Territorialities of Cultural and Artistic Practices in the Maré Slum (RIO DE JANEIRO)

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Summary

This article is part of the Maré research: *Inventive Territorialities in Cultural Economy*, written by the Slum Observatory, with the support of Itaú Cultural Observatory Program, in the largest popular territory of the city of Rio de Janeiro and one of the largest in Brazil: the Maré Slum.

Our intention is to locate authors of both genders in their contexts of creation of arts and culture, and show the conditions of production, the organizational methods and the resources for implementing aesthetic scenes in inventive territorialities.

Introduction

The confluence of artistic and cultural practices makes of Maré a territory of popular inventive aesthetics that, despite the well-known constraints on resources and basic public and private equipment, turns squares, streets, alleys, walls, flat rooftops and bars into territorialities showing different aesthetic scenes. From sound and dance parties to theatrical experimentations, from the production and exhibition of visual products to the stylish gliding of skates, from the colorful graffiti on the walls to pagode parties with barbecue cooked on flat rooftops, we see configurations of the meetings, routes and tactics that are part of one single territory of belonging in the complexity of urban life. Furthermore: these are assets that must be socially recognized and taken as benchmarks for public cultural policies. It is precisely from this angle that our research on the inventive territorialities of the Maré Slum gained sense and a horizon of performance.

Beyond the empirical contributions supplied by the inventories of cultural and artistic practices in working-class territories, our research also allows us to contribute to other meanings of creative cultural economy. We see it as a practice of ownership and use of the territory by different stakeholders in their objective and subjective conditions of cognitive and aesthetic creation, displaying innovative possibilities for upholding the rights to citizenship in territories characterized by deep social inequalities.
Friction between knowledge and acknowledgement of cultural and artistic inventiveness in slums in the context of contemporary urban society

As we know, cultural experiences in slums are known to several agents and institutions, but are not, however, necessarily recognized for their worth, their economic possibilities and their aesthetic value. This happens because, with regard to these areas and their dwellers, there still exists a prevalent paradigmatic representation dominated by assumptions based on hierarchies of classification of aesthetic concepts, cultural knowledge and artistic practices; based also on the perception only of the precarious shapes of the immediate landscape of these slums’ buildings and streets; on prejudiced representations of their inhabitants’ cognitive capacity to create; on a productivist market logic that limits artistic actions to their immediate economic utility; and, at its most radical, on the instrumentalization of culture as a means to foil the supposed criminal potential of young people in slums.

Despite the stereotypes about poverty and the stigma of violence that still mark slums, one should not disregard the wealth of their aesthetic expressions and their significant ways of displaying and asserting their cultural plurality. Although not taken into account by prevalent aesthetic standards, the wealth of cultural universes developed in the slums generates collective expressions of the construction of a specific and complex identity in these territories in the contemporary urban context. Slums form therefore material and immaterial assets that, though not anchored in cultural canons, display the markings of inventiveness, integration and renewal of urban aesthetic experiences.

To overcome the friction between knowledge and recognition of the cultural and artistic inventiveness of working-class areas, one should urgently consider that cultural practices - whether institutionalized or not, individual or collective, independent or linked to groups - are processes of assertion of social subjects, aiming at giving meaning to their lives and their ways of dealing with everyday life by means of multiple languages. We are talking therefore, about the construction of a sensitive cartography that will combine knowledge and recognition of the differentiated set of territorialities, as well as experiences and authors in order to overcome the invisibility of the tangible and intangible aesthetic value of the slums. After all, who actually knows the cultural wealth of slums? How are the creative experiences of arts and culture developed in the slums? In which territorialities
are they celebrated? How can their artistic knowledge and doings be made into benchmarks for cultural economic policies?

The search for answers to these questions triggered our initiatives of the Maré project: Inventive Territorialities in Cultural Economy, with the support of Itaú Cultural Observatory Program for Research in Cultural Economics (2017), whose development was focused on the production of knowledge about cultural and artistic creation in the Maré set of slums as a yardstick for creative economy policies, especially as a gesture to overcome the immense gaps generated by the invisibility of knowledge, practices, and aesthetic experiences in working-class territories. To this end, we used as a resource the drawing of cognitive cartographies to identify, analyze, and register territorialities of production and enjoyment, using as benchmarks the intersections mobilized by the creators of art and culture.

Culture, territory and territorialities: conceptual resources for the research work

Although the complexity of the debate on the concept of culture still rages in many fields of academic knowledge and disciplines, we have adopted here its understanding as a concrete and symbolic experience that implies in the recognition of the dynamics of presentations and representations of beliefs, signs, techniques, habits, and values created and embodied by or in individuals or social groups in their territories of existence.

From this standpoint, we used the concept of territory to develop our work, since, in addition to supplying resources and objects by means of which we create and experience life in society, the territory is also a symbolic invention. We can then state that culture and territory are intertwined in the plurality of social existences. As Milton Santos reminds us: “the territory is the foundation of work, the place of residence, where material and spiritual exchanges are made, and where life is lived” (SANTOS, 2002, p. 10).

In the territory are to be found the inventions and markings of the signs, of memories, and of the tangible and intangible values that embody the meaning of culture in our lives. And it is precisely from the appropriation of this territory that cultural uses and aesthetic styles originate, combining ways of doing things and creativity of knowledge within socially constructed territories (BARBOSA; GONÇALVES, 2013). Therefore, the territory emerges not only as a constructed practical and symbolic
collection, but also as a place where everything can continuously be reconstructed and rearranged in the most different possible ways (BARBOSA, 2018).

In the conceptual horizon set out, the territory is not a space-time approach wrapped upon itself and delimited by absolutely rigid or impenetrable borders. The territory must be perceived and experienced from porous fringes, where the relationships of exchange of ideas, values, languages and signs take place in various intensities, including as social inequality and distinction of rights. In other words, we are talking about the creation of movements of closeness, affection and conflicts that cause culture to take on a geography of human intentions and actions. It is based on this view of the territory as the result and the seed of transformations that we can approach the meaning of territoriality in our work.

The communication of social subjects by means of different languages is a legacy, but it also is a learning acquired by individuals and groups in their territories of existence. This movement shows the awareness of belonging to the same residence of life and having a common ground of recognition. This is how territoriality comes out as a quality of initiatives implemented (lasting and/or fleeting), as a force of assertion, of dispute and of symbolic negotiation within the territory. Territoriality is, therefore, a tactic of involvement between subjects engaged in the corporeal-symbolic affirmation of their existence.

The process in question creates mobile markings that are set as signatures of their makers, styles of production and mobilization of the subjectivities of the subjects. Therefore, to invest in the unveiling of social practices using the concept of territoriality as a resource also means a chance to see the meaning of cultural repertoires in their dimension of sociability. It is therefore an exercise in understanding the actions performed by individual subjects or groups and their mobile use of the territory that, for the purposes of our project, was defined according to the following parameters of analysis: (a) the recognition of sensitive experiences configuring symbolic repertoires imprinted on the territory; (b) the identification of the mobilization of individuals and groups to implement their intentions and activities of production, communication and enjoyment; and, finally (c) the recording of territorialities as havens and source artistic and cultural knowledge.

However, the study of working-class territories requires understanding the conditions of social inequality present in the reproduction of the daily life of their residents, while at the same time it helps better understand the possibilities of change in outstanding events, and in the cracks and sparks triggered by the
subjectivities of the social subjects. Hence, the territory will shelter from the most hidden symbolic repertoires to the most explicit ones, contributing to bring out the meaning of culture as a device for social subjects to achieve visibility. It is in the territory that culture gains this dimension of shared vision, translating the possibilities of its appropriation as concept and its visibility as the social practice of citizenship.

Maré: the territorial approach of the research

Maré is one of the largest sets of slums in the city of Rio de Janeiro. There we find approximately 140 thousand people living in 16 working-class communities. Its location, at the edges of Avenida Brasil, already tells its history, since it was precisely because of the laying of this main expressway that the first families built their dwellings,

Maré slum. Picture: Bira Carvalho (Imagens do Povo/Observatório da Maré)

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settling on neighboring lands and mangroves. Today, there are more than 40 thousand homes in Maré, spread through communities displaying distinct urban features: from the characteristic popular houses to the housing complexes built by the State. This confluence of people and territories in Maré meant the raising of shelters for the underprivileged workers of the city and their families, people who had never spared any efforts to ensure their legitimate right to inhabit the city.

The Maré Slum is, thus, a territory created by the confluence of people and socially constructed lives, and not just a set of houses or streets hastily considered shoddy or poor. Facing prejudice and social stigma is one of the common challenges in the daily routine of the inhabitants of Maré. And, as all the other slums in the city, Maré is a territory recurrently treated as poor, orderless, lawless, and violent. However, a closer (and more generous) look will find forms of sociability based on values for plural cohabitation, on codes for the use of common spaces as well as collective ways to mobilize public services. These efforts to create conditions for coexistence are permanent, despite the deep inequality of conditions in which the dwellers live compared to that of the formal quarters of the city. One should include in these conditions the exposure to urban violence due to the heavy presence of criminal groups (drug factions and militia) fighting over the area, and the military raids conducted by the State’s armed forces.

An important aspect is the well-known presence of young people in the slum quarters that compose Maré. This young population increasingly demands its rights to education, culture and leisure, making up a significant part of the democratic agenda of public politics. We have therefore another component to help us rethink the social and economic meaning of art and culture in slums, particularly in the set being studied.

With regard to production and enjoyment of arts and culture in Maré, as well as in the other slums of the city, we cannot find in its more immediate surroundings any equipment indicative of urban culture, such as museums, libraries, galleries, cinemas and theaters. The situation, however, cannot be characterized as a lack of culture. Cultural knowledge and skills are developed, mobilized and experienced in plural levels of intensity and density throughout the territory, representing inventive capacities and actions present in multiple ways. Cultural practices are part, also, of the history of social mobilization and organization since the arrival of the first families expelled from other slums in the city. The territory, culture and sociability have for a long time seen their confluence take place again and again in Maré. Penetrating this complex universe to give visibility to cultural potentials through effective actions is the horizon of the present work.
On the research methodology

The methodological challenges to draw cognitive cartographies

Our work was developed from October 2017 to October 2018, and focused entirely on the drawing of qualitative studies of the conditions and processes of creation, and cultural and artistic experience in one of the largest slums in the city of Rio de Janeiro: the Maré Slum. The goal was to try to identify the creative potential and the possibilities of disseminating actions in arts and culture to the local public as well as to the very diverse publics existing in the city, in order to contribute to the promotion of collaborative networks of creative cultural economy. In addition to developing qualitative studies on inventoried practices and their conditions to create tangible and intangible products, we studied the conditions for communication and enjoyment, since they entail creative meetings between the subjects and their audience. The research therefore included the combination of qualitative inventories and, based on them, the drawing of a sensitive cartography of territorialities of creative powers, so as to translate the

Map 1: Maré in its set of 16 communities

1 – Praia de Ramos
2 – Roquete Pinto
3 – Parque União
4 – Parque Rubens Vaz
5 – Nova Holanda
6 – Parque Maré
7 – Baixa do Sapateiro
8 – Nova Maré
9 – Morro do Timbau
10 – Bento Ribeiro Dias
11 – Conjunto Pinheiros
12 – Vila do Pinheiros
13 – Salsa e Merengue
14 – Vila do João
15 – Conjunto Esperança

Red line
Yellow line
Brasil Avenue
plural scenes of art and culture in performance venues in the 16 communities that compose the Maré slum.

This work is an expanded continuation of studies done in 2016 with a grant from CNPq/Ministry of Culture. The studies centered on the drawing of a broad panel of artistic and cultural activities related to spaces of cultural education, production and enjoyment (residents’ associations, schools, clubs, carnival blocks, non-governmental organizations, churches, etc.) existing in the Maré set of slums. At the time we saw there was a differentiated geographic distribution of artistic and cultural activities performed in institutions, with the prevalence of the latter in some slums, such as Nova Holanda (25.0%), Parque União (18.3%), Vila do João (11.7%) and Morro do Timbau (10.8%). The information gathered showed how important the presence of civil society organizations was for the production and enjoyment of art and culture, as well as their distribution among the set of communities. They represent important havens for the transformation of creative powers into tangible actions, not only for the authors in their different languages, but for the audience as well in its enjoyment.

The previous studies also led to the creation of a Database of Artistic and Cultural Activities in Maré, a device that collected detailed data on the institutions (projects linked to culture and arts), and made possible the drawing of the baseline of the present research with the sponsorship of Itaú Cultural Observatory Program for Research in Cultural Economics, whose main goal was to broaden the studies in order to encompass conditions of production, communication and enjoyment based on the experiences of the creators themselves, and raising new fecund questions: Who are the creators of knowledge and skills in arts and culture? How do they create, and where do they operate? What are the territorialities of performance they have built by means of their tactics to assert themselves? How far outside the community is their work known? What are the possibilities and constraints of artistic and cultural enterprises in the generation of work and income? How do their authors organize themselves to deal with the constraints of social and economic conditions and to transform their creative power into performance? What are the possibilities identified by the authors to make possible their creative activities?

These questions outlined the primary goal of the present work: to develop a qualitative study of the knowledge and practices of the authors of art and culture in Maré, using as reference their experience of territorialized authorship. More explicitly, the aim was to draw a cognitive cartography of cultural and artistic practices, treated, however, with generous sensitivity, since the reference to achieve
this endeavor was closely tied to the authors and their creative inventions, their deep-seated passions, unending desires and, above all, their great devotion to work, even in permanently adverse conditions.

The choice of using the experiences undergone in the territory to develop the research came from the understanding that these experiences are socially constructed and shared forms of knowledge. They come from the conditions and situations created by a shared reality, and they can be made understandable by means of individual and/or group interviews, duly treated and interpreted by qualitative analytical procedures.

The practices studied in their territorialities of implementation are dynamic, and therefore non-predictable in their temporality and performance venues. Hence, we employed the operational technique called "snowball", in which each interviewee already registered in the above-mentioned database would indicate, after the interview was over, another person or group to be interviewed. The methodological procedure adopted, in addition to updating our database, extended the possibility of interviewing in depth other authors of art and culture besides the ones previously selected.

Moreover, besides locating subjects and territorialities of artistic and cultural performance, the research also included other equally relevant and complementary items, such as material conditions of production, ways of organizing activities, fund raising and management, audiences, and insertion of these activities in the Maré Slum and other quarters of the city. It was therefore possible to obtain a broader set of information to analyze the situation of artistic and cultural production, as well as to map the registered territorialities of activities and their authors.

To better organize the interviews, we developed a typology of artistic and cultural practices containing the following items of classification: author identification (individual and collective authors), time of existence, frequency of the activities, number of components, audience, methods of fundraising, performance venues, and main challenges faced. It was thus possible to map the subjects who create art and culture in their different conditions and territorialities of performance.

Based on this methodological approach, the research work was divided in four main phases: I) identification of cultural and artistic practices to be interviewed in the territory, while endeavoring to preserve the representativity of languages and territories; II) conduction of interviews, collection and systematization of field information; III) treatment and analysis of collected data and; IV) drawing of
cognitive cartographies. To achieve accurate results, we set up an interdisciplinary research team composed of coordinators, researchers and interviewers who were familiar with the area and the cultural and artistic practices under study⁴.

The drawing of cognitive cartography through its different phases

The first phase of the research consisted in making a selection of groups, individuals or institutions working with arts and culture in Maré in order to interview and map them later on. With the database it was possible to do the initial selection of the most relevant groups and practices in the area, and to establish the necessary representativity of each set of authors (individuals and groups); languages (from the various artistic categories to the practices related to production itself); geographic location of authors and activities in the territory (the 16 Maré slums), and recognition of implementation forms and processes. This selection made it possible to choose the set of artists and groups linked to cultural and artistic practices in the aesthetic scene of Maré.

To achieve this population approach, in addition to the collected data, seminars and workshops were conducted, bringing together the Slum Observatory’s research team, researchers from other institutions, and local artists who were specifically invited for the conceptual and methodological input they could give to the development of the inventory of cultural and artistic practices in Maré. These meetings of different views and experiences contributed decisively to the formulation of the qualitative selection of interviewees, and to the indication of scenes for the mapping of territorialities.

Once the consolidation phase of the interviewee’s approach was over, the team devoted itself to the drafting of the interview tool. To this end, cultural and artistic practices were defined and classified in great groups, and organized according to their performance venues: music; scenic arts (dance, theater, circus, script-writing);
visual arts (photography, sculpture, video, drawing, engraving); popular culture (handicrafts, cooking, capoeira); audiovisual (cinema, video, film club); literature (poetry, cordel literature, novels, soap operas); sports; fashion; training activities; and graffiti.

The study proposal also tried to associate the practices to the locations where social interaction and culture occur (residents’ associations, NGOs, associations, schools, clubs, cultural and recreational venues, fairs, restaurants, bars, LAN houses, squares, streets) as a possibility for identification and analysis of territorialities. It should be noted that the classification of activities was not restricted to institutionalized groups and/or groups operating through social organizations, since individual and collective actions lacking institutional formalization were included in the roster.

After the drafting of the first version of the research tool, an initial validation phase took place in two meetings that brought together researchers and cultural producers from Maré. The interview script was collectively rated and adjusted, using as a basis the research team’s conversations with the artists and producers invited to participate in the meetings. Once the first adjustment was made, the following step consisted in the designation of a field team, and on the carrying out of 12 interviews to evaluate the general format of the questions, their sequence and their general content, in addition to training the interviewers.

A digital version of the research instrument was chosen to improve data collection, and to ensure more accuracy and agility during the interviews and data collection. Drafting the digital document with the free ODK application made it possible for interviewers to conveniently perform the job with their cell phone, regardless of connection to the Internet. This gave them more autonomy. The digital version also made it possible to automatically transfer data for the drawing of tables and graphs in other digital formats, in order to organize and facilitate systematization.

The development of the digital form by means of the application made data collection and systematization take place simultaneously, in a fluid and dynamic way, reducing the distances and optimizing the research actions. Moreover, the use of software for the interviews made it possible to automatically obtain georeferenced ground points, which in turn enabled the setting of cartographic bases for identification of territorialities of artistic and cultural practices.
Conditions and processes of cultural and artistic practices in their territorialities in Maré

The study of cultural and artistic practices was organized from a set of 120 interviewees. The interviews were carried out face-to-face and were previously scheduled through appointments made with individual and collective authors in order to optimize the meeting between interviewees and interviewers, and the use of the research instrument. With very few exceptions, the response to the interviews was extremely positive, and denoted the willingness of the selected authors to contribute to the research. Those who refused or repeatedly rescheduled the interviews were duly replaced, in compliance with language and territory criteria established within the framework of the research.

In the beginning, the research instrument tried to identify the interviewees’ main affiliation to cultural practices and artistic languages, and, based on this, to draw a picture of the diversity of activities taking place in Maré. As can be seen in Graph 1, the plurality of cultural practices is inarguable, even if there is a difference in terms of presence from the quantitative standpoint in the slums being studied.

Graph 1: Artistic and cultural practices

- Music – 20%
- Photography – 10%
- Dance – 9%
- Audiovisual – 7%
- Cultural production – 7%
- Theater – 7%
- Communication – 6%
- Cultural education – 6%
- Handicrafts – 5%
- Balls and parties – 5%
- Literature – 5%
- Blocks and clubs – 3%
- Capoeira – 3%
- Poetry recited with rhymes – 3%
- Plastic arts – 2%
- Skate – 2%
- Gastronomy – 1%
As can immediately be seen, music stands out among the set of cultural practices in Maré. However, the generic term music applies here to styles and genres that cover, in addition to the already traditional samba and forró, with their long-standing ties to the local population, other styles and genres identified with contemporary urban culture: hip-hop, rock, charme and funk. All these expressions are brought together in the field of music in multiple practices that beckon to collective aesthetic enjoyment in streets, squares, bars and cultural and recreational venues, exhibiting highly significant territorialities of occurrence in Maré.

Although dance comes in third in terms of highest representativity of artistic practices, it is close to music in all other senses since many of the activities labeled as music involve dance pieces. The identification of dance as the primary activity of individuals and groups also covers different styles and genres, from the so-called classical ballet to the traditional rhythmic movements that come from the long-standing traditions of black cultures (maracatu, jongo), extending to charme, break and the "little step" choreography known as "passinho do menor".

It is also interesting to see how practices related to photography and the audiovisual fields hold prominent positions among the respondents, showing quite clearly that slums are not limited to activities linked to music and dance. Languages such as photography and audiovisual entail evident technical mediation for their production and enjoyment. They are, however, coming up strongly in the slums, not least because of the reasonable decrease in the costs of devices and equipment for image generation used in the creation of aesthetic narratives. A field has opened up for the production of visual and audiovisual images by young people, allowing them to present themselves and their territories (in individual and group authorship). Furthermore, their work has received awards and been exhibited in museums and galleries of national and international cultural centers. As main examples, we can highlight the photographic work of the group involved with Imagens do Povo, and the inclusion of young filmmakers in the production of filmographic work for domestic movie circuits, such as the celebrated feature film 5x Favela: Agora por Nós Mesmos (5x Slum, Now by ourselves).

5 A film conceived by Cacá Diegues, that takes up the original idea of the 1962 movie Cinco Vezez Favela, but this time written and directed by young slum residents. One of the episodes of the film was produced and shot in Maré.
Another relevant information is the indication of cultural production as the declared primary activity of our interviewees. The information collected reveals that, increasingly, activities considered as fundraising and fund management, production organization and execution, screening and communication of activities gain weight in the development of cultural and artistic practices, and take place in streets, squares, bars or in cultural and recreational venues. There is an increasing demand for this kind of professional work, more related to processes of management and execution of cultural work, evidencing a search for greater and better organization of activities during the distinct phases of production. Therefore, hasty notions that in slums cultural practices are improvised, amateurish and precarious must be discarded. This should be done through a careful observation of the methods of production and enjoyment of symbolic goods, whose quality has significantly increased from the conceptual, technical and exhibitive standpoint.

The emergence of activities related to literature is significant (poetry, short stories, novels). Although small in quantitative terms, the presence of literary creations shows that young people residing in slums, particularly Maré, have overcome the limitations of their schooling. It can be argued that, in this specific case, these young people feel a strong bond to poetical narratives, and express themselves in slams and saraus (cultural/artistic gatherings), generally convened by groups of artists. There is, therefore, something innovative in the cultural activities implemented in the working-class territories studied: literary work written and recited producing strong aesthetic narratives occurring in the slums.

Although entered as respondents in only one cultural practice, either as individuals or representatives of a group, the authors of both genders we interviewed work with different aesthetic languages, even if they only answered the questions as authors in the one practice they selected as being the primary one in their cultural and artistic knowledge and skills.

It should be recorded that the plurality of identified languages shows the strength of cultural production in working-class territories, creating different aesthetic events. However, given the great inequality of conditions experienced by slum dwellers compared to the other inhabitants of the city, it is always startling when working-class territories exhibit a plurality of inventions and cultural experiences.

The next item in the analysis is related to the performance venues of cultural activities and practices in the Maré slums. It is important to note how often cultural centers, streets/squares and schools are named in the respondents’ replies, disclosing their territorialities of operation.
It is remarkable how streets and squares render possible the wealth of experiences brought by creation, communication, and the enjoyment of culture and arts in their multiple languages. The identification of streets and squares is characteristic of the culture of common use of spaces in slums as a common ground for the development of relationships and socialization. We are speaking of territorialities of creative practices in music, dance, theater and poetry, multiplied in the sounds and dances of cultural groups, as well as the audiovisual exhibitions and the multiple games played by children and young people. Streets and squares are also the stage of dense aesthetic events, from "rodas de rima" (rhyme contests), rock events, slam scenes and the meeting of skate groups to mass cultural events, such as funk, charme and forró balls, and parties that bring in thousands of people from Maré and other slums and neighborhoods of the city, particularly young people.

The indication of cultural centers as primary venues for cultural and artistic activities shows the new conditions of production and aesthetic enjoyment, not least because of the technical requirements for their performance. We must add that in some Maré slums, there are civil society organizations with strong bonds to cultural creativity that mobilize knowledge and skills requiring facilities and technology to create tangible and intangible symbolic products. These technology-mediated products require special exhibition venues. Audiovisual and photography stand out, but other activities linked to music, dance and theater are increasingly mediated by technology. A new dynamic of urban culture is therefore reaching the slums, interacting with the popular cultural practices and experiences that distinguish their creators.

Galpão Bela Maré visual arts center (Observatório de Favelas). Maré slums. The creation of cultural centers has brought in new experiences of artistic and cultural production and enjoyment in the Maré slums. The Maré art center, Centro de Artes da Maré (CAM) and the Lona Cultural Municipal Herbert Vianna cultural center are other examples of equipment that deserve to stand out because of their relevance to education and production in the fields of arts and culture. Picture: Institucional promotion of Bela Maré.
When we examine the performance venues of individuals and groups through the city, we see that cultural and artistic events take place with more continuity in Maré. However, individual or group authors of both genders try to broaden their geographic reach beyond their original slum quarters. In the information provided in Graph 3, we can see that only 27% of the respondents operate exclusively in Maré. There is therefore a significant percentage of individuals and groups that are conquering the material and immaterial borders of the city. The authors who cross over from slum to city unveil their practices and, at the same time, learn from the coexistence with other different authors of both genders, individual or group, as well as from the experience of working with distinct audiences. This circulation between public and private equipment, streets, squares, street corners and flyovers beyond the territory of Maré has become more frequent among cultural authors, showing the capacity their tangible and intangible symbolic goods have to reach larger audiences. The main highlights of this movement are works in photography, followed by dance and theater, when the use of equipment is important. Other languages, such as music, are more largely present in territorialities configured in public areas (streets, squares, flyovers), especially for the groups linked to hip-hop, charme and funk. Bars, restaurants and clubs are performance venues more frequently used by rock, pagode-funk, samba and forró bands.

Graph 3: Performance venues in the city
When we inquired about the sources of funding for their cultural and artistic activities, the majority replied they used their own funds to pay for their activities. At the other end of the spectrum, there was little participation from the public in the composition of financial resources. After that, came NGOs and governmental sources of funding as mobilized resources, counting, however, as less significant than self-funding. Companies and natural persons accounted for limited participation in the composition of funding resources, which showed the limited interest of the market, and the low support of other social groups to the territories and, of course, to their cultural practices.

Graph 4: Primary sources of funding

Despite the limited quantitative representativeness there is an important element in the information obtained: the identification of local business as a resource for the performance of artistic and cultural practices. This seems to be a resource provided by the territory itself, which recently started to be mobilized in Maré. Given the strong presence of commercial activities and local services, it could represent a significant source of support for cultural and artistic practices, in terms of promotion and viability.

Although the authors of both genders cannot necessarily rely on frequency and amount of funding sources from the public - especially since most activities are free of charge -, one cannot say that there is no generation of income and work around the art and cultural performances. In fact, box-office revenues are small, but not the popular economy that aesthetic scenes trigger in the area.
Funk balls, for instance, bring in thousands of people (there are balls with 15 thousand participants) and take place in the main streets of Parque União, Nova Holanda and Vila do João. The public does not pay an entry ticket, it is true, but buys various products from an army of peddlers who supply food and drink. Meanwhile the vans and motorcycle taxis see an increase in number of passengers with the flow of people. Funk balls also set the local economy in motion before they begin, especially with regard to hairdressing and manicure services, and the clothes and footwear stores. After all, everyone wants to look good for the party! Other activities, in lesser proportions, also feed the small businesses of slum quarters, such as the hip-hop and “passinho do menor” contests, the skate tournaments, the rock shows and the forró parties, also involving bars, snack bars, clubs and even residences. A thriving popular economy exists therefore around the aesthetic scenes that can be extended and used for the sustainability of cultural and artistic practices by means of intersectional actions involving the agents of economy and artistic authorship in a more organized and permanent way.

It should be noted that, beyond the structural difficulties that are part of the reality of the aesthetic scene of Maré, there are situations that are specific to the current context, such as the decrease of investments in the field of culture by both municipal and state administrations. This affects the issuing and implementation of calls for applications for funds, and more directly, projects and institutions in working-class territories. The constraints on public funding worsen the conditions of performance of cultural and artistic activities in the Maré Slum, though this type of funding has never been a basic prerequisite for arts and culture in popular territories.

On the other hand, having to rely only on their own resources also reveals the distancing of public and private institutions from the cultural and artistic performances in Maré. Even the funding modalities considered more democratic, such as calls for proposals or service contracts linked to programs and projects developed by the public or private initiative, are few and scarce for initiatives in working-class territories. For many producers, it is an unattainable horizon due to the existing legislation and administrative requirements made by sponsoring and promotion entities. This is especially true for individual and collective artists who are not members of NGOs, residents’ associations and other formal entities.

The difficulties identified in fundraising and in generation of revenue from the cultural activities themselves imply very distinct situations of payment. The interviews had
pointed to situations ranging from absence of payment (39%) to dependency on the performance of events (39%). Authors with a regular monthly revenue represent a very small group among the interviewees, only 15%.

**Graph 5: Payment timeline**

- There is no payment - 39%
- Per activity performed - 39%
- Monthly - 15%
- Other - 7%

With regard to the payment of the members, the replies pointed to temporary forms as predominant, implying evident constraints on the dedication to activities by the authors and the technicians who give them their permanent or temporary support. This situation of precariousness is mostly linked to the periodicity of the events (weekly, biweekly and monthly), to the short duration of funding generally granted for the performance of events and/or projects that are now subject to an increasingly reduced duration or execution of performance. We can say that, in this particular case, the conditions for creation, production and also management are flaky in most of the practices studied.
Graph 6: Payment forms

The said process affects the time dedicated by the authors to artistic and cultural practices. Most of the time, and because of the objective funding conditions, activities considered as cultural have to be conciliated with other forms of work (see Graph 7). This situation not only tends to reduce the potential to create symbolic goods, but also affects fundraising, projects drawing, and even the production of more highly qualified aesthetic scenes.

Graph 7: Does the participants’ income originate entirely from cultural activities?

- No, but they balance it with other activities outside the cultural field – 54%
- Not, but they balance it with other cultural activities – 25%
- Yes, entirely – 21%
The constraints on funding and procurement of steady income push the authors to develop local strategies for the performance of their activities. Far from being an intermittent or occasional attitude, the endeavor to do things together is a demonstration of the vigorous performance of individuals and groups. Music bands, craftspeople, theater groups, skateboarders, photographers and dancers self-finance their activities by means of partnerships built to deal with the reduced participation of public and private resources. They can count on the support of partner groups for venues, equipment, help in publicizing their events, direct participation in aesthetic scenes, and often, in the organization and performance of the events. The following graph shows this mobilization of partnerships as a strategy carried out by authors, both individual and collective, to organize and perform artistic and cultural activities with expressive continuity.

Solidary practices in collaborative networks bring together different languages and authorships to create events. This is a process in which material and immaterial assets available in the territories are enlisted, by means of relationships of coexistence, to create cultural territorialities. In this specific case it is not simply a question of having a popular production chain in which each agent delivers products in a particular arrangement for the technical division of cultural labor. Actually, we identified in our study significant ways to organize and configure webs of tangible and intangible values, created with the help of artists, producers, institutions (NGOs, Carnival blocks, residents’ associations, public schools, etc.)
and local businesses (bars, bakeries, restaurants, salons, etc.). In that sense, we can see the participation of stakeholders who are solidary involved with the territory, and who, with greater or lesser intensity and timeliness, work to increase the dissemination of aesthetic scenes in Maré.

Considering the cost involved in the production of artistic and cultural activities, it is interesting to see that equipment comes up as the option identified by most of the respondents, and represents almost half of the answers (45%). Next to it, and also presenting a considerable number of answers, comes the cost of professional artists (21%), which shows a trend to value the work of artists, and to recognize it as work and livelihood. As third item in costs, comes the venue for the performance of the event (12%), followed closely by technical professionals (10%).

**Graph 9: Main production cost**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional artists</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venue for performance of the event</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical professionals</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphics hardware</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main costs are related to the new technical and technological requirements needed for production and the urban aesthetic enjoyment in the slums that are present in various languages: from music to dance, from photography to audiovisual, from street balls and parties to exhibitions in cultural centers. Those basic prerequisites require skills and professional capacities other than those of the artist him(-) or herself, entailing a demand for (and resulting costs) technical professionals.

When investigating the longevity of the practices, we see that most (59%) cultural practices are over five years old, evidencing an incredible capacity of organization
and social mobilization before the immense difficulty to raise public and private funds, the difficulty to regularly pay the authors, and the growing production costs.

**Graph 10: Duration of the art/cultural activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 6 months</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 6 months to 1 year</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1 to 2 years</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 2 to 5 years</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years or more</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also interesting to see that 33.9% of the authors of both genders are active every day, either working on the production of symbolic goods or on the aesthetic scene of enjoyment. We can see that there is almost the same proportion (34.7%) of individuals and groups working between two to five times a week, though they dedicate themselves more on weekends to their more public activities. It is important to highlight the capacity to survive of these cultural practices through their bonds with the territory, preserving powers that may eventually consolidate and broaden their capacity to generate work and income for their authors.

Considering the number of people involved in the activities under study, we have very different situations, that range from having one person involved (most interviewees) to over one hundred persons. This apparent distortion is explained when
we see that the interviewees are photographers, video creators, dancers, musicians and craftspeople in individualized production processes. There are, among these persons, representatives of collective businesses that work with mass events, like funk balls and forró parties. When we have groups organized in activities involving a larger public, we can observe differences in the number of participants that range from 50 to over one hundred components (involving producers, musicians, technicians, assemblers, etc.).

**Graph 11: Number of persons participating directly in activities**

- 1 - 36%
- 5 to 10 - 23%
- 10 to 20 - 13%
- 2 to 5 - 12%
- 20 to 50 - 10%
- Over 100 - 4%
- 50 to 100 - 2%

When we observe the main needs for carrying out the production activities mentioned in the interviews (Graph 12), we see that they are directly related to funding and sponsorship (64%). On the other hand, items such as technical equipment, infrastructure and human resources present lower scores. In this in specific case, we can confirm the importance of the web of tangible and intangible values supporting the implementation of artistic and cultural practices, as previously identified.
Although the work shared in support networks is part of the creative capacity of artists and producers of culture in working-class territories, funding and sponsorship are highlighted as main needs. They are confirmed as being the main challenge faced to provide continuity, to consolidate and to broaden creative capacities and actions being undertaken.

It should be noted that the context of violence in which part of these territories are inserted does not present, in any striking way, difficulties for the organization and execution of cultural activities. Even if they are raised as elements that can hinder some experiences, they do not determine whether activities are performed or interrupted.

Acknowledgement in public policies and social recognition are presented as needs by the respondents, an indication that many of these activities, even though they have been in existence for over five years, are still invisible to public and private sponsorship policies.

Objectively, we can state that recognition by cultural and artistic authorities in Maré implies financial, technical and managerial support leading to an increase in the scope of activities, which will in turn become more regular and profitable. All this obviously while respecting the creative autonomy of their authors and the principles of sociableness that govern their aesthetic scenes. One can add that bestowing more attention on the stakeholders involved in dynamic and highly
inventive territorialities in the sense of promoting a greater synergy for the coexistence of activities in the territory, can be a differential for the local economic development and stimulate intersections with culture.

For this to happen, the drawing of cognitive cartographies of plural experiences of aesthetic languages is decisive for the formulation of public policies that recognize the creative capacity of production and enjoyment of culture and arts in working-class territories as reference for integrated policies in creative economy.

Cartography of the territorialities of artistic and cultural practices in Maré

In parallel with the process of data systematization, we drew a general map of cultural and artistic practices, listed by their specific languages, to have an overview of the creative prospect of culture in the Maré set of slums. This map contains a global inventory of artistic and cultural practices based on the location data obtained during the interviews. The diversity of dynamics and contents of cultural knowledge and artistic techniques made it possible to draw a sensitive cartography of inventive territorialities of production and cultural enjoyment. The theme areas that bring actions together are identified as fairs, parties, spaces of the organizations of civil society, cultural equipment and practices.

The map below shows the different repertoires that intertwine as experiences of production and aesthetic enjoyment, collective and common. These are spaces of social interaction, like squares, streets, sports courts, bars, church social halls, schools and LAN houses that come up as the main resource for sharing cultural and artistic experiences in the set of slums that compose Maré.
Map 2: Territorialities of Cultural and Artistic Practices in and of Maré

- **Individuals**
  - Arts
  - Handicrafts
  - Audiovisual
  - Ball and Parties
  - Blocks and Clubs

- **Groups**
  - Capoeira
  - Communication
  - Dance
  - Education
  - Photography
  - Graffiti
  - Literature
  - Music
  - Cultural Production
  - Rhyme Recited
  - Skate
  - Theater

- **Institutions**
  - Library
  - Center
  - Cultural Education
  - Event Space
The different repertoires mingle in collective and common territorialities of enjoyment. These are spaces of social interaction, like squares, streets, sports courts, bars, church social halls, schools and libraries that come up as the main resource for sharing cultural and artistic experiences in the Maré slums. The scarcity of public or private arts and culture equipment in slums associated to the low mobility of their young people and adults, leads cultural groups to invent ways to appropriate and use their local public dimension in plural processes of organization of production and enjoyment of aesthetic scenes, broadening the agenda of rights in working-class territories through intentions and actions.

Rock show in Espaço Pontilhão (venue for aesthetic scenes created below the flyover at the Yellow Line, the expressway that crosses the Maré Slum). Picture: Francisco Valdean (Imagens do Povo/Observatório de Favelas).

Concrete experiences are starting to emerge from the above-mentioned process, as well as possibilities as yet not fully known, including by many of the local authors. The cartography of territorialities allows us to register the existing web of tangible and intangible values, as well as to stimulate the increase of possible synergies in cultural economy, making it possible to identify and recognize creative practices in the set of slums studied. We therefore believe that the studies developed within the scope of our project represent a significant contribution to participative planning at the local scale, and will help rethink cultural policies to make them more encompassing so they cover working-class territories as well as the city of Rio de Janeiro as a whole in one inclusive social and spatial picture.
Territorialities of Cultural and Artistic Practices in the Maré Slum (RJ)

Individuals

Visual Arts
1. Afonso Carlos
2. Vanessa da Costa

Handicrafts
3. Carlos Eduardo
4. DEVAS - Artesãs da Maré
5. Dona Edite
6. Mães da Maré
7. Wallace Souza

Audiovisual
8. Cadu Barcellos
9. Cinememno no beco
10. Escola de Cinema
11. Jury de Carvalho Lobo
12. Aladin fotografia
13. Matheus Pacheco
14. Patrick Mendes
15. Raphael Vicente

Ball and Parties
16. Baile da Nova Holanda
17. Baile do P.U.
18. Cantinho do Forró
19. Dark festas L.G.B.
20. Os grandes do Black
21. Pagofunk da BT

Blocks and Clubs
22. Bloco benze que dá
23. Bloco do gargalho
24. Gato de Bonsucesso

Groups

Capoeira
25. Capoeira Angola
26. Maré de bambas
27. Mestre Iran

Communication
28. Amarevê
29. Data-labe
30. Maré de informações
31. Maré de notícias
32. Nova Holanda e Parque União
33. Thais Calvalcante

Dance
34. Andreza Jorge
35. Axva Break
36. Cia de Dança Lia Rodrigues
37. Douglas Barreto
38. Kastafary
39. William Nascimento
40. Maré skills
41. Maré sobressaltos
42. Passinho sem fronteiras

Cultural Education
43. Busina Social
44. Ecomar
45. Maré de crespinhos
46. Transitando
47. Maré de beleza

Photography
48. Amanda Baroni
49. Bira Carvalho
50. Davi Marcos
51. Douglas Lopes
52. Elsangela Leite
53. Fagnel França
54. Francisco Valdean
55. Imagens do Povo
56. Mião na Lata
57. Marcia Castro
58. Rosana Rodrigues

Gastronomy
59. Maré de Sabores

Graffiti
60. Renato Caufuzo
61. Thiago Cicero

Music
62. Adriana Kairos
63. Marcos Diniz
64. Matheus Araujo
65. Sara Alves
66. Vagner Lima

Literature
67. Aduagiso
68. Ajona
69. Algoz
70. Conexão Jamaica gang
71. Dj Rodrigo Fox
72. Grupo no lance
73. Henrique Gomes
74. Hip Hop na Maré
75. Klaus Grunwald
76. Maré de rimas
77. Maré de samba
78. Mareimbau
79. Mc Babali
80. Mc Dourado
81. Metanoia
82. Orquidea Maré do Amanhã
83. Pandorelando
84. Paula Fox
85. Ricardo Mirapalheta
86. Rock em Movimento
87. Rodrigo Maré
88. Ruth Rosa

Rhyme Recited
89. Batalha do Pontilhão
90. Roda cultural do Parque União
91. Roda cultural do 4 Centenário

Cultural Production
92. Begha
93. Diego Reis
94. Geisa Lino
95. Jean Carlos
96. Leticia Souza
97. Maré de Rock

Skate
98. Bianca Barbosa da Silva
99. Cia Marginal
100. Entre lugares Maré
101. CIA Marginal
102. Grupo Atiro
103. Grupo Pantera
104. João Vieira
105. Jefferson Melo
106. Marimoto

Institutions

Library
107. Biblioteca Lima Barreto
108. Biblioteca Vida Real
109. Salo de leitura Cecilia Meireles

Cultural Center
110. Casa das Mulheres
111. Centro de Artes Bela Maré
112. Centro de Artes da Maré
113. Lona Cultural Herbet Viana

Cultural Education
114. Instituto Vida Real

Event Space
115. Angolanos
116. Cantinho do Forró
117. Dogueria
118. Estrela da Vila
119. Tabacaria Dreadlocks
120. Zé Toré
Final remarks

This study presents a sensitive cartography of the various experiences of persons who produce art and culture in the Maré slums. These persons produce either individually or as collective bodies. These are all expressions of artistic work and cultural knowledge of urban culture that occur in deeply unequal social and economic conditions. We can, however, identify in them modes of production, means of organization and forms of performance of actions that mobilize subjects who are creators of art and culture in working-class territories in the city.

Other languages also emerge in Maré, such as photography and audiovisual, proving the occurrence of other aesthetic narratives, especially among young people. The increasing incidence of communication and information technology should therefore be stressed as possible means to mobilize the creativity of young people in working-class territories within the contemporary cultural context.

Despite the creativity and plurality of the aesthetic narratives in Maré, their producers still do not benefit from public funding and sponsorship from private entities. However, the creators of art and culture in the inventoried slums keep on using their own resources, together with those that are available to them in their own dwelling places (support of local businesses, incentives from NGOs, revenue from the production and sale of goods, solidary sharing of resources) to carry on with their work. It is from this standpoint that we saw the weaving of a web of collaborative solidarity that reaches beyond those who are directly involved with cultural and artistic production, and allows producers to get funding to ensure the persistence of their activities. This holds true for the use of cultural equipment belonging to social organizations, Carnival blocks and public schools that is often made available free of charge and that become essential for the creation of aesthetic scenes in the slums, as well as the use of streets, squares and bars in their dimension of shared territory.

The scarcity of funding and public cultural equipment in the slums studied does not mean that culture does not exist in these territories, or that it is utterly fragile and precarious. There are initiatives that have been in existence for over five years, as well as activities that bring in a significant public, such as funk balls, samba gatherings and pagode, hip-hop contests, forró balls, sports activities and parties shared by neighbors. This extraordinary experience makes the streets, squares, sports courts, soccer fields and flat rooftops of residences into territorialities of shared aesthetic narratives, showing there are other possibilities for social interaction and other dimensions to politically reinvent the urban public space.
The cultural and artistic creativity existing in the slums makes it possible to foresee a promising social and economic development founded on truly collective and solidary bases for the sharing of production, communication and aesthetic enjoyment. To this end, new concepts and new methodologies are needed to formulate cultural policies, particularly for investment in cooperative networks involving individuals, groups and collectives; involved stakeholders who operate in the working-class territories and build webs of tangible and intangible values weaving the symbolic to the social, and both to the economic.

We believe that the present study will also contribute to the drawing and enforcement of an agenda of democratization of public policies on art and culture in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Those should have at their core the recognition of popular cultures and the territories where they take place. We also believe in the possibility of stimulating new concepts on concrete experiences in creative cultural economy, especially when taking into consideration the inventive territorialities of urban slums and peripheral areas.

Bibliography


