THE ORDINARY CITY AS A STAGE FOR CULTURE, CREATIVITY & SOCIAL INCLUSION:

A study of the social circus in Brazil & Latin America in the 21st century

ALICE DEMATTOS GUIMARÃES

EMJMD GLOCAL PROGRAM

Alice Demattos Guimarães

THE ORDINARY CITY AS A STAGE FOR
CULTURE, CREATIVITY & SOCIAL INCLUSION:
A study of the social circus in Brazil & Latin America in the 21st century

Master Thesis Global Markets & Local Creativities (GLOCAL)

Supervisor: Maarten van Dijck
Erasmus University of Rotterdam

Co-supervisor: Montserrat Pareja Eastaway
University of Barcelona

Third reader: Helen Yaffe
University of Glasgow

Academic Year 2018-2020

this is the recipe of life
said my mother
as she held me in her arms as I wept
think of those flowers you plant
in the garden each year
they will teach you
that people too
must wilt
fall
root
rise
in order to bloom
Rupi Kaur, 2017

ABSTRACT

Grounded in the 21ˢᵗ century globalized-urbanized-reality, this research aimed to investigate why and how the social circus represents an example of resignifying the cultural-creative economy/industries (CCIs) into the right to the *ordinary* cities in Latin America. This region has the highest rates of urbanization and social inequality in the world. Globally, 'categories of cities' (at issue mainly the 'global city' and the 'creative city') have been created seeking to improve and renew urban life conditions. Those projects and the one of its instruments, the cultural-creative economy and CCIs, have negatively impacting the making of post-colonial societies, particularly in uneven pathways, when under the neoliberalism model. City labels have limited the scope of imagining alternative-possible urban futures. Moreover moving the CCIs discourse way from the 'neoliberal policy prescription', 'stretching' it to a de-westernized understanding of social rights, a view of ordinary cities is the most suitable to the social circus take place as a socio-cultural tool creatively transforming the socioeconomic and spatial segregated Latin American urban reality.

Ordinary cities are diverse and account with the cities own capacity to foster creativity, which is can be found in any street, i.e.: someone juggling at the traffic light. Historically, the circus have arrived in the (ordinary) city; and, as a performance art, it is part of the cultural-creative sector. When liked to social interventions, suppressing the lack of opportunities to youngsters in place of socioeconomic exclusion, this art represents a CCIs in broad meaning of the (social) right to the (ordinary) city. With a postcolonial effort and the exercise of 'Epistemologies from the South', literature on both urban studies and cultural-creative was reviewed and analyzed to comprehend the ordinary cities as a stage performing CCIs towards social inclusion. The main actor - the social circus - was empirically studied through a combination of methods: analysis of secondary data, mapping, different interviews, oral history, and photographs. Within a qualitative approach, this master's thesis have sought to deep the comprehension of those practices role for its diverse actors: students, collaborators, and the urban territory, in a search to draw all the nuances of the social circus in Latin America in the 21ˢᵗ century. The practices were acknowledged as a space of dreams. In the uneven region, the magical reality of the circus permits 'dreaming with the eyes open', bringing alternatives perspectives to conquer the right to a more equal urban life in a more inclusive city, in which the youngster gain protagonism, using culture and creativity to obtain social emancipation.

Keywords: Social Circus in Latin America; Culture Economics; Creative Industries; Ordinary Cities; Right to the City; Inequality; Social Inclusion.

RESUMO

Aterrisada na realidade globalizada-urbanizada do século XXI, esta pesquisa teve como objetivo investigar porque e como o circo social representa um exemplo de ressignificação da economia e indústrias culturais-criativas para o direito às cidades comuns da América Latina. Essa região possui as maiores taxas de urbanização e desigualdade social do mundo. Globalmente, 'categorias de cidades' (que no caso da pesquisa foca principalmente na 'cidade global' e na 'cidade criativa') foram criadas buscando renovações nas cidades contemporâneas. No entanto, contraditoriamente, esses projetos têm impactado negativamente na formação das sociedades pós-coloniais, e a economia da cultura e criativa e suas indústrias, um dos instrumentos incorporados nessas iniciativas, tem provocando um desenvolvimento urbano desigual em função do modelo neoliberal. Os rótulos das cidades limitam o escopo de imaginar futuros urbanos alternativos e possíveis. 'Esticando' o discurso das indústrias criativas e culturais (ICCs), des-ocidentalizando e aproximando-o da compreensão dos direitos sociais na América Latina, uma visão de cidades comuns é apontada nesse estudo como a mais adequada para receber o circo social como fenômeno sociocultural capaz de transformar criativamente as realidades urbana, socioeconômica e espacialmente segregadas.

As cidades comuns são diversas e contam com a capacidade própria das cidades de promover a criatividade, encontrada em qualquer rua, por exemplo, alguém que faz malabarismos no semáforo. Historicamente, o circo chegou n(à) cidade (comum); e, como arte performática, faz parte do setor cultural-criativo. Quando apropriada pelas intervenções sociais, suprimindo a falta de oportunidades para os jovens em lugares de exclusão socioeconômica, essa arte representa uma ICC em amplo sentido do direito (social) à cidade (comum) no contexto latinoamericano. Com um esforço pós-colonial e o exercício de 'Epistemologias do Sul', a literatura sobre estudos urbanos e economia cultural-criativa foi revisada e analisada para compreender as cidades comuns como palco que recebe as ICCs voltadas à inclusão social. O ator principal - o circo social – foi estudado empiricamente por meio de uma combinação de métodos: análise de dados estátísticos secundários, mapeamento, diferentes entrevistas, história oral e fotografias. Por uma abordagem qualitativa, essa dissertação aprofundou o entendimento do papel dessas práticas para e pelos seus diversos atores: estudantes, colaboradores e o território urbano, e buscou desenhar todas as nuances do circo social, concluindo que ele deve ser reconhecido como um espaço de representação de identidade, pertencimento e de sonho. Na América Latina no século XXI, a realidade mágica do circo permite 'sonhar com os olhos abertos', gerando perspectivas alternativas para conquistar a experiência de vida urbana em uma cidade mais igualitária e inclusiva, tornando os jovens protagonistas do seu futuro, ao propiciar o uso da cultura e da criatividade na obtenção da emancipação social.

Palavras-chave: Circo social; Economia da Cultura; Indústrias Criativas; Cidades Comuns; Direito à Cidade; Desigualdade; Inclusão Social.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All sections and acts' illustrations by Suely Camarano

INTRODUCTION

> Doesn't the Spring exist in the periphery?
> This is what you think.
> It does exist. And it's here. I am it.
> I am the Spring in the periphery.
> I am the flower of that place,
> where you think that just exists
> despair, fear, and bad things.
> I am it. I was born there.
> And I had everything to become a thorn.
> Or nothing.
> But do you know why instead of becoming those thigs,
> I became flower and I go around beautifying and perfuming others' lives?
> It's because I have art.
> I am an actress, I am a singer, I am a painter.
> I am a dancer; I am a juggler.
> I am me.
> (…)
> I am the Spring of the favela.
> I am the delighted flower of the ghetto.
> I am life.
> I am art.
> Show 'Metropolis' - created and performed by Valores de Minas, 2010.[1]

The story of this poem can be told by many young people who were born in marginalized areas of cities around the world, who had a life of deprivation and were raised in a place of exclusion. By whom, despite all these obstacles, could overcome a fated future and become someone who could be the 'spring'. Indeed, arts and cultural expressions are among the tools functioning as opportunities to this social transformation: from a 'thorn' into a 'flower'.[2] The social circus is an example of this as this master's thesis aims to illustrate. The social circus is an innovative-creative fusion between the circus art and social intervention, seeking to approach social inclusion and holistic development of people 'at-risk', mainly youngsters, in an uneven urban condition, such as in the Latin American context.[3]

---

[1] The poem in the original (Portuguese) version: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKbm5QRYyqc (min 60). *Valores de Minas* is a government initiative inspired by the social circus principles, seeking for human and professional promotion of the youth. It is mentioned in the section *Comparative Imaginaries.*

[2] Trine Bille and Günther G. Schulze. 'Culture in urban and regional development', in: Victor A. Ginsburgh and David Throsby (eds.). *Handbook of the economics of art and culture*. Oxford: North-Holland Elsevier, (2008): 1051-1099; David Throsby. *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

[3] Michel Lafortune and Annie Bouchard. *Community Worker's Guide: When Circus Lessons Become Life Lessons*. Montréal: Cirque du Soleil, 2011; and CEPAL: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe. *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019. (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Re v.1), Santiago, 2019.

The reality of the 21st century is globalized and urbanized, and sadly also sharped by increasing inequalities.[4] The present-day global urban economy has been experiencing a shift from manufacturing to knowledge-intensive and service-based industries worldwide, driven by technological and digital innovation. In this ongoing transition, the concepts of creativity and culture seem to have gained momentum, strategically placed to revitalize urban imaginaries, contributing to socioeconomic development.[5] Thus, as promising drivers of the 'new economy', the creative economy and cultural-creative industries (CCIs) has been incorporated to tackle the challenges of the deindustrializing society. Great levels of cognitive and cultural-creative labor used in digital technologies, favoring the sectors of high-technology and media industry, as well finance and personal services, configures the current cognitive-cultural capitalism.[6] The potentiality of CCIs as instruments of social transformation already integrates international agendas, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).[7] However, the global trend of implementing cultural-creative policies has also negatively impacted the making of today's post-colonial urban societies, particularly their uneven development.

Perhaps, this duality is related to the context of neoliberal globalization as well neoliberal urbanism.[8] The 'neoliberalism project', disguised as a pure economic theory based on competition and efficiency, leaves the social wellbeing subjected to 'the rule of fairness'.[9] This 'strong discourse', which is 'desocialized and dehistoricized', adds a symbolic relation of forces related to economic dominance, building up on both social and political marginalization.[10] Critical perspectives on urban studies have argued that the sociospatial

---

[4] Manuel Castells. 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the spatial age', *Urban Studies,* 47, (2010): 27-37;Thomas Piketty. *Capital in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

[5] Allen J. Scott. 'Cultural-products industries and urban economic development: prospects for growth and market contestation in global context', *Urban affairs review,* 39(4), (2004): 461-490; Graeme Evans. 'Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy'. *Urban studies*, 46(5), (2009): 1003-1040; and Ana Carla. F. Reis. *Cultural Economics and sustainable development*: *the kaleidoscope of culture*. Barueri: Manole, 2007. This is further problematized and demystified throughout the work.

[6] Allen J. Scott. 'Beyond the Creative City: Cognitive–Cultural Capitalism and the New Urbanism', *Regional Studies*, 48(4), (2014): 565-578.

[7] Bárbara Pagliotto. 'Creative Economy: mediation between culture and development', in: Ana Flávia Machado, and Cláudia Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*: *meanings, challenges and perspectives to a Brazilian Creative Economy*. Belo Horizonte: BDMG Cultural, 2016: 25-52.

[8] Philip Boland, John Bronte, and Jenny Muir. 'On the waterfront: Neoliberal urbanism and the politics of public benefit', *Cities 61*, (2017): 117-127.

[9] Pierre Bourdieu. 'The essence of neoliberalism', *Le monde diplomatique*, 528, 2002.

[10] Bourdieu, 'The essence of neoliberalism', 2002; and David Harvey. *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. New York: Verso books, 2012.

configuration of cities reveal certain geohistory of power asymmetry while reproducing sociospatial segregation.[11] The global embracement of the creative economy and CCIs has been facing adverse features in given localities. This is, when incorporated as a 'neoliberal policy prescription', regardless of the diverse and specific sociohistorical background, the CCIs have promoted gentrification, displacing residents in their own cities, exacerbating inequality; and labor precariousness.[12]

In urbanization and social inequality rates, disregarding CCIs implementation, the region of Latin America present the highest marks in the world.[13] As the position that one's hold in society is relevant in epistemological terms, since it determines our life experiences, our way of seeing and understanding the world processes, I draw a note on the place from where I write.[14] I am motivated by my (urban) Latin American origin, precisely from the city of Belo Horizonte, Brazil. I use this territory (and its scholars) as a source of inspiration towards my research. In the socially uneven Latin American context, the right to the city has become an important political banner since the end of the 1980s, articulating voices of diverse actors who called for urban reform and social improvements, especially given its cities' sociospatial marginalization. In my perspective, to comprehend the Lefebvrian theoretical formulation nowadays, it also makes sense to understand what 'kind' of city is being claimed.

In the continuous globalization and planetary urbanization, cities around the world share globalized patterns, not only in economic terms and policies implementations, but also cultural-political and defiant engagement, casted with the specificities inherent in diverse localness.[15] Hereby, an exercise of not privileging the experiences of only Western-wealthy-kind-of-cities is to comprehend cities as a 'unique assemblages of wider

---

[11] See Sharon Zukin, 'The city as a landscape of power: London and New York as global financial capitals'; and Eduardo Mendieta, 'Medellín and Bogotá: the global cities of the other globalization'. Both in: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017. And Harvey, *Rebel cities*, 2012.

[12] Terry Flew and Stuart Cunningham. 'Creative Industries after the First Decade of Debate', *The Information Society*, 26(2), (2010): 113-123; Ruth D. Eikhof and Chris Warhurst.'The Promised Land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries', *Employee Relations*, 35(5), (2013): 495-508.

[13] UNDESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights.* United Nations: Nueva York, 2014.

[14] Feminist theories have developed about the position that each of us occupy in society. See, for instance, Kimberlé Crenshaw. 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43(1), (1991): 241-279.

[15] Castells, 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation', 2010; Peter Marcuse, 'Space in the globalizing city', and Saskia Sassen, 'Local actors in global politics'. In: Ren and Keil. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.

processes – they are all distinctive, in a category of one'.[16] For this reason, the concept of ordinary cities is relevant and guides this research, because it considers that cities are diverse, complex and internally differentiated - not labelling the city as global, nor creative.[17] Creativity in an ordinary city can be found in any street.[18] Ordinary cities framework offers the omnipresence of cities globally, opening up to a cosmopolitan urban studies, in which urban policies are (co-)designed to each locality not importing ideals from somewhere else.[19] Sociospatial inequalities among urban processed has provoked the attention to new geographies of voices contesting the formation of globalizing cities and cultural practices regarding both political and artistic production.[20] When in the context of marginalized-peripheric metropolitan areas, performance arts, like the (social) circus, are fertile ground for the problematization of the uneven reality and the construction of proto-political utopias.[21]

Perhaps, when displaced from the 'neoliberal policy prescription', a de-westernized CCI discourse can fully embraces the potentiality of functioning as social transformation tool, even more when linked to social right.[22] From this point of view, the main hypothesis of this study is that, in places of material deprivation and social exclusion, artistic performances, represented by the social circus, can offer opportunity to overcome ill-fated odds creating 'spaces of representation'.[23] Youngsters appropriated the (ordinary) city, resignifying the urban areas with art as the space of dreams. Only with dreams is

---

[16] Jennifer Robinson. *Ordinary Cities*: Between modernity and development. Routledge, 2006: 109.

[17] Ibid. Also: Martin de Jong, Simon Joss, Daan Schraven, Changjie Zhan, and Margot Weijnen. 'Sustainable–smart–resilient–low carbon–eco–knowledge cities: making sense of a multitude of concepts promoting sustainable urbanization', *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 109, (2015): 25-38.

[18] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 86.

[19] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006; and Furtado, *Creativity and Dependence*, 1978.

[20] In: Ren and Keil. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017, see: Jennifer Robinson, 'New geographies of theorizing the urban: putting comparison to work for global urban studies'; David Harvey, 'The right to the city'; Teresa Caldeira, 'São Paulo: the city and its protest'; Anthony D. King, 'World cities: Global? Postcolonial? Postimperial?'; and Cameron McAuliffe, 'Graffiti or street art? Negotiating the moral geographies of the creative city'.

[21] Hamilton Faria, Pedro Garcia, Bene Fonteles, and Dan Baron. *Arte e cultura pelo reencantamento do mundo*. São Paulo: Instituto Pólis, 2009. The idea of a 'proto-political utopias' refers to the fact that those initiatives are not really institutionalize, but rather organic.

[22] Already in the 1970s, Celso Furtado brought the cultural dimension of comprehending culture as a depth of social policies. More in *Second Act*. See: Celso Furtado. *Creativity and Dependency in the Industrial Society*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978; and Celso Furtado. 'Pressupostos da política cultural', in: *Ensaios sobre cultura e o Ministério da Cultura*. Rio de Janeiro: CICEF (International Center Celso Furtado of politics and development), 2012 [1986].

[23] Henri Lefebvre. *The Urban Revolution*. Minnesota: Univerity of Minnesota Press, 2003 [1968].

possible to think about alternatives to conquer the right to the city and protagonism, using culture and creativity in search for social inclusion and emancipation.[24]

Considering this broad problematization, the introduction is further divided in: the research question and sub-questions; the objectives and relevance of this study; and, lastly, the methodology and structure of the work. Before, it is worth drawing the narrative adopted in this research (Figure 1). The *social circus* is the main character. Noteworthy that the circus is as an ancient performing art, part of the popular culture, and it does present a strong connection with urban agglomerates: the circus has arrived in the cities – adapting its performance to each locality.[25] Both cities and circus exist globally with local specificities. The circus also integrates the global-trending cultural-creative sector. The Latin American context is characterized by unparallel social inequalities and high urbanization rates, and it has a legacy of liking culture to social rights.[26] Therefore, accordingly to the increasing relevance of the creative economy and CCIs into the contemporary academic and political debates, the social circus makes its trajectory through the urban studies, cultural-creative economy, and the Latin American reality. This is further explained in the methodology and structure part. Next, the research question guiding this narrative.

Figure 1 – *Master's thesis narrative*
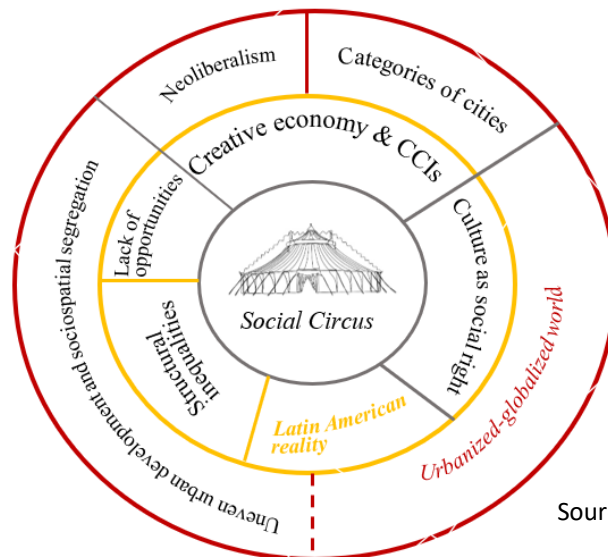
Source: own elaboration, 2020.

---

[24] Faria et al., *Arte e cultura pelo reencantamento do mundo*, 2009; and Eva M. Garcia Chueca. *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?*: Presencias, ausencias y emergencias en la construcción del derecho a la ciudad en Brasil. Diss. 00500: Universidade de Coimbra, 2018.

[25] Helen Stoddart. Rings of desire: circus history and representation. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000; and Beatriz Seibel. Historia del Circo. Buenos Aires: del Sol: 2005.

[26] UNESCO. *Creative economy report 2013: Widening Local Development Pathways*. 2013: 79; and Furtado, 'Pressupostos da política cultural', 2012.

- Why (and how) does the ***social circus*** practice represent a resignification of cultural-creative economy into the right to the ***ordinary cities*** in the Latin American context in the 21st century?

In the process of searching for a satisfactory answer, three groups of sub-questions help in the elaboration of the research following the narrative construction (Figure 1). Each of them addresses one of the three dimensions: the global urban context, the cultural-creative economy, and the social circus. The 'main' character is incorporated in the urban studies and the CCIs discussions, constantly reflecting about the Latin America and the Brazilian reality. The sub-questions are:

- In the contemporary urban society, why does the category of ordinary city matter and how can the incorporation of this concept benefit the right to the city and urban futures in Latin America?
  - How is the (social) circus linked to the urban context and how can it foster the experience of the right to the (ordinary) city in Latin America in the 21st century?
- Why, by challenging the functionalist 'Western' cultural-creative industries discourse, can the cultural economy be closer to social rights in Latin American region?
  - Why does the social circus practice represent an CCI and a social right in urban Latin America?
- Why is the social circus being a tool for social transformation in Latin America and what are the opportunities and challenges to measure it impacts?

Objectives & Relevance of the study

In face of what has been introduced, this research is grounded in the urban space, in which the cultural-creative economy plays a role in the contemporary socioeconomic cities

development, also aiming to incorporate a broader picture of social rights and opportunities, focused on Latin America. Poverty and inequality are structural problems in the countries of the region, in their multidimensionality. Again, sadly, Latin America is known as the most unequal region in the world, and Brazil was the most socially unequal country in 2018.[27] Latin American society is based on a heterogeneous and poorly diversified productive matrix and in a culture of privilege - a local historical feature.[28] To think about its regional socioeconomic development, the concept of Amartya Sen, 'development as freedom', is relevant. This is, development (and the many words that can anticipate it given its multifaceted characteristic, i.e.: socioeconomic, sustainable, human, etc.) is understood as a way to equally access opportunities.[29] Meaning that the debate needs to expand beyond the economic terms, embracing a holistic approach to guarantee, especially to the marginalized segments of society, better conditions of life.

In this perspective, the objective of this research is to comprehend the CCIs as a mean of opportunity to develop and occupy the cities, mainly by the vulnerable youngsters. The complexity of the role of creativity and culture amid urban processes lays on the wide-ranging forms of bringing a 'thorn to flourish'. Hence, the endeavor is not to dismantle the contemporary creative economy discourse due to its negative features within the 'neoliberal project'. Instead, there is a search for understanding how far the concepts can be stretched, engaging with different de-westernized interpretations, considering epistemologies from the South.[30] The propose is to investigate some implications of allocating CCIs as social practices (polices) for Latin American urban socioeconomic development – and ways to conquer the right to the (ordinary) city.

The social circus is a socio-cultural-artistic phenomenon which has increased worldwide since the end of the 1980s, and receiving limited attention regarding its impact in the life of youngsters in Latin America. By approaching the discussion of CCIs to social rights

---

[27] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.

[28] Ibid. This is better discussed in the next section *Text & Context*.

[29] Amartya Sen. *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2001.

[30] Jennifer Robinson. 'Thinking cities through elsewhere: Comparative tactics for a more global urban studies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(1), (2016): 3–29, suggested that concepts need to be stretched in a postcolonial perspective. That is, to understand the world through a postcolonial lens, 'playing' with the dimensions of concepts is necessary. Also, 'Epistemologies from the South' constitute a project that fundamentally aimed to recognize 'new' epistemic agents and collectives that have been historically oppressed by colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy: Boaventura de Sousa Santos. *Toward a New Common Sense*: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition. New York: Routledge, 1995.

in the region context, this research seek to expand the comprehension of this practice as enhancer of opportunities (and dreams) in uneven urban condition, adopting an empirical qualitative approach to point out the social circus as a mean of fully experience the right to the (ordinary) city. The social circus, a CCI and a social right, acts as enhancer of social, cultural, and sustainable development in the diverse cities of the region. In this approximation exercise, the work of Celso Furtado is analyzed to 'stretch' the creative economy discourse. If the 'Western' concept of the creative economy does not generate more jobs and concentrates it benefits in the already privilege social stratus, perhaps a conceptual (and policy) variance reflecting social rights can power the support of the creative-cultural economy in Latin America in the 21st century.

There is a lack of understanding the different nuances of a (re)conceptualization of CCIs discourse in Latin America. Advancing in this direction can contribute to contemporary debates. Furthermore, an alternative urban imaginary is needed, once that on the image-building of (Western and neoliberal) urban projects, cities - especially in peripherical contexts, have exacerbated social unevenness.[31] Ordinary cities enable new kinds of (possible) urban futures. Therefore, they are the most suitable stage to creative-cultural practices, like the social circus, evolve towards urban social inclusion.

Methodology & Structure of the work

Methodology is the instrument for constructing answers, adopted to investigate the research question and sub-questions guiding the study. No research is fully predictable, foremost in uncertain times as the current pandemic one. Therefore, considering the given contemporary limits of field study - due to social isolation, I consciously have chosen (and adapted) a combination of diverse methods to facilitate and enrich the research process. The methodological aspects are presented in line with the work structure.

---

[31] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006; and Veronique Dupont. 'The dream of Delhi as a global city', in: Ren and Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.

Along the whole thesis, there is a decisively postcolonial effort as well the exercise of 'epistemologies from the South'.[32] It is divided in seven parts, further than this introduction, the following section is *Text & Context*. Expanding the discussion about my place of writing, it explains what is being called as the postcolonial effort, also offering a common ground to understand the Latin American context, through a brief historical overview, with figures and facts of secondary data analysis from different statistics institutions. After, inspired by the circus format, instead of chapters: *three 'main' acts*. Noteworthy that the footnotes, following the Chicago style, contain the main academic references, as also further ones (that can be acknowledged as 'extra' reading) given the diversity of discussions embedded in this master's thesis.

The *First* and *Second Acts* bring a literature review and theoretical debates, in urban studies and cultural economics, respectively, following the 'postcolonial effort', aiming to de-westernize both fields.[33] Moreover, in both, figures and facts are also incorporated, in order to empirically illustrate the theories and concepts discussed. Quantitative secondary data from diverse databases as well examples and images concerning the local Latin American/Brazilian context are analyzed. The two acts contains drops of the social circus practices' literature and primary collected data concretely linking it to the correspondent 'abstract' debate of (the right to) ordinary city and CCIs. In this sense, the interviewees' statements included throughout the text are identified according to their own preference: first name and/or social circus relationship.

The third act presents the empirical part of the research build on primary data collection. The methods used to collect the data are further recounted in the section. From mapping, to surveys, interviews, oral history, till photographs were used aiming to achieve all the nuances that the social circus practice represent to youngsters' life and to the urban territory.[34] Often the veracity of one study is verified by the amount of interviews/survey's response given a representative sample. Critics have argued that even in quantitative research, the researcher's subjectivity is present - whether in the choice of

---

[32] Boaventura de Souza Santos. *Refundación del Estado en América Latina. Perspectivas desde una epistemología del Sur*. Lima: Instituto Internacional de Derecho y Sociedad; Programa Democracia y Transformación Global, 2010. The 'South' metaphorically represent the human suffering, not necessarily geographical parameter: it can be located in the geographical North or South. Further in: *Text & Context*.
[33] Dipesh Chakrabarty. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
[34] Mirian Goldenberg. *A arte de pesquisar*: como fazer pesquisa qualitativa em Ciências Sociais, 8ªed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2004 [1997]; and Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas*, 2001. Teresa M. Frota Haguette. *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*. São Paulo: Vozes, 2001.

interviewees, script, bibliography or material analysis.[35] Due to limits on data availability and accessibility, a qualitative approach, without numerical representativeness of the researched group, have aimed to deep the understanding of the role of the social circus for its different actors: students, collaborators, the city itself, among others. In the sequence, a very brief, also qualitative, *Comparative imaginaries* are discussed, putting in perspective the social circus vis-à-vis public polices debates/initiatives. Finally, some final considerations are drawn.

As an ending note, in a qualitative text, interactions between researcher, participants, diverse voices and stories are in light, focusing on the personal and the social reality which are appropriated to the investigation, regarding how individuals experience the world given a matter of temporal dimension too. [36] Collection of descriptions of events and facts configured in plots of stories took part in the narrative construction. The social circus, as the 'main actor', departs from the context at issue, before arriving in the urban space and being incorporated in the cultural economy, getting all the spotlight later. Accordingly, the next section contextualizes who I am as a researcher and how Latin America is being perceived in this study.

---

[35] Goldenberg, *A arte de pesquisar*, 2004.
[36] Karri A. Holley and Julia Colyar. 'Rethinking Texts: Narrative and the Construction of Qualitative Research', *Educational Researcher,* 38(9), (2009): 680–86.
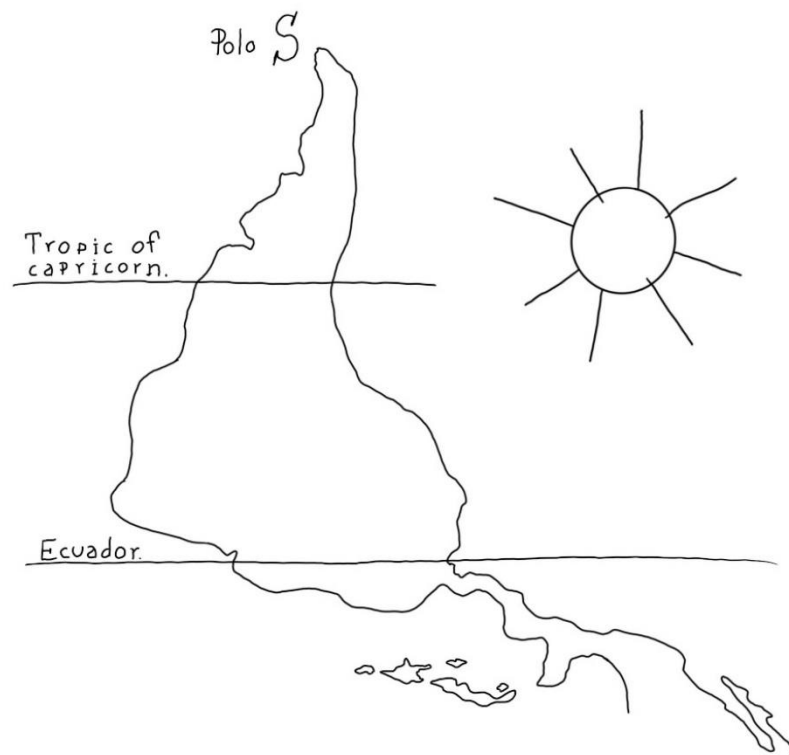
TEXT & CONTEXT

This part expands the explanation about how the writing process of this research was constructed (***text***) and about the social reality considered here (***context***). Perhaps, the structure of this master's thesis is unusual. But the art of research, especially in social science, put the challenge of an exercise to think scientifically, also with creativity, organization, clarity and, some flavor.[37] In this sense, an appeal for a deliberate and intentional writing can add to scholarly texts. If the role of a researcher can also be the role of a storyteller when acknowledging narrative, the author can concentrate on the ways in which the text reflects social reality.[38]

---

[37] Goldenberg, *A arte de pesquisar*, 2004 [1997].
[38] Holley and Colyar, 'Rethinking Texts, 2009.

The Place from where I write

To begin this part, it is relevant to acknowledge the concept of 'place of speech', meaning the point from which each person understands the world and, therefore, constructs interpretations about it, does research and produces knowledge.[39] This is, as mentioned in the introduction, the position that one holds in society is relevant in epistemological terms, since inevitably it determines our life experiences, our way of seeing and understanding the world and the processes surrounding us.[40] The starting point of any text does not constitute, necessarily, of individuals' experiences but, broadly and especially in academia, it involves how groups have been removed from 'places of power', affecting their access and participation on the knowledge production.[41] *Place of speech* does not restrict who can talk about what issues, but it implies that we should all recognize that we approach any subject from a specific starting point.[42] In other words, knowledge is situated and dependent on a context inserted within the practices of each group. Each perspective (standpoint) will always be partial, selective, and incomplete.[43] It does not advocate abandoning the objectivity criterion. But knowing our own subjectivity of a partial view promises a more objective vision.[44]

Place of speech and representativeness are different, once that everyone has a place of speech and recognizing one's privileged social locus is no excuse to release themselves from responsibility to face the systemic inequalities.[45] No matter how people belonging to privileged groups are aware and fight oppression hard, they will not fail to benefit,

---

[39] See Djamila Ribeiro. *O que é lugar de fala?* Belo Horizonte: Letramento: Justificando, 2017.

[40] As brought in the *Introduction*: feminist theories have developed about the position that each of us occupy in society. See: Crenshaw, 'Mapping the margins',1991. Noteworthy that this position is intersectional: there is an interconnected nature of social categorizations - race, class, and gender - applied to a given individual or group, which can overlap in systems of discrimination or disadvantage.

[41] Ribeiro, *O que é lugar de fala?*, 2017.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Donna Haraway. 'Saberes localizados: a questão da ciência para o feminismo e o privilégio da perspectiva parcial'. *Cadernos pagu* 5, 1995: 7-41.

[44] Ribeiro, *O que é lugar de fala?*, 2017; and Haraway. 'Saberes localizados', 1995.

[45] Ribeiro, *O que é lugar de fala?*, 2017.

structurally speaking, due to the oppressions they inflict on other groups.[46] Considering this, I am writing as someone who was born in Brazil, and use this scenario as a source of inspiration and motivation towards my research. I do recognize my privileges of someone who was raised with all possible opportunities to be writing a master's thesis today.[47] Nevertheless, taking the context of unevenness that characterizes my region, my research follows a postcolonial effort as a way of question the academic knowledge as given.[48] To think about the production of knowledge in modernity and the way that science has incorporated social space, we cannot ignore its inseparable other face: coloniality.[49] Therefore, the next section, before given the context of Latin America, further present some methodological aspects.

Methodogical efforts

The methodological aspects are the means used to achieve the purpose of answering the research question.[50] Research is not limited to methodological procedures: between the possible and the impossible, the known and unknown, the process requires creativity, discipline, organization and modesty.[51] No research is fully controllable: it is impossible to predict beginning, middle or end stages, even more in such uncertain times as the pandemic which we are living through. In this way, the methodology of this research considers the notion of the possible. This is, somehow knowing what I would like to achieve and given the contemporary limits of field study due to social isolation, I consciously chose a combination of diverse methods to facilitate and enrich the research process, as presented in the *Introduction*.

---

[46] Ibid: 68.

[47] As a white, middle/high class Brazilian. In this sense, the discussion about race in Brazil differs deeply from the European understanding. For instance, I am not always considered white in Europe. This is related to the concept of intersectionality previous mentioned.

[48] See also Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin. 'Every time I describe a city: urban History as comparative and transnational practice', in: Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin (eds.), *Cities beyond borders. Comparative and transnational approaches to Urban History*. London: Routledge, 2015: 3-23.

[49] Ribeiro, *O que é lugar de fala?*, 2017.

[50] Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*, 2001. Main and sub-question in the *Introduction*.

[51] Ibid.

Here the endeavor is to expand the idea about the a decisively 'postcolonial effort'. In a briefly explanation: postcolonial theories have been concerned with 'self-representation' (artistic and political) of colonial subjects as a key element in establishing a useful identity base and historical self-understanding in a context of anti-colonial struggles for national liberation.[52] Complementary, the decolonial thought, which emerged in Latin America, argues that global capitalism can only be understood by the way in which racial discourses organize the world population into 'superior races' and 'inferior races'.[53] In line with both, the 'Epistemologies from the South' constitute a project that fundamentally aimed to recognize 'new' epistemic agents and collectives that have been historically oppressed by colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy.[54] Aligned, the literature review is constructed critically analyzing the discourses and theoretical concepts, building on proposing innovative conceptual advances, brought specially from Latin American (and Brazilian) scholars.[55] However, it configures as a methodological effort (not a methodology), once that often the postcolonial approach is deeply critical to concepts, such as development.[56] Development is a concept used in this research what makes it not fully embedded in the post(de)colonial studies, considering the research scope and the complexity of the debate.

Anyhow, there is a deliberate and intentional writing and research process of a narrative about the social circus as part of de-westernized cultural-creative sector in an ordinary city. Again, the 'main character' is discussed by the construction from the context of Latin America, passing through the urban studies and cultural economy, till the final act of the qualitative collection of facts, figures, and stories about the social circus in the region. Thus, the next section contextualizes Latin American reality, with a very brief historical overview and secondary data analysis from diverse statistical research institutions.

---

[52] Frantz Fanon. *Les damnés de la terre*. París: La Découverte, 2002 [1961].

[53] See, for instance, Santiago Castro-Gómez, and Ramón Grosfoguel, (eds.). *El giro decolonial*. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores, 2007; and Enrique Dussel. *El encubrimiento del otro: hacia el origen del mito de la modernidad*. La Paz: UMSA, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación Plural, 1994.

[54] Santos, *Refundación del Estado en América Latina*, 2010. Again, the 'South' is a metaphor for human suffering, not representing necessarily a geographical parameter.

[55] John McLeod. *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000; and Stephanie Taylor. 'Theories and common concerns', in: *What is Discourse Analysis?*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013: 7–28. It is relevant to highlight that, different from discourse analysis, the critical approach adds issues of power asymmetries and structural inequities domaining the knowledge production.

[56] This is, the notion of development is considered, by more 'radical' adepts of postcolonial/decolonial studies, as modern ideal, Western, Eurocentric, and inherent to the dual system of rich and poor. See: Arturo Escobar. *La invención del desarrollo*, 2ª ed. Popayán: Universidad del Cauca, 2014.

CONTEXT

Brief history of Latin America

There has been a 'puzzle' intriguing academics for decades: the Latin American development. It has many phases, diverse features, many failures and different actors and ideologies, according to the variant periods of a turbulent history. A massive (sub)continent undeniably has several varieties in each country's history and trajectory. However, there is a common timeline which illuminates the region.[57] Not going in-depth into the region's history, but providing a very brief overview: Latin America was 'discovered' back in early 16th century, then colonized by, mainly Portugal and Spain throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.[58] The colonial economy was based largely on agriculture and mining, using both slave and wage labor.[59] The Napoleon invasion in the Iberian Peninsula, in 1808, marked the beginning of independence movements.[60] Within the Spanish colonies, all – but Cuba and Puerto Rico – were independent by mid-1820. Brazil was independent in 1822.[61] Despite the independence, Latin America continued with an export-led economy, with almost no perceptible change for the indigenous majorities or black slaves – specially with the late abolition.[62] The following sequence of maps illustrate this general overview (see Figure 2).

---

[57] Patrice M. Franko. *The puzzle of Latin American economic development*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. Latin America and the Caribbean is composed by 20 countries in the Americas (but the United States and Canada).

[58] The Caribbean was largely colonized by the British Empire, and both French. The Netherlands also had colonies. Armed conflicts to conquer territories existed too. See Franko, *The puzzle of Latin American*, 2007. Worth to acknowledge that the concept of 'discovered' is conflictual.

[59] Franko, *The puzzle of Latin American*, 2007; and Celso Furtado. *Economic Development of Latin America*: historical background and contemporary problems, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, 1976. Here, couple points: there was a tragic massacre of the indigenous population slavery was extensive, mainly in the Portuguese organization, agriculture based on: sugar, tobacco, later coffee (all very dependent on the external market).

[60] Franko, *The puzzle of Latin American*, 2007.

[61] Ibid.; and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. *Raízes do Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015. Here, another relevant discussion: the (not) revolutionary character of the independence movements. Especially in Brazil, where the independence was driven by the Portuguese prince Dom Pedro. Scholar discussed how this affected the 'Brazilian way of being'. See: Jessé de Souza. *A ralé brasileira*: Quem é e como vive. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2009.

[62] Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery, which has deep consequences in its history and social structure. See Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil*, 2015.

Figure 2 – *Latin American maps: historical overview*

Sources: The 'Puzzle' of Latin American Development, 2018. 1) Colonial Latin America; 2) Latin America Independent (some battles); 3) The date of abolishment of slavery in Latin American countries; and 4) Contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean.

From an export-led project to a planning model, Latin America has shaped its development path, according to theory and ideology: it has adopted policies from import substitution industrialization (ISI) of dependency school to a laissez-faire approach of the

neoliberal project.[63] Since independence to contemporaneity, Latin America, even though it has had a GDP as high as the ones from the 'center', it continues to 'fall behind'.[64] The discussion in this perspective can find various reasons to blame geographical and cultural factors, institutions, or the world system integration, and the immutable status quo. Far from over, the discussion about the 'puzzle' of development do not approach any consensual theory. But there is an agreement: Latin America – within its diversity among countries, populations, and policies, has presented an 'insufficient' solution to diminish the unparallel unevenness characterizing its society.[65]

Oscillating up and down economic and politically, 'coincidently' overlapping with international events, Latin America experienced an export-led growth model that held its colonial legacies and patterns of distribution and collapsed during the Great Depression. Claiming to break the dependency cycle, the state-led development, with ISI policy, resulted in a deep debt crisis aligned with another international financial crisis from the 1970s, breaking the public confidence, and given again to the market the main role in Latin American political economy.[66] Noteworthy that an obscure period of dictatorship, in which military regimes assaulted almost the entire region roughly from the 1960s to 1980s, has deeply impacted the Latin American society.[67] The re-democratization process

---

[63] More about the schools in Latin American, see: Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America*, 1976; Andre Gunder Frank. *Latin America and underdevelopment*, 165, New York: New York University Press, 1970; Cristóbal Kay. *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

[64] GDP stands for Gross Domestic Product. The British economist, Angus Maddison, tried to estimate long-term trends in productivity and welfare built through GDP data (Angus Maddison. *Monitoring the world economy, 1820-1992*. Paris: Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 1995). Despite the high margins of error, in analyzing both Spanish and Portuguese Latin America, the per capita incomes was equal to British colonies that became the US in the 18th century. After independence, throughout the 19th century, there was little economic growth. But, by the end of this century, growth returned. Data shows that the 8 major economies had growth equal to US pre-2nd World War, and faster than all OECD countries. After 2WW, with ISI, the growth slowed again. In the context of the Washington Consensus, it was half of the US. During this turbulence, inequality have increased. See Tulio Halperin Donghi 'Two Centuries of South American Reflections on the Development Gap between the United States and Latin America', in; Francis Fukuyama (ed.), *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

[65] Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America*, 1976.

[66] Ibid.; and Peter Kingstone. *The Political Economy of Latin America*: Reflection on Neoliberalism and Development after the Commodity Boom. New York: Routledge, 2018; and Miler Kahler. 'Politics and International Debt: Explaining the Crisis' in *International Organization* 39(3), (1985): 357-82.

[67] Latin American dictatorship was deeply violent, with deaths and torture. It distinguish from country to country. Many artistic work portraits the period, from literary books to cinema. (I could recommend many great and beautiful works, but I indicate two of my favorites: the book 'House of the Spirits' by the Chilean Isabel Allende; and the Brazilian movie 'Tatuagem' by Hilton Lacerda). It is worth mentioning the role that the US has in influencing the region. See: Donghi 'Two Centuries of South American Reflections', 2008; Luis Fernando Ayerbe. *Estados Unidos e América Latina: a construção da hegemonia*. São Paulo: UNESP,

took place aligned with the hegemony of neoliberalism policies in the international context from the 1980s, and market-led economic development project reoriented Latin American governance.

In this perspective, developmental policies in the region go in line with the momentum and agents behind it, emphasizing a constant dispute between forces – often of left versus right.[68] In accordance with historiography, Latin America experienced, and is still experiencing, paradigm shifts in its performance and policy responses, consequently, in its developing trajectory, in a surprisingly rapid way. Since colonialism, the power dynamic, in which the richest families are still the same (old) ones, remains as products of regressive policies and insufficient reforms.[69] The fragile political scenario sums to a difficulty of long-term planning. Exhaustively debating, some scholars agree that the region forgets its own history after every few years, reproducing not only a system of unevenness and privilege in a promisor setting, but also repeating the same mistakes from the past, pushing a utopian project further away.[70]

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Latin America saw the emergence of the so-called Pink Tide, when discontent with the perversity of neoliberalism's economic policies orienting governments since the 1980's, Latin American claimed for more social improvements.[71] Left-wing parties arose everywhere in the region, making the promise of bringing an utopia closer. The left-wing project was pictured dualistically: one a radical

2002; and Roberto Russell. 'América Latina para Estados Unidos: ¿especial, desdeñable, codiciada o perdida', *Nueva Sociedad*, 206, 2006: 48-62.

[68] The dispute of left versus right is a very complex issue. There is much more to be explored. See, for example: Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira. 'O paradoxo da esquerda no Brasil', *Novos estudos CEBRAP* 74 (2006): 25-45; Rosana Pinheiro-Machado, Adriano de Freixo, Túlio Custódio, Tatiana Vargas Maria, Luis Felipe Miguel, Fabricio Potin, Esther Solano Gallego, Debora Messenberg Guimarães, Ana Flauzina, and Alvaro Bianchi. *Brasil em Transe: bolsonarismo, nova direita e desdemocratização*. Oficina Raquel, 2019. The election of an extreme right-wing candidate (Bolsonaro), has some of its reasons within this abrupt division.

[69] Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America*, 1976; Marcelo Paiva Abreu (org.) *A ordem do progresso:* se manos de política econômica republicana – 1889 – 1989. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1989; and Maria da Conceição Tavares. *Da substituição de importações ao capitalism financeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1975. Although some countries did land reform (Mexico, Bolivia, Cuba), Brazil has never consolidated it, negatively impacting its urbanization. More in: Plinio Arruda Sampaio. 'La reforma agraria en América Latina: una revolución frustrada', *Reforma agraria y lucha por la tierra en américa latina*. OSAL: Observatório Social de América Latina. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2005; and Jacques Chonchol. *La reforma agraria en América Latina*. Centro de Desenvolvimento Econômico CEPAL/BNDE, 1962.

[70] Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil*, 2015; and Eduardo Galeano. *Las venas abiertas de América Latina*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, S.A, 2017. As a note: Latin American societies have carried this utopian ideal and revolutionary identity as characteristic.

[71] Paul Kellog. 'Regional Integration in Latin America: Dawn of an Alternative to Neoliberalism?' New Political Science, 29, 2007; and Marta Harnecker. *A World to Build*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015.

solution; the other defending a 'way out' without cutting ties with the 'system'.[72] Before 2008, they seemed to be somehow aligned. The importance of the external scenario marks its role. At the beginning, the upsurge of commodity exports, such as iron, due to the fast growth of Asian economies (particularly China) have helped economic growth and stability supporting an initial success of the left-project thriving social achievements. The financial crisis, though, and the moderate rhetoric project proved to be not 'red', but pink.[73] Once more, the external context displayed for Latin America its own internal factors, keeping the 'puzzle' and reinforcing the dependency trap, maintaining the status quo (of colonial roots) operational and even with signals of increasing the inequality. Figure 3 shows the graphic Latin American GDP's oscillation through this period till a current prediction in a comparative perspective.

Figure 3 – *Latin American real GDP growth in comparison with other economies* (annual percentage change)
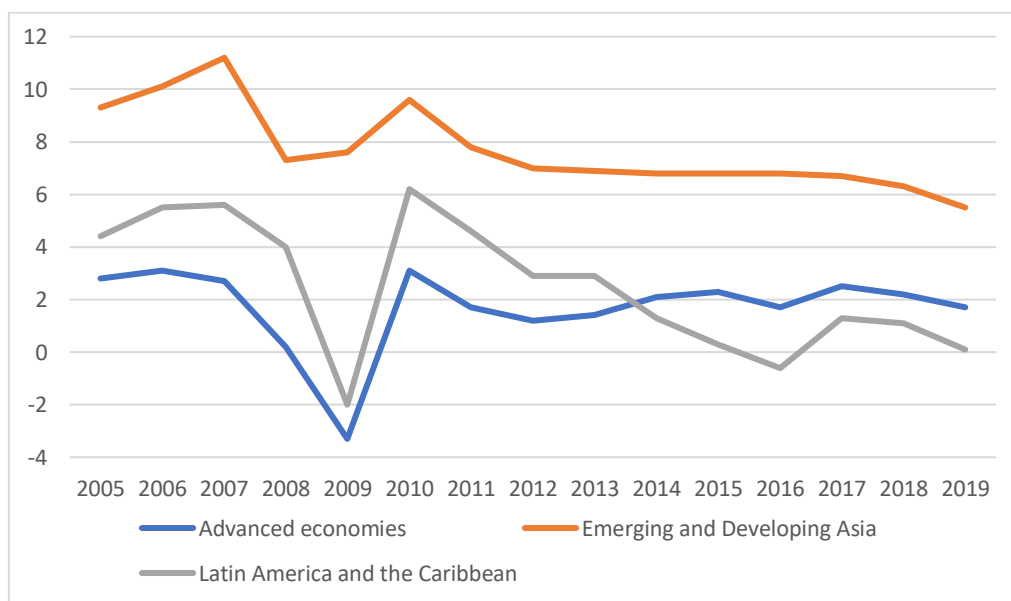
Sources: own elaboration according to data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)©, 2020.

---

[72] Ibid.; and Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America*, 2018.

[73] Again, a complex and largely debated that goes further than the research's scope. See: Kellog, 'Regional Integration in Latin America', 2007; Harnecker, *A World to Build*, 2015. Francisco Panizza. *Contemporary Latin America*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2009; and James Petras. 2018. *Latin America: Rightwing Interlude and the Death Rattle of Neoliberalism*. Available: https://petras.lahaine.org/latin-america-rightwing-interlude-and-the/. This is also a polemical discussion, and this research points to the duality without delving into the merits of the distinguish projects. Noteworthy: in this time of economic success, the acronym BRICS came to the debate referring to the expected promiser emerging economies. Standing for Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. Indeed, this was not necessarily true, especially given the current situation of Brazil. Therefore, this acronym is not useful anymore.

Economic development is fundamentally a process of structural change in both the system of production and income distribution.[74] With development theories, the concept had arose as basically a synonym of GDP growth, but contemporary debates has broadened the perspective, including democratic, egalitarian, and sustainable development, as also higher living standards.[75] Despite being among the most resource rich regions of the world, Latin America is still characterized by inequality, poverty and marginalization. As presented in the *Introduction*, it is the region with highest levels of income inequality in the world, and over 30% of the population live in poverty – a number which is currently rising.[76] Scholars have tried to explain this through different theories and hypothesis.[77] Therefore, Latin America and the Caribbean face structural, multifaceted, and persistent challenges associated with the objective of decreasing social inequality and poverty.

This part focuses on statistically showing the structural unevenness in the Latin America, persistent in the 21st century. In 2016, the region's population was approximately 640 million and 80% of them live in urban areas.[78] Again: the most urbanized region in the world. The urban transition took place accelerated in the second half of the 20th century. In 1950, 58.6% of the Latin American population were still living in rural areas, but already around 1960s there was a tie between the urban and rural population. In 1965, the urban population exceeded the rural with a urbanization rate of 53.3%.[79] This rapid urbanization occurred for several reasons: migratory movement due to increased land concentration, development of industrial activities and search for jobs in the factories,

---

[74] Celso Furtado. *Development and underdevelopment*. University of California Press, 1964.

[75] Joseph E. Stiglitz. *More instruments and broader goals: moving toward the post-Washington consensus.* Helsinki: UNU/WIDER, 1998. Also, the concept of 'development as freedom' by Amartya Sen is resumed later in this section. See: Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001.

[76] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.

[77] This debate goes thorough 'factors endowments', institutions (and institutional legacy of colonialism), embedded inequality, among others. See: Kenneth L. Sokoloff and Stanley L Engerman, 'History Lessons: Institutions, Factor Endowments and Paths of Development in the New World', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(3), (2000): 217-232; Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation', *The American Economic Review*, 91(5), (2001): 1369-1401; John H. Coatsworth. 'Structures, Endowments and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America', *Latin American Research Review,* 40(3), (2005): 126-144.

[78] UN Habitat. *State of the world's cities 2008/2009: Harmonious cities*. London: Earthscan*,* 2008.

[79] José Eustáquio Diniz Alves. 'Urbanização na América Latina e Caribe: 1950-2050', *EcoDebate*, 2014; and Clélio Campolina Diniz and Mauro Borges Lemos. *Economia e território*, 3. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005.

commerce and services, in addition to the decrease of jobs in the rural area given the modernization of the countryside. But urbanization also happened in an exclusive way: in a disorganized manner, resulting in a large portion of the population without access to essential urban services, i.e.: adequate housing, basic sanitation, security, and garbage collection (data about this is placed later on). The region's cities are, then, dual: with areas of ample infrastructure and abundant services, in one hand; and, in the other, neighborhoods that are totally needy.[80]

Latin America is the only region in the developing world where inequalities between urban and rural areas are similar, explained by the high land concentration and rapid urbanization.[81] Gini coefficients, the most usual measure of inequality, in several cities in the region are among the highest in the world (see Figure 4 with the numbers).[82] 5% of the region population receives a quarter of the national income, and the poorest 30% receives only 7.5%.[83] The most unequal cities includes: Goiania, Brasilia, Belo Horizonte (my city), Fortaleza, and São Paulo: all with a Gini coefficient above 0.60 (Figure 4). Accordingly, the Human Development Index (IDH), considering life expectancy, education levels, and incomes, scored 0.74 (0 as the lowest, 1 the highest) to the whole region in 2013. Chile is the top one country, followed by Cuba and Argentina. Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras are the rear. In the last five years, countries as Brazil and Mexico have lost positions in the world ranking, what indicate increasing inequality.[84]

---

[80] Ibid. Sum the fact that the growth of urban activities, mainly industrial, has not been able to generate new jobs in the same proportion as the urban population growth, resulting in a large number of workers joining the 'informal sector' of the economy (activities without legal employment and low remuneration, e.g.: street vendors, scrap collectors, among others). See: Milton Santos. *The Shared Space: The two circuits of the urban economy in underdeveloped countries*. London: Methuen, 1979.

[81] UN Habitat, *State of the world's cities,* 2008; and Laetitia Montero, Johann García, and Cooperación Regional Francesa. *Panorama multidimensional del desarrollo urbano en América Latina y el Caribe*, 2017.

[82] UN Habitat, *State of the world's cities,* 2008; CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019. **Gini coefficient:** measure of statistical dispersion to represent the income/wealth distribution of a nation's residents. It varies from zero: perfect equality to 1:maximal inequality (all the income concentrated by one person).

[83] UN-Habitat, *State of the world's cities*, 2008. In a comparison exercise: in South-Eastern Asian countries, the wealthiest 5% receive 16 % of the national income; and in developed countries, the richest 5% receive 13%. Also, even in deeply unequal societies, the poorest groups receive at least 10 per cent of the national income. According to CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019, it is highlighted: the percentage of income received by the highest income percentile varies greatly by country. Argentina reaches a minimum of around 13% (2001) and Brazil a maximum of 29% (2011). Even acknowledging that the series are not sufficient long, there are a slightly increasing trend observed - with fluctuations - in all countries except Uruguay (see Ibid: 25 – Graph 7).

[84] Ibid.

Figure 4 – *Maps of Latin American overall Gini indexes and respective cities' values*
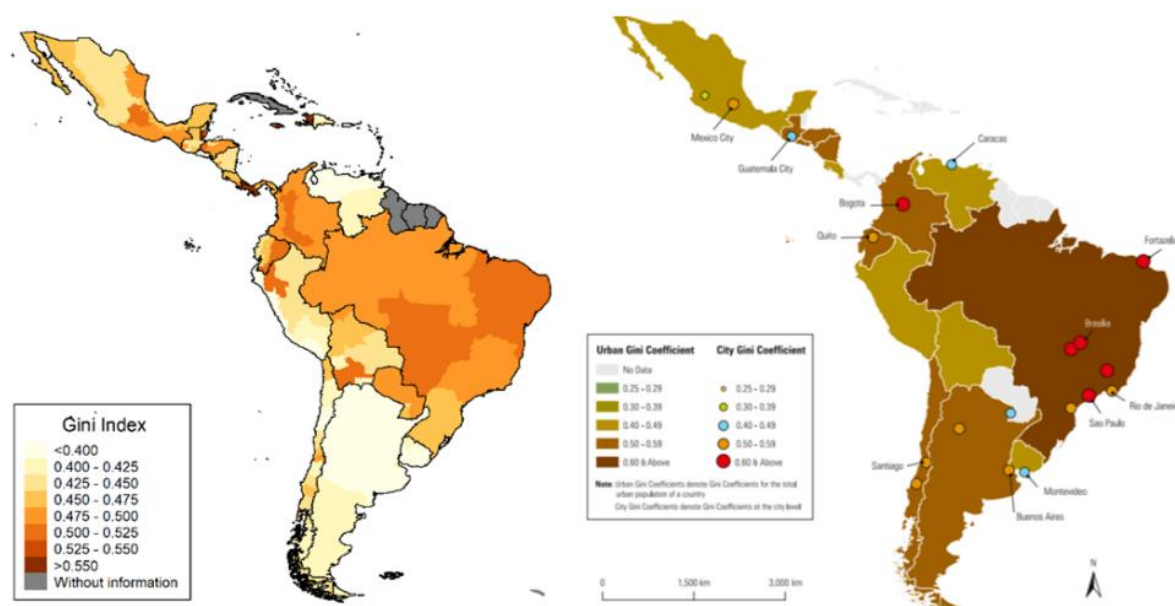
Sources: Socio-Economic database for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEDLAS and the World Bank), consulted in May 2020; and UN Habitat Global Urban Observatory, 2008. 'State of the world's cities 2008/2009': 67.

Even in periods of economic growth, inequality persists. Between 2002 and 2014, income inequality decreased significantly from 0.54 in 2002 to 0.48 in 2014 (Gini Index). The trend, though, slowed from 2015 to 2018: the Gini coefficient decreased at an also decreasing rate, see Figure 5 graphic - with some countries like Brazil increasing again.[85] This dynamic are similar the evolution of poverty. In the first decade of the 21st century, there have been important advances, but since 2015 there have been setbacks, particularly expressed by the increase in extreme poverty. The process of poverty reduction took place between 2002 and 2014 (see figure 6), together with an effort to enhance other social indicators. The poverty rate decreased significantly, from 45.4% (2002) to 27.8% (2014): 66 million people overcame this condition.[86] This process was associated not only with the favorable global economic context, but also with the local political context in which the poverty eradication and the social inequality reduction had unprecedented space on the public agenda of, to a certain extent, Latin American countries as a whole, aligned with objectives of expanding social inclusion and protection.[87]

---

[85] UN-Habitat, *State of the world's cities,* 2008; and CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.
[86] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019. It is important to highlight the definition of poverty and extreme poverty. Acconding to CEPAL and CEDLAS the poverty lines are considered of 1.9, 2.5 and 4 dollars a day at 2005 PPP (Parity Power Purchase).
[87] Ibid.

Figure 5 - *Graphic of Latin America inequality (Gini index), 2002-2018*
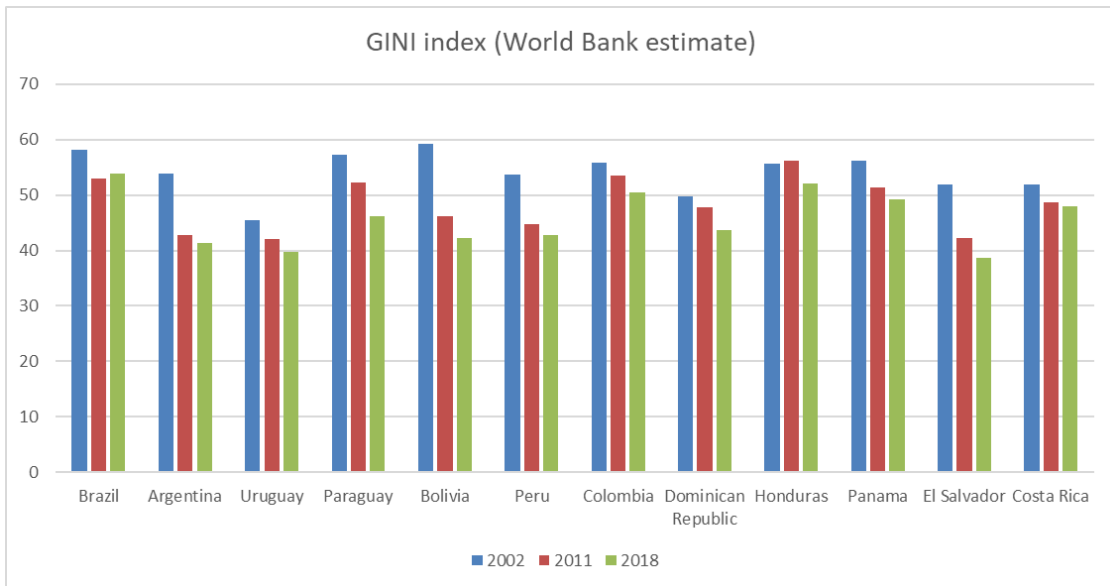
Source: own elaboration, according to *World Bank, Development Research Group* - data are based on primary household survey from government statistical agencies and World Bank country departments.

Figure 6 – *Graphic of poverty in Latin America, 2002-2019 – in millions of people*
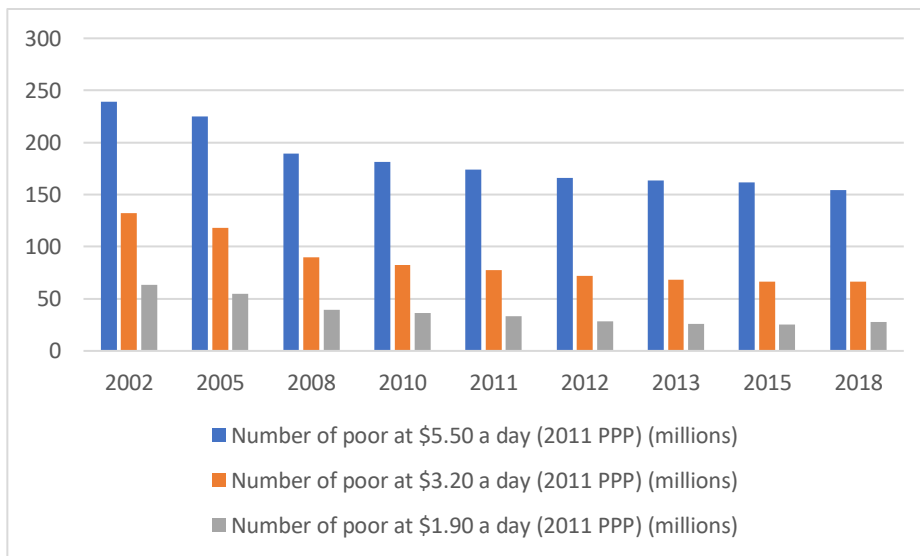
Source: own elaboration, according to *World Bank, Development Research Group* - data are based on primary household survey from government statistical agencies and World Bank country departments.

During the 'pink-tide', the agenda of social rights was broadened; state action and social institutions strengthened; investments expanded; and redistributive policies in both social dimension and the labor market were implemented (see Figure 7: examples of those policies). Overcoming the conception of (neoliberal) social policy from the 1980s and

1990s, the public policies were universalized, recovering the areas of social protection, particularly education, health, and pensions (Figure 7).[88] As already mentioned, the end of the commodities exports boom and consequently economic slowdown changed the figure from 2015 on. Fiscal adjustment policies have broken the coverage and continuity of policies regarding poverty reduction, social inclusion, and labor protection.[89] Labor indicators have deteriorated: unemployment increased and the trend towards greater formalization of employment stopped. This reflects the evolution of poverty rates: in 2018, total poverty exceeded by 2.3 percentage points what was registered in 2014, which means an increase of around 21 million people, from which 20 million were in extreme poverty (see above Figure 6 with graph and Figure 8 with maps below).[90]

Figure 7 – *Examples of redistributive policies in Latin America*

Redistributive Policies	Country	Action
Bolsa Família	Brazil	The largest in the region in terms of coverage: it unified of the sectorial conditional income transfer programs, including education, nutrition, etc.
Programa de ciudadanía Porteña	Argentina	It aims to reduce inequality and eradicate child labor by promoting the education, health care and the quality of life of women in the city of Buenos Aires, also attempting to break the circuit of intergenerational reproduction of poverty through social inclusion.
Red Unidos	Colombia	Comprehensive and coordinated intervention strategy that provides family and community support to the target, facilitating the access of their social services.
Becas para el Bienestar Benito Juárez	Mexico	It grants scholarships in primary and secondary education to adolescents to encourage their families to enroll them at the school and complete it.

Source: own elaboration based on database of Social Protection and Contributive Programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. Available in: http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc/.

---

[88] CEPAL. *La matriz de la desigualdad social en América Latina*. Santiago, 2016. The social policies from the 1980-90's were reductionist only focused on extreme poverty reduction and with privatization trends.
[89] See Laís Abramo, Simone Cecchini, and Beatriz Morales. *Programas sociales, superación de la pobreza e inclusión laboral: aprendizajes desde América Latina y el Caribe*. CEPAL, 2019.
[90] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.

Figure 8 – *Maps of poverty and extreme poverty rates in Latin American*
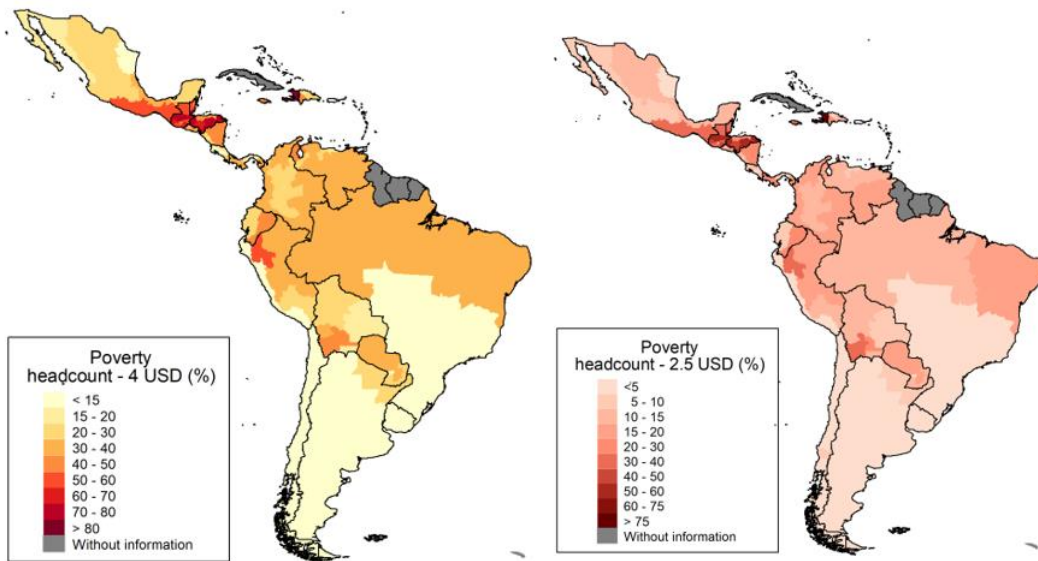
Sources: Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEDLAS and The World Bank), consulted in May 2020.

Redistributive policies, i.e.: income transfers (Figure 7), have been essential in reducing poverty and avoiding an even greater increase in inequality.[91] Indeed, income inequality is one of the most obvious expressions of social unevenness. It represents an obstacle to development, affecting the guarantee of rights and well-being of people, a factor that inhibits innovation, productivity, and economic growth too. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has been proposing equality as main strategic horizon of development and an irreducible ethical imperative. Equality refers not only to equality of means (income, productive/financial assets, and property), but also equality of capacities, autonomy, reciprocal recognition and, fundamentally, to an equality of rights.[92] It is both: equality of opportunity and treatment, as well of results. The historical and structural feature of unevenness in Latin American societies consist in the region's highly heterogeneous and poorly diversified productive matrix and a culture of privilege, complex framework of socioeconomic, intersecting with gender, territorial, ethnic, racial, generational, and opportunity inequalities.[93]

---

[91] See Abramo et al., *Programas sociales*, 2019. To see the different programs implemented through the región: Base de Datos de Programas de Protección Social no Contributiva en América Latina y el Caribe [en línea] http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc/.

[92] Ibid.

[93] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.

The Indian economist Amartya Sen has pointed that the change of attention in economic policies towards pro-market approaches focusing on utility, had a price: the disregard of the central value of human's freedom, closely tied to opportunities. According to the author, the expansion of human's freedom should be the main end as the main mean of the development process.[94] The individual capacities depend on, among others, economic, social, political - and to some extend – cultural disposal.[95] The interrelations between rights, opportunities and instruments correspond to multiples freedoms which recalls plural institutions, actions, and services provision in terms of education, health, culture. Given opportunities, people can be active in their own fate, the 'agency aspect'.[96] State and society plays a significant role in support the strengthening and protection of humans' capacities. The vision of freedom means the process that allow freedom of actions and decisions, as also real opportunities considering personal and social circumstances. The privation of freedom means lack of access to health, sanitation and water, as underprivileged opportunities regarding education, health care, paid employment, and socioeconomic security.[97]

The following figures and facts aims to illustrate some of those privations of freedom and opportunity in Latin American context, wrapping up the construction of the ground to start the discussion of the ordinary city as a stage for culture, creativity and social inclusion in the means of social circus practices in Brazil and Latin America in the 21st century. Regarding educational level, Figure 9 brings overall rates of literacy and years of study. The literacy levels are above 90% in almost every part, excepting from the areas coincidently with the highest rates of poverty and inequality, i.e.: Northeast Brazil. The years of study are worst off, in the sense that it is mostly from 6 to 10 years, only with Argentina and Chile presenting more than 10 years of study.

---

[94] Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001.

[95] Ibid. In this research, as already pointed in the *Introduction*, the cultural dimension is the main focus through the social circus analysis. It is suitable, given the current pandemic moment, to highlight the importance of culture to the individuals' life: in times of social isolation, many people have refugee into the cultural and artistic activities. See: UN News, 'Art brings us closer together than ever',15th of April 2020, available in: https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/04/1061802.

[96] Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001.

[97] Ibid. It is recalled the concept of intersectionality since the systems of discrimination/disadvantage affects differently individuals given the interconnected nature of social categorizations (race, class, and gender, etc.). Also, Sen further discussed the role of the state and humans' capabilities. This research does not explore this debate, but explaining: he puts that they complement each other: capabilities are expanded by public policy, as well public policy are influenced by the effective use of people's participative capabilities. With adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny helping one another.

Figure 9 – *Latin American maps about education: literacy (%) and years of study*
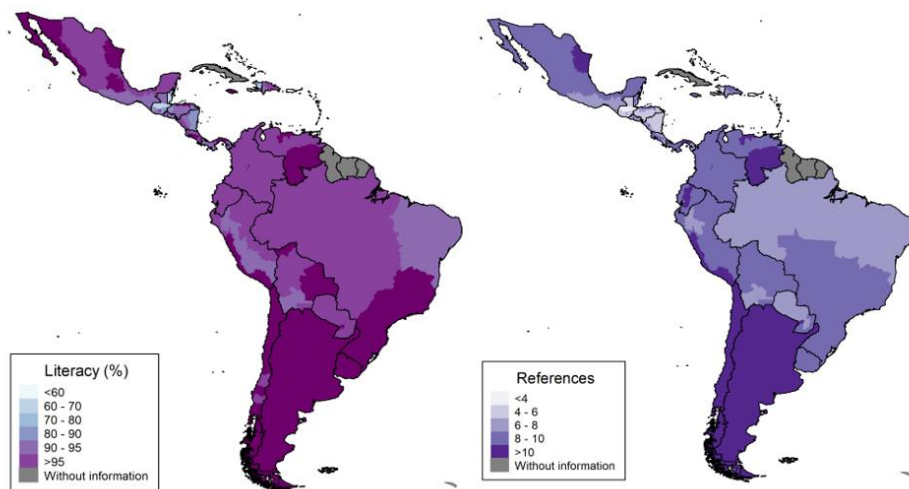
Literacy (%)
<60
60 - 70
70 - 80
80 - 90
90 - 95
>95
Without information

References
<4
4 - 6
6 - 8
8 - 10
>10
Without information

Sources: Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEDLAS and The World Bank), consulted in May 2020.

The mentioned advances in the social scene in the first decade of 21st century also expanded to education, with an increase in educational coverage and completion, as a decrease in dropout and school lag.[98] Today, primary education is practically universal, and there is massive access to secondary education. However, significant socioeconomic inequalities persisted: while 83.5% of young people in fifth grade income quintile (the richest) had completed secondary education, only 35.4% of the youth in the first income quintile (the poorest) had reached it. Access to both technical-professional and university education continues to be insufficient and stratified (as the quality of education), especially in compulsory educational cycles (see Figure 10). A third of people aged 25 years or older belonging to the lower strata did not complete primary education, in 2017 - undoubtedly less than 45% who were in this condition in 2002. But just 8.5% of them have completed post-secondary studies. Contrasting, in the upper strata, the percentage of people who had completed post-secondary studies reached 65% as early as the 2000s, and 70% around 2017 (Figure 10).[99]

---

[98] CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019.
[99] Ibid.

Figure 10 – *Latin America educational level by people aged 25 and over years old, according to large strata of per capita income, considering 2002, 2008 and 2017 (In percentages)*
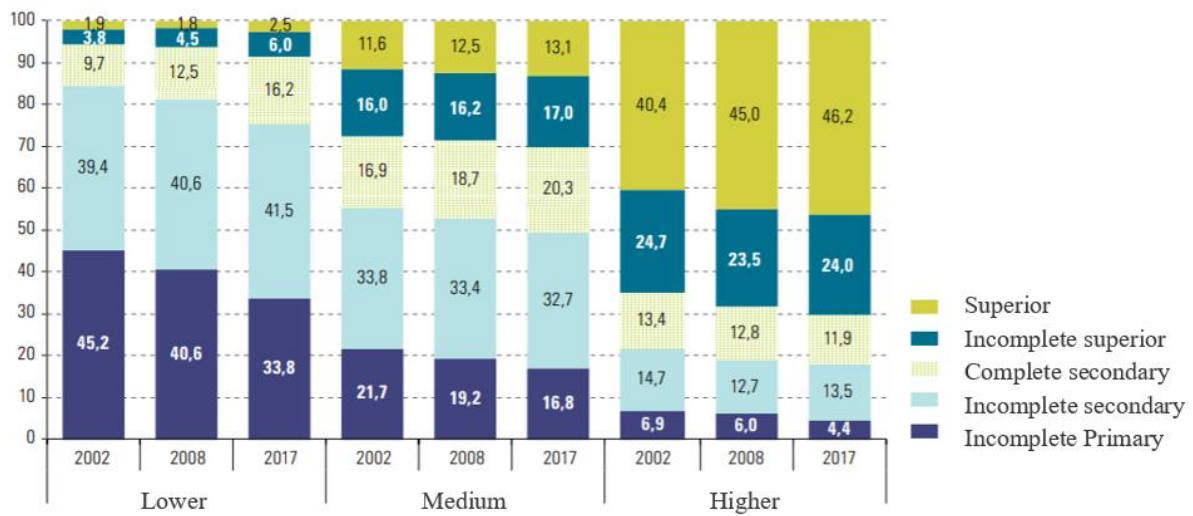
Education and employment insertion are correlated.[100] In Latin America, the transition from education to the labor market is abrupt after secondary school. Not going in the merits of employment-underemployment rates in the region, the highlight is the significant percentage of the youth between 15 to 24 years old that does not study nor work, the so-called NiNi group. At 15 years old it represents less than 10%, but at 24 years old, around 15% (see Figure 11). This configuration is pointed as the reason of many socioeconomic urban problems, such as criminality, early pregnancy, and substances addiction.[101] As it will be shown, the social circus also incorporates this target group.

---

[100] Ibid. Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001. Indeed, there are some critics to this correlation, but extrapolates the debate proposed here.

[101] Gunther Balarezo López. 'Generación NiNi: jóvenes que ni estudian ni trabajan', *Paideia XXI*, 9(1), (2019): 77-103.

Figure 11 - *Education and Labor Market Transitions, Latin America (circa 2010)*
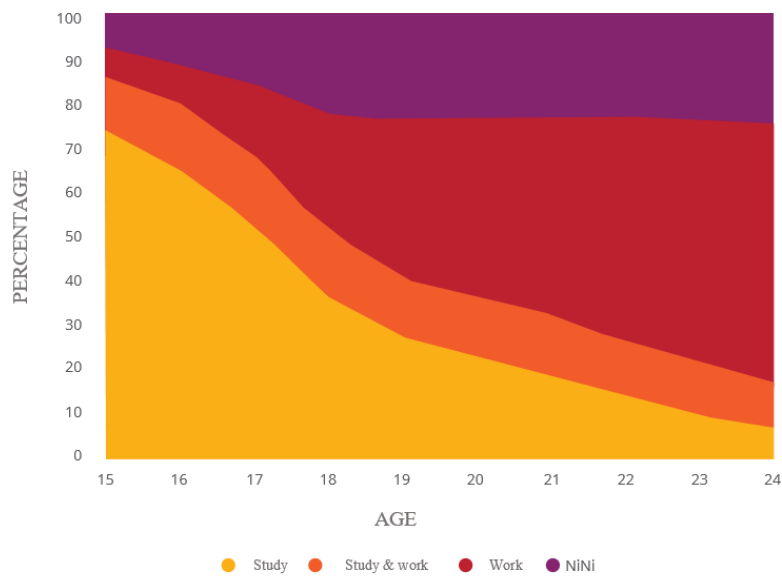
Source: Rafael de Hoyos, Halsey Rogers, and Anna Popova. *Out of School and Out of Work*: A Diagnostic of Ninis in Latin America. Washington, DC: World Bank. Background paper for the 'Out of School, Out of Work' study, 2015: 16.

To conclude this section, the last data represents the unevenness of rapid urbanization: compromised access to sanitation and water, given the informal settlements. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistic (IBGE) classifies as subnormal clusters areas restricted to occupation with irregular urban pattern, lacking essential public services. Such irregular settlements are known by various names: favelas, barrios, lowlands, communities, villages, etc. In the Brazilian Census from 2010, carried out by IBGE, the number of inhabitants in those areas was 11.4 million. Brazilian cities concentrate 37% of their households in informal settlements.[102] Figure 12 shows a map of the concentration of slums in Latin America, with countries like Bolivia presenting more than half of its population living in those places. Figure 13 brings 3 maps illustrating the coverage of basic services: running water, hygienic restrooms, and electricity. The 'richest' part of the region (Chile, Argentina, and South of Brazil) is largely covered by all three, but the poorest areas (Northeast Brazil, Bolivia, and parts of Colombia) are more needy with electricity coverage between 45 and 60%.

---

[102] UN-Habitat, *State of the world's cities,* 2008.

Figure 12 – *Latin American slums' proportion map*

Slum proportion (2005)

- No Data
- 0 - 25 %
- 25.1 - 50 %
- 50.1 - 75 %
- 75.1 - 100 %

Data source:
UN-HABITAT Global Urban
Observatory, 2008.

Country	Urban population 2005 (thousands)	Slum proportion 2005	Slum population (thousands)
Highest prevalence: Top 5 countries			
1 Jamaica	1,407	60.5	852
2 Bolivia	5,896	50.4	2,972
3 Nicaragua	3,239	45.5	1,473
4 Guatemala	5,945	42.9	2,550
5 Peru	20,305	36.1	7,329
Lowest prevalence: Bottom 5 countries			
9 Brazil	157,010	29.0	45,509
10 Mexico	81,334	18.3	14,906
11 Colombia	33,150	17.9	5,920
12 Dominican Republic	5,938	17.6	1,043
13 Suriname	332	3.9	13

Sources: UN-HABITAT Global Urban Observatory, 2008, 'State of the world's cities 2008/2009': 102.

Figure 13 – *Latin American maps on coverage (%) of running water, hygienic restrooms, and electricity, respectively*
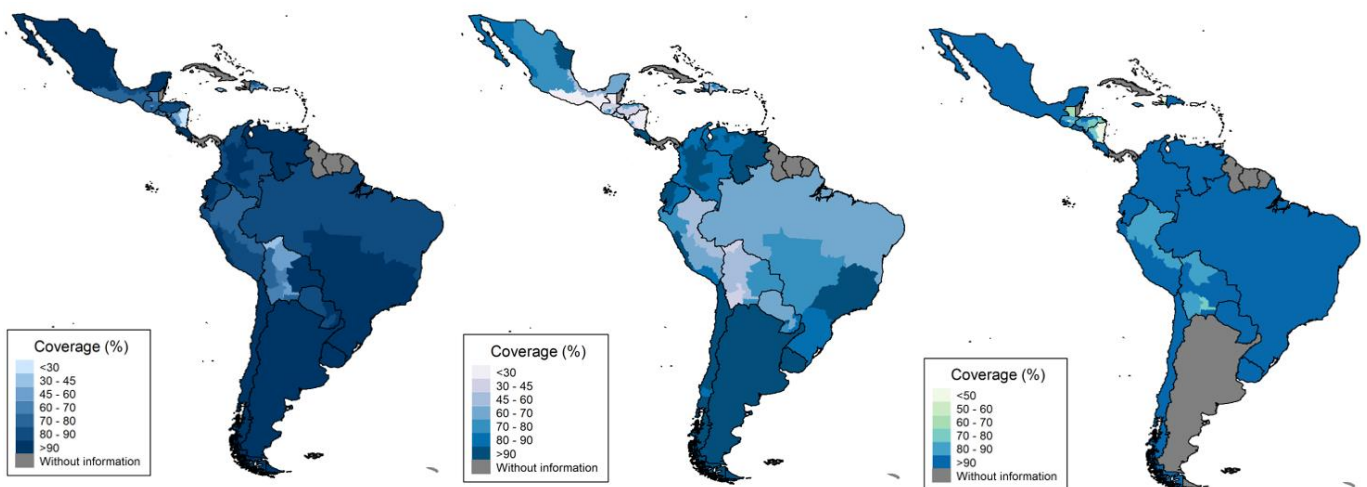
Coverage (%)
- <30
- 30 - 45
- 45 - 60
- 60 - 70
- 70 - 80
- 80 - 90
- >90
- Without information

Coverage (%)
- <30
- 30 - 45
- 45 - 60
- 60 - 70
- 70 - 80
- 80 - 90
- >90
- Without information

Coverage (%)
- <50
- 50 - 60
- 60 - 70
- 70 - 80
- 80 - 90
- >90
- Without information

Sources: Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEDLAS and The World Bank), consulted in May 2020.

Without further ado, the *Text & Context* aimed to set a common ground to follow the text having the same comprehension of relevant concepts and images that the three acts refer to. Strictly speaking, Latin American social unevenness, structural inequalities, and lack of opportunity are crucial to think about the regional socioeconomic development in the 21st century. The already introduced globalized and urbanized reality has in the cities one of the main units of analysis for discussing development process.[103] The also aforementioned role of creative economy and CCIs is mainly placed in the urban spaces.[104] Sen has argued that the battle to diminish social inequality and poverty does not have to be seen as a 'blood, sweat, and tears' effort. Art, music, joy, and laugh are essential not only to a dignified human life, as also to a creative process with deep social and economic implications.[105] Hereby, having now an ample vision of Latin American context and my personal input of the writing choices, I invite you to get into the *First Act* of the narrative trajectory: the urban, reflecting about the (ordinary) city as a stage for culture, creativity, and social inclusion.

---

[103] Robinson, Ordinary cities, 2006; and Allen J. Scott. *Social Economy of the Metropolis: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the Global Resurgence of Cities*. Published to Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011.
[104] Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis*, 2011; and Evans, 'Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy', 2009.
[105] Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001; and Patrick Kabinda. *The creative wealth of nations: how performing arts can advance development and human progress* (Policy Research Working Paper N. 7118). Washington D.C. World Bank, 2014.

_____
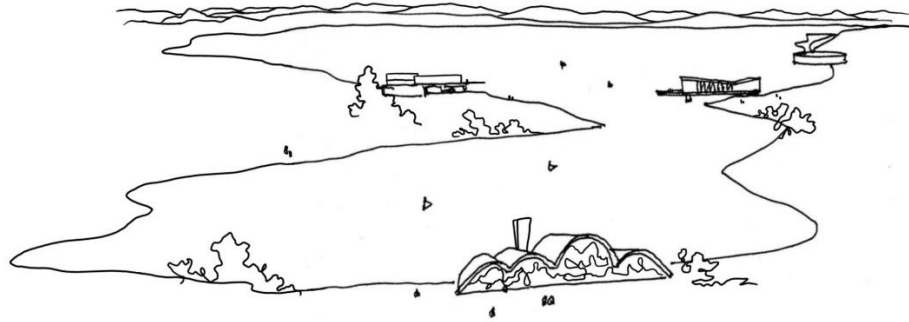
THE CITY & THE (SOCIAL) CIRCUS

Cada ciudad es diferente, por lo tanto, cada circo es diferente
Marcelo A. Pérez

1. LET CITIES BE ORDINARY:

Revisiting urban studies & categories of cities

Urban studies are a traditional field in which the cities and broader urban context are the core object of study. In its transdisciplinary scope, the interrelationship between social and spatial patterns are investigated. It includes a wide-ranging field: from the history of city development, also considering architectonic viewpoints, to urban innovation, regarding new ways to tackle the contemporary urban challenges, and more.[106] Indeed, today the world is highly urbanized: more than half of the world population lives in cities and metropolitan regions. As already presented, in Latin America, this number increases to 80%.[107] That is one of the reasons why, since the last century, many 'categories of cities' have been incorporated into the academic and the political debate within urban studies and urban policies. Those 'categories' are linked to both the process of urbanization and projects of urban futures.[108] The urbanization and the urban reality are configured in spatial and temporal dimensions, once 'the process extends through space (…) [and] because it develops over time'.[109]

Figure 14 – *Urban Continuum*
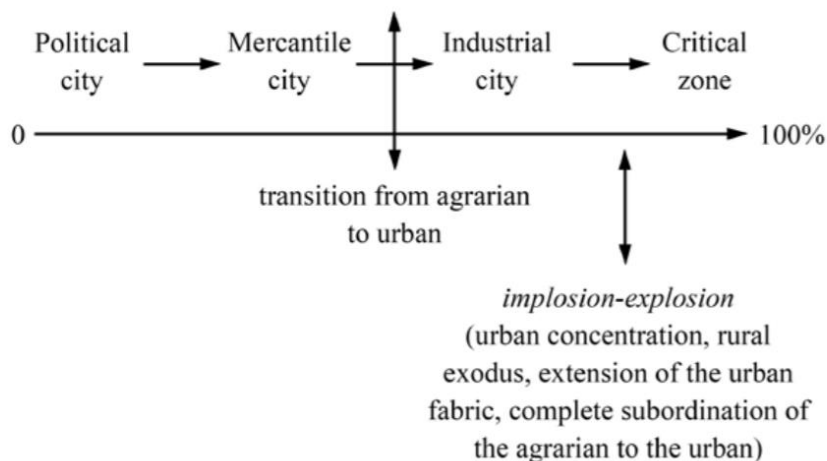
Source: Henri Lefebvre. *The Urban Revolution*. University of Minnesota Press, 2003 [1968]: 15

---

[106] Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift. *Cities: reimagining the urban*. Polity Press, 2002.
[107] UNDESA, *World Urbanization Prospects*, 2014.
[108] Lefébvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 2003: 53.
[109] Ibid.: 13.

In this perspective, within an effort of periodization, 'categories of cities' were constructed according to the history of modern society and cities' functions. 'The rise of the mercantile city, which was grafted onto the political city but promoted its own ascendancy, was soon followed by the appearance of the industrial capital and, consequently, the industrial city'.[110] This transition, from the rural, to the mercantile, to the industrial, makes society increasingly complex. This complexity increases till the 'extension of the urban to the entire planet' (see Figure 14 above).[111] In this conception, the global city elevates the image of cities to a global scale, in its political, economic and cultural function.[112] The theory of global (or world) cities, though, postulates a worldwide urban hierarchy formation when aligned to the neoliberal logic. This is, the produced (imbalanced) urban network is key to intensify the globalization of (financial, informational, cultural) capital and, given the established economic dominance, the result maintains a global sociospatial segregation.[113]

Urban scholars have, then, discussed segregation within contemporary cities, approaching it from different viewpoints: immigration issues, social exclusion, poverty, cleaning, and bio(necro)politics.[114] Nonetheless, this polarization has also been stated as a basis for the global city.[115] As cities are framed by globalizing processes and embedded in multiple elsewhere, the globally induced forms of political-economy and spatial restructuring are shaping cities in the context of continuous globalization and planetary urbanization.[116] Thus, globalizing cities share globalized patterns, not only in economic terms, but also in political, cultural and defiant engagement – casted with the specificities inherent in

[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid: 169; and Castells, 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation, 2010.
[112] Henri Lefébvre. *The Right to the City* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996 [1968]; and Roberto L. de M. Monte-mór. *What is the Urban in the contemporary world*? Belo Horizonte: Cedeplar, UFMG, 1994.
[113] See John Friedman and Goetz Wolff. 'World city formation: an agenda for research and action', and Saskia Sassen. 'Locating cities on global circuits', both in: Ren and Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.
[114] For immigration see King, 'World cities: Global? Postcolonial? Postimperial?', 2017; social exclusion: Gavin Shatkin. 'Fourth world' cities in the global economy: the case of Phnom Penh, Cambodia'; poverty: Mike Douglass. 'World city formation on the Asia Pacific Rim: poverty, 'everyday' forms of civil society and environmental management'; cleaning: Dupon. 'The dream of Delhi', 2017; and bio(necro)politics – David Murakami-Wood. 'Global cities between biopolitics and necropolitics: (in)security and circuits of knowledge in the global city network'. All in Ren and Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.
[115] Roger Keil, 'Global Suburbanization', in Ren and Keil. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017: 433.
[116] See Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall. 'Writing the world from an African metropolis', *Public Culture*, 16(3), (2004): 348; Mendieta, 'Medellín and Bogotá', 2017 on how globally induced forms of political-economy shapes cities in Latin America; and Stephen Graham. 'Global grids of glass: on global cities, telecommunications and planetary urban networks', in Ren and Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017, about structuring a planetary urban network.

diverse localness.[117] The 'categories of cities', therefore, is an ongoing debate, even more when considering projects of urban futures – aiming to enhance quality of city life. Reflecting these developments, many other categories were incorporated: 'creative city', 'smart city', 'sustainable city', 'liveable city', 'knowledge city' and so on.[118]

All of those categories are suitable for the present-day urban economy of technological-digital-innovation and knowledge-intensive and service-based industries in the cognitive–cultural capitalism.[119] But none of them fully challenge the problems of sociospatial marginalization. Urban theory 'has taken its primary inspiration from cities in the West, [what] has tended to privilege certain experiences of these places'.[120] Moreover, the ambition of 'wannabe' certain cities - from 'global city to the 'creative city', so on - and the (neoliberal) policies prescriptions to achieve those categories have generated several harmful consequences that dominated the urban fabric of diverse cities, mainly the ones 'off the map', exacerbating social inequality.[121] In this sense, critical approaches dedicate to investigate how to improve city life and city economies, extending the range of (other) urban contexts to draw insights.[122]

Contemporary researchers are looking into new geographies of voices.[123] Political movements contesting the formation of global (and segregated) cities around the world as well as cultural practices regarding both politic and artistic production are analyzed.[124] '[C]ultural dynamics also figure crucially in the production of built environments, urban form, and sociospatial divisions around the world, from the global cities of the West to the expanding metropolises of the global South'.[125] The postcolonial theories question, in this perspective, the power dynamic of the global urban system in which, under asymmetrical political and social condition, the representation of culture is challenged.[126]

---

[117] More about 'global-local' dynamics: Marcuse, 'Space in the globalizing city', 2017; Sassen, 'Local actors in global politics', 2017; and Manuel Castells. 'Local and global: cities in network society', in Ren and Keil. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.

[118] Jong et al., 'Sustainable–smart–resilient–low carbon–eco–knowledge cities', 2015.

[119] Scott, 'Beyond the Creative City', 2014.

[120] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 1.

[121] Jennifer Robinson, 'Global and world cities: a view of the map', In: Ren and Keil, *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.

[122] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 6.

[123] Robinson, 'New geographies of theorizing the urban', 2017.

[124] See in Ren and Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017: Sassen, 'Local actors in global politics'; Harvey, 'The right to the city'; and Margit Mayer, 'Urban social movements in an era of globalization'. Also, for more about interconnection of politics and culture see Caldeira, 'São Paulo'; King, 'World cities: Global? Postcolonial? Postimperial?'; and McAuliffe, 'Graffiti or street art?'.

[125] Ren & Keil, *The Globalizing Cities Reader* - Introduction to Part 6: Culture, 2017: 335.

[126] King, 'World cities: Global? Postcolonial? Postimperial?', 2017: 341.

It is in the context of unevenness among the social urban spaces, as the illustrated Latin American reality, that movements of contestations are emerging. Social movements are visible expressions of urban struggles, actively seeking to improve the rights of the marginalized ones in globalizing cities[127] - not only taking form of protests but also artistically. 'With graffiti, music, and social media, the youths from the periphery [are] challenging the city's residential segregation and claiming their right to be included'.[128] As an example, the movements of 2013 all over Brazilian cities (and to some extent, worldwide) expose this scenario: millions of Brazilians were in the streets claiming for better public services and more rights (see Figure 15) and the Hip Hop movement had a leading role in this process showing that 'it was more than public transport price'. [129]

Figure 15 – *2013 Brazilian Movements*

Source: Mídia Ninja, June 2013, 'It is not about 20 cents'.

The social movement of the right to the city (strong claimed during the aforementioned protests) can be comprehended as the right to urban life linked to the notion of freedom, meaning the right to make choices once the lack of opportunities is suppressed, inhabiting

---

[127] See Caldeira, 'São Paulo', 2017; Harvey, 'The Right to the City', 2017; and Sebastian Schipper, Lucas Pohi, Tino Petzold, Daniel Mullis, and Bernd Belina, 'Blockupy fights back: global city formation in Frankfurt am Main after the financial crisis', in: Ren and Keil, *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.
[128] Ren and Keil, *The Globalizing Cities Reader* - Introduction to Part 5: Contestation 2017: 280.
[129] Caldeira, 'São Paulo', 2017; and Raquel Rolnik. *O que é cidade*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2017.

and occupying the urban space while being an individual (citizen) in society.[130] Under the neoliberal urbanization, the dialectic triad configuring the urban space - political, economic, and cultural power, has maintained and even accentuated the spatial segregation and restriction of access to goods and services.[131] The cultural pillar make cities also a cultural phenomenon, locus of meetings, exchanges and diversity.[132] In the rapid and 'disorganized' Latin America urbanization, the 'imploded center' (Figure 14) presents high service supply and remains as the place of concentration of wealth and political power, leaving the periphery as a territory of scarcity: informal settlements in lack of basic needs.[133] Contemporarily, these peripheral areas have received increasing relevance as insurgent spaces, harboring other and diverse forms of cultural manifestations, - other than 'legitimate art', even though services and leisure are still concentrated in the centers.[134]

The hierarchy of cities keeps this configuration of concentration vis-à-vis scarcity at a global scale. Thus, rather than categories and labels for cities, the postcolonial reading suggests a view of a 'world of *ordinary cities*, which are all dynamic and diverse' and perhaps can diminish sociospatial segregation within and between cities. 'Paying attention to the diversity of activities and connections that shape cities would be more fruitful than simplistic assessments based on pre-given categories'.[135] For example, the self-organized space of favelas, meaning the coordination raised out of the local interactions representing different dynamics rather than formal practices. When observed as a precarious space, the potential of community can be overshadowed. This diverse spatial model constitutes different possibilities solidarity and cooperation dynamics.[136]

---

[130] Lefébvre, *The Right to the City*, 1996.

[131] Ibid.; and Monte-mór, '*What is the Urban*?', 1994.

[132] Lefébvre, *The Right to the City*, 1996; Jane Jacobs. *The economy of cities*. New York: Vintage, 2016.

[133] Ibid. Worth briefly explain: taking the physic concept as a metaphor, Lefebvre conceptualized the implosion as the tendency of agglomeration in the central areas of the metropolises, meaning a revitalization or crystallization of these areas as privileged spaces. The explosion brings broad process of the extended urbanization ('planetary'), indicating the occupation of areas distant from the main centralities. Then, there is urban dispersion and growth in the metropolitan fringes. Also, there has been a movement of 'rich people' moving to outside central areas, configuring the phenomenon of gated communities. Those places are, though, almost exclusively residentials; with (financial, personal, and cultural) services still concentrated in the central areas of the cities. Jonathan Watts discussed this by giving the example of São Paulo. This stablish the cities divided in rich (alphavilles) and poor (avelas). See: Mike Davis. *Planet of slums*. London: Verso Books, 2006.

[134] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 1.

[135] Ibid: 107

[136] See Paola Berenstein Jacques. *Estética da Ginga*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2002; Paola Berenstein Jacques. 'Learning from Favelas', in: Brasilmar Ferreira Nunes (org.), *Sociologia de Capitais Brasileiras: Participação e Planejamento Urbano*. Brasília: Líber Livro Editora, 2006: 179-202; and

Therefore, to think 'about cities without privileging the experiences of only certain kinds of cities' –from the West, of developed economy, without so deep structural inequalities, is to comprehend cities as a 'unique assemblages of wider processes – they are all distinctive, in a category of one'.[137] The concept of ordinary cities, brought by the geographer Jennifer Robinson, came as a reaction to the aforementioned global city theories. Its interpretation can go beyond the global city confrontation, since 'ordinary cities bring together a vast array of networks and circulations of varying spatial reach and assemble many different kinds of social, economic, and political processes. Ordinary cities are diverse, complex and internally differentiated'.[138] Thus, the multiplicity of economic, social and cultural networks that make up the cities gives room to a broad imaginary of enhancing living conditions in cities around the world. In this perspective, when creativity is comprehended as an interference to enrich social processes with causal determinism, ordinary cities 'account the capacity of cities to foster creativity'.[139] 'The creativity and contemporaneity of city life are to be found very much on the streets'.[140]

To illustrate the previous statement: Figure 16 is not a circus, but it is performative. Incorporating the city in their plays, the 'Sapos e Afogados' are a theater group from the city of Belo Horizonte. The actors are individuals excluded from society: they are all schizophrenics. Performing in public spaces, they reinvidicate their right to be included. They use culture and creativity to fight against socioeconomic exclusion.[141] Belo Horizonte (BH), located in the state of Minas Gerais, Southeast of Brazil, has 2,5 million inhabitants and national economic relevance, in the mining sector and technological advance too. Perhaps both factors could characterize it as global city.[142] Indeed, it is not a globally well-known city, as it does have diverse creative potential: at least 5 social circus projects were mapped in the city, and, this year, it became a member of the

Rolnik, *O que é cidade*, 2017. Also Antonio David Cattani, Jean-Louis Laville, Luiz Inácio Gaiger, and Pedro Hespanha. *Dicionário internacional da outra economia*. Coimbra: Edições Almeida SA, 2009.
[137] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 109.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 109; also, the definition of creativity by Furtado, '*Creativity and Dependency*', 1978: 172, better explored in the *Second Act*.
[140] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 86.
[141] The group started as an activity in the public health system concerning mental issues. They become professionalized thanks to the activism and mobilization from health professionals, social demands, and artists. In more than fifteen years of existence, the group has shown that creativity and art can save lives, also improving the quality of urban life (as the social circus do with youngsters at-risk, as this thesis is working its way to show).
[142] Belo Horizonte is also considered a global region-city in the conceptualization of 'aero-regionalism'. See: Jean-Paul Addie. 'Flying high (in the competitive sky): conceptualizing the role of airports in global city-regions through aero-regionalism', in: Ren and Keil, *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017: 176.

UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) in the field of gastronomy, labelled as a 'creative city'.[143] Clearly, this label does not account all kind of creativities such as the one that Figure 16 represents.

The example, recalling the performance arts, brings again culture and creativity to the debate. As the *Introduction* have briefly discussed, contemporary urban policies have been placing creativity as strategic for socioeconomic urban development, whether at local or global scale. The *Second Act* expands the debate regarding the cultural-creative economy and its industries. The point here is that the increasing relevance of culture and creativity within urban processes have favored the exemplified

Figure 16 – *Sapos & Afogados*

Source: Sapos & Afogados archive, 2014.

category of creative city. Although the ordinary cities concept emerge among the discussion of global (world) cities, letting cities be ordinary is also relevant to counterpoint this 'creative' kind of city. The momentum of culture and creativity being used to revitalize urban imaginaries has, for instance, made many port cities received renovation projects for waterfronts based on the cultural-creative economy, like the Brazilian city of Belém and the Argentinian Buenos Aires, aiming to rise up to this category.[144] The two cities also got the label: Bélem and Buenos Aires integrate the UCCN in the field of gastronomy and design, respectively.[145]

In a 'long history of proactive political engagement in making city spaces',[146] the of 'creative city', discussed back on the 1980s by Australian David Yencken, has become a global trend, proposing new city planning which is committed to foster creativity. The places and experiences in the urban fabric should provide joyfully satisfaction for its

---

[143] The social circus project are further presented in the *Third Act.* See: UNESCO Creative Cities Network https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map 2020.

[144] Marichela Sepe. 'Urban history and cultural resources in urban regeneration: a case of creative waterfront renewal', *Planning Perspectives*, 28(4), (2013): 595-61.

[145] UNCC Network: https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map. Belém's case is recounted in the sequence with its ambiguities: people lost their jobs and left at the margin of the revitalization process.

[146] Robinson, '*Ordinary Cities'*, 2006: 119

citizens.[147] The branding of a creative city is, however, contradictory since imaginary and reality are established in the place-marketing process: enemies of diversity, labelling creative cities promotes sameness.[148] Meaning that, in search for receiving the recognition of being a creative city, cities around the world reproduce and import models from the already recognized creative cities, without betting in their own uniqueness and diversity.

For example, the intervention to reimagine Belém (North of Brazil) use creativity in form of a locally-sourced cuisine, but focused on a global model of food technology and innovation. Even though the renew of the urban spatiality used its nature, culture, and memory, at metropolitan scale, it have lacked policies that meet social demands. In this sense, population and territory were not sustainable, and an ecosystem of ambiguity was created.[149] Side by side the cultural-innovative landscape of its waterfront, Belém brings an image of fragmentation and negligence (see Figure 17). As a note: Belém does not have any social circus project. Anyhow, this concretize the cultural contradictions of the 'creative city'.[150]

Figure 17 – *Ambiguity of Belém's urban waterfront renew project*

Source: Personal archive, Ver-o-Peso, 2015. (Only few blocks distant).

---

[147] Charles Landry. *The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators*, London: Earthscan, 2012; and David Yencken. 'The creative city', *Meanjin*, 47(4), 1988: 597-608. In his own words: 'A creative city must be efficient; it should be a city that is concerned with the material well-being of all its citizens, especially the poor and disadvantaged'. But it must be much more: an emotionally satisfying city concomitantly a city that stimulates creativity among its citizens. The 'creative city' was already developed earlier, but this goes further than the scope here proposed and indicates room for other researches (Landry 2012).
[148] Ibid.

[149] Ana Cláudia D. Cardoso and Raul da Silva N. Ventura. 'The urban evolution of the city of Belém: a trajectory of ambiguities and socio-environmental conflicts', *Metropolitan Notebook,* 15(29), (2013): 55-75.; Saint-Clair C. Trindade Junior and Márcio Douglas B. Amaral. 'Urban Rehabilitation in the central area of Belém-Pará: conceptions and trends of emerging urban policies', *Paraense Magazine of Development,* 111, (2006): 73-103; and Talia Shabtay. 'The Art and the Politics of The Forgotten Space', *Oxford Art Journal*, 38(2), (2015): 263-282; and Brian Hoyle. 'Global and Local Change on the Port-City Waterfront', *Geographical Review*, 90(3) (2000): 395-417.

[150] Andy C. Pratt. 'The cultural contradictions of the creative city'. *City, Culture and Society*, 2(3), (2011): 123-130.

In Allen Scott's words:

> [o]n th e one side, a set of privileged intra-metropolitan spaces supporting the work, residence, and leisure activities of the new cognitive-cultural elite is now an important ingredient of many world cities. On the other side, and given that large numbers of low-wage, low-skill jobs are a major element of the cognitive-cultural economy, a growing underclass is also an insistent feature of the very same cities. These trends are embedded in a widening dynamic of economic-*cum*-cultural integration at the world scale, leading to complex forms of urban specialization and interdependence across the global landscape.[151]

Although the axes of the creative city category - openness, tolerance, and diversity[152] – are undeniably great qualities to enhance social rights, there is no guarantee that it will overcome social exclusion, spatial fragmentation, and inequality. '[E]ven if these qualities were universally present, the ingrained structural logic of the contemporary economic and social order would still in all probability give rise to conspicuous inequities and injustices in large cities', as what happens in Belém.[153] There are cities seen as architects of their own future while others are torn sacrificing its creativity to imitation. There is the hypothesis that autonomy and creativity can fit all cities.[154] An endogenous process is embedded in the local reality, built within the specificity of each locality.[155] In this sense, the creative city is not universal, but it can acknowledge situatedness: the hardships of life in favelas, shaped by social exclusion and economic exploitation, constantly provides great creative environments for music, dance, and fashion, for example. The Brazilian Hip Hop and the funk as well as the Colombian reggaeton have emerged in the *comunidades*. Those cultural-artistic expression happens in the self-organize dynamic of these urban spaces, being created spontaneously, not necessarily with an endeavor of improving living conditions, but more as creative denouncement of the uneven reality.[156] Social circus initiatives in these same places further intend to bring protagonism and new dreams: to think about alternatives to social inclusion. A drop from the empirical research:

---

[151] Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis*, 2011 [2008]: 13. This new cognitive-cultural elite can be generalized to all over the world as the *Second Act* problematizes.

[152] Landry, *The Creative City,* 2012; and Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis,* 2011.

[153] Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis,* 2011: 16.

[154] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 66.

[155] Furtado, *Creativity and Dependency*, 1978, to relate to the endogenous development: the 'real development' in which local culture is strengthened, without imposed standards or imported values, establishing a genuine creative cultural process of that specific society, enabling to outline its own goals, values and paths, appropriating its creative identity.

[156] Pratt, 'The cultural contradictions of the creative city', 2011; Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 88; and Jacques, *Estética da Ginga*, 2002; and Rolnik, *O que é cidade*, 2017. *Comunidades* are favela synonym.

Therefore, from a more optimistic lenses, the ongoing transition to the cognitive-cultural modes of economic activity also arises an inquiry for solidarity, sociability, and mutual aid, in meaningful way in everyday work and life. Allen Scott argues that enlarging the dimension of creativity, innovation, learning, social experimentation, and cultural expression, both economy and culture can 'prettier' flourish in cities around the world.[157] Cities express their creativity in many diverse forms, influenced by their reality, history and spatiality. Local development urban policies cannot ignore this reality, form by the combination of time and space. It is not the same worldwide, each city has its own time: Latin American cities have received, in 40 decades, 80% of the population who at first was quietly adapting to the existing conditions and, later on, was in the streets protesting to well-being improvements. Similarly, each city has its own creativity. The creative city can be interpreted as 'a delicate, subtle and fragile local ecology of knowledge', where a variety of heterogeneous entities promote emergence, circulation, and expansion of ideas in different interactions according to their endogenous processes.[158]

When let to be ordinary, cities can acknowledge and achieve their own creative potentials.[159] The potential for imagining city futures is troubled when there is a gap or weak sense of creativity. A world of ordinary cities linked through a wide range of network and circulations (of people, idea, resources, cultures) permit to assemble diverse activities and create new kinds of practices. Encouraging expansion of and strategies to enhance the variety of urban environments is an alternative ambition to improve life in the diverse ordinary cities.[160] Urban policies can be framed in order to be more inclusive, including in the way that the cultural-creative economy trend is implemented. Ordinaries cities are able to foster their own ability to determinedly renew social process, concomitantly reinforcing cultural and creative practices, in which the interconnection of different actors are core to cities moving towards a more equal reality. Unevenness can be diminished if each individual voice is heard, incorporating the most diverse types of culture, actors, and projects.

---

[157] Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis,* 2011 [2008].

[158] Gernot Grabher. 'Learning in projects, remembering in networks? communality, sociality, and connectivity in project ecologies'. *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 11 (2), (2004): 103-123.

[159] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006; and Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis,* 2011 [2008].

[160] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 4 and 65.

A future of urban planning focused on redistributive initiatives, such as cultural instruments placed in barrios/favelas, like the libraries in Medellín, (co)designing cities inhabited by every single voice. The movement of the right to the (ordinary) city is a key element towards this direction, since it articulates voices calling for better life condition in the cities, fighting against sociospatial marginalization. Sense of belonging, social cohesion, respect, and prosperity should be a right of every citizen in the urban society.[161]

2. THE RIGHT TO THE (ORDINARY) CITY

Henri Lefebvre, in 1968, wrote the book *Le droit à la ville,* denouncing the negative consequences of the capitalist economy in the urban fabric of cities.[162] The movement conquered a globally accession. Since the end of the 1980s, it has become an important political banner, articulating diverse voices who called for urban reform – specially in Latin America and mainly in Brazil.[163] The theoretical discussion about the movement is broadly debated and several researches are dedicated to better understand it in its conceptual origin and unfolding literature.[164] In my perspective, to comprehend the Lefebvrian theoretical formulation nowadays also makes sense to understand what 'kind' of city is being claimed. According to the previous section, perhaps it is time to incorporate the notion of *ordinary cities.*

In Robinson's words: 'categorizing cities and carving up the realm of urban studies has had substantial effects on how cities around the world are understood and has played a role in limiting the scope of imagination about possible futures for cities'.[165] The city is a

---

[161] Lefébvre, *The Right to the City*, 1996; and Furtado, *Creativity and Dependency,* 1978: 72 bringing the right to creativity as the opportunity to interfere 'with causal determinism, enriching any social process with new elements'.

[162] Lefébvre, *The Right to the City*, 1996 [1968].

[163] See Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?*, 2018. The movement of the right to the city in Latin America and in Brazil became very strong since there was a lack of urban reform in the history of the region, as seen it the *Text & Context* section.

[164] Harvey, *Rebel cities*, 2012; and João Bosco M. Tonucci Filho. 'Do direito à cidade ao comum urbano: contribuições para uma abordagem lefebvriana'. *Revista Direito e Práxis*, 11 (1), (2020): 370-404. As presented in the *Text and Context* part, although this research follows an effort of postcolonial approach, here we are not delving into the merits of the fact that the right to the city is a European formulation and what this unfolds (see Garcia Chueca, 2018). Only the movement relevance to Latin America is the point.

[165] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 110.

social and political arena where strategies for economic growth (in the contemporary neoliberal context) are embedded.[166] The instrument of the right to the city aims to verbalize, attempting to guarantee equal opportunities 'to an adequate pattern of life' to all. In this perspective, the movement of the right to the city integrates urban-development initiatives at a city-wide level (Cities Development Strategies – CDSs), advocated by international agencies, such as the United Nations (UN) implemented by cities worldwide.[167] In the global economy, cities represent a new territorialization, and urban interventions addressing inequalities and inclusion of human rights.

The 21st century strengthened the movement of the right to the city globally due to international organizations actions as well the emergence of the antiglobalization movements.[168] Throughout a transnational dialogue with civil society and different actors (professionals, researchers, social movements, NGO, and local governance within international network), from the first Global Social Forum to the creation of the Global Platform to the Right to the City (GPRC) in 2014, there is currently a World Charter for the Right to the City (WCRC).[169] While in Europe this is taken as a 'peripheric paradigm', in Latin America the concept is broadly used to claim for urban reform – perhaps given the lack of (urban) reforms in the region[170] Particularly in Brazil, there has been an expressive political attempt to reframe the model of urbanization as of the right to the city principles.[171] From the WCRC, it is guided by the following:

> • All people have the right to the city without discrimination of gender, age, race, ethnicity or political and religious orientation. Along with this, memory and cultural identity must be preserved.
> • The city is a *culturally rich and diversified collective space* since it belongs to all its inhabitants.

---

[166] Ibid: 153.

[167] See Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006 about the CDSs initiatives, and Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?,* 2018 to understand more the path development of the right to the city. The UN Habitat Agenda (in different versions) includes the movement as a worldwide measure to improve citizens' life conditions.

[168] Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?,* 2018. The antiglobalization movement is a social movement critical to the economic globalization, claiming for a global justice.

[169] In: https://www.right2city.org/document/world-charter-for-the-right-to-the-city/. The WCRC construction was a long process systematized since 2005 with the Local Authorities Forum towards Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy, as well the Global Social Forum in 2011, and the United Cities Local Governments. Again, here there is the discussion of how it started in the European continent and how this could affect the movement overall but this is not the point of the thesis. To know more about this see Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?,* 2018.

[170] Ibid. The lack of urban reforms was mentioned in the *Text & Context* part.

[171] Ibid. This movement is greater incorporated by parties identified with the left-wing. Many and diverse social movements bring this banner in their claims, for instance, feminists group and black activism.

• Cities and national authorities will adopt the measures to the maximum of their available resources, to progressively achieve the full effectiveness of economic, social, *cultural, and environmental rights*. Even if legislative and regulatory measures have to be approved for this.
• A city is considered to be 'any town, village, capital, locality, suburb, town hall or town that is institutionally organized as a local unit of government of a Municipal or Metropolitan nature, be it urban, semi-rural or rural'.
• It is considered as citizens 'all the people who live permanently or temporarily in the cities'.[172]

Brazil was pioneer of the right to the city movement. At the end of the 1980s, a social articulation, the National Forum for Urban Reform (FNRU), was created, leading to the introduction of a series of normative-political-institutional measures: the social function of property and of the city, and popular participation; later developed into the City Statute: a national legal-urban order to provide land access and equity in large cities. The list of political-institutional changes derived from this 'fight' which, from 2001 to 2011, have begun to be channeled through government institutions, mainly the Ministry of Cities, and both the City Council and the City Conferences: spaces for social participation created to facilitate dialogue between the federal government and civil society. This historical period coincides with the 'Pink Tide'. The protests of 2013 have marked a new phase: new actors, specially the youth (also artistically involved) who were mobilized, reluctant to use classic forms of political organization and did not trust institutions to solve their problems. Elements of social emancipation emerged in the voices whose ability to be heard and recognized has increased over time thanks to the repercussion that their artistic-cultural expressions have had, progressively being incorporated in the national as aesthetics of the peripheries: rappers, breakers, graffiti artists, writers or poets (see Figure 18).[173]

Figure 18 – *The aesthetics of peripheries*

Source: Grupo OPNI, Periphery São Mateus, São Paulo, 2008.

---

[172] In: https://www.right2city.org/document/world-charter-for-the-right-to-the-city/ (my own highlights).
[173] Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?*, 2018.

Overall, the right to the city is defined as the right of every citizens to use, occupy, produce, govern and enjoy fairness, inclusion, safety and sustainability in cities, towns, and settlements, characterized as common goods.[174] It advocates the social commitment of the public sphere, the private sector and civil society, related to inclusive citizenship and solidarity – including the promotion of the solidarity economy: economic activities organized according to principles of cooperation, autonomy, and democratic management.[175] Interpreted as a collective right: 'we change ourselves by changing our cities'.[176] The city is also viewed as a collective work and the urban space, 'socially produced', is based on the appropriation, use, and self-management for the common space.[177] Following a contemporary Lefebvrian reading, the urban logic can meet the common logic, when establishing the sharing and cooperation, interlacing reciprocities in the production of the common in cities, as well as the city as common.[178] Synergistic ways committed to wider social agendas that maintain urban livelihoods and wellbeing add to the right to the city as a common practice (or communing). Ordinary cities 'are understood to be diverse, creative, modern and distinctive with the possibility to imagine their own futures and distinctive forms of cityness'.[179] This alternative future, comprehending cities as ordinary, is aligned with the Lefebvrian right to the city as a collective right. The ecosystem of urban territories with the solidary and holistic approach of both concepts responds to inequalities within cities, allowing more (other) solutions to urban fragmentation and territorial polarization. The right to the ordinary city is based on the fact that all people can access a decent life: defending equality and paying special attention to the voiceless ones.

The right to the (ordinary) city also incorporated cultural diversity (see highlighted in the WCRC's bullet points). It has the capacity of being a proactive tool with which cities and society advance towards a social, political, and *cultural transformation*. Culture, as a local manifestation of the territory, takes place in the city, and is a mean of using, enjoying,

---

[174] Harvey, *Rebel cities*, 2012.

[175] Peter Marcuse. 'From critical urban theory to the right to the city.' *City*, 13(2-3), (2009): 185-197; Ricardo Méndez. 'Redes de colaboración y economía alternativa para la resiliencia urbana: una agenda de investigación'. *biblio3W revista bibliográfica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 2015; and Cattani et al., *Dicionário internacional da outra economia*, 2009.

[176] Harvey, *Rebel cities*, 2012: 23.

[177] Tonucci Filho, 'Do direito à cidade ao comum urbano', 2020: 386. The common (or common resources) can be defined as goods that are collective used and managed by a given community in the means of communing (Ibid: 372). The GPRC follows this approach: understanding the city as a common good.

[178] Tonucci Filho, 'Do direito à cidade ao comum urbano', 2020: 394. Own translation.

[179] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 110.

and claiming the city and its various public spaces: squares, parks, monuments, museums, etc. Artistic-cultural manifestations are opportunities to experience the city, allowing appropriation and sense of belonging. In this sense, taking the city by the means of culture is characterized as a form of social emancipation: producing, consuming, and disseminating culture allows citizens to emancipate themselves from the social structure configured in the territory, also contributing to the creation of citizenship.[180] Noteworthy that the potentiality of right to the city as a social emancipatory movement is an ongoing debate.[181]

In Latin America, and particularly in Brazil, the 'the right to the city has had a strong appeal of social emancipation, connecting with experiences of suffering and exclusion of the most marginalized urban groups: inhabitants of favelas and urban peripheries. Art emanates from everyday life. The potential of artistic practices as a source of opportunities can contribute to discovering new paths for emancipation.[182] Artistic expressions developed in marginalized urban environments, not articulated through political movements in the classical sense, convey symptoms of social unrest related to urbanization and cities, as seen in the Brazilian examples.[183] Art also represents places of enunciation capable of expanding the right to the city by expanding the sense of citizenship. Ordinary cities sum to that as cities 'able to have a strong sense of their distinctiveness and creative potential' also considering the circulation of popular cultural practices.[184] Therefore, before delving into the cultural-creative economy (*Second Act*), the main character, the (social) circus is further introduced: a popular cultural practice which has lifelong trajectory connected to the urban context. The social circus is an urban intervention that connects (popular) art, own creativity, and social emancipation in the territory.

---

[180] Lefébvre, *The Right to the City*, 1996 [1968]. Also, see Nestor Garcia Canclini. *Consumers and citzens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts,* Minnesota; University of Minnesota Press, 2001. The right to the city is also related to the idea of citizenship, and, as discussed by Canclini, culture practices are correlated to representativeness and citizen participation in the public space.
[181] Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?,* 2018.
[182] Faria et al., *Arte e cultura pelo reencantamento do mundo*, 2009.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 66.

3. THE (SOCIAL) CIRCUS arrived in the (ORDINARY) CITY

The circus is a millennial activity, part of popular culture.[185] Popular culture is controversial concept with different nuances. Here it is counterpointing 'officials', 'erudite' cultural-artistic practices, also coming from the popular segments of society (not produced by the elites).[186] In this perspective, the circus is not interpreted as a homogenization even existing worldwide.[187] The first registers of the performance can be found in the walls of the Egyptian culture, but also claimed by the Chinese culture.[188] Not going into the merits of where, when nor by whom it was created, its modern version dated back in the end of the 16th century, in Europe. Its trajectory till its global relevance has other records: for instance, similarly to the Carnival, it was adapted by the Latin American and Brazilian societies, changing its face in the region.[189] Before elaborating on this local context, the global history of the circus is very briefly rescued.

Researches point its popularity in the Roman Empire. During the Middle Age, artists performed in fairs and marketplaces, always in urban agglomerations.[190] Often, local authorities would chase them, the *saltimbanquis*. Abilities like juggling, contortion, and the clown were transmitted from generation to generation, keeping it in the family frame. In the 16th century, the comic art gained strength in Italy, highlighting *Arlequín* and *Brighuella*: figures who exchange in scene the role of the foolish and the scoffed. Comedians appeared all over Europe and, since then, itinerant artists increasingly spread worldwide. Frequently performed in the cities' streets: the circus itinerancy was (and still is) mainly urban. In the 18th century, arenas started to become more common. More about the history is going to come up throughout the reading (every act brings a drop about the (social) circus). Now there is a jump to the new or contemporary circus (see Figure 19 with the circus timeline – more detailed evolution).

---

[185] Paul Lopes. 'Culture and Stigma: Popular Culture and the Case of Comic Books', *Sociological Forum*, 21(3), 2006: 87-414. Popular culture be further debated in the *Second Act*.

[186] Martha Abreu. 'Cultura popular, um conceito e várias histórias', in: Martha Abreu, and Rachel Soihet, *Ensino de História, Conceitos, Temáticas e Metodologias*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2003.

[187] Ibid. Noteworthy that when referring to a homogenized-global cultural manifestation, the popular culture term is used, differing from how the concept is comprehend in this study.

[188] Cirque du Soleil. *Guide for the Social worker in both circus and live lessons*. Québec, 2001.

[189] See Chapter 10 in Peter Burke. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca, 1997, in which he recounts the transformations of Carnival tradition in Brazil.

[190] Stoddart, *Rings of desire*, 2000; and Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005.

Figure 19 – *Brief circus timeline*

Traditional circus: physical strengths/abilities, introduced by a presenter, interspersed with the humor of clowns and the risk of animal taming (polemic) Nomadic character, family tradition

Roman Empire Middle Age *saltimbanquis*

Royal Circus (UK)

19th century: arrive in the Americas

1970/1980s: *New/contemporary circus*: no animals/no presenter *Training schools*

First registers: ancient Egyptian & Chinese culture

16th century: the comic art *Arlequín*

1770/80s Philip Astley

1789: French Revolution Franconi

First half of the 20th century: Circus retraction in Europe (wars) expansion of the *traditional circus* in Latin America

Social circus practices

Traditional circus: physical strengths/abilities, introduced by a presenter, interspersed with the humor of clowns and the risk of animal taming (polemic) Nomadic character, family tradition

Street circus: modality linked to the use of circus techniques performed in the streets. Very popular in Latin America from the 1990's on

Source: own elaboration based on literature research and interview with scholars (Julieta Infantino, Ermínia Silva, and Patrice Aubertin).

The 'traditional' stream – family transmission, nomadic, and using animals - has not disappeared. But, in the 1970-80's, the circus went through some renovation, initiating what is called the new (or contemporary) circus, still coexisting with the traditional one. By giving a more artistic-creativity and favoring its multidisciplinarity, the new circus expands and perfects the training of various artists who come from different performing arts: theater, dance, music, among others – also banning the use of animals in its shows.[191] This new circus language arises hand in glove with the emergence of circus schools all over the world, systematizing the process of teaching-learning this art, as well a resumption of the practices on the street, also reaching a 'middle class' audience.[192] Two facts are worth noticing: first the Cirque du Soleil (both itinerant and permanent) plays an important role in the emergence of the 'new circus' - discussed in the sequence, and that the practice has always kept its connection to the urban territories.

The Cirque du Soleil's history connects with the changing on the streams of the circus language, and to the 'creative city' as also to its social practice. The small troupe of street artists that started the company in 1984 decided not to compete with the traditional stream of circus performance: they redefine its language. Animals were dispensed, the 'star' dismantled from the stage, emphasizing diverse spotlights such as 'beat music and fantastic costumes, lighting and sets'.[193] To present-day, it became a global corporation, employing more than 4,000 individuals, among 1,000 artists from over 40 different nationalities, touring with diverse shows presented in more than 100 cities around the world, apart from permanent spectacles.[194] This can also be problematize, since it is not cheap to go to their shows, but the focus here is their role in the urban context. The now successful headquarter of the company has emerged and it is still located in the Saint-Michel neighborhood, which used to be one of the poorest regions in the city of Montréal. Due to an urban development program, intending to create an 'innovative' environmental complex using the circus art these figure have changed.[195] Although the previous discussion has not addressed the 'anatomy of the creative city', it is relevant pointing that

---

[191] Stoddart, *Rings of desire*, 2000; and Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005.
[192] Ibid.; and Louis Patrick Leroux and Charles R. Batson (eds.). *Cirque global: Quebec's expanding circus boundaries*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2016.
[193] Deborah Leslie, and Norma M. Rantisi. 'Creativity and Place in the Evolution of a cultural industry: the case of Cirque du Soleil'. *Urban Studies*, 48 (9), (2010): 1771-1787.
[194] Patrick Cohendent, David Grandadam, and Laurent Simon. 'The Anatomy of the Creative City'. *Indsutry & Innovation,* 17(1), (2010): 91-111.
[195] Ibid.

this trajectory of the Cirque from an informal (underground) to a formal (upperground) position whiting a network (middleground) of agents that designed an 'ecosystem of innovation'.[196] Explaining: the underground is the place where creativity is explored – and where the Cirque used to be. The middleground can be seen as the community and network making the bridge to the upperground where creativity is exploited to be legitimized in a certain level. This was firstly the Montréal Government with urban development program to improve the neighborhood socioeconomic conditions using the circus, nowadays the Cirque occupied this space.[197]

The local synergies and networks (or interconnectivities) have also to do with the street culture and festivals, the untreated interdependencies with correlated sectors, i.e.: dance, theatre, music and television, and a lack (which can also be seen as an opportunity) of circus conventions.[198] The National Circus School, bringing the element of education and professional training, were also supported by the provincial government and pushed the Cirque offering more talents. In this line, the Tohu, a circular theater, was also constructed within the ideal environment for new emerging circuses, and young artists graduating from the school, in which they prepare, develop, and perform their creations. Thus, there was this construction of a 'creative cluster' (see Figure 20). This example illustrates the potential of the practice in taking along and strengthening the element of creativity to the city of Montréal as well reframing the stigma of the Saint-Michel neighborhood, in transforming it within an inclusive urban policy. The Cirque du Soleil, supported at first by the public sector, as the first cultural-creative association, have changed the reality of Saint-Michel's residents constructing a 'creative cluster'.[199]

---

[196] Ibid.

[197] Cohendent et al., 'The Anatomy of the Creative City', 2010; and Leslie, and Rantisi. 'Creativity and Place', 2010.

[198] Leslie, and Rantisi. 'Creativity and Place', 2010.

[199] Cohendent et al., 'The Anatomy of the Creative City', 2010; and Leslie, and Rantisi. 'Creativity and Place', 2010.

Figure 20 – *Cirque du Soleil creative cluster*
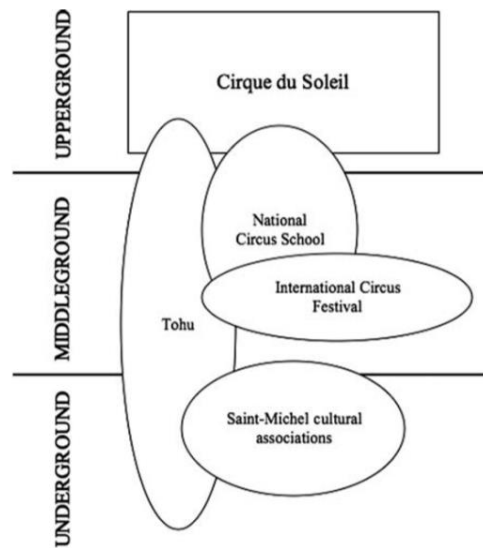
This element of inclusion also spread worldwide. Once again, Cirque du Soleil plays a role due to the project *Cirque du Monde:* the Cirque (social circus) initiative which globally help social circus organization by financing, researching, partnering, and training. Therefore, in the timeframe of the new circus, this popular culture, by undergoing major transformations in both its practice and its objective, move from a scenic art to a methodology, embracing social purposes. This is how the social circus comes to the scene. As mentioned in the *Introduction*, the social circus focuses on both the circus arts and social intervention, acting as a potential social transformative tool. This potentiality is related to the diverse abilities that the circus brings on individual and community development. It is an actor in broad social-cultural values education, with spill-over effects capable of transforming society (as the example of Cirque du Soleil already briefly illustrated). Those effects relate to soft skills, socioemotional abilities, and future perspective that the (social) circus brings to the youth.[200]

---

[200] Carolina González-Velosa, Laura Ripani, and David Rosas-Shady, D. *How to improve the insertion in the labor market for the youth in Latin America?*, IDB, 2012; and Eric Hanushek and Ludger Woessmann. 'The Role of Cognitive Skills in Economic Development', *Journal of Economic Literature,* 46(3), (2008): 607–668.

As a 'premeditated' experience of this practice, the Ciudad de los Muchachos is (controversially) considered the first social circus, located in Galicia, in Spain during the 1960s.[201] Anyhow, by the name of this initiative, in the English translation: 'The city of the Youngsters', the intrinsic relation with cities and the urban context can be perceived (and reinforced). In Latin America, the first experiences are later, dating from the 1980s, and all emerging in big cities.[202] The example of Cirque du Soleil illustrated the potentiality of the circus into the territory. What can, then, the social circus impact in the urban contexts? As stated in the opening page of this chapter: 'every city is different, consequently, every circus is different'.[203] Therefore, circus and the view of ordinary city coherently dialogue since both can be read as 'unique assemblages of wider processes – they are all distinctive, in a category of one'.[204] The (social) circus, as the right to the city, is a global cultural-artistic practice, which adapts to each locality, embracing the local context and its diversity.

The ordinary city allows each city to foster creativity and innovation. An innovative ecosystem encompasses stimulation for the emergence of new ideas and technologies, as well as processes of transformative change – as Figure 20 designs. In this transformative perspective, the practice of the social circus achieves a greater impact regarding socioeconomic development in urban context. Scholars have been proposing the notion of a socially creative city.[205] Those cities would be inclusive and solidary (also dialoguing with the understanding of ordinary cities). 'The (social) circus is an artistic expression with unique potential to participate in the construction of socially creative cities'.[206] As mentioned before, in marginalized spaces, social circus initiatives intend to bring protagonism in a learning process that also confront reality with magic, breaking the rules, and making laugh.

---

[201] The *Third Act* delves in this controversy, further recounting it. Very simply: some scholars argument that it was before the methodology of social circus education be created also it was more than the circus itself – it was a utopia. See: Ángel Arrabal González. 'La utopía del Padre Silva y su Circo de los Muchachos', *Frontera*, 27, 2003.

[202] Juliana Infantino. 'Experiences of social intervention from the (circus) arts as a sphere of cultural policies development in Argentina'; in Mónica Rotman (eds.). *Dinamics of power, state, and civil society in the heritage process and the cultural management*. Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires, Colección SABERES, (2016): 277-311.

[203] Cirque du Soleil, *Guide for the Social worker in both circus and live lessons*, 2001.

[204] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 109.

[205] See Allen J. Scott. 'Creative cities: conceptual issues and policy questions', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), (2006): 1-17.

[206] Isabel André and João Reis. 'O circo chegou à cidade! Oportunidades de inovação sócio-territorial', *Finisterra*, XLIV, 88, 2009: 79-94.

When considering socially creative cities, the consequence is to acknowledge at the same time the potential of a creative environment and social inclusion. The popular origin of the circus can ease the contact with people in vulnerable conditions.[207] There is diversity, cooperation, and innovation connected to its practice.[208] Researcher have pointed that the (social) circus can be a key actor in a socially creative city - or ordinary cities: 'circus arts denote a remarkable ability to boost socio-territorial innovation'.[209] By (re)valorizing the urban public space as an art born and raised on the street, the circus magically managed collective spaces, giving them brilliance and joy. As an artistic expression, circus is a particularly suitable 'vehicle for social inclusion'.[210]

Conclusively, the social circus is also linked to the right to the (ordinary) city, especially considering the sense of citizenship.[211] To elaborate, another drop of the field research:

> The social circus is a tool for raising awareness, for social inclusion. It cannot and must not have a professionalizing bias, even if it can and even if this occurs mainly in the Brazilian reality, what should exist would be preparatory courses and circus pre-professional courses (or even, as in Canada and France, circus technical high school) aiming at specialization/professionalization. Social circus, *working on issues of citizenship*, humanity, change of mentality, has to open doors of mind and change the limiting beliefs of these vulnerable people, so that they can be who and what they want, not 'only' circus, but lawyers, doctors, engineers ... in short, who can not only believe, but make their dreams happen, changing their reality and their surroundings.
> *Interviewee Circo Laheto and Circo Brasil Collaborator*

This ample discussion on urban studies have initiated the argument that the social circus is an enhancer of social, cultural, innovative, as well urban standards. This act has shown that the (social) circus arrived – actually, it was born and grew up – in the cities. The ordinary cities are the more suitable stage to accommodate the potentialities of the magic

---

[207] Ibid. Worth mentioning the concept of cultural omnivores which means the cultural consumers whose taste includes both the popular culture and 'high' or 'elite' culture (see Koen van Eijck. 'Vertical lifestyle differentiation: Resources, boundaries, and the changing manifestations of social inequality', *Lebensstilforschung* 51, (2011): 247-268.).

[208] Infantino. 'Experiencias de intervención social desde el arte (circense)', 2016; André, and Reis. 'O circo chegou à cidade!', 2009; Gilmar Rocha. 'O circo chegou! memória social e circularidade cultural', *Textos escolhidos de cultura e arte populares*, Rio de Janeiro, 9(2), (2012): 69-89.

[209] André, and Reis. 'O circo chegou à cidade!', 2009: 93. (Own translation)

[210] Ibid.

[211] See: Lais Silva, Maria Rachel Fonsêca Braga, and Jéssica Waléria Silvestre. 'O circo enquanto espaço educativo construtor da cidadania: A experiência do Centro Social São José do Monte.' *Revista Movimentos Sociais e Dinâmicas Espaciais*, 3(2), (2014): 112-130; Lilia Lobo and Tiago Cassoli. 'Circo social e práticas educacionais não governamentais.' *Psicologia & Sociedade* 18(3), (2006): 62-67; and Juliana Infantino. 'Disputes over Senses of the Popular in the Circus Arts in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina', in: Eduardo González Castillo, Jorge Pantaleón, Nuria Carton de Grammont (eds.) *Politics, culture and economy in popular practices in the Americas*. New York: Peter Lang, 2005: 57-82.

reality of the circus, as they are diverse, creative, and inclusive (also approaching to the notion of a socially creative city). The social circus is a relevant cultural-creative tool to youngsters to conquer their right to the (ordinary) city: appropriating of their own future ideals in a context of inequal opportunities. The social circus is part of the trending cultural-creative economy. However, as already introduced, the CCIs have had considerable failures in some cities too, negatively impacting the making of today's post-colonial societies, especially in their uneven urban development. For this reason, I invite you to get into the *Second Act* of the narrative pathway: the creative economy and the CCIs, reflecting about its (de)Westernized discourse 'stretched' towards social rights.
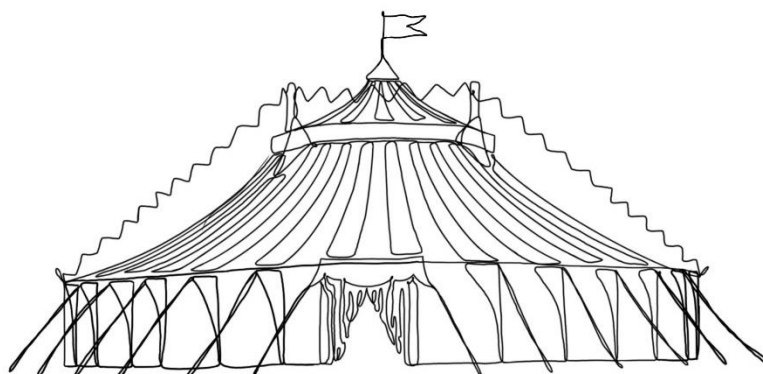
CULTURE & CREATIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA
THE (SOCIAL) CIRCUS AS A CULTURAL INDUSTRY AND A SOCIAL RIGHT

As estrelas do circo, o seu limite é andar o mundo inteiro
Circon

1. STRETCHING THE CONCEPTS

Revisiting the cultural-creative economy

'To have or not to have the right to creativity, there is the hub'.[212] Creativity is the human faculty of interfering with causal determinism, enriching any social process with new elements.[213] The right to creativity can be understood as the opportunity to innovate and transform any sphere of social and economic life.[214] As stated before, this research is guided by the momentum of creativity (and culture) being strategically placed to revitalize urban imaginaries, supposedly contributing to economic growth as well job creation.[215] As the previous act has initiated the discussion, this is controversial, once that it can also negatively impact the development making of post-colonial urban societies, resulting in gentrification and displacement.[216] In this perspective, this act aims to review the literature on the cultural-creative economy together with the postcolonial effort of stretching the concepts (and the literature itself) towards a variant comprehension beyond the given 'static' one.[217]

Creativity is a complex and multifaceted concept. It involves cognitive, environmental and personality variables; in the case of the creative economy, also the ability of individuals or groups to manipulate symbols and meanings in order to generate something innovative as a priority.[218] In the same way, the word 'culture' contains traces of historical transition, concomitantly encoding fundamental philosophical questions. This single term encompasses issues of freedom and determinism, doing and suffering, change and identity, the given and the created.[219] The cultural economy seeks to synthetize the diversity inherent in the word culture and its diverse forms of understanding in two

---

[212] Celso Furtado. *Brasil: a construção interrompida.* São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1978: 122.
[213] Furtado, *Creativity and Dependency,* 1978: 172.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Scott, 'Cultural-products industries and urban economic development', 2004; and Evans, 'Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy', 2009.
[216] Considering the context of a neoliberal globalization as well neoliberal urbanism. See Boland et al., 'On the waterfront', 2017; Bourdieu, 'The essence of neoliberalism', 2002; and Harvey, *Rebel cities*, 2012.
[217] Robinson, 'Thinking cities through elsewhere', 2016 have proposed, taking the postcolonial approach, to stretch concepts, meaning to go beyond a given and accepted (static) discourse of a specific subject, revaluating it from diverse perspectives - such as the cultural-creative industries at issue in this research.
[218] Hans J. Eysenck. 'As formas de medir a criatividade', in: Margareth Boden (org.). *Dimensões da criatividade*. Porto Alegre: Artes Médicas, 1999; and David Hesmoldhalgh. *The cultural industries*. Londres: Sage Publications, 2002.
[219] Terry Eagleton. *A ideia de cultura*, 2ª ed. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2011. This book is exclusively about the discussion around the concept of culture.

dimensions. First, its anthropological and sociological framework pointed out as a 'set of attitudes, beliefs, customs, values and practices that are common to or shared by any group'.[220] The second, with a more practical orientation, related to cultural activities and products, characterized by: involvement of some form of creativity in its production, intention to generate and communicate symbolic meaning, and production of potential intellectual property.[221]

Facing the complexity and diversity of both concepts, cultural economists have, then, acknowledged that the origin of value in culture and creativity is quite different from the measure of value in the economic sense. This is, it is not strictly monetary nor measurable - even if there is an attempt to formally model it.[222] Accordingly, there are different (and diverse) values regarding the cultural-creative field: aesthetic value - derived from the object's aesthetic properties, i.e.: beauty, harmony, etc.; spiritual value - manifested in some religious/spiritual context in which the activity/product has some particular meaning for those who share that belief; social value - undertaken from a cultural activity/manifestation that confers a sense of identity in the space, connecting a society in its different hierarchies; historical value - manifested by historical connections, serving as a rescue of the past as a way to 'illuminate' the present; symbolic value - generated by symbolism, by the meaning that a given good or cultural manifestation awakens in the individuals who consume/experience it; and authenticity value - resulting from originality, unique and real manifestations characteristic of a certain work.[223]

Even though, there is a common feature of using of empirical models, in the light of both micro-founded theories and sophisticated econometrics to value the economic importance of culture and creativity (with classical economic assumptions, i.e.: rational agents and theory of choice.[224] But this neoclassical hegemony is not a peculiarity of the field of

---

[220] Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, 2001: 4.

[221] Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, 2001.

[222] Ibid.; Bille and Schulze, 'Culture in urban and regional development', 2008; and Ana F. Machado. 'Cultural and Creative Economy: consensus and dissensus', in: *For a Creative Brazil*, 2016: 53-63.

[223] Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, 2001: 29. Also, Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of the taste*. London: Routledge, 1984, in which the (cultural) capital is related to power. This is, the set of assets that the individual possess (from economics, to social and cultural) (re)produce and promote social hierarchy in a stratified society. Discussing the legitimate art as a mechanism of social distinction, the reflection leads to the conclusion that the lack of cultural capital (even if symbolic) creates an invisible barrier, which prevents the appropriation (or even cultural consumption) of certain cultural element by most of the population.

[224] Mark Blaug. 'Where are we now on cultural economics?', *Journal of Economic Surveys*, Hoboken, 15 (2), (2001): 123-143; and Sibelle Diniz and Ana Flávia Machado. 'Analysis of the consumption of artistic-cultural goods and services in Brazil', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 35(1), (2011): 1-18.

economics of culture, it is of economic sciences as a whole in the neoliberal globalization.[225] To question the purely economicist debate in the cultural-creative economy is essential, although the attempt to limit the term in order to obtain a more restricted economic analysis is simultaneously the driving force behind studies advancing in the field. Indeed, part of the economics science seeks to understand the generation and expenditure of economic value of cultural goods, which covers a series of economic relationships throughout the production and supply processes of cultural goods and services. Therefore, such a broad field can spread to other niches, such the cultural-creative industries (CCIs).[226]

Historically, the terminology of, first, the cultural industry, in its singular term, dates back to the Frankfurt School in 1947, referring to the commodification of cultural production integrated in the incipient globalized-capitalist-economy.[227] Meanwhile, the cultural economy as an area of study began later, in 1966, when the book 'Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma' by Baumol and Bowen was published. However, the relevance of the field has only been systematically recognized in 1973, when the first edition of the *Journal of Cultural Economics* was launched, following by the creation of the Cultural Economy Association in 1979 – today the Association for Cultural Economy International (ACEI).[228] At this beginning, the coverage of the comprehension of culture in an economic dimension was narrow, restricted to its character as an artistic (monetary) activity. During the 1980s, the plural term of 'cultural industries' addressed the production of cultural-artistic products, starting to build up a more complex analysis of their structure and dynamics. From the 1990s on, the cultural economy expanded its dialogue with diverse areas of knowledge: sociology, anthropology, tourism, and others, as (again) the word culture itself carries a broad nuance of understanding and interpretation, encountering all those subjects.[229] By the end of the decade, the creative

---

[225] Blaug, 'Where are we now on cultural economics?', 2001; Victoria Chick. 'On knowing one's place: the role of formalism in Economics', *Economic Journal*, 108 (11), (1998): 1859-69; and David Dequech. 'Neoclassical, mainstream, orthodox and heterodox economics', *Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics*, 30 (2), (2008): 279-302.

[226] François Benhamou. *A economia da cultura*. Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2007; and Reis, *Economia da cultura e desenvolvimento sustentável*, 2007.

[227] Andy C. Pratt. 'Cultural Industries and Public Policy: An Oxymoron?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* 11(1), (2005): 31 - 45.

[228] Machado, 'Cultural and Creative Economy', 2016.

[229] Throsby, *Economics and Culture,* 2001; and Benhamou, *A economia da cultura*, 2007.

industries were being coined as a political strategy to tackle the challenges of the deindustrialized society.[230]

Back in the 1980s, the cultural industries were used in France in the public policies to combat the 'cultural imperialism'.[231] But the consensual birth of the Creative Economy as a public policy was in Australia, in 1994, with the Creative Nation program. Later, in 1998, in the UK, through the Creative Industry Task Force Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DMCS), the concept reached more formal aspects.[232] By the turn of the century, the cultural-creative economy as well as CCIs were already being placed as core element to manage the contemporary transition from a (post)industrial society to the informational-urbanized and globalized era.[233] Within the momentum, a boom of policies pushing the CCI discourse was perceived worldwide, also considering its presence in multilateral international organizations emphasizing policy recommendations towards this direction.[234] In this sense, the creative economy came as an economic policy for (and from) developed countries searching for comparative advantages in the production of goods and services bound on artistic-cultural-creative activities within the new information and communication technology (ICT).

Latin America scholars have addressed that, in the cultural field, semantic disputes are also a way of doing politics, in the sense that it is up to us to emphasize the importance of the focus on creativity rather than culture.[235] This is, when creativity is subordinate to innovation and the logic of property rights, its circumscription implies certain institutional arrangements, facilitators of innovation processes, and its orientation to market demands.

---

[230] Landry, *The Creative City*, 2012; and Harvey Perloff. 'Using the arts to improve life in the city', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Akron, 3(2), 1979:1-21.

[231] Paul Schlesinger, 'Creativity: From Discourse to Doctrine?', *Screen*, 48(3), (2007): 385.

[232] Machado, 'Cultural Economy and Creative Economy', 2016.

[233] Landry, *The Creative City*, 2012; and Manuel Castells. *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed. (1). Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA: WileyBlackwell, 2010.

[234] See UNESCO, *Creative economy report*, 2013 and UNCATD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). *Creative economy report 2008*: *The challenge of assessing the creative economy: towards informed policy-making*, 2008. It is highlighted the overlap of the concepts: creative and cultural economy, and CCIs – but it does not seem to have increasing relevance. There is a common ground that what define its segment of analysis: when from its production process, the presence of intense use of creativity artistic-cultural (often, technological innovation) is the basic input.

[235] César Bolaño, Ruy Sardinha Lopes, and Verlane Aragão Santos. 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', In: Machado and Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*, 2016: 9-24. In the perspective of the authors, the concept of creativity has more appeal regarding promotion of innovation and market demands. Also, in Gaëtan Tremblay. 'Industries culturelles, économie creative et societé de l'information', *Global Media Journal* – Canadian Edition, 1(1), 2008, placing the discussion that inserting the concept of creativity aiming to inflate the volume of 'cultural' business, since it can incorporate, for example, software and electronic games, design industries, etc., adding statistical weight to culture in the economy.

Overall, the nomenclature - should one call it cultural or creative economy/industries? – does not seem to have increasing relevance to the debate.[236] In a conceptualization exercise, Potts (2008) have mapped more than 17 concepts and related terms from different authors and works to define what and which are the CCIs.[237] From dissensus to consensus, often, the nomenclature seems to overlap. There is a common ground that define its segment of analysis as, when from its production process – being industrial products or services, the presence of intensive use of creativity and artistic-culture (and, many times, technological innovation) is the basic input.[238] The UNESCO Creative Economy Report (2013) points out that:

> 'It is difficult to argue, therefore, that all aspects of economic, social, or political creativity are generated uniquely – or even principally – by cultural and creative industry processes themselves. For this reason, *the term 'creative economy' will be used in this Report to privilege activities involving cultural creativity and/or innovation.* The bulk of the case studies and examples are therefore drawn from activities that could be also classified as cultural industries in order to uncover the increasingly symbiotic relationships between culture, economy, and place. The emancipatory social potential of the latter is implicit in their very constitution and the wellspring of expression is itself a means to forms of liberation. This potential cannot be separated from factors that underpin the success of the creative industries in purely economic terms'.[239]

UNESCO 2013, recognizing the coverage of the scope at issue, makes that the dialogue assumes a holistic approach, in which creativity and culture are inserted in a broader framework of human (sustainable) development – also acknowledging economic success. Creativity and culture can be interpreted as processes (or dimension) connected to the generation of new ideas, products or even ways of interpreting the world which offers 'effective freedom' and opportunity to people pursue whatever they have reason to value. In this perspective, the challenge of how to measure the 'vibrancy and scale of creative economies', overcoming the purely monetary benefits and economic indicators, is undeniable – although this later one is indeed relevant to sustain the hit of CCIs.[240] The UNCTAD positions itself more skeptical of this subjective dimension, keeping its analysis focus on market objectives and economic (monetary) values.[241]

---

[236] Ibid.; Machado, 'Cultural Economy and Creative Economy', 2016.

[237] Jason Potts. *The Economics of Creative Industries.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing (2016).

[238] Ibid.

[239] UNESCO, *Creative economy report*, 2013: 21, own highlighted.

[240] Ibid.: 16.

[241] UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Creative economy report,* 2008. This document follows a more pro-market approach, focused on commercial and technological policies and goals. Due to the holistically conceptualization of UNESCO – as already presented, this research is more aligned with it. Some data from this institution is mentioned later in this act.

In this perspective, the dispute of strictly economic terms and the holistic approach is still on going. Somehow, culture and creativity do integrate political agendas worldwide. As drivers of the 'new economy', the CCIs are also recognized by their potentiality as an instrument of social transformation.[242] But, again, in the context of neoliberal globalization and social and political marginalization, the globally embraced CCIs policies has been locally challenged when presenting other (negative) features, for instance gentrification, exacerbation of inequality, and labor precariousness.[243] Investigating these negative features, scholars have studied, for example, gentrification and social consequences of creative neighborhoods in Latin America. Gentrification is a contemporary term which regards an often-adverse change in social composition, land use, build and architecture structure as well real estate price.[244]

Recent Latin American urban projects have resulted in gentrification: central urban space has increasingly experienced movements of displacements in order to conform to the norms of an expected aspect of the central city. Despite the first-decade-of-the-21st century efforts to expand social protection, policy-makers contradictorily have tried to eradicate traces of informality, especially in central city areas, promoting social cleaning due to poverty stigmas. For times, using both symbolic and physical violence as a strategy to evict and displace 'non-desired' users of specific urban spaces. Politics of gentrification and displacement have taken place in Latin American cities, see Figure 21 with examples.[245] Architectural and cultural heritage have served as tool for transforming popular neighborhoods into gentrified and tourist landscapes. Moreover, to extend the illustration also regarding the labor precariousness of the CCIs, it is worth pointing out that, according to IBGE, 73.2% of the total workers in the Brazilian cultural sector are informal.[246]

---

[242] UNESCO, *Creative economy report,* 2013; and Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, 2001.
[243] See Karin A. Siegmann and Freek Schiphorst. 'Understanding the globalizing precariat: From informal sector to precarious work', *Progress in Development Studies,* 16(2), (2016): 111-123; Richard Florida. *The New Urban Crisis*: *Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and fialing the middle class-and what we can do about it*. London: Oneworld Publication, 2017; and Diana Barrowclough and Zeljka Kozul-Wright, 'Voice, Choice and diversity through creative industries: towards a new development agenda', in: Diana Barrowclough and Zeljka Kozul-Wright (eds.). *Creative Industries and Developing Countries*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.
[244] John J. Betancur. 'Gentrification in Latin America: Overview and critical analysis, *Urban Studies Research,* 2014.
[245] Michael Janoschka and Jorge Sequera. 'Gentrification in Latin America: addressing the politics and geographies of displacement', *Urban Geography*, 37(8), (2016): 1175-1194.
[246] Own calculous based on PNAD-C (Continuum National Domiciliary Sample Survey by IBGE), 2019.

Figure 21 – *Table of examples of gentrification process in Latin America*

Urban projects of gentification	Example	Measures	Violence
Symbolic gentrification: architectural heritage	Mexico City	Museification of the historic centre and cleansing of public space	Violence of hyper-security, ethnic and racial Violence, and touristic violence
Symbolic gentrification: cultural heritage	Buenos Aires	Mystical valorisation of tango and popular culture and fiscal exemptions and subsidies for renovation	Cultural violence, physical violence (evictions, burnings), and touristic violence
Formalisation of subaltern urbanisms	Rio de Janeiro	Expansion of capitalist market rules, 'pacification' and securitisation, militarisation of space, production of social housing, and Mega-events (e.g.: Olympics 2016)	State of exception, quasi-military occupation of territory, physical violence (state & police terrorism, and market forces
Creation of new real estate markets	Santiago de Chile	De-regulation of planning legislation- Residential densification, capital investment in the city centre- Production of social housing- Public subsidies for relocation	Architectonic violence, violence of urbanism, subsidies (eviction & socio-spatial stratification), regulation of non-regulation, and market forces

Source: own elaboration according to Janoschka and Sequera. 'Gentrification in Latin America', 2016.

The postcolonial effort proposed in this research is pertinent again at this point. This is, instead of dismantling the CCIs' discourse, the intrigant questions is how far the concept can be stretched. In other words, if one assumes that the current supranational understanding of CCIs is interpreted as a neoliberal policy prescription[247], can the discourse engage with different kinds of interpretations? In the literature on cultural-creative economics, there is a consensus that artistic, cultural, and creative activities have positive implications for socioeconomic development, both with direct and indirect effects in society. The direct effects refer to the generation of jobs and income as well the attraction of companies and labor to the locations where those activities are concentrated. The indirect are linked to the intangible products of these activities, referring to the formation of community identity, encouraging of creativity, and respect for diversity.[248]

When assuming, though, only the monetary market-driven perception of the creative-cultural economy, the inequality inherent within the 'new economy' can be real and very clear. Although creativity and culture are globally sourced, the concentration (often within an oligopolistic structure) of transnational corporations dominating the market is located in the global North. Hence, there is a 'systemic asymmetry in the developing

---

[247] As stated by Pratt, 'Cultural Industries and Public Policy' 2005.
[248] Throsby, '*Economics and Culture',* 2001; Benhamou, '*A economia da cultura'*, 2007. Reis, *Economia da cultura e desenvolvimento sustentável*, 2007; and Bille and Schulze, 'Culture in urban and regional development', 2008.

world' facing the developed world. [249] Figure 16 shows this asymmetry in both revenue and jobs in the creative sector. While Europe and North America (without Mexico) generates an average of US$664.5 billion (approximately 3% of their GDP) and 6.2 million of jobs, Latin America perceives those numbers lower: US$124 billion (accounting for 2,2% of the regional GDP) and 1.9 million jobs. The discussion about the Asia-Pacific region's figures extrapolates the scope of this research, but it is also represented in Figure 22.

Figure 22 - *Asymmetry of developing world versus the developed world*
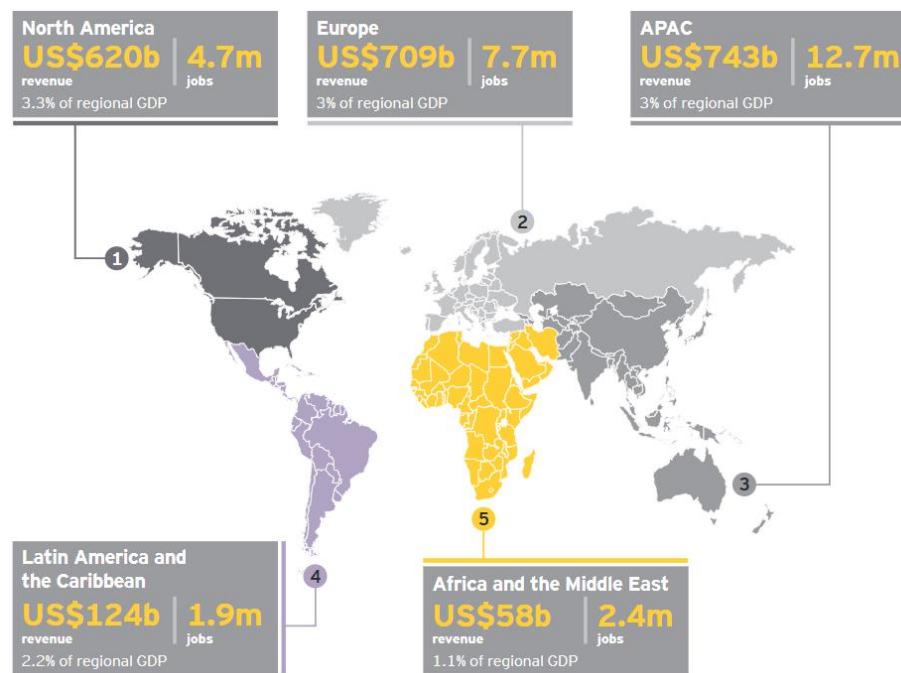
Source: Cultural Times: the first cultural map of cultural and creative industries, EY, 2015.

In this way, when considering the structural social unevenness that characterizes the Latin American context, how can one place the cultural industries as enhancers of social, cultural, and sustainable development? UNESCO (2013) recognizes that Latin America has a 'legacy of a continental tradition of linking culture to social rights'.[250] To go beyond the 'neoclassical' economism is a necessary step towards social inclusion, widening the comprehension of the role that culture and creativity can play in the contemporary urban socioeconomic development, in its multi-faceted appeals.[251] Which, perhaps, also means

---

[249] Bolaño et al., 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', 2016, and UNESCO, '*Creative Economy'*, 2013.
[250] UNESCO, *Creative economy',* 2013: 79.
[251] Ibid.; Throsby, '*Economics and Culture'*, 2001.

to go beyond the global North public policy and academic debate, opening space to the already-mentioned epistemologies from the South. In Santos's word (1955: 508):

> An epistemology from the South builds on three dimensions:
> Learn that the South exists;
> Learn to go to the South;
> Learn from and with the South.[252]

Thereby, an attempt to stretch the concepts, consequently, de-westernizing the creative-cultural economy/industries also goes back in history to find the conceptual trajectory of this theme in the Global South, specifically considering Latin America. The cultural dimension of development has been consistently approached since the 1970s, when Furtado wrote the book '*Creativity and Dependence in an Industrial Society*' (1978). In a period of exhaustion of the theoretical scope to explain the dichotomy between developed-underdeveloped through the classical development 'recipes', Furtado, together with scholars from the ECLAC, already brought some 'epistemology from the South' into this field, parallel with the discussion of 'center-periphery'.[253] In the Furtadian understanding, development is not a process of (economic) capital accumulation - as the classical development theories used to claim, it is a process of creativity accumulation (and realization).[254] Furtado reflects that (my own translation):

> The main objectives of a developmental policy needs to be, among us, from social nature, even though the ways to achieve it are often from an economic character. Now, what we call cultural policy is just a reallocation and depth of the social policy (Furtado 1986:63).
> [In the Latin America context], to talk about development as a reencounter with the creative genius of our own culture and as realization of the human potentialities can seem simply escape into utopia. But what is the utopia if not fruit of perception of the most secret dimensions of reality, a flourishment of energies contained that preview the expansion of the horizon of possibilities open to the human being? This vanguard action consists of one of the most noble works to be achieved by intellectuals in crisis period (Ibid: 30).

This understanding of cultural policies indeed challenges the functionalist CCI discourse and maybe can be the answer to think about how to place creative-cultural industries in Latin America, deviating from the current perception of unevenness created by such approach. By bringing closer the cultural-creative economy to the social rights perhaps there is more know-how to support this 'new economy' in the Latin American context.

---

[252] Santos, *Toward a New Common Sense*, 1995: 508.
[253] For instance, two works by two relevant names to ECLAC: Raul Prebisch. 'The economic development of Latin America and its principal problems', *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, 1962; and Enrique V. Iglesias. *Reflections on economic development: toward a new Latin American consensus*. Inter-American Development Bank, 1992. Moreover: Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America*, 1977.
[254] Furtado, Pressupostos da política cultural, 2012 [1986].

When considering the unparallel social inequality of the region, the culture and creative practices can be framed as an opportunity to access a different (better) future to the youth marginalized within the urban spaces. According to the previous act, culture can be seen as a local manifestation of the territory: happening in the city. Again, it is the a means of use and enjoyment of the urban and its various spaces: squares, monuments, museums, etc. [255] Culture is a mean to explore and experience the right to the city.[256] From this perspective, taking the (*ordinary*) city through culture is characterized as a form of social emancipation: producing and consuming culture allows citizens to emancipate themselves from the social structure configured in the territory.[257] Before delving into this directly link to the social circus, the cultural-creative economy framework with the 'epistemologies from the South' is placed next.

2. EPISTEMOLOGIES FROM THE SOUTH

Culture and Creativity in the Latin American (and Brazilian) imaginary

> Now, we know irrefutably that the periphery economies will never be developed, in the sense of becoming similar to the economies that currently form the center of the capitalist system. But how to deny that this idea has been of great use to mobilize the people of the periphery and to lead them to accept enormous sacrifices, to legitimize the destruction of archaic forms of culture, to explain and make understand the need to destroy the physical environment, to justify forms of dependence that reinforce the predatory character of the productive system?[258]

In the context of Latin America, scholars have debated the issue of the world system dichotomized in 'center-periphery'.[259] Different schools of thoughts among those academics and experts have built a common ground of path-dependence and how the

---

[255] Lefébvre, '*The Right to the City*', 2001; Jacobs, '*The economy of cities*', 2016; and Monte-mór, '*What is the Urban*?', 1994.

[256] Andreana Clay. *The Hip-Hop Generation Fights Back*: Youth, Activism, and PostCivil Rights Politics. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

[257] Monte-mór, '*What is the Urban*?', 1994; and Antonio Eleilson Leite. 'Marcos fundamentais da literatura periférica em São Paulo', *Revista de Estudos Culturais*, Universidade de São Paulo, 1, 2014. Also, Bourdieun refelction about the social structure configured into the territory: Pierre Bourdieu. *Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus*. Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi, Unversitetet i Oslo, 1996.

[258] Celso Furtado. *O mito do desenvolvimento econômico*. 6 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1983: 75.

[259] See Prebisch, 'The economic development of Latin America', 1962; Iglesias, *Reflections on economic development,* 1992; and Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America,* 1977.

world system affected the development of the region.[260] Scholars from the ECLAC, including the Brazilian Celso Furtado, have looked for ways to transform the region, making it more solidary, democratic and popular, within structural reforms. Complexifying the understanding of development vis-à-vis underdevelopment, the concept was broader to a structural transformation of economic, political, social, cultural and technological relations tuned with better life quality of the whole population and the universalization of basic social rights to sustainability.[261] Perhaps it is my Brazilian roots that pushes the emphasis to the 'cosmopolitan' Celso Furtado.[262] Anyhow, several Brazilian intellectuals produced works and interventions in the cultural debate in which they stood up to the internationally recognized big names, but the language, Portuguese, weighed against them due its insufficient use internationally.[263]

Indeed, in Brazil and Latin America, Furtado helped to construct legislation, policies and actions that consolidated the Ministry of Culture (in 1985: first year of re-democratization). This influence was not only Latin America, but also globally.[264] The book '*Culture and development in times of crises*' (1984) deepened the Furtadian comprehension regarding the relationship between development and culture. In his own words (my translation):

> We must think about development from a visualization of the substantial ends we want to achieve, and not from the logic of the means imposed on us from outside. Overcoming the structural impasse that is at the bottom of our crisis only will be achieved if future development leads to increasing homogenization of our society and make room for the realization of the potential of our culture.[265]

---

[260] The *Text & Context* part have briefly touch in this issue. More the difference schools of thought, see: Frank, *Latin America and underdevelopment*, 1970; and Kay, *Latin American Theories of Development*, 1989. As well (more contemporary): Franko, *The puzzle of Latin American*, 2007. This is an extensive field of study among Latin American scholars and there are many works produced about this issue.

[261] João Antonio de Paula. 'Cultura e desenvolvimento: 100 anos de Celso Furtado, um intelectual cosmopolita', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1075-1089.

[262] Ibid. The contemporary economist, de Paula, coined the title of a 'cosmopolitan scholar' to define the figure of Celso Furtado.

[263] Paula, 'Cultura e desenvolvimento', 2019: 1082 discussing about some examples of the work of Brazilians that have never achieved international recognition due to the lack of language insertion.

[264] Paula, 'Cultura e desenvolvimento, 2019; Pagliotto. 'Creative Economy: mediation between culture and development', 2016; and César Ricardo S. Bolaño. *Conceito de cultura em Celso Furtado*. Salvador: Edufba, 2015. Highlights: Furtado's participation in the program 'World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997) which has as a product the report 'Nuestra diversidad creativa' in 1996 (mentioned in the sequence); and the fact that the Ministries of Culture in Latin America which have started to emerged in the process of re-democratization, Brazil was the first country to insert the secretary of creative economy within the cultural department.

[265] Celso Furtado. *Cultura e desenvolvimento em época de crise*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984: 30.

For the author, the essence of culture is that it is the permanent answer to all human's problems.[266] Therefore, thinking about an (endogenous) socioeconomic-human-sustainable development process would open space for the realization of the potential of our culture, rediscovering the 'creative genius' capable of overcome structural impasses that prevent reaching the 'horizon of possibilities open to society', in which human potentialities can be fully realized in contact with their culture.[267] In the cultural dimension of development, 'to think of culture as (...) an aspect of a productive process, it is necessary to penetrate a little explored conceptual field, which is that of the economy of culture'.[268] Furtado consider that the richest and most potent Brazilian culture is what comes from its popular roots, and through the valorization of popular culture that the country would be able to build an effective process of social and economic emancipation.[269]

The perspective of a cultural dimension in the development process was incorporated in the international debate back in the 1970s – again within the exhaustion of the classical development theories, also considering aspects of identity and cultural diversity.[270] International organizations (UN, UNDP, World Bank, etc.) represent the formulators of principles and standards, which ultimately end up regulating social practices as well the elaboration of policies concerning the management of the cultural sphere. By legitimizing the concepts themselves, the priority themes and studies, recommending policies and approaches, they weave a narrative about the relationship between culture and development.[271] Celso Furtado collaborated with those international agendas, for instance in the report *'Nuestra Diversidad Creativa'* (1996). Side by side with the discussion about development, the understanding of culture also complexified and broadened. Seen as a right and a vital part of human development, when denied, it can generate deprivation and exclusion.[272] Again, with Celso Furtado's word:

---

[266] Furtado, *Pressupostos da política cultural*, 2012: 53.
[267] Furtado, *Cultura e desenvolvimento*, 1984: 30.
[268] Furtado, *Pressupostos da política cultural*, 2012: 68.
[269] Ibid.
[270] See Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016. The importance of culture was increasing since 1945 when UNESCO was created, however it was still dislocated from the development debate – this change happens in the context of the 1970's crises and the revision of parameters to development strategies.
[271] Mariella Pitombo. 'A cultural agenda to human development: the role of multilateral agencies into the formulations of cultural policies', in: *Congresso de la Solar*, 9. Rio de Janeiro: UERJ, 2004: 11.
[272] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016; and Furtado, *Culture e desenvolvimento*, 1984. Also related to Sen's work development linked to capabilities and lack of opportunities, introduced previously.

> Since culture, in what the government should be concerned about, is the fruit of the efforts performed by men and women to improve their quality of life, it is in everyday life that the cultural process should preferably be observed. The environments of work, study, living spaces and places of worship and leisure are considered as distinct faces of a whole. The improvement in the quality of life occurs more easily when simultaneous advances are achieved on all these faces. The vision of culture as a simple enrichment of leisure is deeply anti-democratic, because nothing is more unevenly distributed in our society than leisure time.[273]

This is, culture – and to some extend creativity – are beyond the production of cultural goods and the exploration (exploitation) of leisure and tourism (and high-technologies), as the neoliberal paradigm insisted to rescue in essentially economic parameters.[274] The evolution of the debate , including the issue of cultural diversity, this neoliberal influence, and the matter of local development related to political, social, and cultural context, takes part of the contemporary reports about the cultural-creative economy and the CCIs.[275] But still all the potentialities, dynamism, and spillovers of this 'new economy' are 'too good to be true'.[276] From a perspective from the South: the most traditional creative industries are rooted within their environment and fed by ordinary people. The adage 'think global, act local' of current globalization also ended up suggesting, though, that products from the local community should be customized to meet the standardized demands of the global market.[277] In this sense, there is a 'local' exploitation serving 'global' business. Moreover, the local-global dynamic does not, as a rule, represent a decentralized multipolar relationship. Instead it attaches value to those who have a certain 'ethnicity' or 'exoticism', coming exactly from the hierarchically inferior position of the peripheral economies in relation to standard cultures (Western, Eurocentric or American bias).[278]

'Development as freedom' means that development comprehend diverse dimensions of social, economic, political and cultural life. Sen, *Development as freedom*, 2001.

[273] Celso Furtado. 'Depoimento à Assembleia Constituinte', in: *Caderno do Desenvolvimento*. Rio de Janeiro, 8(12), (2013 [1987]): 319.

[274] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy'; Bolaño et al., 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', 2016.

[275] Ibid.; and see UNESCO, *Creative economy'*, 2013, in which those problematics are acknowledge.

[276] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016 discusses that the way that, for example, UNCTAD 2008 present the benefits of the CCI seems to be the way to the 'dreamed' catch up. Using the popular Brazilian expression of suspicion 'too good to be truth', she argues how Latin American scholars are looking into to the evolution of the creative economy with a critical perspective.

[277] Sharada Ramanathan. 'A Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento: a visão dos países em desenvolvimento – a perspectiva indiana', in: Ana Carla F. Reis (org.), *Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento*: *uma visão dos países em desenvolvimento*. São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2008: 196-217. She gives the example of the Indian traditional fabrics that are compromised in terms of quality and design in order to attend the global scale demand, losing identity and organicity.

[278] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016; Regina Silva and Roger Dutra. 'A agenda transnacional da UNESCO e as políticas públicas de cultura do MinC (2003-2010)', in: *Seminário Internacional de Políticas Culturais*, 3. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2012; and Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 2008.

This is coherent when one thinks, for example, about the distribution of UCCN in which the 37% of the cities with the label in the Global South are in the category of craft and folk arts, and only 3% on the media and arts – for the Global North those numbers are 9% and 17% respectively (see Figure 23). Aligned with that, among the 5 top art and crafts exported in the world, 4 are considered 'developing economies' – China, Turkey, Hong Kong, India, together with more than 65% of the market share. While considering visual arts, this proportion reverts: 4 are developed economies (France, USA, UK, and Switzerland) with almost 70% of the market share.[279]

Figure 23 – *Distribution of UNESCO Creative Cities in Global South versus North*
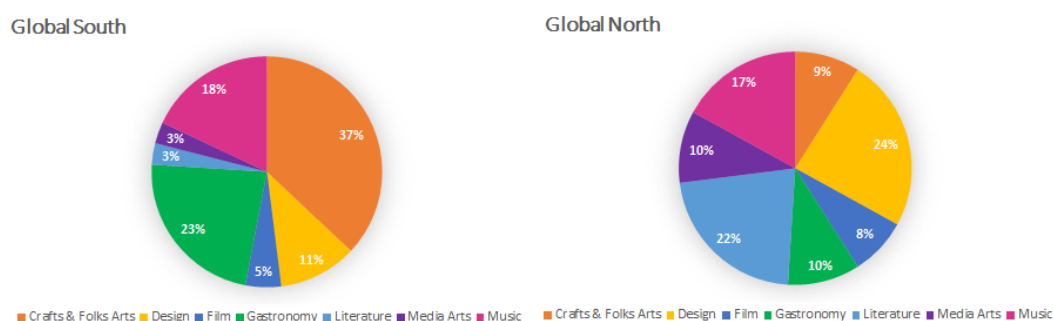
Source: by the author according to UNESCO Creative Cities Network, 2019.

The limits of the CCI westernized discourse also crosses issues regarding technological patterns – including not only the infrastructure of ICT, but digital inclusion and literacy too. This extends to an adequation of the educational system, considering creativity promotion, entrepreneurship, and 'soft innovation' capability. The matter of governance is also highlighted: a considered satisfactory performance of policies related to creative-cultural economy involves effective articulations between public and private sectors, academia, civil society and international organizations; between different governmental spheres (local, and national); and between the different sectors of public power, responsible for cultural, educational, environmental, technology and communication policies, development, trade, social assistance, investment, etc. Such joints represent a great challenge in face of a discontinuity of policies and public authorities in the Latin American context, at the risk of remaining forever in the field of rhetoric.[280]

---

[279] UNCTAD. *Creative Economy Outlook and Country Profiles: Trends in international trade in creative industries*, 2018. Available in: https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3_en.pdf.
[280] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016.

As an example, it is worth drawing a note on cultural consumption and social inequality. The classical literature has often pointed out that that artistic-cultural goods are luxury goods (whose consumption increases with the increase of income). In a search for understanding the individual attributes that determine cultural consumption, different variables are considered: human capital, individual preferences, 'addictions' and family influences. Studies have shown that both income and education level are key variables on determining the will to consume culture.[281] Consequently, the artistic-cultural consumption in Brazil (and in Latin America) accompanies the socioeconomic inequality. Figure 24, through the POF (Familiar Budget Survey by IBGE), shows the familiar expense in the cultural sector by level of income and level of study considering the years of 2002-2003 and 2008-2009 – again a period when Latin America in general was performing well socially and economically. Those figures are deteriorating more and more with the constant restrictive fiscal policies in the social and cultural sphere.[282] In short, there are significant restrictions on the means of access to culture what reinforce social hierarchies due to the lack of opportunities.

Figure 24 – *Distribution of familiar cultural expendidture by income and education* (Brazilian currency reais R$)
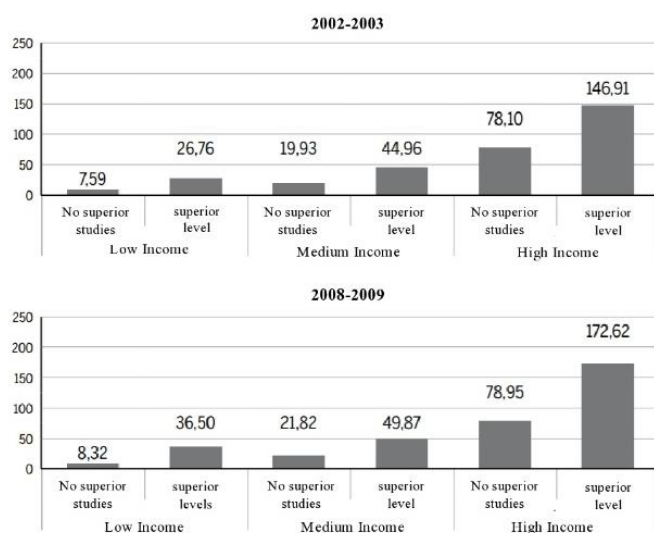
Source: own adaptation according to Carla Cristina Rosa de Almeida, João Policarpo Rodrigues Lima, and Maria Fernanda Freire Gatto. 'Digital inclusion and inequalities of demand for culture in Brazil', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1221-1247; IBGE/POF (2002-2003: 2008-2009) – microdata.

---

[281] Broad and complex debate. See, for instance: George J. Stigler and Gary S. Becker. 'De gustibus non est disputandum', *American Economic Review*, 67 (2), (1977): 76-90; Diniz and Machado, 'Analysis of the consumption', 2011; Marcus Vinícius Amaral e Silva and Danyella Juliana Martins de Brito. 'O impacto de choques no setor cultural brasileiro: uma análise de emprego e renda à luz dos cortes orçamentários', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1222-1247; and Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1984.

[282] The cultural sector has been suffering since the end of the 'expansive' cycle. In Brazil, the scenario is even more dramatic considering the election of Bolsonaro who extinguish the Ministry of Culture. See: Alexandre Barbalho 'Política cultural em tempo de crise: o Ministério da Cultura no Governo Temer', *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, 22 (1), (2018): 239-260; and Kary Emanuelle Reis Coimbra and Maria Dione Carvalho de Morais. 'Eleições presidenciais 2018 e gestão Bolsonaro: o não lugar da cultura', *Argumentum* 11 (3), (2019): 140-156.

In this sense, UNESCO recognizes that

> The risk of making cultural and creative industries policymaking 'safe' for investors or the authorities is of watering down goals to the point where it loses cultural meaning and merely becomes *old wine in new bottles*, a business as-usual co-opting of cultural expression for existing interests, all the while missing opportunities to enhance dialogue, debate and, ultimately, new forms of development for marginalized people (that might initially stem form subcultural or oppositional roots).[283]

For peripheral countries, therefore, the presented newest proposal in terms of developmentalist policy, CCIs, can maintain external dependencies and a dual productive system, since the initial conditions between the center and the periphery remain uneven, and only part of the population is able to access this global economy. Underlying misery, commercializing identities and tourist attractions favors the depoliticization of social space.[284] As already discussed, this new paradigm is favorable to the reproduction of class polarization and labor precariousness. The entry of peripheral countries into this new era of an westernized and neoliberal creative economy can help to maintain external dependency: the initial conditions continue to be unequal in several structural aspects - again reinforcing a dual system in technological, educational, and worker insertion terms (especially regarding high rates of informality: as the 73% mentioned about the Brazilian case).[285] The domestic market when constructing a creative economy based on standards established from outside (innovation-intensive activities, new information technologies and the new interactive consumer-citizen deals) benefit only part of the population. Which is the capitalist and middle class-urban-with high levels of education – the part who has been already included in the world elite mentioned in the *First Act* (see again Figure 24 about consumption of culture in Brazil).[286]

As a matter of fact, statistics on the creative economy reveal, not only in Latin America and Brazil, that the sectors that weigh economically in this account are architecture (associated with engineering), advertising, media, production of software, fashion, etc., that is, globalized sectors linked to transnational capital (see Figure 25 – which does not incorporate all the mentioned sectors but serves as an illustration to this).[287] For example,

[283] UNESCO, *Creative economy',* 2013: 99 (own highlighted).
[284] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016; and Scott, *Social economy on the metropolis*, 2008.
[285] Ibid. Own calculation according to the PNADC/IBGE), 2019. See also Santos, *The Shared Space*, 1979.
[286] John Hartley. 'Creative industries', in: John Hartley (org.), *Creative industries*. Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005: 1-40. This referred population part can be linked to what Richard Florida called the 'creative class'.
[287] See Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016.

due to the weight of media industries, São Paulo stands out as a Global media city ('coincidently' the financial capital of the country), even though this does not necessarily brings a social transformation to that urban reality.[288] As a note: television comes as the first CCI sector in term of revenue due to the importance of telenovelas in Latin American culture – extending to a point of influencing the demographic dimension: it is identified as one of the factors of decrease in fecundity rates.[289]

Figure 25 – *CCIs sectors by revenue (worldwide)*

CCI sectors	Revenues (2013, US$b)
Television	477
Visual arts	391
Newspapers and magazines	354
Advertising	285
Architecture	222
Books	143
Performing arts	127
Gaming	99
Movies	77
Music	55
Radio	46
Total (minus double-counting)	**2,253**

Source: own elaboration, based on Cultural Times, EY, 2015.

The criticism towards the cultural-creative economy, even when challenging its purely marketing bias (which instrumentalizes social relations), are still not fully appropriated by the peripheral country devices.[290] The transformation of the concepts and policies trying to adapt to substantially different contexts from the countries in which they originated (in its contemporary westernized discourse) – including different problems and diverse potentialities - is the responsibility of the peripheral countries themselves. This means that the reflection about the cultural-creative economy seeking to take advantage of possible loopholes that allow to target such strategy for objectives should be consistent with their own realities.[291] The periphery itself is responsible for defending its interests,

---

[288] See the research of Stefan Krätke. 'Global media cities: major nodes of globalising culture and media industries', in: Ren and Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017.

[289] See María do Carmo Fonseca and Paula Miranda-Ribeiro. 'Novelas y telenovelas: el caso brasileño en el contexto latinoamericano', *Anàlisi: quaderns de comunicació i cultura* 23, (1999): 93-103.

[290] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016; Bolaño et al., 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', 2016; and Ramanathan, 'A Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento', 2008.

[291] Ibid.

overcoming old errors and defining new meanings and ways in which will be possible to appropriate the potential for generating wealth produced by this new economy. This appropriation represents a transformation of their social reality in all areas.[292]

In this perspective, it is up to Latin America to build dialogues (including through cultural exchanges) in favor of a decentralized multipolar relationship, of South-South cooperation, capable of dealing with the heterogeneity of peripheral economies, between and within countries.[293] The proposition of new ways of dealing with the production of knowledge and with the symbolic-cultural production should favor broad social interests, proposing other rationalities. The critical thinking of authors like Celso Furtado give alternatives to understand the vital character of cultural autonomy for overcoming the evils of the development 'puzzle' and propose a creative political construction in search of an independent (cultural and urban) development project.[294] The cultural-creative economy can include all activities which contribute to society through participation, reproduction of identities, memory and creation of innovations to solve problems.[295] There are alternative medias, social movements, networks of solidarity, cooperation and collaborative resources, independent organization, more democratic routes, open source movements and free software, amateur art and an off scene that breaks with the administrative view on culture, constituting an alternative social and political project as well as alternative views on the intellectual property (creative commons, collaborative creativity, copyleft).[296] For instance, the Brazilian Hip-Hop, with a strong sense of community and using home studios, adapt ICTs to decentralize and distribute productions of the periphery cultural scene at global scale.[297]

Refusing to adopt a merely instrumental view of the relationship between culture and development, which tends to reinforce and protect the interests of already established cultural agents, a view triggering opportunity expand the space of creation and circulation

---

[292] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016.

[293] Ibid.

[294] César Bolaño. 'Indústrias criativas e os conceitos de cultura, inovação e criatividade em Celso Furtado. *Políticas Culturais em Revista*, Slavador, 4(2), (2011): 3-14; and César Bolaño. 'Indústria e Creatividad: Una perspectiva latino-americana', *Revista de Economia Política de las Tecnologias de la Informácion y de la Comunicación*, 14(1), 2012; and Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016.

[295] George Yúdice. *Economia da cultura no marco da proteção da diversidade cultural*. Miami: university of Miami, 2007.

[296] Pagliotto, 'Creative Economy', 2016.

[297] See Rodrigo Cavalcante Michel, Ana Flávia Machado,and Natália Guimarães Duarte Sátyro. 'Music, networks and technology in urban outskirts: technological impacts on rap production at south of São Paulo', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1277-1303.

of diverse cultural manifestations. It can release the potential of creativity, overcoming alienated production relations and legitimation of social inequality.[298] Cultural activities with intention of social inclusion and democratization already challenges the functionalist westernized CCI discourse. The Furtadian comprehension that the creative capacity exists in every society is a door for the construction of autonomous ways of overcoming precarious and unsustainable living conditions towards that reference horizon known as human emancipation.[299] (Re)placing culture at the center of the process of social transformation is to understand what forges our thinking, being a source of transformation dynamics, creativity and freedom, representing, for different groups and societies, energy, inspiration, autonomy and awareness of diversity.[300]

In Brazil, when the musician Gilberto Gil was Minister of Culture, the cultural policies in the 21st century were seen as an instrument of social emancipation, global articulation and human freedom; the creative economy was a welcome politicization of the economic debate for the contemporary world.[301] This period coincides with the Pink Tide and the expansion of social rights, but sadly, for the last 5 years, Latin America and Brazil have seen the degradation of the public support to culture.[302] As conceptually discussed, the CCIs has the potentiality of being a real tool for social transformation. The global practice of the (social) circus has diverse nuances: from street art, popular culture, to high appreciation. The *social circus* can be an instrument of social emancipation worldwide and in the Latin American context. Again, it is Latin America's (and Brazil's) responsibility to choose the direction that the CCI discourse is going to be led, and the social circus case, perhaps, can illustrate the relevance of having such approach connected to the core of social rights. Therefore, the next part illustrates the (social) circus as a cultural-creative industry and a social right.

---

[298] Elizabeth Souza and Paulo Miguel. 'Sobre cultura e desenvolvimento', in: *Econtros de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura*, 3. Salvador: UFBA, 2007.

[299] Bolaño. 'Indústrias criativas e os conceitos de cultura, 2011; Bolaño. 'Indústria e Creatividad, 2012; and Bolaño et al., 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', 2016.

[300] Bolaño et al., 'For a political economy of culture and creativity', 2016; and UNESCO. *Nuestra diversidad creativa*. Informe de la comisión de cultura y desarrollo. Versión Resumida. Paris, 1996.

[301] UNESCO, *Creative economy,* 2013: 32 and 63. Also, the current Brazilian politics is highly instable, and the recent wave of extreme right-wing have ended with the Ministry of Culture in the country.

[302] Barbalho, 'Política cultural em tempo de crise', 2018.

3. THE CIRCUS AS A CULTURAL INDUSTRY & A SOCIAL RIGHT

Regarding the definition and classification of CCIs, UNESCO places the cultural expressions as the core of such sector (see Figure 26). Following the concentric circles model of David Throsby, Figure 26 brings the performing arts as integrant of its core. The circus, classified as a performing art is, therefore, central in the CCIs UNESCO's classification (see yellow highlight in Figure 26).

Figure 26 – *Creative Industries Classification according to UNESCO 2013 report*
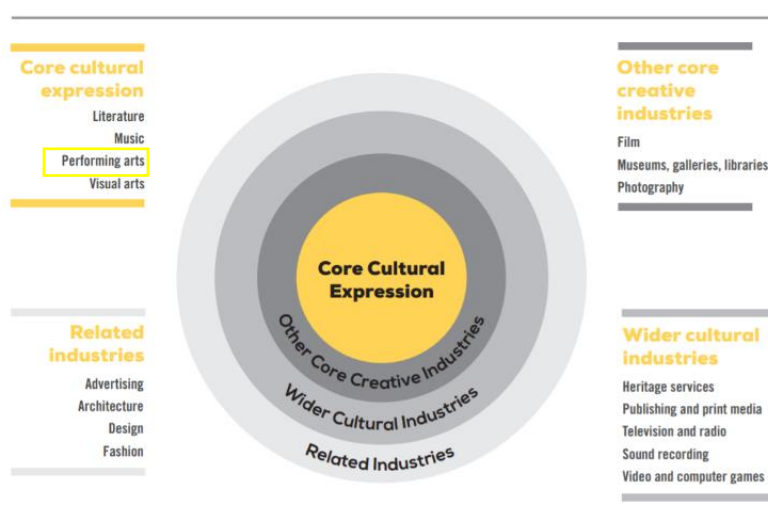
Source: UNESCO. *Creative economy report 2013*: Widening Local Development Pathways, 2013.

UNESCO comprehend that many cultural actors and institutions embrace the idiom of 'industry' even though some of their activities are neither industrial in nature or scope nor profit-making - but instead require permanent subsidy, recalling the importance of state support regarding the cultural-creative economy.[303] The history and (urban) trajectory of this millennial popular art have been already briefly presented in the *First Act*. This cultural-artistic global practice is an element of innovative (eco)systems, in which emergence of new ideas and technologies, as well as a process of transformative change is stimulated.[304] It is in this transformative perspective that the social circus achieves a greater impact regarding socioeconomic development.

---

[303] UNESCO, *Creative economy,* 2013; about the role of the state in the culture: David Throsby. *The economics of cultural policy*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
[304] UNESCO, 2013. For the circus: Cohendent et al. 'The Anatomy of the Creative City', 2010.

Of course, the circus industry can also occupy the stage of business, big companies, moving a considerable amount of money – also charging high prices to its spectacles, as occurs with big names such as Cirque du Soleil, the Chinese circus, and Cirque Medrano. The duality inherent in the circus practice has emerged already in its traditional stream, back in the 18th century. This is, circus art has always been entertaining the high classes of society (for instance think about the figure of the buffon employed by the royal families), at the same time that it also has carried a social stigma related to its nomadic characteristic.[305] Circus is a legitime art and part of popular culture. It is performed using complex and gigantic infrastructures, as well as in ordinary streets with simple objects. Once again, its presence is global, but the specificities of each circus embrace local context. As, in the case of Brazil, it often uses elements of capoeira, or Tango in Argentina.[306] This duality enriches the discussion about the concept and understanding of cultural-creative industries as both: an industry itself and a social right.

Expanding the mainstream economic analysis to a more contemporary approach of an economy of complexity, the term industry can be redesigned in terms of simply inserting an input and getting an output, in which the productive chain and its process englobes more than market elements and profits, its relation to network organization and collaboration.[307] Therefore, even not representing industrial business stricto sensu, the social circus can be read as a cultural-creative industry that is embedded in the Furtadian perception of cultural policies close to social rights. When art is understood as the space of dreams, since only with dreams, it is possible to think about alternatives to gain agency to conquer the right to the city inputting creativity in search for social emancipation.[308] Art has critical, political, and transformative potentialities. The circus art, in its social intervention, represents a resignification of culture as a tool for political and social transformation, expanding social rights.[309]

[305] Stoddart, *Rings of desire*, 2000; and Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005. Also, it is worth referring to the prejudice with gypsies, see: Serge Moscovici and Juan A. Perez. 'Representations of society and prejudices', *Papers on social representations* 6, 1997: 27-36; and Antony D. Hippisley Coxe. 'Gypsies and the Circus'. *Romani Studies,* 48, 1969.

[306] Ana Rosa Camillo Aguiar, and Alexandre de Padua Carrieri. 'Water bag and blood sawdust in the discourses of circus subjects', *Revista O&S*, 23(77), (2016): 247-262.

[307] Rodrigo Cavalcante Michel. 'Metodologias alternativas para tratar a economia criativa: análise de rede social', in: Machado, and Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*, 2016: 91-108.

[308] Garcia Chueca, *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?*, 2018.

[309] Juliana Infantino. 'Sentido de la potencialidad crítica, política y transformadora de las artes', *Cadernos de Arte e Antropología*, 9 (1), (2020): 12-28, and Juliana Infantino. 'Circo y política cultural en Buenos Aires', *Revista del Museo de Antropología*, 8 (1): 2-14.

The social circus became an organic methodology to offer art to youngsters, introducing a multidisciplinary of artistic expression inherent in its core: dance, theater, gymnastics, so on and so forth; as well given practical skills of constructing the scenarios, the equipment, and imaginative and creative capabilities to use and adapt innovations. It does not mean that it is more or less important than other cultural-artistic manifestations, like the Hip-Hop, or poetry, or capoeira. Instead the practice represents an 'unique assemblages of wider processes, all distinctive, in a category of one'.[310] It characterizes a cultural-creative industry and a social right – which can also be supported by public policies - as last part aims to start the discussion. It is a 'magical world where believing that alternatives are possible' (*Interviewee, Edson*).

In order to offer a plot concerning the circus 'industry' established in accordance with social right, the project **Cuerda Firme** is presented. Among the first social circus experiences in South America, three countries have stand out: Argentina, Chile and Peru, and the respective institutions *Circo del Sur*, *Circo del Mundo-Chile* and *La Tarumba*. Partnering with the IDB and the Cirque du Monde, the regional program, Cuerda Firme, was created. It aimed to increase the wellbeing of vulnerable youngsters, developing a sustainable model of youth workability and labor insertion through social circus – mainly concerned with the youth transitioning from education to the work market and the NiNi group (previous shown in Figure 11). The IDB-FOMIN contributed to the funding that enabled the teams to work on the basis of a unified model. Cirque du Soleil acted as a strategic partner facilitating the training through the *Cirque du Monde* program, significantly impacting the installation of the project at the regional level. More than the artistic and the creativity, it also provided experience and technical knowledge including youthfulness and corporate management for a supranational agenda in the region.[311]

From 2014 to 2017, the project was followed by a systematic analysis of impact, and, according to the program results: 1400 young people directly being benefited from the initiative, more than 90% improve what they called the socioemotional abilities. 52% were inserted in the labor market, and the ones who decided to undertake presented 60% of their business staying in the market (see Figure 27).[312] Those numbers, especially for the Latin America reality of a significant lower employability rate, represent an agenda

[310] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2006: 109.

[311] See Cuerda Firme: Circo para transformar. Santiago: Fundación Chile, 2016.

[312] In: http://www.fedec.eu/en/articles/2432-cuerda-firme-project, 2014-2017, resultados regionales.

that deserves to be debated in more details. This project is a sample of how a cultural industry (circus) can be placed as a social policy – or NGO/civil association - in order to improve the level of equitability in the continent. In this perspective, I invite you to get into the *Third Act* of the narrative: finally, *social circus* in the spotlight. The *ordinary city* was discussed to serve as the stage to a de-westernized creative economy and the CCIs, stretching the concepts towards social rights. Therefore, as a cultural-creative industry and a social right, the social circus takes the stage of ordinary cities in the Latin American (uneven) context.

Figure 27 – *Cuerda Firme Project's Result*

Source: Cuerda Firme Project, 2018. Available in: http://cuerdafirme.com/#resultados.

Yo soy cuerda firme
Me gusta afrontar la vida y
lograr mis metas
sin miedo a tropezar.
Supero barreras y retos día a día
y me mantengo firme en todos mis sueños.
Amo el arte, la música, el teatro,
soy circo y soy alegría.
Déjame enseñarte y ser tu
compañero en esta travesía.
Un verso dice:
'el arte es un arma cargada de futuro'.
En mi cuerda están estos sueños.
Mis lazos no se rompen.

Part of the Manifesto Cuerda Firme
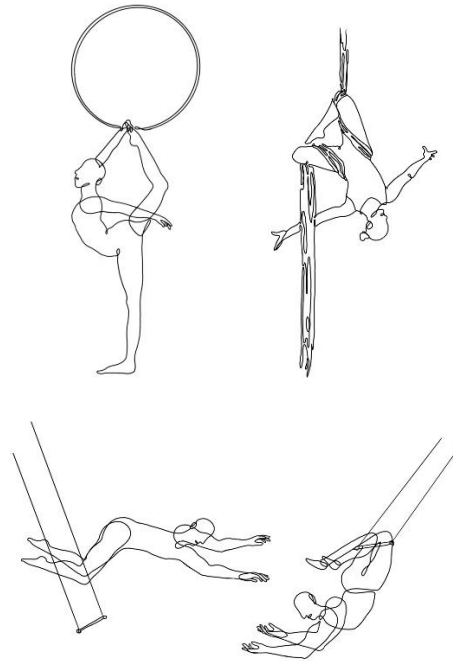
THE OPPORTUNITY OF SOCIAL CIRCUS

Circus has changed my life
More than 3 Interviewees

1. MORE ABOUT THE SOCIAL CIRCUS

Ladies and gentlemen, I (finally) welcome you to the third act: the opportunity of the *(social) circus*, a millennial activity that is part of the popular culture and, in the contemporaneity, acts on behalf of social inclusion. Jugglers, trapeze artists, clowns, tightrope walkers, actors, musicians, illusionists, fakirs, storytellers, contortionists, and acrobats are in scene. Under a canvas, on the stage of a theater, in the corridors of a school, at events (even at raves), and in the traffic lights of many ordinary cities. All these performances represents the circus art. Again, the circus is ancient: playing with jumping, making laugh, balancing, making contortion, doing handstand, jumping. Wherever there is a group of people, a social agglomeration, one can encounter these skills: the circus is the art of the feat.[313] As mentioned before, the *new circus* have expanded and perfect the training of various artists from different performing arts: theater, dance, music, among others, also giving it more artistic creativity and emphasizing even more its multidisciplinarity. This stream have arisen with the emergence of circus school all over the world, systematizing the process of teaching-learning this art, also with a resumption of the practices on the street.[314]

This innovative new/contemporary language brought major transformations in the objectives: approaching the scenic art towards a methodology, embracing social purposes. This is how the social circus enters the scene. As already presented, the social circus focuses on the circus arts and the social intervention, acting as a potential social transformation tool. This potentiality is related to the diverse abilities that the circus brings on individual and community development. As an actor in broad social-cultural-educational spheres, it has spill-over effects capable of transforming society. Those effects are related to the soft skills and the socioemotional abilities that the (social) circus equip the youth with.[315] Creativity, protagonism, teamwork, empathy, effective communication, self-esteem, community identity, empowerment, focus on achievements, failures learning as well awareness of individuals' own potential and their role to

---

[313] Alice Viveiros de Castro. 'O circo conta sua história'. *Museu dos Teatros–FUNARJ,* Rio de Janeiro*, 1997.*

[314] Ibid. See again Figure 19.

[315] González-Velosa et al., *How to improve the insertion in the labor market*, 2012; and Hanushek and Woessmann, 'The Role of Cognitive Skills in Economic Development', 2008.

contribute as citizens of the world. The list can continue to expand (as the literature and interviews have shown). Scholars around the world are discussing how to systematize those elements in order to 'prove' the effective impact of social circus to socioeconomic (urban) development (in socially creative *ordinary* cities).[316] Projects, as the previous Cuerda Firme, have popularized the activity without forgetting that each local, city and context has its own flavor, taste and preferences. Fact learnt throughout its traditional nomadic characteristic: traveling from city to city, the artists acknowledge that adaptation was key to get local communities' sympathy and numbers that were not successful in certain city were removed from the program, as others were added accordingly.[317]

The first (controversially) registered experience of the social circus practice, already mentioned in the *First Act*, was the *Ciudad de los Muchachos*, in Galicia, in the 1960s. The young seminarian, Jesús César Silva Méndez, proposed to kids to create a new world: a democratic oasis, in the middle of the Francoist Spain, where children could be free. It is told that his idea was not to create a home for homeless children but a 'factory of revolutionaries'. Young people of any race, religion, social and economic condition, dissatisfied with the reality, could come committed to transform the world.[318] Scholars have pointed that this was the second circus school in the world, or the first social circus experience.[319] Anyhow, the international fame was achieved by the Circus School: *Circo de Los Muchachos (CLM)*. It was financed by the Silva family, spreading in the country with the creation of *Benposta* estate, and, when they set up in Catalonia, they became more financially sustainable.[320] New *Benpostas* were established in Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Belgium, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Japan, among others. Many had an ephemeral life but others, like the ones in Colombia and Venezuela, continue

---

[316] See Marcelo A. Pérez. *The Social Circus as a tool for community intervention for prevent physocial risks behavior*: *a qualitative study from the experience with the youth in the program Previene-Conace, a social circus initiative in the comuna de Maipú*. Available in: http://www.redcircosocial.cl/descargas/ (2008). tesis_circo_social%20marcelo_circo%20ambulante.pdf, 2008; and André and Reis. 'O circo chegou à cidade!', 2009.

[317] Castro, 'O circo conta sua história', 1997; and Alice Viveiros de Castro. *O elogio da bobagem: palhaços no Brasil e no mundo*. Teresópolis: Família Bastos Editora, 2005; Stoddart, *Rings of desire*, 2000; and Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005.

[318] See González, 'La utopía del Padre Silva', 2003; and Pericacho Gómez, Francisco Javier, and Mario Andrés-Candelas. 'Beginning of Boys Town in Spain: The Ciudad de los Muchachos of Vallecas (Madrid)'*, Educação e Pesquisa*, 44, 2018.

[319] Cirque du Soleil, *Guide for the Social worker*, 2001; Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005; and Castro, 'O circo conta sua história', 1997.

[320] González, 'La utopía del Padre Silva', 2003. They have a dream about building an autarky: building their own industries, own bank, schools, church, bar, supermarket, and a gas station - all run by themselves. See the documentary about this experience: *Nación de Muchachos*, by the Galician Javi Camino, 2019.

active today.[321] By the end of 1970s, the popularity of the *CLM* were decreasing, and some administration problems also affected the utopic project. But the Ciudad de los Muchachos have left a legacy and memories to the 60/70/80's Spanish youth.

As a circus school the *CLM* was the second because, in 1927, the State University of Circus and Variety Arts, better known as the Moscow Circus School, was created by the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), aligned with the project of transforming the circus into 'the people's art-form'.[322] This was an exception recalling the circus timeline: the worldwide opening of schools for training the multidisciplinarity inherent in the circus practice have occurred within its new stream in the 1970's/1980's (or the *contemporary circus*). Several schools of excellence have started in this moment, i.e.: the National Circus School Annie Fratellini from 1979 in France (support by the government), and the École National de Cirque Montréal from 1981 in Canada.[323] In Latin America, the firsts circus school was installed in Brazil, in 1977, at the Pacaembu stadium, in São Paulo, called *Piolin*.[324] Followed by the National Circus School in Rio de Janeiro from 1982.[325] This last one, although it was not a proper social circus project, welcomed young people from all social stratus to have access to circus techniques.[326]

Indeed, regarding the history of circus in Latin America, it has started earlier than the existence of the circus school. It have come after the independence period, on the third

---

[321] The Circo de los Muchachos arrived in Colombia in 1973 and, in 1974, Benposta Colombia was formed. Today they have three headquarters in the country, as a religious (catholic) organization, which promote children's right to a dignified life, respect, dignity, and sense of belonging, using arts. In similar format, the organization in Venezuela was established in 1961, and it is still active under the name of *CLM fé y alegría*.

[322] Duncan Wall. *The ordinary Acrobat*: a journey into the wondrous world of the circus, past and present. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013. It is worth mentioning the relevance of the circus in China – not only because it claims the circus' origin, but also due to the creation of the Imperial Chinese Circus in 1951, before other schools have emerged in the world. See: Susan Jia. 'Chinese Circus and its Audiences: Past and Present', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 35(4), (2019): 365-372.

[323] Wall, *The ordinary Acrobat*, 2013.

[324] **Piolin** was one of the most famous Brazilian clowns. Born in the countryside of São Paulo state, in 27 of March 1897 – data that became the day of Brazilian Circus, he was son of circus artists, and won the recognition in the Week of Modern Art, artistic and literary movement in Brazil in 1922, as an example of a genuinely Brazilian and popular artist. Great representant of the circus, he stood out for his great comic creativity, in addition to his ability as a gymnast and tightrope walker. In times of pandemic, it is suitable to mention: tPiolin's parents, also circus artists, had an itinerant circus in Brazil during the Spanish flu. They were in the city of Rio Novo (Minas Gerais) when the pandemic started. They transformed their circus canvas in a kind of hospital, helping the local community to overcome that period. See more in: Arruda Dantas. *Piolin*. Editora Pannartz, 1980.

[325] Ermínia Silva. *O Circo: Sua Arte, Seus Saberes: O Circo no Brasil no Final do Século XIX e Meados do Século XX*. Campinas: Departamento de História do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Unicamp. Dissertação de Mestrado, 1996; and Antônio Torres, Alice Viveiros de Castro, and Márcio Carrilho. *O circo no Brasil*, v. 5. Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1998.

[326] Ibid.; and Ermínia Silva and Rogério Sette Câmara. 'O ensino de arte circense no Brasil: breve histórico e algumas reflexões', *Pindoramacircus*, 15, 2006: 12-15.

decade of the 19th century.[327] Gypsies who were scaping of persecution in Europe, mainly from the Iberian Peninsula, brought it.[328] They traveled from city to city, adapting their shows to the taste of the local population - as the parallel mentioned about the Carnival tradition. [329] For example, the clown used to communicate by mimicry, but in Brazil, they have assumed a talkative, rascal, conqueror, and musical role.[330] Records have shown that these groups disembarked at important port cities, performed their show and left for other cities, going down the coast to the River Plate, heading to Buenos Aires.[331] In larger cities, they accommodated themselves in the periphery, focusing on the popular classes as the main audience.[332] Later, the then new stream also spread in the region.[333]

The social circus practices is embedded within this contemporary circus art. The global neoliberalism context marked by the challenge of growing wealth gaps instigate the urgency of projects of collective mobilization.[334] In accordance, from the 1990s, social circus projects have boomed worldwide (see Figure 28). Resulted of a Cirque du Soleil – *Cirque du Monde* 4 years-long study, Figure 28 illustrates this trend: while in 1979 there was only 8 social circus projects, in 1994 there were 73, increasing already to 153 in 1999, 256 in 2004, and 2009 with 359. In 2014, 502 social circus organizations were mapped.[335]

---

[327] Torres, de Castro, and Carrilho, *O circo no Brasil*, 1998; Silva, *O Circo*, 1996; and Luiz Rodrigues Monteiro Junior. 'Qual a Origem do Circo', in Mauro Ferreira (org.). *Língua Portuguesa entre Palavras*. São Paulo: Editora FTD, 2002; and Julieta Infantino. *Circo en Buenos* Aires: cultura, jóvenes, y políticas en disputa. Buenos Aires: Inteatro, 2014.

[328] Ibid. As a note, as already mentioned, mainly regarding prejudice issues, there has been a connection between gypsies and the circus. See: Coxe, 'Gypsies and the Circus', 1969; and Yoram S. Carmeli. 'Travelling circus: An interpretation'. *European Journal of Sociology,* 29(2), (1988): 258-282.

[329] Castro, *O elogio da bobagem*, 2005; and Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 1997.

[330] Castro, *O elogio da bobagem*, 2005.

[331] Silva, *O Circo: Sua Arte, Seus Saberes*, 1996; Castro, 'O circo conta sua história', 1997; and Infantino, *Circo en Buenos Aires*, 2014.

[332] Ibid.; Monteiro Junior, 'Qual a Origem do Circo', 2002; and Abreu. 'Cultura popular', 2003.

[333] Silva and Câmara, 'O ensino de arte circense no Brasil', 2006; Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005; and Cirque du Soleil, *Guide for the Social worker*, 2001.

[334] Jennifer Beth Spiegel and Benjamin Ortiz Choukroun. *The Art of Collectivity: Social Circus and the Cultural Politics of a post-neoliberal vision*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019.

[335] Cirque du Soleil. *Portrait of Social Circus*: snapshot of social circus in 2015. Cirque du Soleil Communication, 2015.

Figure 28 – *Growth of social circus organization 1975-2014*
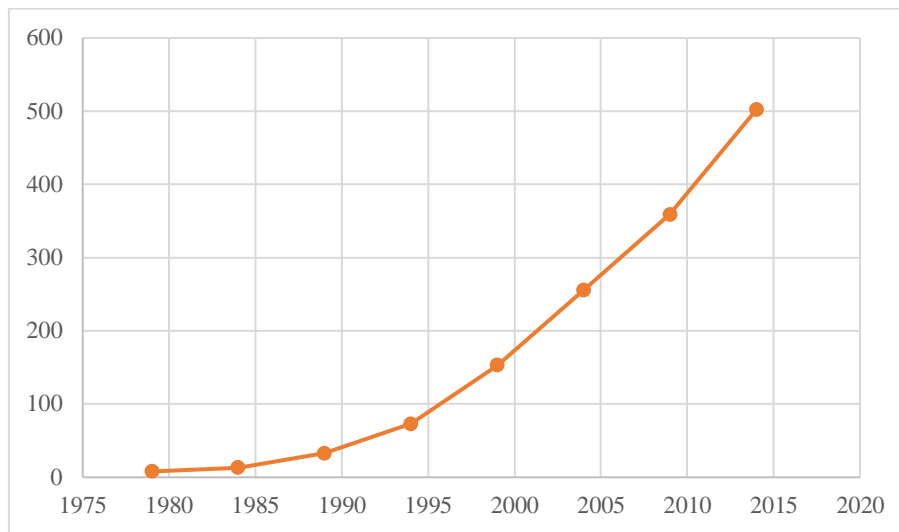
In an attempt to formalize the socioemotional skill mentioned at the section's beginning, social circus schools/organizations have developed a methodological teaching which applies an education model including elements of 'social learning' theory: people learn from one another, encompassing attention, memory and motivation.[336] Also, the model goes close to Paulo Freire's popular education, understood as a participatory and transformative process, in which learning and conceptualization are based on the practical experience of individual and groups.[337] In this perspective, the social circus differs from the professional or recreational circus, once that the experience itself is more crucial than the artistic results, also strengthening the relationship between participants and local community further than the aesthetic-entertaining role. Therefore, there are seven principles guiding this artistic-social intervention: a safe and fun space; links with community; expression and creativity; collaboration between social and circus; duration over time; an approach centered on the participants; and partnerships.[338] In this process, the circus instructors are trained not only as such but also as art educators whom work is

---

[336] Albert Bandura. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977.

[337] Paulo Freire. 'Education and Community Involvement', in: Henry A Giroux, Ramón Flecha, Paulo Freire, Donaldo Macedo, and Manuel Castells. *Critical education in the new information age*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999. Note: Freire's work deeply impacted the Brazilian pedagogical scene, and, in times of an extreme right-ring national government this work has been attacked as a 'communist threat'. Too complex and away from the focus here. See: Vivian Jorge. 'Escola sem Partido em vias de midiatização e as eleições 2018', Anais de Artigos do *Seminário Internacional de Pesquisas em Midiatização e Processos Sociais*, 1(3), 2019; and Paulo Freire. *Pedagogia da libertação em Paulo Freire*. São Paulo: Editora Paz e Terra, 2018.

[338] Lafortune and Bouchard, *Community Worker's Guide*, 2011.

to use art as a way to integrate the most varied types of voices, with the ideal of helping a number of groups considered 'marginal' to be (re)introduced into society.[339]

As an illustration, some examples of social circus projects beyond Latin America: the Women's Circus in Australia which works with circus workshops to women who survived sexual assault; the Ateneu in Barcelona which inspired the local residents to create a cultural center; and in Ethiopia, the social circus was used in the prevention of HIV. The Cirque du Soleil's social circus initiative, the already-mentioned *Cirque du Monde*, was created in 1993 focusing on at-risk youth. Regarding the relevance of partnering principle, this program established many collaborative projects worldwide and strongly in Latin America. The Brazilian *Se Essa Rua Fosse Minha* (If this street were mine), born in 1991 in Rio de Janeiro, among the first ones to use the circus art in an intervention approach, have partnered up with Cirque du Monde and it have spread over 20 communities in Brazil. The same happened with *Circo del Sur*, program from Buenos Aires that also gained regional relevance (part of the *Cuerda Firme* project).[340]

The 21st century (as shown by Figure 27) have seen the movement growing widely. The creation and empowerment of diverse social circus networks in Latin America – Circo del Mundo, Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil, Rede Latinoamericana de Arte y Transformacíon Social, Red Escuelas de Circo, and more - has debate and exchange about the practice within the region also strengthening the initiatives, even in a context of reduction in cultural and social government support.[341] The First International Meeting of Social Circus, hold in Buenos Aires in October 2019 serve as an example of the effort to keep the relevance of the social circus alive. It counted with the presence of many important names: École Nationale de Cirque de Montréal, Circo del Mundo Chile, Federation of Escuela Carampa Madrid, Escuela Pernambucana de Circo Brasil, and international references from Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, and also Japan. The director of Circo del Sur, María Rúfolo explained 'although today art-transformation is a constituted territory that contributes to valuable strategies of innovation in formal and

[339] Ibid.; Julieta Infantino. 'El Circo de Buenos Aires y sus Prácticas: definiciones en disputa', *Ilha,* 15(2), (2013): 277-309; and Luiza Fernandes Barros and Walter Melo. 'Care and Circus Arts: The circus in the daily life of a mental health institution'. *Estudos e Pesquisas em Psicologia,* 19 (3), (2019): 623-643.
[340] Lafortune and Bouchard, *Community Worker's Guide*, 2011; and Infantino, *Circo en Buenos Aires*, 2014.
[341] Ibid.; Seibel, *Historia del Circo*, 2005; and Infantino, 'Circo y política cultural en Buenos Aires', 2015.

non-formal educational methodologies, we believe that the circus has a unique proposal in this conversation'.[342]

In this sense, it is worth highlighting the objectives (and uniqueness) of the social circus, recalling some of the cultural-artistic activities effects in society brought by the CCIs literature. It offers a means rather than an end; encourages the development of self-esteem, autonomy, and self-regulation, empowering ownership of future perspectives. It reinforces sense of belonging, spirit of solidarity and citizenship, linked to the concept of the right to the city; helps health condition bringing good physical preparation; develops communication skills and push the flourishment of creativity. It encourages taking pride in diversity; support risk management due to the character of the practice itself; works towards social-economic integration; and it is a tool for resilience.[343] Its usual end-of-session performance (see pictures in Figure 44) is a collective creation allowing all participants to execute their talents and be applauded by their local community.[344]

Back to the numbers: among the 502 social circus organization tracked by Cirque du Monde, it is included initiatives that has as primary goal the personal and social development of the participants, offering the circus arts training as a component. The collection of organizations was made via organizations' website or based on information provided by the organizations themselves. The *Social Circus Map* (Figure 30) show all of them, located in 70 countries – it also lists research projects at the time in progress and (social) circus networks headquarters. 33% of the organizations are entirely dedicated to social circus, and the others' profile vary: youth organizations with a social circus elements (22%); social organizations with a social circus component (20%); professional circus troupes with a social circus component (10%); and circus schools and educational institutions with a social circus component (15%). In all of them, there is a deeply care about their community welfare, mainly considering the effort to improve the lives of 'at-risk' populations through the circus arts.[345]

---

[342] Mariana Luna Rúfolo, Circo del Sur director speak to Tercer Sector, Fundación del Viso. 'More than 500 participants in the 1st edition of the Social Circus International Meeting', October 2019: Available in: https://tercersector.org.ar/mas-de-500-formadores-en-la-1-edicion-del-encuentro-internacional-de-circo-social/

[343] Lafortune and Bouchard, *Community Worker's Guide*, 2011; Silva and Câmara, 'O ensino de arte circense no Brasil', 2006; and Infantino, 'Experiencias de intervención social desde el arte (circense), 2016.

[344] Ibid. Further presented in the *results*.

[345] Cirque du Soleil, *Portrait of Social Circus*, 2015; Spiegel and Choukroun, *The Art of Collectivity*, 2019; Barros and Melo, 'Care and Circus Arts', 2019; and Infantino, 'Experiencias de intervención social desde el arte (circense), 2016.

This at-risk population also differs: there are different focus of the social circus initiatives. Figure 29 represent the distribution of the diverse groups that programs collaborate with. The at-risk youth, meaning the marginalize one in social exclusion and economic deprivation, is largely the most common target (93% of social circus projects attend those youngsters). Considering that the groups overlaps, intersectionality is also at stake. The actions embarked people with physical disabilities, mental health issues, LGBTQ+[346] community, refugees, among others.[347] A note about the circus as more than a social transformative tool is suitable here. The circus also has been a therapeutic instrument based on laugh: clowning techniques (form of self-knowledge; also, humor-based therapy, like the doctors of joy and the Patch Adams children care).[348] Also, the *Sapos & Afogados* example from the *First Act* can be remember here: art saves lives.

Figure 29 - *Percentage of organizations that, as part of their social circus program, work in collaboration with the following groups*
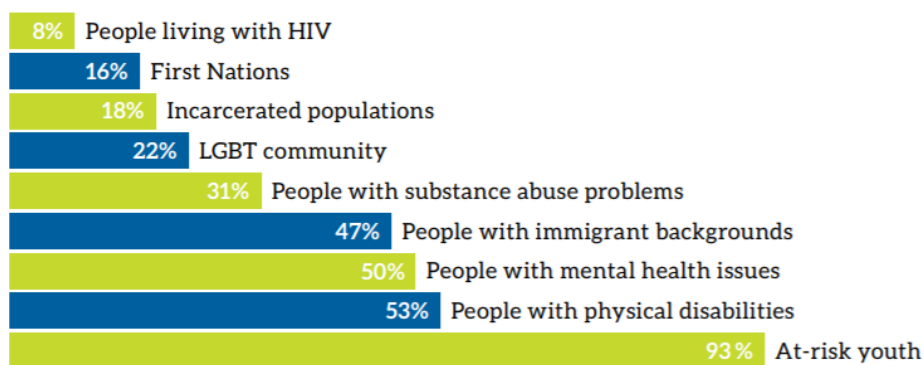
Source: Cirque du Soleil, Portrait of Social Circus, 2015: 6.

Still considering the *Portrait of Social Circus*, Latin America is the second region with the greatest number of projects: 156, representing 21% of the mapped ones (see Figure 30). Europe is the first region with more projects: 36%. Brazil, the country with more organizations in the region, has 42 gathered social circus, one social circus network – *Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil* (RJ), and none social circus research project. Colombia and Argentina had each a research project; and Chile and Argentina also present a social

---

[346] LGBTQ+ is an acronym that encompasses people who are Lesbians, Gays, Bi, Trans, Queer, and more: Intersex, Asexual, Pan/Poly, etc.

[347] See Leah Bassel. 'Vive le Cirque! A French initiative for refugee youth', *Community Development Journal*, 40 (2), (2005): 232-235, retracting a beautiful French initiative using the circus to integrate (and create respect for) refugees.

[348] See: clowning techniques; humor-based therapy; the Patch Adams' method. For example, in: Weston Michael Grant. 'Humor in Medicine: A Literature Review of Humor's Potential Therapeutic Value in Health Care', *Scholarworks*, 11, 2017.

circus network. As referred in the following methodology section, this map is not fully trustable up-to-date: some initiatives does not exist anymore, some have never been included, as well few have some locational issues. Anyhow, this map enriches the overview of the social circus scene in Latin America.

Figure 30 – *Latin America Social Circus Map (SCM)[349]*

Source: Cirque du Soleil, Social Circus Map, data from 2015, consulted in 2020.

In terms of research about the theme, the *Circonteúdo*: *the portal of circus diversity* is a database that contains a great amount of works done in the Latin America about circus, also working as a kind of blog.[350] There are couple archives about the history of the circus art, such as the Center of Circus Memory, in São Paulo, and the Nautilus, the Mobile Circus Library *Circomente*, in Mexico City.[351] Some relevant scholars name who have been studying the social circus in the region (and largely consulted for this research) deserved to be highlighted. Alice Viveiros de Carvalho, actress, theater director, humorous and union activist; she is specialist in circus, also researching public policies

---

[349] See the map in: https://www.cirquedusoleil.com/citizenship/social-circus-map.
[350] Database: https://www.circonteudo.com/.
[351] Kim Campbell. 'Circus libraries (and archives) in the world'. *Circus Talk*, 2019. Available in: https://circustalk.com/news/rejoice-in-the-circus-libraries-of-the-world.

for culture; as a collaborator of Funarte (Brazilian Foundation of Arts), she tried to develop the projects of circus intervention (sadly with little success). Erminia Silva, PhD in History of Culture, dedicated to the study of the circus scene, mainly in Brazil, develops research activities at the National Circus School, Rio de Janeiro, and co-coordinates the Circus Group (Campinas, Brazil). Juliana Infantino, PhD in Anthropology, focuses on popular culture and youth issue within urban anthropology; in her circus research she follows the circus historiography of Beatriz Siebel, Argentinian actress, director, and theater researcher. Many other names could be recalled. The list is quite long, especially accounting worldwide. [352] Noteworthy that most of the works about (social) circus is in history of cultures, anthropology (ethnographic), and physical educations, also pedagogy.

There is still a long way to develop the field, considering its empirical approach in both quantitative and qualitative methods. Indeed, this was the great challenge of this research. Earlier, in the *text* part, it was mentioned the unpredictability of an investigation process. Sum to that the unexpected moment of pandemic (and social isolation) of the current global context. In the at-least-almost-year-long process of elaborating the master's thesis, predominantly the last six months in which the contact with people involved in the social circus was constant, I have not encounter any systematic, nor fully trustable or up-to-date organization of institutional data (i.e.: from the social circus projects/schools or networks) nor a database about the number of projects/initiatives/schools or number of students/participants/beneficiaries. This fact can have several reasons: the (in)formal aspect of the social circus in Latin America, the difficulty of finance and/or public support, the political discontinuity, schools' internal problems, etc. In this perspective, I reiterates: the methodology of this research have considered the notion of the possible, choosing a combination of diverse methods to facilitate achieving satisfactory results.

Given the moment of the world history, it is worth drawing a note about the impact of the COVID-19 in the circus scene in Latin America, before continuing to the empirical methodological aspects. Worldwide, the pandemic has impacted severely the sector. In Brazil, not able to receive audiences nor students, 500 circuses have closed their doors. 10000 artists involved in the circus routine will be (are) without their livelihood (with

---

[352] Indeed, worldwide there are several great researches, scholars and works about the circus. See for instance: Leroux and Batson (eds.), *Cirque global*, 2016. The works of the European Federation of Professional Circus Schools (FEDEC), as well the Erasmus + fund to the International Youth and Social Circus Network, Caravan: changing lives through circus; and the Federación de Esculas de Circo Socieducativos de España, who was also contact in this research process.

also lack of water, electricity, and food). They need help at a time that population is at home – recalling the role of the government to support the practice.[353] Of course, this impact goes over many sectors, including other several cultural-artistic activities, but the circus have been suffering from lack of policy support and it is the main object of study, reason to be emphasized here.[354] Now, back to the research methodology.

2. MORE ABOUT METHODOLOGY

Embracing a personal touch, I decided to start this section pointing out two inspirations and two coincidences that brought me to research the social circus. In a retrospective, in July 2019, I had the chance to participate in the Mosaic Summer School in Management of Creativity in an Innovation Society, with which I could visit the Cirque du Soleil headquarter in Montréal (in the Saint-Michel neighborhood) and learn about the project.[355] In the visit, Eric Demers, the coordinator of community relations, passionately told us about the Cirque du Monde.[356] This served as a snap to the incipient design of what I would like to investigate. This snap was immediately linked to an experience years earlier (in 2010 and 2011) when I watched (and was amazed by) the closing-year spectacle of the *Valores de Minas/PlugMinas program* (mentioned again in the

---

[353] See the news in G1. 'With circus closed due to coronavirus, many artists claim to authorities and population support', 20th March 2019. Available in: https://g1.globo.com/noticia/2020/03/20/com-circos-fechados-por-causa-do-coronavirus-artistas-pedem-apoio-de-autoridades-e-populacao.ghtml. To see about the policies recommendation to the cultural sector, see: Ana Flávia Machado, Débora Freire, Rodrigo Cavalcante Michel, Gabriel Vaz de Melo, and Alice Demattos. ˙Nota Técnica: Efeitos da Covid-19 na Economia da Cultura no Brasil', CEDEPLAR/UFMG, 2020.

[354] Infantino, 'Circo y política cultural en Buenos Aires', 2015; and Magnus Luiz Emmendoerfer and Bárbara Calçado Lopes Martins. 'Gestão de circo: um campo de atuação profissional (des) conhecido?', *Tourism & Management Studies,* 9(2), (2013): 118-123.

[355] This summer school exists since 2009 – I took part on the 11th, and it is co-design HECMontréal (Prof. Lucy Stojak, Prof. Patrick Cohendet and Prof. Laurent Simon as coordinators) and University of Barcelona (UB) (Prof. Montserrat Pareja as coordinator). Here a huge thanks to the UB which awarded me with a scholarship making my participation possible.

[356] See about Cirque du Monde: Jacinthe Rivard, Guy Bourgeault, and Céline Mercier. 'Cirque du Monde in Mexico City: Breathing new life into action for young people in difficult situations', *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), (2010): 181-194; Infantino. 'Experiencias de intervención social', 2016; and Jennifer Beth Spiegel, Benjamin Ortiz Choukroun, Katherine Boydell, A. Campña, Jaime Breilh, and Annalee Yassi. 'Social transformation, collective health and community-based arts:'Buen Vivir'and Ecuador's social circus programme', *Global public health*, 14(6-7), (2019): 899-922. Worth telling that also Eric Demers told us about the Cirque du Monde project who invite the social circus participants to go to the Cirque du Soleil show when in their respective city, since due to the high price of the tickets those kids cannot afford it.

Comparative Imaginaries part). The program is an initiative from the Minas Gerais government focused on young students (14 up to 24 years old) enrolled in state public school and with low income. By offering five artistic languages: visual arts, *circus*, dance, music and theater, the objective is to enable citizenship formation and personal growth, combined with cultural and artistic development, pushing them to pursue their own path and positively transform the reality surrounding them.[357] Counterpointing: the privileged position that I hold in Brazilian context, I had always studied surrounded with arts, in the Waldorf pedagogy.[358] Coincidence (or not), my 8th grade theater was about the *Arlequín* - the historical relevant circus figure mentioned on the *First Act*, and in the 6th grade the circus is a subject incorporated in the scholar curriculum.[359]

Anyhow, I am passionate about the social circus (falling even more in love during the research process). I do believe in the transformative potential of arts. In this sense, the first question that came to me, also considering my background as an economist, was: how to prove the social circus benefits to an economist? I knew that I would have to get a representative sample to achieve statistically robust results, but the aforementioned lack of data was greater than I thought. I was not able to have a trustable number of schools/projects in a city, nor in Brazil, or Latin America. Although I have tried to map the initiatives based on the *Social Circus Map*, updating it based on online research and interview/surveys, it was not precise enough. Some of the schools and projects that I contact did not have records of their total students – just few had from current students

---

[357] Michael Cerqueira de Oliveira. 'Transversalidade em políticas públicas para a juventude: a experiência de trabalho de campo no Plug Minas'. *NAU Social* 5(8), 2014; and Selmara Mamede Simões Ferreira and Regina de Paula Medeiros. 'Juventudes e políticas públicas: construção de significados e participação juvenil no programa Plugminas'. *Revista debates* 8(2), (2014): 161-181. This was very different from the reality that I used to live in. I was super impressed by the potential of that show and the power that I saw on those kids (way unprivileged them me). I remember sobbing and asking my parents why not every 'poor' kid could have that opportunity. More about this initiative is on the *Comparative Imaginaries*. Noteworthy that it was changed and it is almost over – as the story shows later on this research.

[358] The Waldorf education or Steiner education is the educational method of the philosophy of Anthroposophy, founded by Rudolf Steiner, in the 1920s. Anthroposophy brings together existence of objectives which are intellectually comprehensible in the spiritual world while is also accessible to human experience. Its pedagogy strives to develop the intellectual, artistic, and practical skills in holistic approach, focus on the imagination and creativity. See: Gary Lachman,. *Rudolf Steiner: An introduction to his life and work*. London: Penguin, 2007.

[359] In the Waldorf pedagogy, each grade has a special project. The 8th grade is a theater worked all year long and entirely produced by the students – apert from the text which is also chosen collective, and the direction. But they produced the scenario, clothing, etc. Usually it is a show that least for almost 2 hours, presented at the end of the school year. In the same way, the project of the 6th grade is the circus. The Waldorf pedagogy believes in the potentiality of the circus in promoting sense of community and collectivity, creativity, self-esteem, learning with failures, among other socioemotional skills already mentioned in this thesis.

but there was some ethic issues on passing them to me. Therefore, I had decided to do participatory observation with two schools in my city, Belo Horizonte, where I would be able to get a representative sample through interviews. But with the COVID-19, the schools have stopped, and I could not pursue with this plan.

Differently from Europe or North America, not everything could be transfer to virtual, due to Latin American inequality. Especially considering the public profile that the social circus focus on, online interviews were not always possible. According to the ICT Household survey from 2019, only 44% of households in informal settlements in Brazil have access to the internet. Among the population whose family income is less than 1 minimum wage, 78% of people with internet access use their cell phones exclusively, being harder to have online classes (or interviews) than with a computer at home.[360] Most of the public schools and even universities have suspended the classes given this issue and the risk of increasing inequality.[361] A interviewee reported:

> I am born and raised in the *Aglomerado da Serra* (Favela in BH). But the difference of leaving here to go to 'the city' is still unbelievable. I am surprised every time. I say that it is a different country: everything is different. The forms, dynamic, the way that information arrives. For example, the lockdown is not happening here because information is 'mouth-to-mouth' or with a note at the door. People are still continuing their lives if they do not have to work/study outside the Aglomerado. It is even harder. Of course, I am glad to help you in your research, but be aware that it is going to be a different thing, especially with the corona.
>
> *Roberta, social circus instructor and idealizer of Escola de Arte.*

In this perspective, the means used to achieve the purpose of answering the many questions that have guided me (how is the social circus being a tool for social urban transformation in Latin America and what are the opportunities - beyond the challenges - to identify its effects in the youngsters' lives and the cities) were an exploration on how

---

[360] The ICT Household survey is a study carried out annually by the Regional Center for Studies for the Development of the Information Society (Cetic), one of the main institutions in the segment of access to technologies in Brazil.

[361] See the news, in Angelica Mari e Gabriela Arbex, 'A falta de acesso à internet aumenta a desigualdade social, diz Andrew Sullivan, da Internet Society', *Forbes,* 20th April 2020. Available in: https://forbes.com.br/forbes-insider/2020/04/a-falta-de-acesso-a-internet-aumenta-a-desigualdade-social-diz-andrew-sullivan-da-internet-society/; Luiza Tenente, 'Sem internet, merenda e lugar para estudar: veja obstáculos do ensino à distância na rede pública durante a pandemia de Covid-19', *G1 Educação*, 5th April 2020. Available in: https://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/2020/05/05/sem-internet-merenda-e-lugar-para-estudar-veja-obstaculos-do-ensino-a-distancia-na-rede-publica-durante-a-pandemia-de-covid-19.ghtml;
and Olívia Resende. 'Sandra Goulart: 'retomada deve garantir qualidade de ensino e inclusão social', *UFMG Notícias*, 21 May 2020. Available in: https://ufmg.br/comunicacao/noticias/sandra-goulart-retomada-deve-garantir-qualidade-de-ensino-e-inclusao-social (to know more about suspending the classes in the public universities).

to adapt, complement, and explore methodological procedures. 'Giving up' on the representativeness to show the relevance that the social circus can have in individual, community and territorial level, a qualitative approach was chosen to deep the comprehension of the role of the social circus for its different actors: students, collaborators, the city itself, among others. Still considering the matter of a study veracity in terms of numbers, the secondary (varied) data analysis brought along the text intend to fulfill this quantitative side.[362] Here, the primary data collection was based and it is presented in a qualitative way.

Considering the narrative process, collection of descriptions, events, facts and plots of stories about the social circus are inserted, both in personal as well in projects sphere.[363] From individual contact, interviews, surveys, and, oral history: all were used aiming to achieve the nuances that the social circus practice represent to youngsters' life and to the urban territory. The research design to use these methods were based on, firstly, my own network of the Mosaic Summer School, the Cultural Economists from the Brazilian Network - mainly from Minas Gerais, as well online research about the theme (see Figure 32).[364] After contacting main actors, all of them have started giving more names and tips to expand the research. In this sense, a process of snowball sampling have been initiated. This is, by approaching different stakeholders, asking for contacts, then contacting those, asking both to give other names as also to participate in survey/interviews, the sample group grows like a 'rolling snowball'.[365] This nonprobability sampling technique is often used when there is some difficulty for access the population.[366] In this case, three were the main obstacles: the already explained lack of data and the pandemic context, summing the fact that the social circus work with youth, many time under 18 years old (see highlight

---

[362] A note about research using quantitative methods is suitable here. For instance, an econometric model using longitudinal data and diverse variables to check the possible positive correlation of social-cultural-artistic practices and improvement of at-risk youth could be theme of a future research. See an example of this kind of model (but using education vis-à-vis criminality): Jonas Ring and Robert Svensson. 'Social Class and Criminality among Young People: A Study Considering the Effects of School Achievement as a Mediating Factor on the Basis of Swedish Register and Self-Report Data', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 8(2), (2007): 210-233.
[363] Holley and Colyar, 'Rethinking Texts', 2009.
[364] See Bruno Latour. *Reagregando o social: uma introdução à teoria do ator-rede*. Salvador: Edufba, 2012.
[365] Leo A. Goodman. 'Snowball sampling', *The annals of mathematical statistics*, 1961: 148-170; and Douglas D. Heckathorn. 'Comment: Snowball versus Respondent-Driven Sampling', *Sociological Methodology* 41(1), (2011): 355–66.
[366] Ibid.

in Figure 31: more than 50% of the participants) what raises research-ethic issues.[367] There are some critics about this snowball-sampling method since it can easily be biased. In an effort to diminish this problem, there was an attempt to be also respondent-driven, meaning to ask the contacted people to ask their contacts to participate.[368] This was done especially regarding the survey/structured-interviews (see script in Annex A). Overall, more than 50 individuals and organizations were directly contacted by the researcher, but it is not possible to know how many were indirectly contacted by others – see the pathway in Figure 16. Unfortunately, indeed, there was at least a 25% of no response rate.

Figure 31 - *Distribution of social circus workshop participants by age*
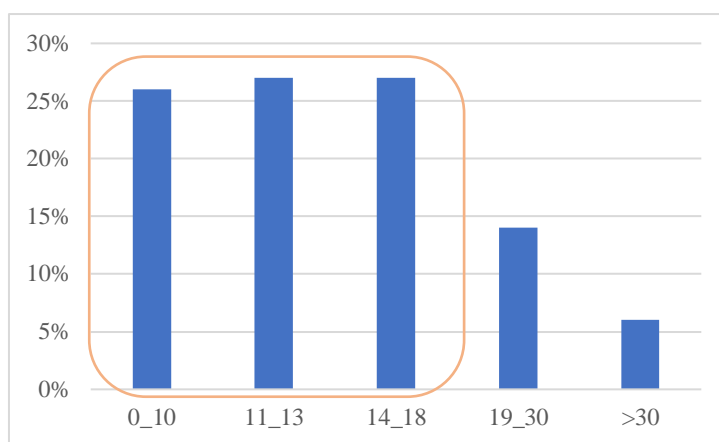
Source: by author adapted from Cirque du Soleil, Portrait of Social Circus, 2015: 4.

Explaining the methods: survey is defined as list of questions focused on gathered a specific data (in this case: the role of the social circus for its different actors) from a particular group of people (the social circus' actors: students, collaborators, the city itself, among others).[369] Giving the qualitative characteristic extension of the questions, mainly open ones, also the unusual COVID-19 situation and consequences, this was approached

---

[367] 18 years old is the legal age in Brazil and most countries of Latin America. To do research with under-18 years old individuals is necessary to have their parents or guardian authorization. This is already a challenge in normal times. See, for instance: Anna-Lena Ljusberg, Jane Brodin, and Peg Lindstrand. 'Ethical issues when interviewing children in remedial classes', *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research,* 30 (3), (2007): 203-207. With the pandemic it became even harder, considering the vulnerable situation of who participate in the social circus. As a result, this configures in a population that is hard-to-reach. In the case of participatory observation, it would be easier to contact the parents with the help of the schools/projects and conduct interview with the families. With COVID-19 this was not possible.

[368] See Patrick Biernacki and Dan Waldorf. 'Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling'. *Sociological Methods & Research,* 10(2), (1981): 141–63; and Heckathorn, 'Comment: Snowball versus Respondent-Driven', 2011. A note here: the respondent-driven method aims to achieve a closer to probabilistic sample. But this require a longer timeframe than the one of this research.

[369] Michael Quinn Patton. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, 3ed. Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002.

as an semi-structured interview.[370] The interview can be defined as a process of social interaction between two (or more) people in which one of them, the interviewer, aims to obtain information from the other, the interviewee. Semi-structured refers to the fact that the questions were planned in advance (survey) but it also leaves space for any extra contribution from the interviewee.[371] The questions were elaborated divided by sections according to the individual's relationship with the circus: divided in current/former student; former students and current collaborator; collaborator of a social circus project/initiative/school (creator, teacher, assistant, etc.); or simply someone who believes in the social circus initiative and somehow try to strengthen the scene.

In total it was 20 respondents using the script in Annex A. However, in the process of contacting, several people were excited to share about the theme, their passion, and trajectory, so they messaged me, recording audios or even videos.[372] This have permitted to collect descriptions, facts, and plots of stories to enrich the narrative process, opening to the opportunity of using oral history.[373] This method configures precisely in a collection and study of historical information about individuals, organizations, also important events, using audiotapes, videotapes, or transcriptions of interviews.[374] Therefore, many of the actors presented in Figure 32 have shared with me a set of information that permitted this construction. Some scholars and professionals were interviewed in order to enhance my own knowledge on this topic, ideas of research design, as well looking into their motivation to be involved in the circus world (see first 'square' in Figure 32). People contacted by other individuals have sometimes reached me out to share more about their experiences (see grey arrows in Figure 32). The next part presents this empirical process results.

---

[370] Ibid. See also Todd Presner, David Shepard, and Yoh Kawano. *Hypercities Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities*, 2014, illustrating research methods in times of disturbance (in case, the Arab Spring). Means of integrating scholarship with the lived experience, promoting critical thinking to comprehend the future. A parallel with this and my exploratory research given the pandemic context can be drawn.

[371] Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*, 2001: 86; and Patton, *Qualitative*, 2002.

[372] Further explaining: people shared their thoughts/experiences/stories, not necessarily participating on the interviews, but offering inputs to the study. This relates to *the anthropological digital ethnography*. See: Dhiraj Murthy. 'Digital ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research', *Sociology,* 42(5), (2008): 837-855; and Natalie M. Underberg and Elayne Zorn. *Digital ethnography: Anthropology, narrative, and new media*. Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013.

[373] See oral history in Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*, 2001; and Elisenda Ardévol and Edgar Gómez-Cruz. 'Digital ethnography and media practices', *The international encyclopedia of media studies,* 2012: 498-518, debating how the WhatsApp can be used in qualitative research.

[374] Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*, 2001.

Figure 32 – *Research Design*

Eric Demers, Coordinator of community relations

Access to folders, documents, and Social Circus Map

CIRQUE DU SOLEIL

École nationale de cirque MONTRÉAL

Éric Langlois, General Director

Patrice Aubertin, Director of CRITAC (Center for Circus Arts Research, Innovation & Knowledge Transfer)

MOSAIC Summer School Network

ORAL HISTORY/ NARRATIVE/ STRUCTURE INTERVIEWS

More people involved in the social circus and other organizations

Circo de Todo Mundo

Circus of Everyone

More people and other organizations

Circo Belo

Circus

More people and other organizations

FIRST & CONSTANT CONTACT/ INTERVIEWS

Researcher

Brazilian Cultural Economics Network

Sula Kyriacos Mavrudis, founder and president of the Circus Support Network in Minas Gerais (RAC). Consultant for policy projects for the circus and activist in the Municipal Secretary of Culture.

People who somehow participated in the Valores de Minas program

More participants and other organizations

Online Research

Professor Julieta Infantino

Professor Ermínia Silva

CIRCO DO MUNDO BRASIL

Brazilian Cirque du Monde Network

Sérgio

SURVEY+Quick interview

Source: own elaboration

106

3. RESULTS

Delving in the primary data collected, from the 20 responses gathered with the semi-structured questions (Annex A), 6 were students: 2 current students (over 18 years old) and 4 former students, from which 2 are currently collaborating with a social circus. The majority (57.9%) are collaborators responding in name of their organization as well contributing with personal perceptions. 3 people responded because they believe in the initiative and try to strengthen it (see Figure 33). In total, there were 12 organizations, from 10 cities, distributed in 4 Brazilian states, and one from Ecuador (see Figure 34 with the table summarizing the interviews).

Figure 33 – *Distribution of participants' relationship with the social circus*
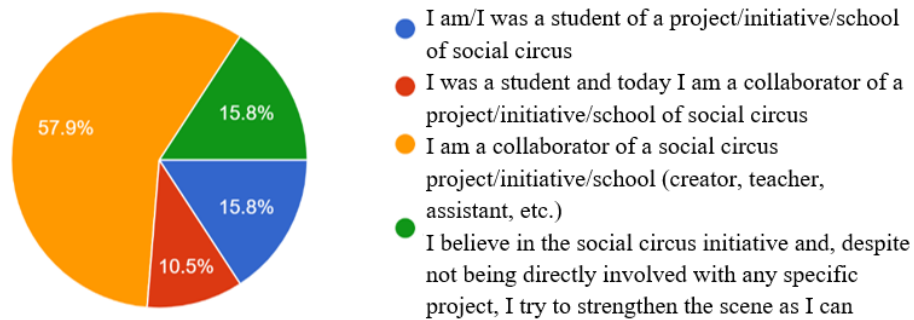
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

Figure 34 - *Table circus organization, respective interview, and inclusion in the CSM*

Social circus organization	Location	Interviewee	Project years of existence | Years of participation as students	In the Social Circus Map (Cirque du Soleil)
Circo de Todo Mundo (CTM)	Nova Lima, Minas Gerais (MG), Brazil	Former student, today circus instructor	4 years in the project	Yes, but located in Belo Horizonte (not in Nova Lima nor Betim - although both cities are in the BH metropolitan region)
		Collaborator	CTM in Nova Lima: 11 years	
		Val, idealizer with 'director' functions		
	Betim, MG, Brazil	Edson, current student	Already 4 years (and 'want more!')	
		Former student 1	4 years in the project	
		Former student 2	5 years in the project	
		Vera, idealizer	CTM action 27 years, the school in Betim 11 years	
		Believer (former collaborator)		
Circo de Los Andes	Quito, Ecuador	Former student, today idealizer of the project	3 years as a student, 2 years of own project	No
Circo Laheto	Goiânia, Goiás, Brazil	Collaborator	40 years of existence, but the social intervention started in 1998	No
Circo Brasil	Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo, Brazil	Collaborator	7 years	No
Escola de Circo de Londrina	Londrina, Paraná, Brazil	Idealizer with 'director' functions	23 years	Yes
Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil	Londrina, Paraná, Brazil		23 years	Yes, but located wrongly in Rio de Janeiro
Projeto Teatro Encantado	Cruzeiro, São Paulo, Brazil	Idealizer with 'director' functions	9	No
Escola de Arte	Favela Aglomerado da Serra, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil	Current Student	2 year in the project	No
		Roberta, idealizer, and art educator	3 years of existence	
Circo da Gente	Ouro Preto, MG, Brazil	Legal Represantant	11 years	No
Circo Belô	Belo Horizonte, MG, Brazil	Moisés, idealizer (former student of CTM, and collaborator in the Valores de Minas Project)	6 years	No
As Múltiplas Acessidades na Linguagem Circenses	Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil	Sérgio, educator	24 years	It is connected to the Pernambuco Social Circus School, which is included
CEFAC	São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil	Collaborator	-	No
Circolo	Búzios, Rio de Janeiro	Collaborator	17 years	Yes

Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

Participants: current and former students

Regarding the socioeconomic profile of the 6 people who have participated or are still participating in the social circus: 3 are woman and 3 men; they considered their race/ethnic *pardo* (3), *amarelo* (2), and indigenous.[375] One has initiated the circus activity a year ago; the other 5 have been students in the social circus from 3 to 5 years – recalling the principle of duration over time. One is on high school, and all the others have already left school, having completed the secondary level in public schools.[376] From this 5 who finish high school, 3 are not yet in the university but want to get in, while 1 is being trained in social education, and one do not want to pursue superior education. Apart from the high school and the undergraduate student, they all work: (again) 2 as social circus collaborators: one instructor, and one producer; the other 2 work as administrative assistant. The education level gains even more importance when compared to their parents/guardian. 40% of them has incomplete elementary school and 40% has complete elementary school (see Figure 35). Their kids all made to high school. The only exception is the parents of the undergraduate student, who is Ecuadorian.[377] Worth mentioning that all of them have siblings (1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 5) living all in the same house – except the social circus instructor.[378]

---

[375] As already pointed in the *Text & Context*, the discussion about race in Brazil differs deeply from the European understanding. For instance, the two people who responded that are 'amarelo' (yellow) are not South-Asians. This is linked to the miscegenation of races in the Brazilian context, but also to a 'covered' racism in which the person prefer not to respond 'pardo' or black.

[376] It is worth mentioning that the quality of public schools in Brazil are very low. This is, if the family has a minimum condition to choose putting their kids in a private school, it is most likely that they would do so. See more about this: Graziela Serroni Perosa and Adriana Santiago Rosa Dantas. 'A escolha da escola privada em famílias dos grupos populares', *Educação e Pesquisa,* 43(4), (2017): 987-1004; and Marcio da Costa and Mariane Campelo Koslinski. 'Quase-mercado oculto: disputa por escolas comuns no Rio de Janeiro', *Cadernos de Pesquisa,* 41(142), (2011): 246-266.

[377] Perhaps this is related to Ecuadorian educational policies expanding the access earlier than Brazil, and also benefiting from a smaller scale giving the size of the country. This requires further research not included in this work. See: Carlos Arcos Cabrera and Betty Espinosa. *Desafíos para la educación en el Ecuador: calidad y equidad.* Quito: Flacso-Sede Ecuador, 2008.

[378] Although the interviewees are older than 18, it is highlighted that young people stay longer at their parents' house compared to Europe in general – even though this is increasing worldwide. During the pandemic, the situation harder, since more people are all the time at home – usually not 'well-equipped' and lacking services such water, giving the profile of those families. Podcasts Café da Manhã Folha de São Paulo brings experience of quarantine with people who live in the peripheries. Note: the social circus instructor (who have 5 brothers) was beneficiary of the *Bolsa Família* government program, redistribute income by giving families with children in scholar age a monthly amount to help to keep their kids in school instead of working (exemplified in Figure 7). See: Kathy Lindert, Anja Linder, Jason Hobbs, and Bénédicte De la Brière. 'The nuts and bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program: implementing conditional cash transfers in a decentralized context'. *World Bank social protection discussion paper,* 709, 2007.

Figure 35 – *Comparison with Parents Education level*
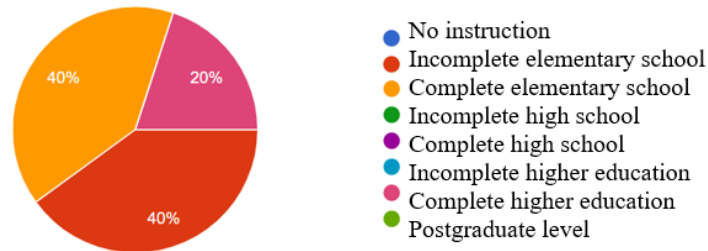
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

To understand the impact of the social circus in this participants' lives, the first question asked how they have gotten to know the project that they participated in. The most common response was due the location close to their residency (see Figure 36), reinforcing the theoretical debate about the relevance of access to culture – more broadly to services and opportunities. The former student/current social instructor met the social circus through the guardianship council from Belo Horizonte, which attends children and youngsters in situations of rights violation in marginalized urban spaces. Thus, the social circus came to his life as a mean to recover his rights of citizenship, self-esteem, etc., what can be interpreted as conceptually discussed: a CCI acting as social right in the youngsters experience in the urban life, or the right to the (ordinary) city.

Figure 36 – *How participants got to know the projects*
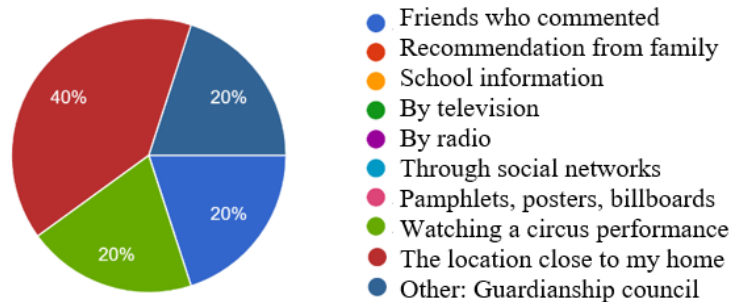
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

When asked about the contribution of the project to different aspects of their lives, i.e.: relationship with relatives, friends, learning process, creativity, professional (ambition, postures, etc.), community identity, and more – see annex A, they all considered that the social circus have contributed a lot to every aspect mentioned. They narrated that if at the

beginning of their experience, they had seen it as just an extra activity, through the process they have figured out that it was way deeper than that. For one, it was a chance to pursue an artistic career. To the other, an alive beautiful dream, or an opportunity to be a more attentive friendly person and 'feel useful'.[379] In their words:

> I realized that all was something more, not just a place where people meet friends or spend time... But a project with the purpose of taking youngsters off the streets, showing that there we could have a better future; showing that staying on the streets or at home doing nothing would not get us anywhere.
> *Interviewee 5 – former (CTM) social circus student*[380]

> As I grew and matured, new dreams and goals became part of my life. The cirsence career stopped being a dream and became a hobby. But the circus was the main push to all my dreams.
> *Interviewee 6 – former (CTM) social circus student*

5 of them said that their participation did influence (or will influence – for the high school student) their professional choice. The reason varies from the fact that they recognize that the practice improves interpersonal skills to a source of inspiration. Interviewee 5 says that the social circus tough that they could dream big and to run after these dreams. For interviewee 6:

> The dream of graduating in law school was born out of the *Circo de Todo Mundo*. Of 'sowing a culture of rights', aiming to defend the rights of children and adolescents and their active role in society.
> *Interviewee 6 – former (CTM) social circus student*

They all agree that the circus awakes and develops artistic abilities and manifestations in its multidisciplinarity: theater, visual arts, dance, and music. Even though one interviewee do not see an improvement on his artistic-cultural consumption, all the others affirm that they have begun to increase their cultural habits after joining the social circus (see Figure 37). This meets the cultural economy idea that the consumption is also due to addiction, exposition, and accumulation of 'cultural capital'. With the circus practice, they see performances 'with different eyes', became aware of the various cultural events, as well their self-awareness regarding the culturally expressions that fit themselves.

---

[379] All of these characterizations were used by the different interviewees.
[380] As mentioned in the *Introduction*, some of the interviewees agree on having their first name in the research, while others prefer to keep just their 'role'/organization. See summarized table in Figure 34.

Figure 37 – *Cultural Habits*
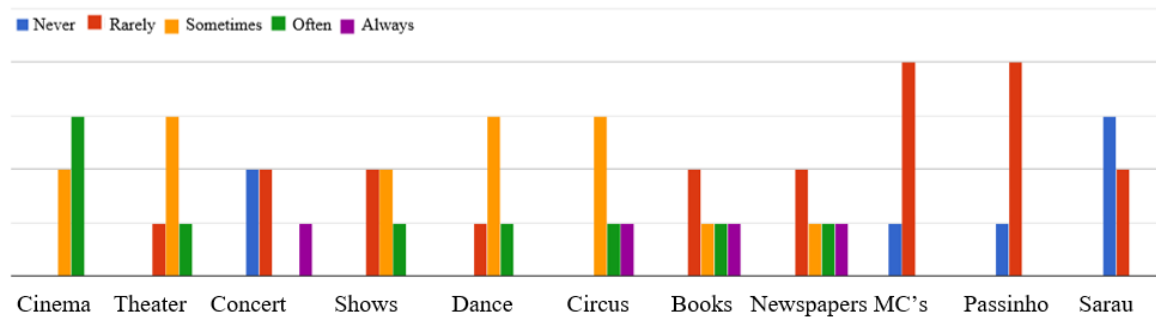
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

In relation to the territory, they appreciate to life in their city and respective neighboorhood/community. They enjoy the urban dynamic, although they also are insatisfied with public polices and opportunities to work in the artistic field. Interviewee 3 (now circus instructor) told that his family became a local symbol, for living many years at the same place incentivizing cultural manifestations to improve the neighborhood wellbeing. They visit public spaces and cultural equipment (parks, squares, museums, etc.), acknowledging that there is a lack of 'good places' nearby. After joining the circus, they have started to notice even more the relevance and functionality of those spaces, because with the practice they learned to 'make the most of the environment and the people around' them (Interviewee 4), also since 'it eases to look at the everyday life with different eyes' (Interviewee 6). Interviewee 5 tells that the *Circo de Todo Mundo*, in Betim, have performed couple of times in squares and even in museums showing to their participants that those were their space too, and they could take ownership of them.

The dynamism, the sense of belonging, and the chance of diverse spaces appropriation goes back to the discussion of the right to the (*ordinary) city*. This concept is understood by them as free space, right to use consciously what the city has to offer, and to visit public places in the city safely, as well education, housing, employment, leisure, and security. Figure 38 shows what they think their city should improve and whose responsibility is: public power or population. They perceive the social circus as an instrument that allows them to expand their recognition of rights.

> The circus proposal has always been to guarantee the right to come and go for each one and that public policies must guarantee security and leisure for the entire population.
>
> *Interviewee 4 – Ecuadorian, former circus participant, now idealizer*

Figure 38 – *Improvements in the city and who should take responsability*
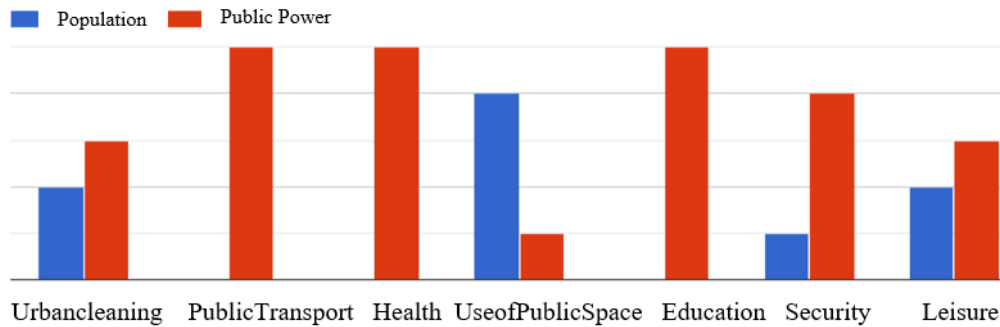
Source: by the author according to responses of the interviews, May 2020.

At the end, when opened to share broadly perceptions about how participating in the social circus have influenced their worldview, future perspective, and relationship with themselves and their community. The responses were diverse, but all presents that the experience have changed their lives – beyond socioemotional skills improvements. In some of theirs words:

> The circus have changed my life forever. I picture myself in this magic world for my entire life. Imagine if all the kids living in favelas could have this opportunity. It would not have criminality anymore.
>
> *Edson, CTM student*

> I started to understand that there are always more options. We do not need to be limited. The basis is trust and the work of collectivity: one complements the other.
>
> *Interviewee 5 – former (CTM) social circus participant*

> Everything in life passes and the learning remains. (…) Participating in social circus activities, influencing your self-discovery, teaches us to be more human and always want to help others.
>
> *Interviewee 3 – former participator, today social circus instructor*

Participants: the organizations

Moving to the interviews with social circus organizations, Figure 39 represents the distribution of the respondents' role. The table in Figure 34 previously shows the years of existence of each project: the participant organizations varied from 2 to 27 years old.

Figure 39 – *Responders' role in the social circus organizations*
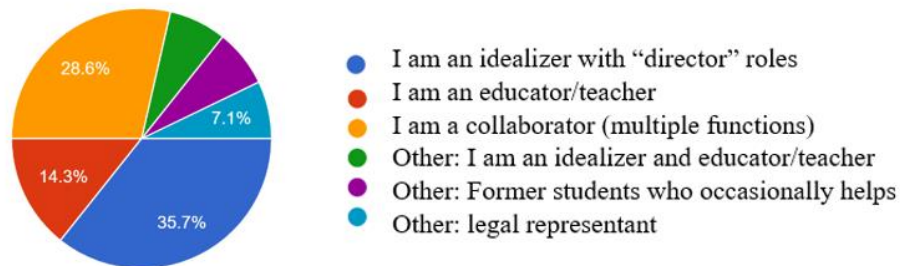
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

In each organization, the number of peoples involved varies hugely considering the 'size' of the project, which often is connected to their duration/relevance. The *Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil* (RCMB - Brazilian Cirque du Monde Network), for example, active for 23 years now, have 26 people involved - 6 formally employed and 20 individual-micro-entrepreneur (MEI).[381] Some of the respondents were not able to precisely say how many people work/help in the project, neither how their contract are established: formal, service provider or voluntary. Figure 40 brings the ones that new the precise number and/or their respective type of contract. From 26 to only 2 people, those organizations find their way to function. Frequently, counting on volunteers and, sometimes, with 'mothers of the circus' who, according to availability, comes to 'give a hand'. The common positions are coordinators, instructors not only of circus, but also of theater, recreation, and *capoeira*, also social advisors and art educators, and other technical services. Many collaborators accumulate more than one functions: they are 'director and teacher'; 'one thousand and one problem solver'; 'teacher, director, producer, and secretary'; 'only 2 do all the work'; 'it is common for everyone to organize everything'; also 'project designer, fundraiser, media communicator'.

---

[381] Here a note on the Brazilian labor market is worth it. Apart from the high informality, there are some formal common contracts in the country. In the case of the social circus, two were recurrent: CLT meaning Work Laws Consolidation which is close to the full-employment understanding; and the MEI meaning Individual micro entrepreneur which functions as a company service provider. There are great studies regarding this issue, but the point here is to briefly highlight the different work contracts within the social circus organizations. See more in: Marcio Pochmann. 'Structural trends in the world of work in Brazil', *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva*, 25, 2019: 89-99.

Figure 40 – *Amount of people working on the organizations*
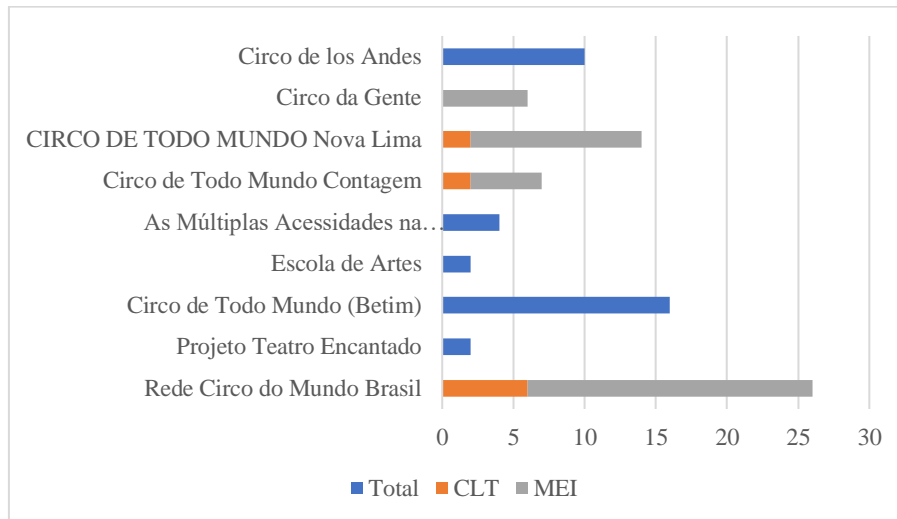
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

Considering the institutional profile, 50% classified themselves as NGO, followed by non-profit association (28.6%), one is registered as a MEI, and two are Civil Society non-profit Organization – but *Circo de Todo Mundo (CTM)* is legally an association to guarantee youth's rights, see Figure 41. A note: this organizational character can push the projects way of being integrated in the cultural-creative sector. This is, when the CCI discourse is not close to the social rights/policies comprehension, these organizations are not able to be count as part of the cultural-cretaive sector of the country, being registered as others: from micro entrepreneurship to social assistance. In this sense, IBGE has a database on the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE) and the circus as a performance art is included there: there are 2000 circus in Brazil. However, it is not possible to make a division enabling to differ if there is a social circus, nor to find the social circus among the social assistance activities.[382]

---

[382] The issue of the lack of data is also present here. In the subdivision of the CNAE, the circus is found by the code 9001-9/04 which is insert in the creative sector under the performance arts. Once more, this does not consider with it has a social approach or what kind of circus it is. Remembering that the social circus can also be included under assistance sector. Further, if the focus of this research were a more broadly circus organization, the 2000 registered circus could be investigated. A hypothesis is that many of them are still related to the traditional stream, touring in smaller cities of the countryside, also still using animals. This is subject for future studies.

Figure 41 – *Institutional profile of the interviewed organizations*
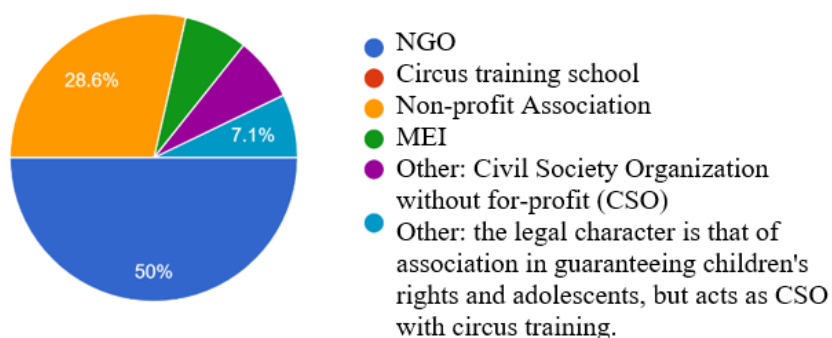
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

The *CTM* - the one with more interviewees and people contacting me – is one of the first projects in Brazil, from the beginning of the 1990s. Born in BH, it was idealized by a group of people linked to the National Movement of Street Boys and Girls. In the 1980s, established as an independent civil entity, the movement seeked to mobilize the youth, using diverse help involved with cultural-social segment of the Brazilian population. The CTM started as a recreational project in three different public squares in the city approaching children and adolescents who were in street trajectory – functioning as their home for couple of years. Dialoguing with social assistance public policies, it is a recreation center of assistance and defense of children and adolescents. In 2009, they lost their canvas in BH, moving to two cities in the metropolitan region (RMBH): Betim and Nova Lima. CTM have always adopted the Brazilian roots on ther teaching and shows: capoeira (see Figure 45), funk, hip hop, and Afro-Brazilian drumming. [383]

In this sense, the origin of the organizations are diverse: from alumni of social circus, artistic gymnastics, hip-hop, and physical education, in community centers and volunteer work. Often, they also do more than circus activity: workshops, lectures, short-courses, collaborative cultural center, etc. Again, depending on size and history, their meeting spaces differs. The CTM and the RCMB have their own canvas; while smaller and younger ones use other spaces: from public area, to place granted by the municipality, like the Circo Belô using São Gerals Municipal Center, and the Circo da Gente using the municipal club. Also, they are in different network of the social circus, the majority

---

[383] See more about their history on their web page: http://circodetodomundo.org.br/index.php/o-circo/nossa-historia. Also, more about the loss of this space in Belo Horizonte is retold by one of the stories later on.

connected to the Cirque du Monde, as well to labor unions of artists and educators.[384] The National Festival Circus is one of the most populars circus meetings in Brazil, and 4 projects have joined the International Social Circus meeting in Buenos Aires.[385] The 'smallest' ones report the difficulty on joining those initiatives given the lack of finance.

Indeed, one of the greatest challenges faced by those organizations is financing.[386] Figure 42 presents the most used sources of funding: donations at firt, followed by specific public calls, then idealizers' own resources from other activities, and municipal incentive law for culture.[387] This reinforces the importance of public police for both cultural and social dimension, even more explicit when using Furtado's argument that culture is a depth of social policies. Figure 43 retrats the percentage of organization which have submited projects to some public fund and the result: more than 70% have applied, but 45.5% was not able to capture sponsorship, 36% did received all the money asked, and 18.2% got it partially.[388] Even if they have not tried to apply to public funding, the complaigns are common: the extense of Latin American burocracy, tied to ineficience of governance, summing to a frangil and inconstant public support; dispreparement of the own organization team, and difficulty in accessing sponsors; and the process of weaking cultural incentives, specially regarding the social circus.

---

[384] Labor unions are strong in Latin America, even if not as coordinates as the ones in the 'coordinate market economies' according to the Varieties of Capitalism theories. See Ben Ross Schneider, 'Hierarchical Market Economies and Varieties of Capitalism in Latin America', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 41, 2009: 553-75.

[385] The projects which have joined the International Social Circus Meeting are: Laheto Circus, Circo Brasil, Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil, and Escola de Circo de Londrina. All of them and the CTM joins every time the National Circus Meeting (last one happened in BH, in September 2019). CTM also attends the Forum of eradication and combat of child labor and youth protection in Minas Gerais.

[386] According to the *Portrait of Social Circu*s, 2015: financing is the biggest difficulty for social circus organizations, being rate as 8 out of 10.

[387] The laws for incentive culture occur in different scales: national, state, and municipal. They have changed the cultural scene in Brazil, although are not exempt of critics due to a neoliberal approach of a market of sponsorship. Anyhow, it is not the aim of this thesis to delve into the diverse ones that use to exist (before Bolsonaro's Government). To know more about this, see: Gabriel Estellita Lins Cavalcanti,. *Análise econômica das políticas de incentivos à cultura no Brasil*. Diss. 2006; Marcela Purini Belem and Julio Cesar Donadone. 'A Lei Rouanet e a construção do 'mercado de patrocínios culturais', *Novos Rumos Sociológicos*, 1(1), (2013); and Mariella Pitombo. 'Sintomas dos deslocamentos de poder na gestão do campo cultural no Brasil–uma leitura sobre as leis de incentivo à cultura', *Temas Contemporâneos. Salvador: FIB* 1, 2006: 56-62.

[388] As mentioned in the previous footnote, there are an extensive form of public policies to incentive culture. To make it simpler, this work does not go in details to each of them, but here it is mentioned the most commons commented by the organizations: all municipal, state and federal incentives; the municipal funding (Funcultura) of responsibility of the City Hall: Municipal Secretary of Culture (and the Municipal Secretary of Social Assistance to some projects in the CTM case); FUNARTE; and Sponsorship of financial partners and health companies – not always well-succeeded.

Figure 42 – *Main social circus organizations revenue sources*
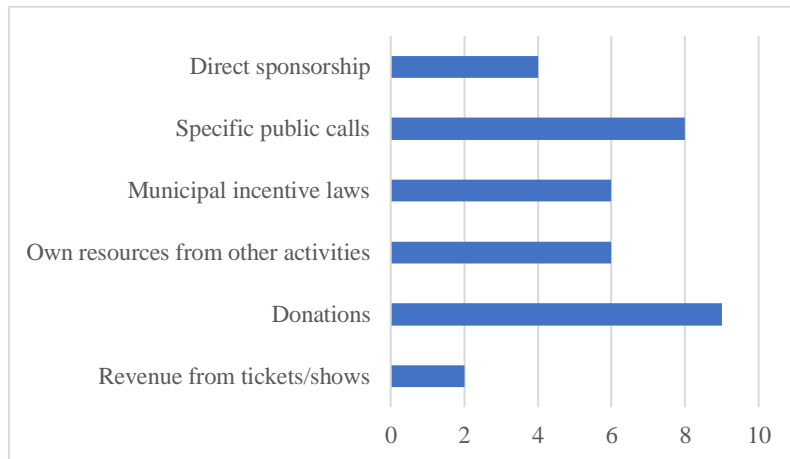
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

Figure 43 – *Application to public funding and respective results*
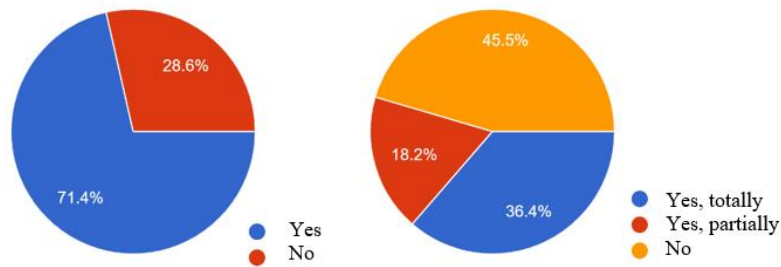
Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, March-May 2020.

The revenue from tickets (Figure 42) are related to the closing-year/semester show that the organizations prepare exhibiting the artistic-circus results. In a playful way, they use their own space, public squares, and schools, collectively embracing thematic which refers to critical issues of youth rights and pathways. All of the organizations address this with a lot of motivation. Escola de Artes illustrated: 'the creation is oriented in the physical field but also connecting the ideas, seeking to stimulate the expression of the personality and desires of each participant' (see Figure 44).

Figure 44 – *Closing-year/semester shows*

Source: Circo de Todo Mundo, December 2019.

Source: Cuerda Firme, December 2017.

Source: Escola de Arte, 2019.

The organizations see that by improving social skills, the social circus is a tool for raising awareness as well for social inclusion and community building. Participating in the practice 'make you a better citizen'. The world protagonism appeared regularly on the interviews (Figure 45). One argued: 'the social circus assist the disruption of subordinate processes in which young people from the periphery face'. Focusing on lower classes youth, it is a tool that provoke dreams, also opening the access to spaces and environments that those youngsters probably would not have in their life trajectory (due to invisible barriers).[389] For instance, Roberta, *Escola de Artes'* idealizer says:

> when we got the chance to go with our kids to the theater/circus or any show outside the favela, we can see that their behavior change. We need to present our kids to more. There are many social and cultural activities here in the favela. But it is not only about bringing in, it is also to push them out.

Broadening their future perspectives in terms of education, professionally, and in both individual and community level, the youngsters through the project rescues self-esteem, and develops solidarity, being encouraged to have a critical opinion, defend their rights, and comprehend their role in a collaborative way. Figure 45 presents a world cloud in which is possible to observe the common and most frequent words used by the interviewees– many of which are present throughout this text. The organizations believe that access to culture is an essential asset. Social circus is a social transformation tool and cultural instrument for social reinsertion, which can changed social problems 'like crime and drug addiction'. It is a tool for opportunity. To illustrate the power of the practice:

> In my view, the circus appears on the social scene as a provoking language: an art that relates very closely to risk, so it communicates lightly, yet profoundly, with the wishes and insecurities of the individual and the collective.
>
> *Val, CTM*

---

[389] See Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1984, in which it is stated that even a museum, for instance, that has free access can impose other forms of restriction (other than economic), establishing an invisible barrier, often related to the individual's habitus – a set of interferences that individuals receive throughout life, arising from the relationships with family, neighbors or at school, and which form their propensities to act, whether in the economic, social or cultural scope. Each habitus, then, is unique, but there are profound similarities between habitus of related people and, therefore, can be distinguished in a symbolic social space. Noteworthy that in a similar way, Brazil has an institutionalized prejudice/racism that creates these invisible barriers in society, including the public spaces of cities. See: Paulo Henrique Muniz. 'O Problema das ações afirmativas no Brasil e o mito da democracia racial', *Alamedas,* 4(1), 2016.

Learning, about life, social and family rights; life expectations, education, and kindness to others as a human formation - many students that I have followed become protagonists of their own stories, and the technical part can also flourish. For example, during classes I have seen students with severe emotional and psychological blocks, who opened themselves to group classes and formed great friendships. We were visited by alumni who are now owners of a circus school, as well as artists from Cirque du Soleil. It is very transformative, the social circus enhances the development of children and young people.

Sérgio, Rede Circo do Mundo Brasil

Figure 45 – *World cloud of the interviews with the social circus organizations*

Source: own elaboration according to responses of the interviews, 2020 - platform *Monkeylearn*.

Conclusively, social circus projects gives the youngsters an opportunity to change their reality. 'The circus is magical and it is the only place to dream with your eyes open' (Interviewee 6). As one of the interviewees ended our talk: #Free circus experiences for the population. This 'hashtag' opens the chance to briefly comment on the public policies scene regarding the social circus practices in the uneven Latin American (more precisely delving in BH) context. Therefore, before drawing the final considerations, I invited you to reflect on *comparative imaginaries*.
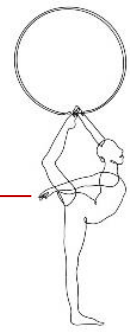
In the contemporaneity, the circus are going through a revaluation which is linked to the global processes updating also reframing local popular arts and traditions. Incentives to the circus are embedded in the cultural policies which by it turn has always been a field in dispute. Processes of cultural (re)activations are interconnected with various agents, within the issue of unequal correlations of force. State, market, international agencies and organizations, social movements, civil society associations, collectives, and others, dispute spaces of recognition and sustainability for cultural-artistic production. Formulation of cultural policies are influenced by all. So, it is the ones focused on the circus.[390] Indeed, this sphere refers to definitions of the circus arts in its different nuances. Cultural practices and their identities are space of struggle, disputing the ways in which such identities and practices are recognized and legitimized.

Overall, the 'Pink Tide' aligned with the expansion of social rights, brought to the region cultural policies the concepts of 'cultural citizenship', 'cultural democratization', and cultural democracy', with participatory processes. Respectively meaning: the full exercise of cultural rights which is manifested, produced, disseminated, and accessed in all sources of local culture; connecting to the democratization, allowing everyone to access culture; and, the major objective to be achieved, the cultural democracy, is the ideal of offering everyone the chance to know the different cultural-artistic manifestations and manifest their own culture. In this point, a note for further research about the specific guarantees of cultural policies for the circus – its artists, organizations, etc. – in the national, state, and municipal level of the Latin American countries is presented. Rather, a drop about the conflictive cultural political scene and the potentiality of using the social circus as part of urban policies towards social inclusion initiates the debate, with a narrative of one interviewee from Belo Horizonte:

---

[390] Infantino, *Circo en Buenos Aires*, 2014; Infantino, 'Circo y política cultural en Buenos Aires', 2015; and Jocastra Holanda Bezerra and José Márcio Barros. 'Participação social no campo da cultura e disputas simbólicas nas políticas culturais para o circo em Fortaleza (CE)', *Ciências Sociais Unisinos*, 52 (1), (2016): 27-34.

> I was a participant in the *Circo de Todo Mundo* since its beginning, in Belo Horizonte, in a really poor area. It is worth saying that I just got to know because, guess what? It was literally crossing the street of my house. Anyways. One day, in 2008, when I was already working there as an instructor assistant, and everything was destroyed: the military police came and dismantled what was there to displace us.[391] They did so to use the space to a state program: the *Valores de Minas*. Later on, I also worked with the *Valores* which is an amazing project and has everything to do with the social circus (but it did start in a wrong way with no communication with us from the social circus). Long-story-short, the CTM left BH and I created my own social circus school, **Circo Belô**, 6 years ago. My time in Valores de Minas was great, but the project is basically ended now with the new political bias of our government.
> *Moisés, former social circus student, idealizer of Circo Belô*

This illustrates three relevant points: the social circus importance to Moisés' life, who was born and raise in a place of socioeconomic marginalization in BH, changing his life trajectory; the lack of public policy articulation among the voices in the cultural sector; but also a public program which transform many youngsters' reality by offering culture. The *Valores de Minas* (already mentioned earlier, and author of the *Introduction*'s poem) took place from 2005 to 2009/10 when it was incorporated by a broader program, *PlugMinas*: a digital training and experimentation center Minas Gerais State project amid the Secretariat of Education for young people studying/graduating from public elementary and high school in the RMBH. Without going into the merits of the program pathway and transformations, the old *Valores de Minas* was an inter-school center for culture, arts, languages, and technology guided by five artistic areas: visual arts, *circus arts*, dance, music, and theater. Every year more than 550 students were beneficiaries - the PlugMinas offers 6 other nucleuses attending more than 1000 youngsters each year.

> I do not have words to describe what the *Valores* was in my life. I can say that I am the first in my family who finished high-school. And to think that now I am at the federal university is unbelievable. It was thanks to the project. I worked there too. I want that every kid in conditions similar to mine get this chance. That is why I am doing pedagogy now and working here at the university museum. Art can change many lives.
> *Priscila, former Valores beneficiary, current UFMG undergraduate student*

It is hard to choose the format to talk about this state program which has a lot to do with the social circus practices: is it past? Present? Can it have future perspectives? I do not have those answers. The Ministry of Culture in Brazil, after more than 30 years building up to reinforce the cultural scene, do not exist anymore. The social improvements that were taking place in Latin America are taking steps backwards. Even more considering the global pandemic and (coming) economic crises. Cultural-artistic practices working

---

[391] See the protests: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=4&v=1c9qndvMkcA

towards social inclusion can be threatened. But, allow me to have a utopic belief with the initiatives as the social circus as sphere of participation, construction, and transformation of uneven realities. If the COVID-19 is bringing an opportunity of rethinking our model of society and economy, I would like to see a more solidary, cooperative, and equal context. This is the reason why I end this section synthetize (Figure 46) the comprehension of the *social circus* as CCIs and social rights, strengthening the right to the *ordinary city* in Latin America in the 21st century, before drawing the conclusions.

Figure 46 – Concepts & the social circus

Conceptual trajectory of this research	Understanding	Why/how the social circus fit in
(Uneven) urban (uneven) context + (alternative) urban imaginaries = ***ordinary cities*** (Robinson 2006) & *socially creative city* (Scott 2006)	Dynamic and diverse; internaly differentiated, embedded in each locality; capable of fostering (own) creativity and redistributive urban policies.	Cada ciudad es diferente, por lo tanto cada circo es diferent'. For example, in Figure 45, we see the kids using the Brazilian *capoeira* in their closing-session presentation. That is to say that the (social) circus comprehend the ordinary cities characteristics (diverse, locally differentiated) using creativity towards social inclusion.
	Different possibilities of solidarity and cooperation dynamics.	The social circus works in a model close to the solidary-urban & popular economy: it moves with by the hand of many diverse actors, articulating themselves, cooperating, voluntering, etc. The social circus is a possibility and also (re)produce solidarity and cooperation.
	Multiplicity of economic, social and cultural networks.	The social circus, by offering new dreams and protagonism - as seen in the interviews, multiply the younsters perspective oppening up new pathways of economic, social, and cultural integration in society. Further the circus itself is a multiplicity cultural network: dance, theather, acrobatics, music, and more.
The right to the (ordinary) city (Lefebvre 1968 & Garcia Chueca 2018)	Recalling the WCRC: all people have the right, without any discrimination, to cultural identity in a culturally rich and diversified *collective space* which belongs to all its inhabitants. The maximum available resources to all is the way to progressively achieve the full effectiveness of economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights.	The social circus as a social intervention focused on 'at-risk' group already brings in its essence the no discrimination, embracing and respecting diversity. It offers cultural identity in diverse means, again embedded with local aspects. It enhaces sense of belonging and protagonism, as well appropriation, i.e.: the performances on the urban spaces accesing their rights in the territory of the ordinary cities.
Culture & Creativity (Furtado 1978; Bolaño 2012; Pagliotto 2016)	Creativity is the human faculty of interfering with causal determinism, enriching any social process with new elements. It is close tied with culture, which by it turns is a depth of social rights. If the term industry can be redesigned in terms of inserting an input and getting an output, in which the productive chain and its process englobes more than market elements and profits, cultural and creativity industries/practices can serve as input to transform socioeconomic realties in uneven urban Latin America.	The circus is a performance arts, an ancient and popular culture, fully immersed in innovation and creativity. Giving this kind of input to marginalized youngsters, can serve as opportunity to enrich their social process in the cities. This is, a element of the CCIs, the circus, can be inserted in urban policies as social rights.

Source: own elaboration, 2020.

CONCLUSIONS

Imagine a young in the *Aglomerado da Serra*, favela of Belo Horizonte, city with one of the highest Gini Indexes in Latin America and in the world. Recall one of the interviewees' statement that there seems 'another country', and even with the global pandemic, people are still living their lives because 'everything is harder'. From my place of writing, I know that this global crisis have deeply impacted society (also including this research). This is to say that if one considers that we are living through a transformation moment, we can have in mind that every transformation is, essentially, a cultural project: changing socioeconomic and cultural values. Therefore, perhaps, this ongoing moment can lead to a better global-urban-local model which permits more opportunities to this imaginary person who represents many youngsters in Brazil and in Latin America.

As seen, Latin America is the region with the highest rates of social inequality and urbanization in the world. This unevenness is structural, multidimensional, and persists – even increasing in the exclusive model of contemporary cities. In this sense, the right to the city, an important political banner in the region countries since the end of the 1980s, articulates voices of diverse actors, claiming to have their social rights included amid the marginalized sociospatial urban process. Indeed, the reality of the 21st century is urban. As presented in the *First Act*, sociopolitical-cultural movements have emerged in multiple elsewhere contesting the formation of globalizing cities which, under the neoliberalism context, have exposed the uneven urban development and sociospatial inequality worldwide. Therefore, grounded on the urban space, this research has investigated 'categories of cities' (mainly the 'global city' and the 'creative city'), concluding that such labels have limited the scope of imagining alternative-possible urban futures.

As cities are a social, political, and cultural arena where the instrument of the right to the city verbalize the appeal for equal opportunities and an adequate pattern of life to all, to embrace the vision that cities are ordinary enhance the improvements of urban future imaginaries. Ordinary cities are diverse, complex, and internally differentiated, accounting with an own capacity to foster creativity, to be found very much on any street: like someone juggling at the traffic light. Historically, the circus art have arrived in the (ordinary) city. This art when liked to social interventions concerned with suppressing

the lack of opportunities to the youth at vulnerable conditions can transform the territory in a *socially creative city*. The ordinary cities are the more suitable stage to accommodate the potentialities of the magic reality of the circus. The social circus is a relevant cultural-creative tool to youngsters to conquer their right to the (ordinary) city: appropriating of their own future perspectives when inequal opportunities are real.

The social circus is part of the trending cultural-creative economy. This is, 21st century urban policies have been strategically placing culture and creativity to revitalize urban conditions and adapt the economy to the ongoing global transition: from manufacturing to knowledge-intensive and service-based industries, driven by technological and digital innovation, and configuring the cognitive-cultural capitalism. Accordingly, as inserted in the *Second Act*, the cultural-creative industries, although boomed as a 'neoliberalism policy prescription', thus negatively impacted the making of post-colonial urban societies, in their uneven development, are also an instrument of social transformation. The CCIs within the neoliberalism discourse disregard the diverse local sociohistorical backgrounds, promoting gentrification, displacement, and labor precariousness; also reinforcing the asymmetry between the Global North and Global South. The endeavor was not to dismantle the contemporary creative economy due to its negative features but search how to stretch the concept to engage with de-westernized interpretations in the means of epistemologies from the South. Analyzing Latin American literature on the theme, CCIs were approached to social rights, understanding cultural policies as a depth of the social ones. Art is the 'space of dreams': enabling the youth to think about alternatives theirs right to the city, using culture and creativity in search for social emancipation.

The social circus, an innovative-creative fusion between the circus art (a performance cultural industry) and social intervention, has increased worldwide since the 1980s. With CCIs closer to social right in the Latin American context, this research expanded the comprehension of the social circus practice as enhancer of opportunities (and dreams) in the regional uneven urban reality. In this perspective, the research used a combination of diverse methods: analysis of secondary data from different statistics departments, mapping, interviews, oral history, to photographs, aiming to achieve all the nuances that

the social circus practice represent to youngsters' life and to the urban territory.[392] Working with the notion of the possible due to social isolation in pandemic times, a qualitative approach intended to deep the comprehension of the social circus role for its different actors: students, collaborators, and the city itself, delved in the *Third Act*. A very brief, also qualitative, *Comparative imaginaries* was problematized, giving the public policy considerations vis-à-vis the social circus.

The research limits lays on the lack of veracity based on a representative sample. Data availability and accessibility were a challenge not only because of social isolation but also regarding some of the social circus organizations characteristics in Latin America – self-organized, informal, and missing public incentive. Hereby, for future research both an ethnographic methodology as well an amount of interview or survey that can statistically represent the potential and network in the region remains to be done. Furthermore, investigating the cultural policies for the circus scene as well social policies using art to social inclusion can add to contemporary academic and political debates. Worth mentioning that the aim to measure and show the value (cultural, social, economic) of cultural practices, perhaps, in times of transformation, the (new) cultural project can be concerned about what the cost of not valuing art, culture, and creativity is.

Concluding, in a narrative process, embedded in a postcolonial effort, this thesis presented a literature review in urban studies and cultural-creative economy, having the social circus practice as it mains character performing at the stage of Latin American ordinary cities in the 21st century. In the contextualized-multifaceted Latin American social inequalities, collection of facts, events and perceptions configured plots of stories in the thesis construction. In the most suitable scene (ordinary cities), the social circus performed as a CCIs approached to social right: a social intervention which resignified culture and creativity as a tool for political and social transformation, expanding social rights, including the right to the ordinary city. The social circus gets all the light not as industrial business stricto sensu, but empowered as a tool for social emancipation in Latin American ordinary cities in the 21st century.

---

[392] See: Mirian Goldenberg. *A arte de pesquisar*: como fazer pesquisa qualitativa em Ciências Sociais, 8ªed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2004 [1997]; and Haguette, *Metodologias qualitativas*, 2001. Teresa M. Frota Haguette. *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*. São Paulo: Vozes, 2001.

REFERENCES

Abramo, Laís; Simone Cecchini; and Beatriz Morales. *Programas sociales, superación de la pobreza y inclusión laboral: aprendizajes desde América Latina y el Caribe*. CEPAL, 2019.

Abreu, Marcelo Paiva (org.) *A ordem do progresso: cem anos de política econômica republicana, 1889-1989*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1989.

Abreu, Martha. 'Cultura popular, um conceito e várias histórias'. In: Martha Abreu, and Rachel Soihet, *Ensino de História, Conceitos, Temáticas e Metodologias*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2003.

Acemoglu, Daron; Simon Johnson; and James A. Robinson. 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation', *The American Economic Review*, 91(5), (2001): 1369-1401.

Addie, Jean-Paul. 'Flying high (in the competitive sky): conceptualizing the role of airports in global city-regions through aero-regionalism', In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Alves, José Eustáquio Diniz. 'Urbanização na América Latina e Caribe: 1950-2050', *EcoDebate*, 2014.

Amaral e Silva, Marcus Vinícius; and Danyella Juliana Martins de Brito. 'O impacto de choques no setor cultural brasileiro: uma análise de emprego e renda à luz dos cortes orçamentários', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1222-1247.

Amin, Ash; and Nigel Thrift. *Cities: reimagining the urban*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002.

André, Isabel; and João Reis. 'O circo chegou à cidade! Oportunidades de inovação sócio-territorial', *Finisterra*, XLIV, 88, 2009: 79-94.

Ardévol, Elisenda; and Edgar Gómez-Cruz. 'Digital ethnography and media practices', *The international encyclopedia of media studies,* 2012: 498-518.

Ayerbe, Luis Fernando. *Estados Unidos e América Latina: a construção da hegemonia*. São Paulo: UNESP, 2002.

Bandura, Albert. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977.

Barbalho, Alexandre. 'Política cultural em tempo de crise: o Ministério da Cultura no Governo Temer', *Revista de Políticas Públicas*, 22 (1), (2018): 239-260.

Barros, Luiza Fernandes; and Walter Melo. 'Care and Circus Arts: The circus in the daily life of a mental health institution', *Estudos e Pesquisas em Psicologia,* 19 (3), (2019): 623-643.

Barrowclough, Diana; and Zeljka Kozul-Wright. 'Voice, Choice and diversity through creative industries: towards a new development agenda'. In: Diana Barrowclough and Zeljka Kozul-Wright (eds.). *Creative Industries and Developing Countries*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.

Bassel, Leah. 'Vive le Cirque! A French initiative for refugee youth', *Community Development Journal*, 40 (2), (2005): 232-235.

Belem, Marcela Purini; and Julio Cesar Donadone. 'A Lei Rouanet e a construção do 'mercado de patrocínios culturais', *Novos Rumos Sociológicos*, 1(1), (2013).

Benhamou, François. *A economia da cultura*. Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2007.

Betancur, John J. 'Gentrification in Latin America: Overview and critical analysis, *Urban Studies Research,* 2014.

Bezerra, Jocastra Holanda, and José Márcio Barros. 'Participação social no campo da cultura e disputas simbólicas nas políticas culturais para o circo em Fortaleza (CE)', *Ciências Sociais Unisinos,* 52(1), (2016): 27-34.

Biernacki, Patrick; and Dan Waldorf. 'Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling', *Sociological Methods & Research,* 10(2), (1981): 141–63.

Bille, Trine; and Günther G. Schulze. 'Culture in urban and regional development'. In: Victor A. Ginsburgh and David Throsby (eds.). *Handbook of the economics of art and culture*. 2nded. Oxford: North-Holland Elsevier (2008): 1051-1099.

Blaug Mark. 'Where are we now on cultural economics?', *Journal of Economic Surveys*, Hoboken, 15(2), (2001): 123-143.

Boland, Philip; John Bronte, and Jenny Muir. 'On the waterfront: Neoliberal urbanism and the politics of public benefit', *Cities, 61*, 2017: 117-127.

Bolaño, César Ricardo S. *Conceito de cultura em Celso Furtado*. Salvador: Edufba, 2015.

Bolaño, César Ricardo S. 'Indústria e Creatividad: Una perspectiva latinoamericana', *Revista de Economia Política de las Tecnologias de la Informácion y de la Comunicación*, 14 (1), 2012.

Bolaño César Ricardo S. 'Indústrias criativas e os conceitos de cultura, inovação e criatividade em Celso Furtado', *Políticas Culturais em Revista*, Slavador, 4 (2), (2011): 3-14.

Bolaño, César; Ruy Sardinha Lopes, and Verlane Aragão Santos. 'For a political economy of culture and creativity'. In: Ana Flávia Machado and Cláudia Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*: *meanings, challenges, and perspectives to a Brazilian creative economy*. Belo Horizonte: BDMG Cultural, 2016: 9-24.

Bourdieu Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of the taste*. London: Routledge, 1984.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus*. Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi, Unversitetet i Oslo, 1996.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 'The essence of neoliberalism', *Le monde diplomatique*, 528, 2002.

Bresser-Pereira, Luiz Carlos. 'O paradoxo da esquerda no Brasil', *Novos estudos CEBRAP*, 74, (2006): 25-45.

Peter Burke. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca, 1997.

Cabrera, Carlos Arcos; and Betty Espinosa. *Desafíos para la educación en el Ecuador: calidad y equidad*. Quito: Flacso-Sede Ecuador, 2008.

Caldeira, Teresa. São Paulo: the city and its protest. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Campbell, Kim. 'Circus libraries (and archives) in the world'. *Circus Talk*, 2019. Available in: https://circustalk.com/news/rejoice-in-the-circus-libraries-of-the-world.

Canclini, Nestor Garcia. *Consumers and citzens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts,* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Cardoso, Ana Cláudia D.; and Raul da Silva N. Ventura. 'The urban evolution of the city of Belém: a trajectory of ambiguities and socio-environmental conflicts', *Metropolitan Notebook,* 15(29), (2013): 55-75.

Carmeli, Yoram S. 'Travelling circus: An interpretation'. *European Journal of Sociology,* 29(2), (1988): 258-282.

Castells, Manuel. 'An Introduction to the Information Age'. In Frank Webster, Raimo Blom, Erkki Karvonen, Harri Melin, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Ensio Puoskari (eds.), *The Information Society Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004: 138–49.

Castells, Manuel. 'Local and global: cities in network society'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Castells, Manuel. 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the spatial age'. *Urban Studies,* 47, (2010): 27-37.

Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed., v. 1. Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA: WileyBlackwell, 2010.

Castro, Alice Viveiros de. 'O circo conta sua história'. *Museu dos Teatros–FUNARJ,* Rio de Janeiro,* 1997.

Castro, Alice Viveiros de. *O elogio da bobagem: palhaços no Brasil e no mundo*. Teresópolis: Família Bastos Editora, 2005.

Castro-Gómez, Santiago; and Ramón Grosfoguel (eds.). *El giro decolonial*. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores, 2007.

Cattani, Antonio David; Jean-Louis Laville; Luiz Inácio Gaiger; and Pedro Hespanha. Dicionário internacional da outra economia. Coimbra: Edições Almeida SA, 2009.

Cavalcanti, Gabriel Estellita Lins. *Análise econômica das políticas de incentivos à cultura no Brasil*. Diss. 2006.

CEPAL: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe. *Panorama Social de América Latina*, 2019 (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Re v.1), Santiago, 2019.

CEPAL. *Hacia una agenda regional de desarrollo social inclusivo*: bases y propuesta inicial. Santiago, 2018.

CEPAL. *La matriz de la desigualdad social en América Latina*. Santiago, 2016.

Cirque du Soleil. *Guide for the Social worker in both circus and live lessons*. Québec, 2001.

Cirque du Soleil. *Portrait of Social Circus*: snapshot of social circus in 2015. Cirque du Soleil Communication, 2015.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Chick, Victoria. 'On knowing one's place: the role of formalism in Economics', *Economic Journal*, 108(11), (1998): 1859-69.

Chonchol, Jacques. *La reforma agraria en América Latina*. Centro de Desenvolvimento Econômico CEPAL/BNDE, 1962.

Clay, Andreana. *The Hip-Hop Generation Fights Back*: Youth, Activism, and Post Civil Rights Politics. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

Coatsworth, John H. 'Structures, Endowments and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America', *Latin American Research Review,* 40(3), (2005): 126-144.

Cohendent, Patrick; David Grandadam, and Laurent Simon. 'The Anatomy of the Creative City'. *Indsutry & Innovation,* 17(1), (2010): 91-111.

Coimbra, Kary Emanuelle Reis; and Maria Dione Carvalho de Morais. 'Eleições presidenciais 2018 e gestão Bolsonaro: o não lugar da cultura', *Argumentum*, 11(3), (2019): 140-156.

Costa, Marcio da; and Mariane Campelo Koslinski. 'Quase-mercado oculto: disputa por escolas comuns no Rio de Janeiro', *Cadernos de Pesquisa,* 41(142), (2011): 246-266.

Coxe, Antony D. Hippisley. 'Gypsies and the Circus'. *Romani Studies,* 48, 1969.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43(1), (1991): 241-279.

Cuerda Firme: Circo para transformar. Santiago: Fundación Chile, 2016.

Dantas, Arruda. *Piolin*. Editora Pannartz, 1980.

Mike Davis. *Planet of slums*. London: Verso Books, 2006.

Dequech, David. 'Neoclassical, mainstream, orthodox and heterodox economics', *Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics*, 30(2), (2008): 279-302.

Diniz, Clélio Campolina; and Mauro Borges Lemos. *Economia e território*, 3. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005.

Diniz, Sibelle; and Ana Flávia Machado. 'Analysis of the consumption of artistic-cultural goods and services in Brazil', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 35(1), (2011): 1-18.

Donghi, Tulio Halperin. 'Two Centuries of South American Reflections on the Development Gap between the United States and Latin America'. In: Francis Fukuyama (ed.), *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Douglass, Mike. 'World city formation on the Asia Pacific Rim: poverty, 'everyday' forms of civil society and environmental management'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Dupont, Veronique. 'The dream of Delhi as a global city'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Dussel, Enrique. *El encubrimiento del otro: hacia el origen del mito de la modernidad*. La Paz: UMSA, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación Plural, 1994.

Eagleton, Terry. *A ideia de cultura*, 2ª ed. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2011.

Eijck, Koen van. 'Vertical lifestyle differentiation: Resources, boundaries, and the changing manifestations of social inequality', *Lebensstilforschung*, 51, (2011): 247-268.

Eikhof, Ruth D.; and Chris Warhurst. 'The Promised Land? Why Social Inequalities Are Systemic in the Creative Industries', *Employee Relations*, 35(5), (2013): 495– 508.

Emmendoerfer, Magnus Luiz; and Bárbara Calçado Lopes Martins. 'Gestão de circo: um campo de atuação profissional (des) conhecido?', *Tourism & Management Studies,* 9(2), (2013): 118-123.

Evans, Graeme. 'Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy', *Urban studies*, 46(5), (2009): 1003-1040.

Escobar, Arturo. *La invención del desarrollo*, 2ª ed. Popayán: Universidad del Cauca, 2014.

Eysenck, Hans J. 'As formas de medir a criatividade'. In: Margareth Boden (org.). *Dimensões da criatividade*. Porto Alegre: Artes Médicas, 1999.

Fanon, Frantz. *Les damnés de la terre*. París: La Découverte, 2002 [1961].

Faria, Hamilton; Pedro Garcia, Bene Fonteles; and Dan Baron. *Arte e cultura pelo reencantamento do mundo*. São Paulo: Instituto Pólis, 2009.

Ferreira, Selmara Mamede Simões; and Regina de Paula Medeiros. 'Juventudes e políticas públicas: construção de significados e participação juvenil no programa Plugminas', *Revista debates*, 8(2), (2014): 161-181.

Flew, Terry; and Stuart Cunningham. 'Creative Industries after the First Decade of Debate', *The Information Society*, 26(2), (2010): 113-123.

Florida, Richard. *The New Urban Crisis*: *Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and Fialing the Middle Class-And What We Can Do About It.* London: Oneworld Publication, 2017.

Fonseca, María do Carmo; and Paula Miranda-Ribeiro. 'Novelas y telenovelas: el caso brasileño en el contexto latinoamericano', *Anàlisi: quaderns de comunicació i cultura* 23, (1999): 93-103.

Frank, Andre Gunder. *Latin America and underdevelopment*, 165. New York: New York University Press, 1970.

Franko, Patrice M. *The puzzle of Latin American economic development*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

Freire, Paulo. 'Education and Community Involvement', in: Henry A Giroux, Ramón Flecha, Paulo Freire, Donaldo Macedo, and Manuel Castells. *Critical education in the new information age*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogia da libertação em Paulo Freire*. São Paulo: Editora Paz e Terra, 2018.

Friedman, John; and Goetz Wolff. 'World city formation: an agenda for research and action'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Furtado, Celso. *Brasil: a construção interrompida.* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978.

Furtado, Celso. *Creativity and Dependency in the Industrial Society*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978.

Furtado, Celso *Cultura e desenvolvimento em época de crise*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984.

Furtado, Celso. *Development and underdevelopment*. University of California Press, 1964.

Celso Furtado. 'Depoimento à Assembleia Constituinte', in: Cadernod do Desenvolvimento. Rio de Janeiro, 8(12), 2013 [1987].

Furtado, Celso. *Economic Development of Latin America*: historical background and contemporary problems, 2ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Furtado, Celso. Pressupostos da política cultural. In: *Ensaios sobre cultura e o Ministério da Cultura*. Rio de Janeiro: CICEF, 2012 [1986].

Furtado, Celso. *O mito do desenvolvimento econômico*. 6 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1983.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Las venas abiertas de América Latina*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, S.A, 2017.

Garcia Chueca, Eva M. *¿Puede el derecho a la ciudad ser emancipatorio?*: *Presencias, ausencias y emergencias en la construcción del derecho a la ciudad en Brasil*. Diss. 00500: Universidade de Coimbra, 2018.

Ginsburgh, Victor A. and David Throsby. *Handbook of the economics of art and culture*, 2nd ed. Oxford: North-Holland Elsevier, 2008.

Goldenberg, Mirian. *A arte de pesquisar*: *como fazer pesquisa qualitativa em Ciências Sociais*, 8ªed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2004 [1997].

Gómez, Pericacho Francisco Javier; and Mario Andrés-Candelas. 'Beginning of Boys Town in Spain: The Ciudad de los Muchachos of Vallecas (Madrid)', *Educação e Pesquisa*, 44, 2018.

González, Ángel Arrabal. 'La utopía del Padre Silva y su Circo de los Muchachos', *Frontera*, 27, 2003.

González-Velosa, Carolina; Laura Ripani; and David Rosas-Shady, D. *How to improve the insertion in the labor market for the youth in Latin America?*, IDB, 2012.

Goodman, Leo A. 'Snowball sampling', *The annals of mathematical statistics*, 1961: 148-170.

Grabher, Gernot. 'Learning in projects, remembering in networks? communality, sociality, and connectivity in project ecologies', *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 11(2), (2004): 103-123.

Graham, Stephen. 'Global grids of glass: on global cities, telecommunications and planetary urban networks'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Grant, Weston Michael. 'Humor in Medicine: A Literature Review of Humor's Potential Therapeutic Value in Health Care'*, Scholarworks*, 11, 2017.

Haguette, Teresa M. Frota. *Metodologias qualitativas na Sociologia*. São Paulo: Vozes, 2001.

Hanushek, Eric; and Ludger Woessmann. 'The Role of Cognitive Skills in Economic Development', *Journal of Economic Literature,* 46(3), (2008): 607–668.

Haraway, Donna. 'Saberes localizados: a questão da ciência para o feminismo e o privilégio da perspectiva parcial'. *Cadernos pagu*, 5, 1995: 7-41.

Harnecker, Marta. *A World to Build*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015.

Hartley, John. 'Creative industries'. In: John Hartley (org.). *Creative industries*. Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005: 1-40.

Harvey, David. *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. New York: Verso books, 2012.

Harvey, David. The right to the city. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 'Comment: Snowball versus Respondent-Driven Sampling', Sociological Methodology 41(1), (2011): 355–66.

Hesmoldhalgh, David. *The cultural industries*. Londres: Sage Publications, 2002.

Holanda, Sérgio Buarque de. *Raízes do Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015

Holley, Karri A.; and Julia Colyar. 'Rethinking Texts: Narrative and the Construction of Qualitative Research', *Educational Researcher,* 38(9), (2009): 680–86.

Hoyle, Brian. 'Global and Local Change on the Port-City Waterfront', *Geographical Review*, 90(3) (2000): 395-417.

Iglesias, Enrique V. *Reflections on economic development: toward a new Latin American consensus*. Inter-American Development Bank - IDB, 1992

Infantino, Julieta. *Circo en Buenos Aires*: *cultura, jóvenes, y políticas en disputa*. Buenos Aires: Inteatro, 2014.

Infantino, Juliana. 'Circo y política cultural en Buenos Aires', *Revista del Museo de Antropología*, 8 (1): 2-14.

Infantino Juliana. 'Disputes over Senses of the Popular in the Circus Arts in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina'. In: Eduardo González Castillo, Jorge Pantaleón, Nuria Carton de Grammont (eds.). *Politics, culture and economy in popular practices in the Americas*. New York: Peter Lang, 2005: 57-82.

Infantino, Julieta. 'El Circo de Buenos Aires y sus Prácticas: definiciones en disputa', *Ilha,* 15(2), (2013): 277-309.

Infantino, Juliana. 'Experiencias de intervención social desde el arte (circense) como esfera de desarrollo de políticas culturales en Argentina'. In: Mónica Rotman (ed.). *Dinámicas de poder, estado y sociedad civil en los procesos patrimoniales y las políticas y gestión de la cultura*. Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires, Colección SABERES, (2016): 277-311.

Infantino, Juliana. 'Sentido de la potencialidad crítica, política y transformadora de las artes', *Cadernos de Arte e Antropología*, 9(1), (2020): 12-28.

Jacobs, Jane. *The economy of cities*. New York: Vintage, 2016.

Jacques, Paola Berenstein. *Estética da Ginga*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2002.

Jacques, Paola Berenstein 'Learning from Favelas'. In: Brasilmar Ferreira Nunes (org.). *Sociologia de Capitais Brasileiras: Participação e Planejamento Urbano*. Brasília: Líber Livro Editora, 2006: 179-202.

Janoschka, Michael; and Jorge Sequera. 'Gentrification in Latin America: addressing the politics and geographies of displacement', *Urban Geography*, 37(8), (2016): 1175-1194.

Jia, Susan. 'Chinese Circus and its Audiences: Past and Present', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 35(4), (2019): 365-372.

Jong, Martin de; Simon Joss; Daan Schraven; Changjie Zhan; and Margot Weijnen. 'Sustainable–smart–resilient–low carbon–eco–knowledge cities: making sense of a multitude of concepts promoting sustainable urbanization', *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 109, (2015): 25-38.

Jorge, Vivian. 'Escola sem Partido em vias de midiatização e as eleições 2018', Anais de Artigos do *Seminário Internacional de Pesquisas em Midiatização e Processos Sociais*, 1(3), 2019.

Kabinda, Patrick. *The creative wealth of nations: how performing arts can advance development and human progress* (Policy Research Working Paper N. 7118). Washington D.C. World Bank, 2014.

Kahler, Miler. 'Politics and International Debt: Explaining the Crisis' in *International Organization* 39(3), (1985): 357-82.

Kay, Cristóbal. *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*. London and New York: Routledge. 1989.

Keil, Roger. 'Global Suburbanization', in Ren and Keil. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2017:

Kellog, Paul. 'Regional Integration in Latin America: Dawn of an Alternative to Neoliberalism?' New Political Science, 29, 200.

Kenny, Nicolas; and Rebecca Madgin. 'Every time I describe a city: urban History as comparative and transnational practice'. In: Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin (eds.). *Cities beyond borders. Comparative and transnational approaches to Urban History*. London: Routledge, 2015: 3-23.

King, A. D. 2017. World cities: Global? Postcolonial? Postimperial? Or just the result of happenstance? Some cultural comments. In: Ren, Xuefei, and Roger Keil, eds. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*. 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Kingstone, Peter. *The Political Economy of Latin America*: Reflection on Neoliberalism and Development after the Commodity Boom. New York: Routledge, 2018

Krätke, Stefan. 'Global media cities: major nodes of globalising culture and media industries'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil, eds. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*. 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Lachman, Gary. *Rudolf Steiner: An introduction to his life and work*. London: Penguin, 2007.

Lafortune, Michel; and Annie Bouchard. *Community Worker's Guide: When Circus Lessons Become Life Lessons*. Montréal: Cirque du Soleil, 2011.

Landry, Charles. *The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators*, London: Earthscan, 2012.

Latour, Bruno. *Reagregando o social: uma introdução à teoria do ator-rede*. Salvador: Edufba, 2012.

Lefébvre, Henri. *The Right to the City* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996 [1968].

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Urban Revolution*. Minnesota: Univerity of Minnesota Press, 2003 [1968].

Leite, Antonio Eleilson. 'Marcos fundamentais da literatura periférica em São Paulo', *Revista de Estudos Culturais*, Universidade de São Paulo, 1, 2014.

Leroux, Louis Patrick; and Charles R. Batson (eds.). *Cirque global: Quebec's expanding circus boundaries*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2016.

Leslie, Deborah; and Norma M. Rantisi. 'Creativity and Place in the Evolution of a cultural industry: the case of Cirque du Soleil', *Urban Studies*, 48(9), (2010): 1771-1787.

Leslie, Deborah; and Norma Rantisi. 'Deskilling in cultural industries: Corporatization, standardization and the erosion of creativity at the Cirque du Soleil', *Geoforum*, 99, (2019): 257-266.

Lindert, Kathy; Anja Linder; Jason Hobbs; and Bénédicte De la Brière. 'The nuts and bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program: implementing conditional cash transfers in a decentralized context'. *World Bank social protection discussion paper,* 709, 2007.

Ljusberg, Anna-Lena; Jane Brodin; and Peg Lindstrand. 'Ethical issues when interviewing children in remedial classes', *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research,* 30(3), (2007): 203-207.

Lobo, Lilia; and Tiago Cassoli. 'Circo social e práticas educacionais não governamentais.' *Psicologia & Sociedade* 18(3), (2006): 62-67.

Lopes, Paul. 'Culture and Stigma: Popular Culture and the Case of Comic Books', *Sociological Forum*, 21(3), 2006: 87-414.

López, Gunther Balarezo. 'Generación NiNi: jóvenes que ni estudian ni trabajan', *Paideia XXI*, 9(1), (2019): 77-103.

Machado, Ana Flávia. 'Cultural Economy and Creative Economy: consensus and dissensus'. In: Ana Flávia Machado and Cláudia Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*: *meanings, challenges, and perspectives to a Brazilian creative economy*. Belo Horizonte: BDMG Cultural, 2016: 53-63.

Machado, Ana Flávia; Débora Freire; Rodrigo Cavalcante Michel; Gabriel Vaz de Melo; and Alice Demattos. *Nota Técnica: Efeitos da Covid-19 na Economia da Cultura no Brasil.* Belo Horizonte: CEDEPLAR/UFMG, 2020.

Maddison, Angus. *Monitoring the world economy, 1820-1992*. Paris: Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1995.

Margit, Mayer. 'Urban social movements in an era of globalization'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Marcuse, Peter. 'Space in the globalizing city'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Marcuse, Peter. 'From critical urban theory to the right to the city.', *City*, 13(2-3), (2009): 185-197.

Mbembe, Achille and Sarah Nuttall. 'Writing the world from an African metropolis', *Public Culture*, 16(3), (2004).

McAuliffe, Cameron. 'Graffiti or street art? Negotiating the moral geographies of the creative city'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil, eds. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

McLeod, John. *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Méndez, Ricardo. 'Redes de colaboración y economía alternativa para la resiliencia urbana: una agenda de investigación', *biblio3W revista bibliográfica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 2015.

Mendieta, Eduardo. 'Medellín and Bogotá: the global cities of the other globalization'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Michel, Rodrigo Cavalcante 'Metodologias alternativas para tratar a economia criativa: análise de rede social'. In: Ana Flávia Machado and Cláudia Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*: *meanings, challenges, and perspectives to a Brazilian creative economy*. Belo Horizonte: BDMG Cultural, 2016: 91-108.

Michel, Rodrigo Cavalcante; Ana Flávia Machado; and Natália Guimarães Duarte Sátyro. 'Music, networks and technology in urban outskirts: technological impacts on rap production at south of São Paulo', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1277-1303.

Monteiro Junior Luiz Rodrigues. 'Qual a Origem do Circo', in Mauro Ferreira (org.). *Língua Portuguesa entre Palavras*. São Paulo: Editora FTD, 2002

Montero, Laetitia; Johann García; and Cooperación Regional Francesa. *Panorama multidimensional del desarrollo urbano en América Latina y el Caribe*, 2017.

Monte-Mór, Roberto L. de M. *What is the Urban in the contemporary world*? Belo Horizonte: Cedeplar, UFMG, 1994.

Moscovici Serge and Juan A. Perez. 'Representations of society and prejudices', *Papers on social representations* 6, 1997: 27-36

Muniz, Paulo Henrique. 'O Problema das ações afirmativs no Brasil e o mito da democracia racial', *Alamedas,* 4(1), 2016.

Murakami-Wood, David. 'Global cities between biopolitics and necropolitics: (in)security and circuits of knowledge in the global city network'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The*

Globalizing Cities Reader, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Murthy, Dhiraj. 'Digital ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research', *Sociology,* 42(5), (2008): 837-855.

Oliveira, Michael Cerqueira de. 'Transversalidade em políticas públicas para a juventude: a experiência de trabalho de campo no Plug Minas', *NAU Social,* 5(8), 2014.P

Pagliotto, Bárbara. 'Creative Economy: mediation between culture and development'. In: Ana Flávia Machado, and Cláudia Leitão (orgs.). *For a Creative Brazil*: *meanings, challenges, and perspectives to a Brazilian Creative Economy*. Belo Horizonte: BDMG Cultural, 2016: 25-52.

Panizza, Francisco. *Contemporary Latin America*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2009.

Patton, Michael Quinn. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, 3ed. Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002.

Paula, João Antonio de. 'Cultura e desenvolvimento: 100 anos de Celso Furtado, um intelectual cosmopolita', *Nova Economia,* 29(E), (2019): 1075-1089.

Pérez, Marcelo A. *The Social Circus as a tool for community intervention for prevent physocial risks behavior*: a qualitative study from the experience with the youth in the program Previene-Conace, a social circus initiative in the comuna de Maipú, 2008.

Perloff, Harvey. 'Using the arts to improve life in the city', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Akron, 3(2), 1979:1-21.

Perosa, Graziela Serroni; and Adriana Santiago Rosa Dantas. 'A escolha da escola privada em famílias dos grupos populares', *Educação e Pesquisa,* 43(4), (2017): 987-1004.

Petras, James. *Latin America: Rightwing Interlude and the Death Rattle of Neoliberalism*. 2018. Available: https://petras.lahaine.org/latin-america-rightwing-interlude-and-the/

Piketty, Thomas. *Capital in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Pinheiro-Machado, Rosana; Adriano de Freixo; Túlio Custódio; Tatiana Vargas Maria; Luis Felipe Miguel; Fabricio Potin; Esther Solano Gallego; Debora Messenberg Guimarães; Ana Flauzina; and Alvaro Bianchi. *Brasil em Transe: bolsonarismo, nova direita e desdemocratização*. Oficina Raquel, 2019.

Pitombo, Mariella. 'Sintomas dos deslocamentos de poder na gestão do campo cultural no Brasil–uma leitura sobre as leis de incentivo à cultura', *Temas Contemporâneos. Salvador: FIB,* 1, 2006: 56-62.

Pitombo, Mariella. 'Uma agenda cultural para o desenvolvimento humano: O papel das agências multilaterais na formulação das políticas culturais', in: *Congresso de la Solar*, 9. Rio de Janeiro: UERJ, 2004.

Pochmann, Marcio. 'Structural trends in the world of work in Brazil', *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva,* 25, 2019: 89-99.

Potts, Jason *The Economics of Creative Industries.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016.

Pratt, Andy C. 'The cultural contradictions of the creative city', *City, Culture and Society*, 2(3), (2011): 123-130.

Pratt, Andy C. 'Cultural Industries and Public Policy: An Oxymoron?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* 11(1), (2005): 31 - 45.

Prebisch Raul. 'The economic development of Latin America and its principal problems', *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, 1962.

Presner, Todd; David Shepard; and Yoh Kawano. *Hypercities Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities*. 2014.

Ramanathan, Sharada. 'A Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento: a visão dos países em desenvolvimento – a perspectiva indiana'. In: Ana Carla F. Reis (org.), *Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento*: *uma visão dos países em desevolvimento.* São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2008: 196-217.

Reis, Ana Carla. F. *Cultural Economics and sustainable development*: *the kaleidoscope of culture*. Barueri, SP: Manole, 2007.

Ren, Xuefei; and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Ribeiro, Djamila. *O que é lugar de fala?* Belo Horizonte: Letramento: Justificando, 2017.

Right to the City Platform. Available in: https://www.right2city.org/document/world-charter-for-the-right-to-the-city/.

Ring, Jonas; and Robert Svensson. 'Social Class and Criminality among Young People: A Study Considering the Effects of School Achievement as a Mediating Factor on the Basis of Swedish Register and Self-Report Data', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 8(2), (2007): 210-233.

Rivard, Jacinthe; Guy Bourgeault; and Céline Mercier. 'Cirque du Monde in Mexico City: Breathing new life into action for young people in difficult situations', *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), (2010): 181-194.

Robinson, Jennifer. 'New geographies of theorizing the urban: putting comparison to work for global urban studies'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil, eds. *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Robinson, Jennifer. *Ordinary Cities*: Between modernity and development. Routledge, 2006.

Robinson, Jennifer 'Thinking cities through elsewhere: Comparative tactics for a more global urban studies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(1), (2016): 3–29,

Rocha, Gilmar. 'O circo chegou! memória social e circularidade cultural'. *Textos escolhidos de cultura e arte populares*, Rio de Janeiro, 9(2), (2012): 69-89.

Rolnik, Raquel. *O que é cidade*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2017.

Russell, Roberto. 'América Latina para Estados Unidos: ¿especial, desdeñable, codiciada o perdida', *Nueva Sociedad*, 206, 2006: 48-62.

Sampaio, Plinio Arruda. 'La reforma agraria en América Latina: una revolución frustrada', *Reforma agraria y lucha por la tierra en américa latina.* OSAL: Observatório Social de América Latina. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2005.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *Toward a New Common Sense*: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Santos, Boaventura de Souza. *Refundación del Estado en América Latina. Perspectivas desde una epistemología del Sur*. Lima: Instituto Internacional de Derecho y Sociedad; Programa Democracia y Transformación Global, 2010.

Santos, Milton. *The Shared Space: The two circuits of the urban economy in underdeveloped countries*. London: Methuen, 1979.

Sassen, Saskia. 'Local actors in global politics'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Sassen, Saskia. 'Locating cities on global circuits'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Schipper, Sebastian; Lucas Pohi; Tino Petzold; Daniel Mullis; and Bernd Belina. 'Blockupy fights back: global city formation in Frankfurt am Main after the financial crisis'. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Schlesinger, Paul, 'Creativity: From Discourse to Doctrine?', *Screen*, 48(3), (2007): 377-387.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 'Hierarchical Market Economies and Varieties of Capitalism in Latin America', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 41, 2009: 553-75.

Scott, Allen J. 'Beyond the Creative City: Cognitive–Cultural Capitalism and the New Urbanism', *Regional Studies*, 48(4), (2014): 565-578.

Scott, Allen J. 'Creative cities: conceptual issues and policy questions', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), (2006): 1-17.

Scott, Allen J. 'Cultural-products industries and urban economic development: prospects for growth and market contestation in global context', *Urban affairs review*, 39(4), (2004): 461-490.

Scott, Allen J. *Social Economy of the Metropolis: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the Global Resurgence of Cities*. Published to Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011 [2008].

Seibel, Beatriz. *Historia del Circo*. Buenos Aires: del Sol: 2005.

Sen, Amartya. *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2001.

Sepe, Marichela. 'Urban history and cultural resources in urban regeneration: a case of creative waterfront renewal', *Planning Perspectives*, 28(4), (2013) 595-613.

Siegmann, Karin A.; and Freek Schiphorst. 'Understanding the globalizing precariat: From informal sector to precarious work', *Progress in Development Studies,* 16(2), (2016): 111-123.

Silva, Ermínia. *O Circo: Sua Arte, Seus Saberes: O Circo no Brasil no Final do Século XIX e Meados do Século XX*. Campinas: Departamento de História do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Unicamp. Diss., 1996.

Silva, Ermínia; and Rogério Sette Câmara. 'O ensino de arte circense no Brasil: breve histórico e algumas reflexões', *Pindoramacircus*, 15, 2006: 12-15.

Silva, Lais; Maria Rachel Fonsêca Braga; and Jéssica Waléria Silvestre. 'O circo enquanto espaço educativo construtor da cidadania: A experiência do Centro Social São José do Monte.' *Revista Movimentos Sociais e Dinâmicas Espaciais*, 3(2), (2014): 112-130.

Silva, Regina; and Roger Dutra. 'A agenda transnacional da UNESCO e as políticas públicas de cultura do MinC (2003-2010)', in: *Seminário Internacional de Políticas Culturais*, 3. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2012.

Shabtay, Talia. 'The Art and the Politics of The Forgotten Space', *Oxford Art Journal*, 38(2), (2015): 263-282.

Shatkin, Gavin. 'Fourth world' cities in the global economy: the case of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Sokoloff, Kenneth L.; and Stanley L Engerman. 'History Lessons: Institutions, Factor Endowments and Paths of Development in the New World', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(3), (2000): 217-232.

Souza, Elizabeth; and Paulo Miguel. 'Sobre cultura e desenvolvimento', in: *Econtros de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura*, 3. Salvador: UFBA, 2007.

Souza, Jessé de. *A ralé brasileira*: *quem é e como vive*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2009.

Spiegel, Jennifer Beth; and Benjamin Ortiz Choukroun. *The Art of Collectivity: Social Circus and the Cultural Politics of a post-neoliberal vision*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019.

Spiegel, Jennifer Beth; Benjamin Ortiz Choukroun; Katherine Boydell; A. Campña; Jaime Breilh; and Annalee Yassi. 'Social transformation, collective health and community-based arts:'Buen Vivir'and Ecuador's social circus programme', *Global public health*, 14(6-7), (2019): 899-922.

Stigler George J.; and Gary S. Becker. 'De gustibus non est disputandum', *American Economic Review*, 67(2), (1977): 76-90.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. *More instruments and broader goals: moving toward the post-Washington consensus*. Helsinki: UNU/WIDER, 1998.

Stoddart, Helen. *Rings of desire: circus history and representation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Tavares, Maria da Conceição. *Da substituição de importações ao capitalism financeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1975.

Taylor, Stephanie. 'Theories and common concerns'. In: Stephanie Taylor (ed.). *What is Discourse Analysis?*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013: 7–28.

Throsby, David. *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Throsby, David. *The economics of cultural policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tonucci Filho, João Bosco M. 'Do direito à cidade ao comum urbano: contribuições para uma abordagem lefebvriana', *Revista Direito e Práxis*, 11(1), (2020): 370-404.

Torres, Antônio; Alice Viveiros de Castro; and Márcio Carrilho. *O circo no Brasil*, v. 5. Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1998.

Tremblay, Gaëtan. 'Industries culturelles, économie creative et societé de l'information', *Global Media Journal* – Canadian Edition, 1(1), 2008.

Trindade Junior, Saint-Clair C.; and Márcio Douglas B. Amaral. 'Urban Rehabilitation in the central area of Belém-Pará: conceptions and trends of emerging urban policies', *Paraense Magazine of Development,* 111, (2006): 73-103.

Underberg, Natalie M.; and Elayne Zorn. *Digital ethnography: Anthropology, narrative, and new media*. Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013.

UNDESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *World Urbanization Prospects:* The 2014 Revision, Highlights. United Nations: Nueva York, 2014.

UNESCO: United Nation Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. *Creative economy report 2013*: Widening Local Development Pathways. 2013

UNESCO. *Nuestra diversidad creativa*. Informe de la comisión de cultura y desarrollo. Versión Resumida. Paris, 1996.

UN Habitat: United Nation Habitat. *State of the world's cities 2008/2009: Harmonious cities*. London: Earthscan, 2008.

UN News, 'Art brings us closer together than ever',15th of April 2020, available in: https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/04/1061802.

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. *Creative economy report 2008*. Available in: http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditc20082cer_en.pdf

UNCTAD. *Creative Economy Outlook and Country Profiles: Trends in international trade in creative industries*, 2018. Available in: https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3_en.pdf.

Wall, Duncan. *The ordinary Acrobat*: *a journey into the wondrous world of the circus, past and present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.

Yencken, David. 'The creative city', *Meanjin*, 47(4), 1988: 597-608.

Yúdice, George. *Economia da cultura no marco da proteção da diversidade cultural*. Miami: university of Miami, 2007.

Zukin, Sharon. 2017. The city as a landscape of power: London and New York as global financial capitals. In: Xuefei Ren and Roger Keil (eds.). *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, 2nd ed. The Routledge Urban Reader Series. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Interview and survey scrip

Introduction: The following questions are focus on understanding the various aspects of the social circus practice in the lives of young people who participate in different circus initiatives, whether in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil and, more broadly, in Latin America; also seeking to understand the characteristics of such projects /schools. In the first part, you will answer what is your relationship with the circus: if you are or have been a pupil or if you are a collaborator in a social circus initiative, being guided to different questions according to your answer. The questions covers both more objective and subjective questions, wanting to achieve personal perceptions of the value of the circus. (There is still few researches on this topic and a considerable set of responses may allow more and more robust arguments to be constructed so that this practice is strengthened, receiving greater prominence both on the local and international scene. In advance, I sincerely thank you for your response and contribution!)

First section – Relationship with the social circus (*to all*)

- What is your relationship with the social circus?
  a) I am/I was a student of a project/initiative/school of social circus (*follow to section 2*)
  b) I was a student and today I am a collaborator of a project/initiative/school of social circus (*follow to section 2)*
  c) I am a collaborator of a social circus project/initiative/school (creator, teacher, assistant, etc.) (*follow to section 4)*
  d) I believe in the social circus initiative and, despite not being directly involved with any specific project, I try to strengthen the scene as I can (*follow to section 5)*
- What is the name of the social circus that you are/were involved?_____
- Which city is/was it based? _____

Second Section – Former and current students/participant of the social circus (<u>profile</u>)

1) If you are a current student, when have you initiated the practice (year and month)? _____

2) If you are a former student, for how long have you participated in the social circus (from year to year)? _____

3) How old are you? _____

4) Your color or ethnicity is: a) White b) Black c) Yellow d) Parda e) Indigenous
f) Do not want to declare   g) Other: _____

3) Gender: a) Female b) Male c) Other: _____

4) Place of residence: **4.1)** Municipality: _____
4.2) Neighborhood/Agglomerate/Community/Village: _____

5) Are you at school? a) Yes b) No

       5.1) If so, which year are you and what is it a public or private school? _____

       5.2) If not, have you finished high school? a) Yes b) No

              5.2.1) If you have completed high school, when was it and was in a public or private school?_____

6) Do you attend university? a) I have already finished university b) Yes, I do

                               c) No, but I want to enter the university

                               d) I did not attend or wanted to attend university

       6.1) If you have attended or are attending, which is your major and in which university? _____

       6.2) If you have already completed university, do you have postgraduation?

              a) Yes, on _____

              b) I am studying _____

              c) No

7) Do you work? a) Yes b) No

       7.1) If so, what is your occupation, and do you feel like sharing your monthly (net) income? _____

8) What is the educational level of your mother, father, or guardian?

       a) No instruction b) Incomplete elementary school c) Complete elementary school d) Incomplete high school e) Complete high school f) Incomplete higher education g) Complete higher education h) Postgraduate level

9) Counting with you, how many people live in your house? _____

       9.1) Do you have siblings? a) Yes. How many? _____ b) No

10) Are you or were you a beneficiary of a social program?

       a) PlugMinas b) Valores de Mines c) Fica Vivo d) Poupança Jovem

       e) Bolsa Família f) FIES g) PROUNI   h) Other: _____

- If you participated in some way of Valores de Minas or PlugMinas, could you tell me a little about your experience? What interconnection do you perceive with the social circus? Please, add whatever you think is necessary and your reflections: _____
  _____
  _____

Third Section – Former and current students/participant of the social circus: about the role of the social circus project, cultural habits, and perceptions.

11) Before participating in the social circus, had you heard about the practice?

       a) Yes b) No

       11.1) If so, which project/school? _____

12) How did you find out about the project?

       a) Friends who commented b) Recommendation from family members

       c) School information d) By television e) By radio f) Through social networks g) Pamphlets, posters, billboards h) Watching a circus performance

       i) The location close to my home   j) Other: _____

13) Before participating in the social circus, had you visited a similar project?

      a) Yes, the _____ b) No

      13.1) And if so, with who did you visit with?

          a) Relatives b) Friends c) School d) Other: _____

14) What is (or was) your initial expectation with the project?

_____

_____

      14.1) Has this expectation changed over the course of your participation? How and why?

          _____

          _____

15) Considering the following listed aspects, how have (or had) your participation contributed to: (Contributed a lot [CL] Contributed a bit [CB] No contribution [NC])

    a)   Relationship with relatives   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    b)   Relationship with friends   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    c)   Relationship with classmates and teachers   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    d)   Learning process at school   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    e)   General knowledge   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    f)   Creativity   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    g)   Professional (ambition, postures, etc.)   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    h)   Political engagement   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    i)   Community identity   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    j)   Acceptance of trying and failure   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    k)   Socioemotional skills   [CM] [CP] [NC]

    l)   Others: _____   [CM] [CP] [NC]

16) Does (or did) your paticipation in the social circus improve your relationship with the school in general? Why? _____

_____

17) Do you consider that participating in the project influenced or it will influence your professional/university choice? a) A lot b) A bit c) No

      17.1) What was (or will be) the role of the Circus in this choice?

_____

_____

18) Do you work in any artistic-cultural production?

      a) Yes. Which one? _____ b) No

19) Participating in the social circus awakens or develops your ability and/or artistic expression? a) Yes b) No

      19.1) If so, in which area(s): a) Circus performance b) Visual Arts c) Dance

                         d) Music e) Theater f) Other: _____

20) With which frequency do you go/read/watch the following:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always
Cinema				
Theater				
Concert				
Show				
Dance				
Circus				
Books				
Newspapers				
MC´s battle				
Passinho battle				
Sarau				
Other:				

20.1) Do you consider that your frequency in those activities increase after starting with the social circus? Why? _____
_____

21) Do you appreciate living in your city? Why? _____
_____

21.1) What about your specific neighborhood agglomerate/community/village? Why?_____
_____

22) Do you go (often) to other neighborhoods/agglomerations/towns/communities, in addition to where you live? Which ones? What is the main reason (s) for the visit?
_____
_____

23) Do you participate in any association (collectives, religious associations, cooperatives, NGOs) in your community? a) Yes b) No
23.1) If so, which one? Has this participation anything due to the social circus?
_____

24) Considering improvements to your place of residency and surrounding, which aspect to you think that should be change and who is responsible for that?

a)	Urban cleaning	[ ] population	[ ] public power
b)	Public transportation	[ ] population	[ ] public power
c)	Health system	[ ] population	[ ] public power
d)	Use of the public space	[ ] population	[ ] public power
e)	Education	[ ] population	[ ] public power
f)	Segurity	[ ] population	[ ] public power

25) Do you frequent the public spaces in your city, such as squares, parks, museums? Why? And which ones? _____
_____

> **25.1)** Do you consider that the circus have changed your relationship with these places in some way? Why? _____
> _____

26) What do you understand by the right to the City? _____
_____

> **26.1)** How have the social circus contributed to this understanding and/or experience?
> _____
> _____

27) Are there any other project(s) of a social-artistic nature in your locality that you know and admire? a) Yes, which ones? _____ b) No

28) Finally, could you tell me more broadly about how participating in the social circus influenced your worldview, your future perspective and your relationship with yourself and your community?_____
_____
_____

29) Would you like to include other perceptions about the effects of participating in the social circus on other areas of your life? _____
_____

30) To continue the questions or complete it, please tell me: after participating in the circus, did you become a collaborator in any social circus project?
>   a) Yes, I am now a collaborator b) No yet, but I do want to become one
>   c) No nor wish it

Fourth Section – Collaborators of the social circus: about the social circus project and perceptions of its value to the youngsters and the urban territory.

1) What is your role in this project: a) I am an idealizer with "director" roles
>   b) I am an educator/teacher
>   c) I am a collaborator (multiple functions)
>   d) Other: _____

2) Which neighborhood is the school/project located in? _____

3) How long has the project existed? _____

4) How many people are employed (formal or informal, or voluntary) and are working regularly in the group? Please describe the functions they perform and their respective links
_____
_____

      4.1) Does any member accumulate more than one role? How many members and what roles? _____

5) What is the institutional profile of the school/project?
      a) NGO   b) Circus training school   c) Non-profit association
      d) MEI (Micro entrepreneur individual)   e) Other: _____

6) Is the project/school linked to any union or circus network (social or not)? Which one?
_____

7) What is the origin of the group? _____
_____

8) What are the activities developed by the school/project (in addition to the regular circus activity)?
      a) Workshops   b) Courses   c) Lectures   d) Parties
      e) Publication   f) Cultural Center   g) Atelier
      h) Others: _____

9) Where does the group meet? a) Own headquarter b) Others' group headquarters
      c) Space open to the public. Which one? _____
      d) Other: _____

10) Can you tell me how do the shows produced by the participants work? Present annually? Tell me a little about the process, please. _____
_____
_____

11) What are project's main sources of funds? Please order.
( ) Box office revenue/Sale of shows
( ) Donations
( ) Own resources from other activities
( ) Resources from incentive laws (Municipal [], State [], Federal [])
( ) Specific public calls (public and private)
( ) Direct sponsorship
( ) Other way. Which one? _____

12) In the past five years, have projects been submitted to specific incentive laws and or notices?
a) Yes   b) No
      12.1) If so, to which public calls or incentive law have you submitted projects in the past five years? And how many projects?_____
      _____
      12.2) How many were approved? _____
      12.3) If any was approved, were you able to raise the resource?
          a) Yes, totally   b) Yes, but not entirely c) No
      12.4) If so, which companies/institutions were the sponsors? _____

12.5) If you did not get the appeal, why do you think it happened? _____
_____

13) In general, what is the greatest difficulty in obtaining financing? _____
_____
_____

14) What is the main tool for publicizing the events presented by the project?
     a) Social networks   b) Website
     c) Printed Disclosure (pamphlets, posters, billboards)
     d) Written press (newspapers and magazines)
     e) Television   f) Radio   g) Word of mouth
     h) Other:_____

15) Has the initiative/school participated in any of the following festivals in the past five years?
( ) Latin American Seminar on Social Circus ( ) National Circus Festival
     ( ) Other:_____
     15.1) If so, what was its contribution to your project? Why? _____
     _____

16) In your opinion, what role does the social circus play in the life of a young person who participates in the project?_____
_____
_____
     16.1) What about how the initiative positions young people in the city?
     _____
     _____

17) In your perspective, what is the role of the social circus in the territory in which it operates? And in the city, more broadly? _____
_____
_____

18) This final question looks for information on the functioning of the social circus network, especially partnerships that are carried out between other circus schools, social artistic projects, as well as circus companies. Names of individuals who collaborate actively are also welcome, especially in the case of people who are mobilized to help the project within the context of public policies. So, could you, please, name all the schools, projects, initiatives, groups, and people that form and collaborate in the social circus network in Brazil and also in Latin America?
Instructions for completing the table:
     • In the first column, the name
     • In the second column, explain whether it is a school, a social project, an NGO, an active person, etc.
     • In the third column, indicate the city where the agent is based (if known)
     • In the fourth column, mark the number on the scale below that best describes how often you relate to each of the aforementioned initiatives: 1 = rarely 2 = regularly 3 = always

Name of the initiative/project/person	Classification	City	Frequency of relation

Fifth Section – For those who believe

1) How would you define your relationship with the social circus? _____
_____
_____

2) What is your perception of the impact of the social circus on young people's lives? And how does participating in the initiative relate young people to the right to the city? Any other reflection or additional thought? _____
_____
_____
_____

3) Lastly, could you please name some initiatives/projects of social circus that you know and admire? _____
_____
_____