradition. At this point we are forced to depart from the mechanical model, for two reasons. First, critics will not necessarily elect the same set of exemplars, creating some ambiguity on the boundaries of the new style. Second, musicians will perform unexpected appropriations of the new style into their music. As a consequence, new launched records will only resemble the elected exemplars. Nonetheless, Stan Getz’s award served as a strong signal to the field to elect his album as an exemplar, which provided a shared standard to subsequent records.

The proliferation of appropriations leads the field to a third stage, when critics are forced to review their definitions and formalizations. Now, instead of affirming what the style **is**, the critics choose a more conservative strategy: they affirm what the style **is not**. This shift in their position occurs as a reaction towards the flush of new records that perform legitimate appropriations of the new style.

In a fourth stage, a new standard is recognized as legitimate. As a consequence, critics migrate from negative assessments back to positive assessments. But now the theory of the new style accepts that it is a blend. In tandem with the establishment of new accepted standards, musicians continue to produce new records under influence of the new style. Rather than strictly follow the established standards, they will twist it to further adaptations. Also, those musicians closely associated with the pure exemplars are kept in the periphery, as if segregated from entering the core of the field. In contrast, more central actors will introduce diluted versions of the new style. As a consequence, new classification crises will come, bringing the field back to its third stage of segregation. As in a systemic loop, the feedback process goes back and forth from the third and fourth stages, until the style reaches a level of absorption that critics are unable to notice further changes. Following this systemic approach, when this final stage is achieved, the system approaches its equilibrium. This trend occurs in tandem with a decline of the number of records reviewed.

At this point, we must place two warnings against this schematic model. The first warning is against a suggestion that the system is purposive as a whole. The process described reflects the history of the introduction of Bossa Nova in the Jazz field. Nonetheless, the introduction of other styles followed different patterns that differ from this scheme. Fusion, for instance, emerged as an evolution of Jazz and Rock, mostly introduced by hard-bop musicians. After its initial inception, Fusion musicians created a new field with distinct audiences, recording companies and venues, although not entirely breaking the ties with the Jazz world. Another example is the introduction of Bebop: this new style was not just absorbed by the Jazz field. Musicians who played bebop were able to displace Swing musicians and occupy a hegemonic position in the field. Finally, Bossa Nova could have followed a much shorter and fad-like life cycle. As a consequence, its presence would be purged without any relevant absorption.

7. Implications for the study of institutionalization

Traditionally, the study of the introduction of new social forms investigates the adoption and diffusion of a fixed form within a given community. In this paper, we attempted to give room to the adoption and diffusion of hybrid and quasi-forms, enlarging the scope of

analysis of social forms. This enlargement was achieved by letting the classification of records to follow a coding ranging from “pure BN” to “a flavor of BN”.

A second innovation introduced by our paper is the usage of negative semantic relationship between objects and categories and among categories. The cognitive tradition in organizational studies usually investigates how individuals activate schemata in order to classify objects or interpret an experience. Usually, such classification processes place all given objects under pre-existent categories by establishing positive semantic relationships among objects and categories. Theories of categories (i.e., how different entities relate to each other) usually build systems of concepts with positive semantic relationships. Our study tried to bring the role of negative semantic relationships as an attempt to protect the boundaries of cognitive systems. As a consequence, not only the similarity, but also the dissimilarity and the differentiation are brought back to the study of cognitive aspects of institutionalization. This intuition brings back the original idea that the relationship among categories is built upon binary relationships, which entails that social conflict is mediated by the struggle among categories (BOURDIEU, 1996).

8. From the System towards the Field thinking

Our study was reductionist in the extent that it limited itself to the evolution of only one style, Bossa Nova, within only one periodical, namely Down Beat. Nonetheless, the adoption and diffusion of a new social form is rarely isolated from other contemporary forms and competitive organizations.

When a musician considers adopting Bossa Nova, she has to perform a trade-off between the gains of adopting it, against what she will lose for not adopting other styles or abandoning previous successful styles. Moreover, even if that musician tries to reach a compromise between the new style and previous styles, she has to aim for the right balance, otherwise her musical identity with consumers and critics will be put in jeopardy. Our findings show that such musicians, like Duke Ellington, absorbed the new style in a much milder form in comparison to original exemplar creators, like João Gilberto.

Future studies should cover a broader range of styles, but also attempt to preserve the analysis of how the adoption and diffusion of new styles occurs in tandem with the position-taking action of different actors (BOURDIEU, 1993a). The introduction of the concept of field as a space for internal conflict will bring us better understanding on why musicians shift to new styles. Conversely, the investigation of how new positions are formed and taken will bring us a better intuition on the alignment of critics towards positive and negative semantic classifications. Following this logic, the investigation of whether individual critics stick to their schemata or adapt it as the field evolves would bring us a glimpse on how the gatekeepers' cognitive schemata evolve.

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