

---

## Reggae in São Luís: cultural identity and the emergence of Brazilian Jamaica

### El reggae em São Luís: la identidad cultural y el surgimiento de la Jamaica brasileña

### O reggae em São Luís: identidade cultural e o surgimento da Jamaica brasileira

Matheus Andrade Marques <sup>1</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2421-5482>

---

<sup>1</sup> Universidade Federal do Ceará, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Geografia, Fortaleza, Ceará, Brasil, [marquesm93@hotmail.com](mailto:marquesm93@hotmail.com)

---

Received on: 01/25/2023

Accepted for publication on: 03/30/2023

---

#### Abstract

This article discusses the arrival and consolidation of reggae in São Luís. It appears that São Luiz is the territory outside Jamaica where the musical genre is most successful, having incorporated by its population, mainly by blacks, a series of particular habits during the appropriation of Jamaican reggae, in this way, the regueiro of São Luís created unique bonds with Jamaican rhythm and that relationship endures to the present day. These aspects contributed to São Luís being conceived as 'Brazilian Jamaica'. The objective of the research is to analyze the relationship between reggae and the population of Ludovic, its particularities and symbolism. As a result, it was identified that the relationship between society and reggae existing in São Luís has singularities, which express historical, cultural, racial and resistance aspects.

**Keywords:** Reggae. Cultural Identity. Brazilian Jamaica. São Luís. Maranhão.

---

#### Resumen

Este artículo trata sobre la llegada y consolidación del reggae en São Luís. Parece que São Luiz es el territorio fuera de Jamaica donde el género musical tiene más éxito, habiendo incorporado en su población, principalmente negra, una serie de hábitos particulares durante la apropiación del reggae jamaicano, así, el regueiro de São Luís creó lazos únicos con el ritmo jamaicano y esa relación perdura hasta el día de hoy. Estos aspectos contribuyeron a que São Luís fuera concebida como la 'Jamaica brasileña'. El objetivo de la investigación es analizar la relación entre el reggae y

la población de Ludovic, sus particularidades y simbología. Como resultado, se identificó que la relación entre sociedad y reggae existente en São Luís tiene singularidades, que expresan aspectos históricos, culturales, raciales y de resistencia.

**Palabras clave:** Reggae. Identidad cultural. Jamaica brasileña. São Luís. Maranhão.

---

### Resumo

O presente artigo discute a chegada e consolidação do reggae em São Luís. Constata-se que São Luiz é o território fora da Jamaica onde o gênero musical mais faz sucesso, tendo incorporado pela sua população, principalmente por negros, uma série de hábitos particulares durante a apropriação do reggae jamaicano, deste modo, o regueiro de São Luís criou laços únicos com o ritmo jamaicano e essa relação perdura até os dias atuais. Estes aspectos contribuíram para que São Luís fosse concebido como 'Jamaica Brasileira'. O objetivo da pesquisa é analisar a relação do reggae com a população ludovicense, suas particularidades e simbolismos. Como resultados, identificou-se que a relação sociedade e reggae existente em São Luís possuem singularidades, que expressam aspectos históricos, culturais, raciais e de resistência.

**Palavras-chave:** Reggae. Identidade Cultural. Jamaica Brasileira. São Luís. Maranhão

---

### Introduction

The Reggae is a musical rhythm born in Jamaica, which reflects the culture of this people, emerging in the poorest areas of that country, the musical style soon became popular throughout the territory of the Caribbean island, having as the greatest exponent of its success the singer Jamaican Bob Marley. Due to the great acceptance of the songs by the local society, other singers soon stood out and the spread of reggae throughout the country was instantaneous.

The success of Marley's songs and other singers was so significant in his country that reggae began to transcend the borders of Jamaica and became a well-known musical rhythm in other continents. In Brazil, the main records point to the presence of reggae on national soil in the mid-1970s (SILVA, 1995).

The popularization of reggae on Brazilian soil took place mainly in the city of São Luís, capital of the state of Maranhão. Although some other musical rhythms from the Caribbean were already successful in Ludovicense territory before the arrival of reggae,

of which the following stand out: salsa, merengue and lambada (ARAÚJO, 2004). None of these predecessors became popular and became part of the local culture like reggae.

As Santos (2000) points out, the diffusion of cultures across the most diverse types of territories in the world is currently a common phenomenon due to the opportunities provided by globalization, therefore, new habits and customs can be incorporated by the most diverse societies. In this context, it is understood that the arrival of reggae in São Luís is part of the aforementioned scenario reported by the author, since part of Jamaican culture is established as a participant element of Ludovicense identity.

The explanation for this aforementioned identification of São Luís with reggae can be understood from some perspectives, in this sense, we list some similarities between the places that can explain this phenomenon. We could start from purely geographic factors, such as the fact that both territories are located on islands and form part of the same continent, but that would be a superficial, shallow analysis. Ethnic and socioeconomic aspects draw more attention, since the concentration of poverty in Jamaica and São Luís have high rates, in addition to having a considerable presence of blacks in their populations.

Such characteristics can be related to a historical process of colonization in Jamaica and also in Brazil, where the arrival of black people in these places is the result of slave activity (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008). This reality can be identified in the emergence of reggae in Jamaica, the lyrics of the compositions brought messages of a strong social nature, pointing out the countless ills suffered by black people throughout the history of society. In the case of São Luís, it is worth mentioning that the popularization of the rhythm took place mainly through the popular classes of the city, that is, the poorest, and in their great majority, these are black.

Due to the difference in languages, most of the regueira population on the island of Maranhão did not understand the lyrics of the songs in the early days of rhythm in Maranhão soil, therefore, the social criticisms intoned by Jamaican singers were only

known by a few who could interpret the language British. But this was not a problem for reggae fans in São Luís, as, with its consolidation in Ludovicense territory, other particularities emerged that also express the cultural identity of that society.

Therefore, the objective of this study is to discuss the formation of this cultural identity of São Luís towards the Jamaican rhythm, a phenomenon that culminated in the nickname of the city as Brazilian Jamaica (MORAIS, 2008). For the success of this yearning, a historical rescue of the arrival of reggae in the capital of Maranhão was carried out, with reflections on its commercialization, its diffusion and integration into the local culture.

The article is structured in four sections, the primary one, which presents the object of study and the problematization of the research; the second part, which deals with the origin of reggae in Jamaica; the third moment is focused on a discussion about the Jamaican rhythm in ludovicense territory; and finally, we make some considerations about the results obtained during the work.

### **Origin of reggae**

Jamaica is a nation located in North America, its capital is Kingston. The country's official language is English, "but a mixture of archaic English and African vocabulary is commonly used, and more than 90% of the Jamaican population is of African origin" (PENHA, 2003, p. 32). The country was colonized by Spaniards and English, having received throughout its history a significant number of blacks from Africa to be enslaved on Jamaican soil. Through many revolts, only in 1833 did Jamaica achieve the abolition of slavery in its territory (PENHA, 2003). As a result of this period, it inherited a nation characterized by a series of social ills.

This scenario is also perpetuated in later decades, establishing Jamaica as a nation with high poverty rates. It is under the aegis of these conditions that reggae appears in the Caribbean country, portraying in its lyrics the everyday misery

experienced on the island, relating such problems with the actions of its settlers in Jamaican territory, calling for racial equality.

However, it should be noted that reggae is the result of an evolution of predecessor rhythms that were already quite successful among the local population, “in the 1950s, Rhythm and Blues was at its peak, and in Kingston (the current capital of Jamaica) and Spanish, that was the sound that Jamaicans most liked” (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 3).

Still according to Moraes and Araújo (2008), this rhythm popularized in the 1950s was fundamental for the emergence of another important successor, the mento. Regarding this musical style, “[...] it developed based on the rhythm of work songs that helped the slaves to survive through long hours of exhausting effort with the pickaxe” (CARDOSO, 1997, p.18). Later the rhythms continue this process of development.

During the 1960s, considered the beginning of reggae, the mixture of mento with rhythm and blues, tempered by the influences left by African drums from the time of slavery, gave rise to ska (nervous beat with fast tempo), a rhythm that was born in the street with affiliation directly from the ghettos and which was automatically adopted by the people. Ska bands enlivened the tourist ships that visited Jamaica, attracted by a different rhythm that 'bubbled' the island for years on end (PENHA, 2003, p. 33).

Ratifying this narrative, Moraes and Araújo (2008, p. 4) point out that ska has “a faster beat than the previous one and mainly characterizes a movement of identity affirmation”. Still on that rhythm:

This hard-earned native musical form, along with American rhythm & blues, motivated the emergence of ska, which, in turn, gave rise to another rhythm, rocksteady. The transition from rocksteady to reggae happens at a time when this bass line becomes even more accentuated and the pulse slower, giving a greater cadence to the new rhythm (ARAÚJO, 2004, p. 3).

As presented so far, it appears that the emergence of reggae is conditioned to the development process of other popular rhythms in Jamaica, which also already expressed the historical reality of the country.

Going through different styles, since its inception, reggae has been able to experience new musical and instrumental perspectives brought by the region's colonizers and adapt them to their social and historical reality. Therefore, its lyrics are composed in a mixed language, Jamaican Creole, the result of multiple encounters that took place throughout the history of the place, a mark of cultural hybridity (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 3).

Due to the insertion of these new musical elements in the rhythms, what we currently know as reggae, or what is called in São Luís as roots reggae, was arrived at.

Also called root reggae, it is a style that portrays all the regrets brought with the modernization of Jamaica, such as unemployment, homelessness, precarious working conditions, not corresponding to the expectations of the population after independence. Linked to Rastafari philosophy, it manifested a feeling of rebellion and discontent, which was highlighted in the lyrics of Bob Marley's songs, one of the main icons of Jamaican music, was the link between reggae and Rasta philosophy, projecting the movement beyond of territorial borders. In addition to these characteristics, Roots is primarily marked by its rhythmic fidelity to traditional Jamaican reggae (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 4).

Regarding the origin of the rhythm, it is reiterated that "it was born in the so-called 'slums' of Jamaica, peripheral neighborhoods built in zinc sheds. It is through this fact that it can be inferred that, since its appearance, reggae has always been a ghetto sound" (ARAÚJO, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, this is a genuinely Jamaican musical style, which portrays the identity of this people through this art.

Due to this historical and cultural characterization embodied in the lyrics of the songs, reggae became popular in Jamaica like no other previous musical style, thus beginning its successful trajectory in the country and later, beyond its borders.

Reggae concentrates much of Jamaica's social, cultural and political expression, with composers and singers who have become prophets, social critics and spiritual leaders in the country. As the maximum expression of Jamaican reggae in the world is Robert Nesta Marley who, with the band 'The Wailers', was responsible for the explosion of reggae beyond Jamaican borders. The international success of the 'Wailers' served to open the doors to several other Jamaican singers and composers, who began touring and releasing their albums outside the country, from the beginning of the 70's, with a new proposal, enthralling the rest of the world. with messages against racial discrimination (PENHA, 2003, p. 35)

As the author points out, the reggae singers of that time, especially the 1960s and 1970s, played a unique role in spreading the Jamaican musical and cultural style to be recognized in other countries. Thus allowing reggae to reach São Luís, a place that would be the most successful territory of the rhythm outside Jamaica.

### **The Reggae in Brazilian Jamaica**

The title of Brazilian Jamaica is popularly related to São Luís, because this Brazilian municipality is the non-Jamaican territory where the rhythm is most successful. Arriving in the capital of Maranhão in the mid-1970s, reggae was soon consolidated as one of the main musical styles of Ludovicense popular culture, with greater appeal, especially for low-income social strata, a reality similar to that experienced by the Caribbean island.

With its acceptance by the population of São Luís, reggae becomes not only a musical rhythm admired by local party goers who had Jamaican music as their main attraction. Just as in Jamaica, reggae is also synonymous with identity and culture for regueiros from Ludovic, although it is not an egalitarian movement to Jamaica, on the

island of Maranhão the rhythm creates its own roots, traditions and also expresses part of black culture.

Reggae arrived in Maranhão in the mid-1970s, being brought from Pará to the cities of Maranhão, a factor attributed to the construction in this period of the Carajás railroad, built by Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), interconnecting the two states, therefore, this period is marked by a strong cultural exchange between both, due to the workers of the referred work, being in their great majority maranhenses and paraenses.

In some cities in Pará, the presence of rhythms from the Caribbean region was already common, so reggae was just another one there, but when it arrived in São Luís and other municipalities in the state, such as those in the Baixada Maranhão region, the musical style had a completely different identification from that existing in the neighboring state (BRASIL, 2011). Another version about the origin of reggae in Maranhão concerns “[...] a lover of Caribbean music, known as Riba Macedo, would have had access to some reggae records from Belém, taking them to parties rocked by the Caribbean sounds in São Luís” (SANTOS, 2009, p. 125).

According to Penha (2003), due to the similar ethnic and social characteristics of Jamaica and Maranhão, the consummation of reggae in Maranhão territory by the popular social strata was instantaneous. However, it should be noted that the rhythm was not evenly successful throughout Maranhão, with the main areas of success being the northern region of the state, where São Luís is located, the epicenter of reggae in Maranhão, and also in the region of the Baixada Maranhão. .

This concentration of reggae in these areas, sharpens some reflections on the motivations for its success in Maranhão, or in parts of it, the thesis by Penha (2003) that discusses the ethnic and social similarities with Jamaica is interesting, but Pará and didn't other Brazilian states also have a similar reality? Not to mention the other areas of Maranhão where reggae did not have the same outcome as the capital. The fact is that “reggae is played today, from north to south of the country, and each place has

identified itself in a different way, as is the case of São Luís, which for over 30 years has welcomed the Jamaican rhythm” (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 5).

In São Luís, after its spread throughout the local territory, some parties attended by the poor social strata began to insert the Jamaican musical genre into their repertoires, thus attracting more and more new fans. It is observed at that moment the emergence of some particularities of ludovicense reggae, such as, for example, that “the music that in its Jamaican origin was danced individually was re-choreographed from then on, reggae gains in sensuality with the ginga from Maranhão, being danced in peers” (BRASIL, 2011, p. 89).

Other aspects were also readapted as reggae was introduced into Maranhão culture, Brasil (2011, p. 89) points out that “another re-signification was in the name of the songs. As the vast majority of fans of the new genre did not understand English, a particular way of identifying the music was the creation of the melo”. This practice consisted of naming certain songs according to some particular motivations, in many cases, melo nomenclatures emerged that had no relation to the original reggae titles.

Illustrating this naming process with examples, the song Sweet P. by the group Fabulous Five is called, by regueiros from Maranhão, “melo da rain”. This denomination has nothing to do with its lyrics: at the time it was released in São Luís by dj Carlinhos Tijolada at the Barraca de Pau club in Cidade Operária, it was raining torrentially and, due to this phenomenon of nature, the song was named this way. form (ARAÚJO, 2004, p. 12).

Therefore, as presented by the author, it is clear that the denominations of the melo are due to the most diverse possibilities, leaving aside the messages sung by the singers of the songs. One of the most common ways of naming melos was due to the phonetic adaptation of reggae lyrics, which are sung in English by Jamaican singers, thus, the combination of some phonemes results in a variety of titles, expressing yet another facet of São Luís reggae.

The song *White Witch* by the band *Andrea True Connection* is known in the city as “*melo do crab*”, however, the reason, in this case, was the phonetic adaptation (adaptation which, by the way, already inspires interest for further research). In its chorus, there is an excerpt in which it is asked *What’s gonna get you?* (English idiom that means *What will call your attention?, What will hold you?*), the regueiro from Maranhão, upon hearing this chorus, accommodated the expression to the phonological system of his mother tongue, Portuguese, starting to sing “*Olha the crab*”. And thus, the “*crab melo*” was born (ARAÚJO, 2004, p. 12-13).

Another emblematic case concerns the song *Love Got The Power* (love has the power), by the Jamaican band *The Gladiators*, which is a great success in São Luís until the present day, the song was popularly called the “*melô de Black Power*”. “. This creation of *melôs* shows a peculiar practice created by the regueiros of Maranhão.

With the consolidation of reggae in São Luís, throughout the 1980s and 1990s countless reggae clubs appeared throughout the city, attracting a large number of people, the so-called *regueira masses*. In this context, we highlight the role played by *radiola owners* and *DJs*.

The work of the first announcers and *dj’s* were also of essential importance for the creation of a language proper to the regueiro. Terms such as “*pedra*”, which designates good reggae, “*tycoons*”, which refer to the big businessmen who own the big clubs and reggae “*radiolas*” are examples of the constitution of its own lexicon. The *radiolas* represent the Maranhão version of the Jamaican “*Sound System*”, which impresses with its sound power and the great visual impact it provides. (BRASIL, 2011, p. 89).

According to Santos (2009), clubs and *radiolas* had a unique importance in the consolidation process of reggae in Maranhão. And as a result of the success of the genre, a reggae industry was also established, especially in São Luís, with some entrepreneurs investing significantly in the possibilities of raising money through reggae.

Among the main agents involved in this market, the owners of radio stations and reggae clubs stand out. This scenario resulted in an even wider spread of the now product reggae. During the 1990s, several clubs, radiolas, themed bars, TV and radio programs appeared. All of these cited, with reggae as the main attraction, such was the success of the Jamaican rhythm in the capital of Maranhão. The local media had a prominent role in reggae in São Luís, “it was through them that the expression Brazilian Jamaica appeared for the first time, in addition to other terms such as: Babilônia, Jah, Roots, which are part of the theme of reggae in Jamaica” (ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 135).

A market of great relevance was established in São Luís, giving reggae fans more and more options for consuming the product, on the other hand, there was also a concentration of production and dissemination of reggae by a group of entrepreneurs, “[...] most radio programs belong to the 'capitalized' radiola owners, to publicize their radiolas and reggae clubs, in addition to television programs” (MORAIS; ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 8).

In terms of radiolas, Itamaraty stands out, the largest in structure and one of the most popular among the regueiros of Maranhão. However, there are other competitors vying for the reggae market and profit. Including, one of the strategies of this sector is the promotion of parties in reggae clubs, the so-called duels, where the radiolas face each other in a relay of songs, disputing which has the best songs, this type of event has a considerable appeal on the part of the mass regueira (SANTOS, 2009).

The radiolas became part of the reggae culture in São Luís, they evolved over time, their structures were expanded, the number of speakers increased, and they became more modern and larger. The reggae dj is currently a well-known profession in Maranhão. And entrepreneurs who invest in this sector continue to profit from the music genre's continued popularity.

With regard to the music itself, we highlight that reggae in São Luís began to gain local singers, and also started to consume reggae by new Jamaican singers and bands, the roots style, which was the first to arrive on Ludovic soil, was being replaced ,

however, is still the favorite in Maranhão, seen as classic reggae, or roots. Current reggae music is more mechanized, has lost the noise coming from vinyl records, it is a modern product, which has been transformed, but continues to integrate the culture of Brazilian Jamaica.

### **Reggae as part of the cultural identity of São Luís**

As reggae establishes itself as a cultural part of the city of São Luís, it is understood that there was a process of appropriation and manipulation of the Jamaican rhythm by the ludovicense population (MORAIS, 2008). The particularities originated from the consummation of reggae by people from Maranhão also reflect social aspects related to a local reality. The relationship between the musical genre and the population is different when compared to Jamaica.

The black population is the great consumer of reggae in Ludovicense territory, an aspect that can be attributed to the ethnic and historical factors already mentioned in the previous section, but can be related to the success of the musical genre in popular neighborhoods of the capital of Maranhão, thus, the parties of reggae attracted, mainly, the low-income population of the city.

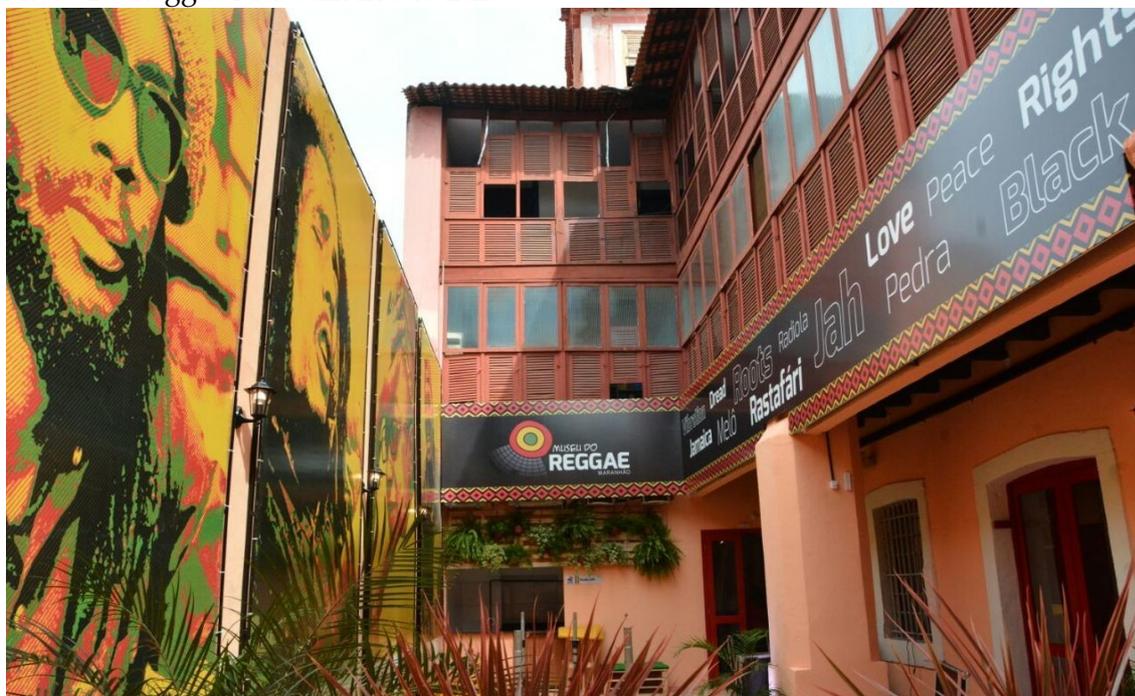
Despite the success of reggae being present throughout the city, the local social elite did not adhere to the phenomenon, due to factors such as the musical style being considered by them as a 'black thing', in addition to the emergence of a stigma to With respect to regueiros, who were socially criminalized by hegemonic groups, reggae parties were seen as spaces for the consumption of illicit drugs.

However, the places where reggae parties took place were just environments where the poorest part of society gathered for a moment of fun, “the spaces were seen as places of leisure and entertainment, for those who did not have conditions to attend the best city clubs” (ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 134). Stereotypes do not match the reality of the reggae movement in São Luís.

Throughout the decades after the 1970s, when reggae arrived in Maranhão, the genre became increasingly stronger in São Luís and not even the discriminatory views on the part of the elite diminished its success, Brazilian Jamaica is established by blacks and the poor. from the city.

It should be noted that the aforementioned nickname of Brazilian Jamaica also caused discomfort among the city's elite social classes, these groups "felt outraged by the comparison and demonstrated against the use of the expression, finding it impoverishing to compare São Luís, formerly known as the Brazilian Athens, with a country with black and poor references like Jamaica" (ARAÚJO, 2008, p. 136).

Photo 1 – Reggae Museum in São Luís.



Source: Marques (Nov. 2019)..

However, protests against the dissemination of the nomenclature of Brazilian Jamaica were not able to inhibit its popularization in São Luís. Throughout the 1990s, a strengthening of reggae in the capital can be seen, with the emergence of bars and clubs that contributed even more to the dissemination of the rhythm and also to the name of the city.

Reggae culture in São Luís creates its own roots, with its own dialects, habits, parties and other customs. Its success is so great in the city that until the present day,

reggae is still the preferred musical genre of most people from Ludovic. In the city there are numerous marks of the presence of reggae as part of the local culture, an expression of this reality is the existence of the only existing reggae museum in the world outside of Jamaica (Photo 1)

Inaugurated by the Government of the State of Maranhão in 2018, the reggae museum is located in the historic center of São Luís, in one of its mansions, it has a varied collection of elements that are part of the history of reggae in Jamaica and also in Maranhão. Among these elements, the presence of an illustration of a radiola model stands out (Photo 2), one of the hallmarks of local reggae.

Photo 2 – Radiola model present at the São Luís reggae museum.



Source: Marques (Nov. 2019).

There is also an exhibition at the museum of a large collection of vinyl records by numerous Jamaican singers who were successful throughout the insertion of the Jamaican musical style in São Luís.

Photo 3 – Bob Marley disc exposed at the São Luís reggae museum.



Source: Marques (Nov. 2019).

In the same period as the museum, the reggae square was also inaugurated next to it (Photo 4), which has attractions of the genre such as djs and bands, the place attracts a large number of people to have fun in a public space to the rhythm of the Jamaican rhythm.

Photo 4 – Reggae Square in São Luís.



Source: The Imparcial' (2019). Available at: <https://oimparcial.com.br/entretenimento-e-cultura/2019/08/quinta-do-reggae-e-suspensa-temporaria-no-centro-historico/>

Therefore, it is clear that reggae in São Luís has a strong popular appeal even today, reinforcing the historical roots of the Jamaican rhythm in the city. Young people,

especially those from popular neighborhoods, university students and other sympathizers continue to consume Ludovicense reggae, Brazilian Jamaica continues to be more and more alive.

### **Final considerations**

Throughout the construction of the research, it was found that the success of reggae in Ludovicense territory is immeasurable, which can be attributed to the numerous factors mentioned throughout this article. Since its arrival in Ludovicense territory, reggae has already conquered countless fans, however, not even the most optimistic could imagine that from that moment on, a unique relationship was initiated, which would last for several decades.

Having a greater identification with the popular social layers, reggae in São Luís was established in the city through parties with radiolas, a phenomenon that was already common in the city, mainly in the popular neighborhoods. With the inclusion of reggae in the musical programming of these environments, Jamaican music soon became one of the favorites of the visitors of these spaces.

At that time, the late 1970s and early 1980s, the rhythm was already known worldwide and with the death of its biggest name, Bob Marley (1981), the musical style had even greater appeal, gaining a mass of new appreciators, however, outside of Jamaica, nothing compared to what happened in São Luís.

The relationships established on the island of Maranhão with reggae, as well as in Jamaica, go beyond musical limits, reggae is not just a musical style that arouses interest in the society of São Luís, far from it, far from being just that. Reggae has become a way of life, it is a way of expressing indignation at social differences, it is also a way of highlighting the importance of black people, black artists and their culture.

Because there were already cultural manifestations in the city of Maranhão that expressed and valued black culture, such as: the Creole drum and the bumba-meu-boi,

these were not obstacles to the insertion of reggae as another integral element of the culture. place that reflects historicity, identity and black culture. Thus, reggae in São Luís consolidates itself, is transformed and creates its own roots, genuinely from Ludovic.

Despite the global transformations that occurred with reggae in the last decades, arising, above all, from the technological advance of the modern era, resulting in the modernization of the rhythm. Some habits are changed, for example: the exchange of vinyl records for music on CDs, although in São Luís, the preference for roots reggae is so high that there are still countless bars playing reggae on vinyl.

Like any other musical genre, reggae was also modernized, new international and even local bands appeared (in São Luís), but parties in reggae clubs with radiolas remain. The reggae movement in the capital of Maranhão always seems to emphasize the importance of the classics, the hit songs from the early days of reggae in the city. In spite of all the transformation of reggae, the relationships of the mass of regueira Ludovicense with reggae remains intact, an almost perfect symbiosis.

Through these ties, this cultural identity of the city with reggae was created over time, despite being geographically distant from the country that originated this style of music, São Luís appropriated reggae and today it is impossible to think about aspects that are part of ludovicense culture, without mentioning reggae as an important element for this people.

## References

ARAÚJO, Elaine Peixoto. O reggae ludovicense: uma leitura do seu sistema léxico semântico. **Revista Philologus** – Círculo Fluminense de Estudos Filológicos e Lingüísticos – Ano 10, Número 28, Rio de Janeiro: CiFEFil, 2004.

BRASIL, Marcus Ramúsyo de Almeida. O reggae no Maranhão: sociologia da cultura e produção simbólica. **Aurora Revista de Arte, Mídia e Política**, n. 12, p. 88-101, 2011.

MORAIS, Maria do Carmo Lima. A invenção da expressão “Jamaica brasileira”. **Revista Cambiassu**, São Luís, ano, v. 18, p. 126-141, 2008.

MORAIS, Maria do Carmo Lima; ARAÚJO, Patrícia Carla Viana. **O reggae, da Jamaica ao Maranhão: presença e evolução.** In: Encontro de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura, 4., 2008, Salvador. IV Encontro... Salvador: ENECULT, 2008. Disponível em: <<http://www.cult.ufba.br/enecult2008/14539.pdf>>. Acesso realizado em agosto de 2021.

O IMPARCIAL. **Quinta do Reggae é suspensa temporariamente no Centro Histórico.** 2019. Disponível em: <https://oimparcial.com.br/entretenimento-e-cultura/2019/08/quinta-do-reggae-e-suspensa-temporaria-no-centro-historico/>> Acesso realizado em agosto de 2021.

PENHA, Talita Lima. **Reggae, Identidade Cultural e Atividade Turística de São Luís do Maranhão.** 64 f. Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso (Monografia). Universidade de Brasília, 2003.

SANTOS, Fábio Abreu. **Produção e consumo do reggae das radiolas em São Luís/MA: significados, simbolismo e aspectos mercadológicos.** 245 f. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, 2009.

SANTOS, Milton. **Por uma outra globalização: do pensamento único à consciência universal.** São Paulo: Record. 2000.

SILVA, Carlos Benedito Rodrigues da. **Da terra das primaveras à ilha do amor: reggae, lazer e identidade cultural.** São Luis: Editora EDUFMA, 1995.