

MUSEUM OF THE MARE: NEW REPERTOIRES OF CONSTETATION IN THE FAVELAS OF RIO DE JANEIRO

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1. Introduction

Identities are constructed by culturally produced images through which different individuals identify themselves and are identified by others. While the resistance background of slum dwellers offers significant sources for their self-identification, *favelas* are usually seen by other citizens as pockets of poverty and violence lacking any positive contribution to the city. The stigma of “*favelado*” is so deeply-rooted that even the residents of areas that had been subject of regularization programs remain stigmatized as second-class citizens long after the settlement have been upgraded (Fernandes and Smolka, 2004).

The study analyzes strategies through which organized *local communities* of slum dwellers in Rio de Janeiro create and transform their *resistance identity* in order to defy misleading stereotypes and to promote their inclusion in productive networks of the city. As a common trait, they use the slum’s cultural heritage to produce and disseminate renewed images through which slum dwellers intend to both identify themselves through and aspire to be identified by the other citizens and by policy-makers. Hence, as Craig Calhoun’s states: “Self-knowledge - always a construction, no matter how much it feels like a discovery - is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others” (Calhoun 1994 p. 9-10).

This paper analyses specifically the case of the Museum of Mare (*Museu da Maré*), a pioneering experiences developed by the NGO CEASM (Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré). Since 1997 the NGO develops actions to recover and to disseminate the history of communities that live in the slum complex of *Favela da Maré* as a mean to enhance the sense of identity among residents. The decision to found the museum came only in 2006 and, despite keeping the major focus on residents’ self

perception, the museum becomes a tool through which slum residents – isolated in the poor periphery - establish dialogues with other actors, at the municipal, state, national and international level.

This paper contributes with new insights for the literature on social urban movements as well as to slum-upgrading frameworks, by analyzing motivations, actors, networks, and actions driving the emergence of the *Museu da Maré*. The findings suggest that the reconstruction of the collective memory of slum dwellers, through the museum institution, is a renewed repertoire of contestation performed by urban social movements. Defined by Manuel Castells as the processes of purposive social mobilization, organized in a given territory and orientated toward urban-related goals, *urban social movements* are icons of resistance in face of unequal power structure and can engender the most significant institutional changes (Castells 1996, p. 78).

The study initially draws upon the concept of empowerment, which serves as an analytical framework to explore the concepts of *legitimizing*, *resistance* and *project identities* proposed by Castells (1996) in the book “The Power of Identity”. Focusing on the shift from resistance to project identity, I provide a theoretical basis to support the assumption that museums can play a key role in combating urban exclusion and generating empowerment. Finally, the paper presents results based on an empirical analysis of this innovative approach to identity construction in *Favela da Maré*.

2. Analytical conceptual framework

The paper initially presents an analytical framework that links the conceptual model proposed by Castells for identity construction (Castells 1996) to the elements of empowerment. The proposed framework will later be applied to analyze if community-driven museum can, in fact, empower slums’ residents and promote their inclusion in the city.

As Castells defines, identity is the construction process of meanings based on interrelated cultural attributes, which prevail upon other sources of meaning (Castells 1994, p. 22). Its construction makes use of raw material found in history, geography, language and environment to produce images, signs and icons that contain meanings (Castells 1996, p. 69).

Based on the assumptions that (i) every identity is constructed; (ii) that identity building happens in a context marked by power relationships and that (iii) it only becomes identity if social actors internalize them, Castells proposes three forms of identity building (Castells 1996, p. 22):

- *Legitimizing identity*: meanings introduced and propagated by the ruling powers, in order to reproduce and to expand existing rule.

- *Resistance identity*: Constructed in response to devaluation and stigmatization; where social actors build “trenches of resistance” in opposition to the ruling norm.

- *Project identity*: the construction of a “new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure”.

Obviously, there is some overlap across identity-building strategies. For example, project identities can be seen as resistance identities that “move out of the trenches” (Castells 1996, p. 24). This paper is particularly interested in this movement from resistance to project: where a fundamentally defensive identity, by its oppositional stance, becomes fundamentally productive of new values, new meanings. The shift from a “resistance identity” to a “project identity will be analyzed through a model originated from the definition of empowerment.

According to the World Bank’s empowerment sourcebook: “*Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives*” (Narayan 2005, p. 4). This definition refers to actors’ *agency capacity*, but it also emphasizes the role of institutions within which individuals and groups interact.

The *agency capacity* is the ability to make purposive choices (Petesch et al 2005). It implies the actor’s ability to envision alternatives and to aspire to different futures, as Petesch et al (2005) call “*the capacity to aspire*”. The capacity to aspire clearly reflects power distribution in society but can also be affected by group-based interactions, mobilizations and alliance building (Petesch et al 2005, p. 42).

Organizational capacity is also an important element in agency, which has both socio-cultural and technical dimensions. “Participation in formal or informal organizations enlarges poor people’s access to ideas, information, and camaraderie;

strengthens their capacities for planning, decision making, problem solving, collective action, and conflict negotiation; and expands their ties to other networks and resources ” (Petesch et al 2005, p. 43).

The other element in the proposed definition of empowerment - the institutional environment - refers both to formal and informal institutions shaped by a broader social and political context (Petesch et al 2005, p. 50). In other words, it refers to “the rules of the game” and who sets them. Empowerment requires, therefore, that poor and disadvantaged groups devise strategies for penetrating the networks of more powerful actors in order to influence institutions that actually affect them.

In this sense, empowerment requires building both horizontal and vertical networks, which Narayan (2005) calls *bonding* and *bridging social capital*. In the absence of other resources, close ties and high levels of trust among residents help the poor to handle poverty constrains. By doing so, they are bonding social capital. In a prospect for empowerment, however, *bonding* must be accompanied by *bridging* social capital in order to generate change in social structure. According to Narayan, bridging social capital is part of the process of building local resources, “When poor people’s groups establish ties with other groups unlike themselves, bridging social capital enables them to access new resources managed by other groups (Narayan 2005, p. 11).

The figure 1 shows how the above-mentioned concepts are interrelated. Based on this conceptual framework, the paper empirically analyses the main motivations, actors, networks and actions of a *project identity* constructed by *local communities* of slum dwellers.

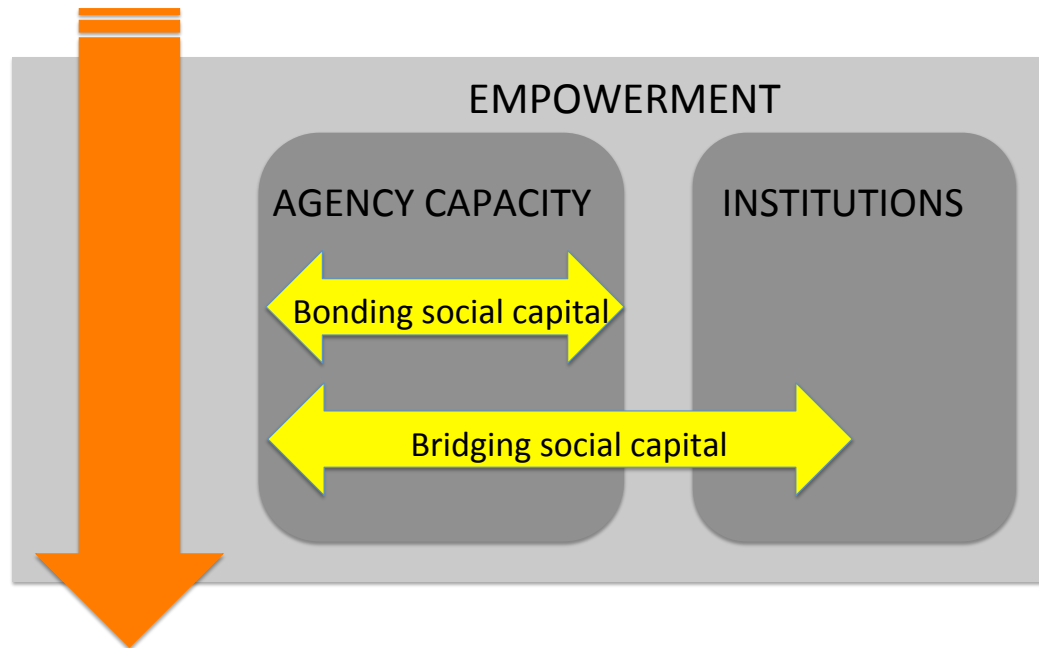
RESISTANCE IDENTITY**PROJECT IDENTITY**

Figure 1: Conceptual framework

3. Projecting identities: the role of museums

Castells states that the mobilization of actors around a common interest enables them to share and produce meanings. The resulting *symbols of territory identity* – as the author names - persist longer than the lifespan of mobilization actions and contribute to form the collective memory of the locality (Castells, 1996; 79-80). The so-called *local communities* result from a feeling of belonging strengthened over the time (Castell, 1996).

The *symbols of territory identity* of slum dwellers significantly derives from their resistance background: Struggle to fix tenure, arrangements to access water supplies and shelter, the loss of a shared rural origin and traditional lifestyle of immigrants, the mix of immigrants with different cultures, religions and habits, the fear of evictions, the fear of violence, and finally, the social stigmatization. The above are all shared experiences that transform heterogeneous groups of households, individuals settled in a particular area, into a *local community*.

The shift from *resistance identities* to *project identity* implies the re-signification of symbols that were previously signified by more powerful actors - such as elites, governments and media - and to disseminate them beyond *local communities*.

Museums - as institutions through which memory is represented – can play a key role in the process of identity building and empowerment of slums residents based on two assumptions: (i) museums are tools for power affirmation (Chagas 2007) and (ii) culture is a catalyst for partnerships (Griffiths 1995).

To start with, memory is fundamentally selective which grants institutions in charge of representing and withholding memory - museums, archives, photograph albums – to select the scope of memory they are to preserve and disseminate. In this sense, the representation of memory is planned as opposite from involuntary¹. It is a choice. This characteristic contributes to consolidate museums as instruments for power affirmation.

England and France, for instance, had in the British Museum and Louvre respectively, their biggest representation of power and control over other nations (Chagas 2007). The museum's collection symbolizes their colonization project by exposing work pieces arbitrarily acquired from other cultures. The dispute for power extends to a dispute for their identity symbols and, consequently, to a dispute for people's imagination. Thus, by running memory institutions, powerful actors hold a disciplinary power device, indicating what can be known, what can be remembered and forgotten, what and how it can be said and done (Chagas 2007, p. 167).

Secondly, few expressions are stronger in communicating an image than those engendered from the culture of people. Indeed, there is a vast literature on how the manipulation of urban images through the use of art and elements that entail symbolic identification between people and place becomes a dominant tool to enhance localities' attractiveness for visitors and investors and how it became a worldwide strategy to recreate declining areas (Harvey 1990, Griffiths 1995, Zukin 1995, UN-Habitat 2004).

The main critique to this approach is that even though some cities experienced an increase in the number of job opportunities, a growing number of experiences show that few citizens truly benefit from image building strategies (UN-Habitat 2004, p. 5).

¹ The theoretical data concerned to memory in this section is a compilation of notes taken in the class of Dr. Mario Chagas during preparatory workshops for the implementation of the Estrutural Point of Memory, in Brasilia on 18/10/2010. Other information taken from documentary research is properly referred.

Borja (2010) argues that education, income, urban mobility and access to information are conditions to broader participation and benefits (Borja 2010, p. 31). This brings us to conclude that slum dwellers have less chance to engage in conventional image making approaches to boost local economies.

As positive image builder, culture has also a “striking capacity to act as a catalyst for partnerships”, as states Griffiths (Griffiths 1995). At city level, it reflects an increasing emphasis on public-private partnerships (Griffiths 1995, p. 253). Arantes (2000), in turn, highlights negative effects of such capacity. She argues that the use of culture for image making interventions revealed, actually, a strategy to deal with opposite interests in city management and to suppress conflicts. After all, who would oppose the idea of culture valorization (Arantes 2000, p. 28)?

While it is true that new markets for symbols may accentuate social divisions within the city and hide existing conflicts, this paper offers evidence that they may offer new opportunities for local entrepreneurs to redevelop their neighborhoods, to renovate community resistance tools and to empower marginalized groups.

4. Introduction to the case study

This paper approaches the case of the *Museu da Maré* (Museum of the Maré) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The museum was an initiative of CEASM, which is an NGO set by residents of *Favela da Maré* with an initial objective of recovering and disseminating the history of their place.

Located in the city’s north zone, Favela da Maré has the highest concentration of low-income population of the Rio de Janeiro municipality. According to the *Censo Maré 2000*, only 11% of the population has registered freehold titles and 25% has other terms of land tenure security (CEASM 2003). The population is unequally distributed over 16 *local communities*, which have their specific sources of *commune cultural identity* but share a common resistance identity built along its 70-year history.

The case was chosen because it is a community-based action that inspired the formulation of a national policy for preservation and dissemination of the collective memory of marginalized populations. Hence, the Museu da Maré is historically important because it spurred in 2009 the “The Points of Memory program” of the Brazilian Federal

Government². This program supports local communities to re-build the collective memory from the perspective of the local citizens and is evidence of an institutional change engendered by social movements.

5. Methodology

Data collection was based on the principles of case studies, supported by qualitative data, from both primary and secondary sources.

The elaboration of the research design demanded an initial familiarization with the topic, which was achieved in the course of the research, through participant observation of grassroots organizations' activities during the conception of a museum in Estrutural, a new upgraded settlement in Brasilia, Brazil, and by reviewing the existing literature. While serving as a pilot/exploratory study, fieldwork in Estrutural was applied to construct the research hypothesis.

The data was collected in Rio de Janeiro in October 2010 through two methods: (i) interviews and (ii) documentation analysis.

(i) Interviews: Narrative interviews (Flick 2006 p. 172) were applied to the members of CEASM. This method was chosen in order to trace how events originate and evolve, as well as their shifting significance for those involved. Unstructured interviews were applied to other residents, to external partners and to official authorities, aiming at capturing as far as possible interviewee's subjective definition of the strategy. In total, four individual and two group interviews, with groups ranging from two to four participants, were conducted.

(ii) Document analysis: The analysis of documents, including newspapers, statistical reports, published and unpublished materials, and internet sources provided data, mostly derived from secondary sources. The exception was the analysis of the museum visitor's book that provided additional quantitative primary source order to build a picture of the museum's audience.

Finally, the analysis of data progressed from the interpretation to the classification of the events into three categories: motivations, stakeholders' networks and

² See <http://www.museus.gov.br/acessoainformacao/acoes-e-programas/de-memoria/programa-pontos-de-memoria/>

actions. These categories allow uncovering some of the main factors influencing the image construction process driven by slums' residents.

6. Findings and discussion

6.1 *Motivation: always resistance*

Although the museum was inaugurated in 2006, the movement for rebuilding the memory of *Maré* began in the late 1980s. In this time, the social movement of church-based communities organized a group of young people to register images and narratives from the residents with the objective to produce a documentary about the living conditions in the community. Young residents became then aware of stories that they have never known. By perceiving a considerable abandonment of the local memory due to the combined socio-spatial changes and the decrease in the number of old inhabitants, the group decided to expand the experience.

In 1997, they founded the non-profit organization named Center of Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré (CEASM). CEASM believes that self-knowledge affects self-perception, becoming an instrument to tackle the stigmatization internalized by residents. As an example of this encroached stigmatization, when asked where they live in daily exchanges outside the favela, young residents, more often than not, prefer to say that they live in a nearby neighborhood named *Bonsucesso*, instead of saying that live in Maré. The museum, in part, aims at reversing these self-imposed strategies of denial and of embarrassment regarding their communities.

The Center organized a public archive directed to research, preservation and dissemination of documents related to Maré's communities, known as "Web of Maré Memory". CEASM developed two programs: (i) the research on oral narratives, in order to collect and register the testimonial of residents and local leaders and (ii) the storytellers, whose objective is to tell the stories and legends of the place in a playful way. These programs motivated a third initiative targeted at youth, which was to expose this material in different communities of Maré³.

Besides actions to disseminate the collective memory within the neighborhood, the organization attempts to improve the access of poor young residents to

³ Interview with Luis Antônio de Oliveira – director of Museu da Maré on 26.10.2010 in Rio de Janeiro

college through the creation of preparatory courses for the entry exam of public universities, in which the requirements of the official educational curriculum were combined with lessons about the history of *Maré*.

To better comprehend the relevance of these initiatives, a previous understanding of the social context in which they are built is necessary. The control by different drug-trafficking gangs over the slum complex imposes serious restrictions to people's circulation within different communities of the Maré Complex. According to the *Censo Mare 2000*, 49% of the inhabitants have never left their own community and 17% seldom leaves it. The data shows that the population of Maré circulates little in other territories of the city, which clearly constrains access to educational and cultural opportunities. Although every community has its own elementary school, the students are in disadvantage in relation to the residents of other parts of the city because they are restricted to cultural opportunities offered in their own community (see CEASM 2003).

Another issue on the local context is that the population of Maré is predominantly young. While children between zero and fourteen years old total 30% of the population; another 30% belongs to the age cohort from 15 to 25 years old. This data highlight the relevance of public policies targeting specific activities for this group profile in terms of education, culture and leisure (CEASM 2003).

It's important to mention that this information was collected through a census elaborated by CEASM. The NGO had long put emphasis in the production of scientific knowledge in order to acquire a reliable profile of the population and to support public policies targeting the locality. It is obvious that Maré dwellers face daily constrains that are unknown by policy-makers given the lack of accurate indicators.

The focus on the self-knowledge production perceived on the above-mentioned actions has clearly a resistance purpose. Resistance against stigma created by other citizens and by policy makers, as well. Discrimination and stigmatization are examples of barriers that can only be perceived by local actors, which ensured legitimacy to CEASM's actions.

6.2 Actors and networks: Why not a museum?

Outside accreditation that the archive created by CEASM along all those years was actually a museum's collection was part of the process to legitimize their newly created self-identity. This started to take place through the collaboration of university professors, who during a training course realized in CEASM strongly stimulated CEASM to create a museum to increase the scope of the already-in-course initiatives. Hence, the existence of networks with external actors interested in the history of favelas and in promoting self-awareness and consciousness over local identities became fundamental to promote the creation of the museum.

In 2004, based on the existing archives and on residents' personal objects, CEASM developed the temporary exhibition entitled "The Power of Maré". After the event, many of the residents who lent their personal objects to the exhibition, refused to receive their belongings back and gladly donated them to the institution⁴. That was the seed for the Museu da Maré. The success of the exhibition served as stimulus to CEASM's application for public funding to construct the physical structure of the museum. This was the start of an increasing process of *bridging social capital*.

The museum becomes a physical reference for residents and non-residents and a gathering place through the collaboration of several actors and through the efforts of local dwellers. Set in an abandoned industry of ship parts, the building is registered in a leasehold contract, continuously being renovated and the construction, as well, is an incremental process that follows necessity and resource availability. The museum houses an exhibition room for the permanent collection, a room for temporary exhibitions and cultural activities, two rooms for workshops of dance, theater and music; a library, a shop selling local handcrafts, administrative offices and a room to store all documentation related to the neighborhood: from newspaper articles and academic papers to family pictures donated by residents.

The implementation of the *Museum of the Maré* was initially funded by the Federal Government, through the program "Cultura Viva" and received technical support from IPHAN. The resources from Cultura Viva ceased in 2007, but *Museum of the Maré* has become partially independent from government funding given to its capacity of diversifying partnerships. The partnerships with FAPERJ (*Fundação de Apoio à*

⁴ *Maré* means tide in English. The name of the exhibition is a reference to the resistance to the environmentally risky conditions of the favela's site as well as attempts of eviction conducted by official authorities.

Pesquisa do Rio de Janeiro – Rio de Janeiro State Research Foundation) and universities, for example, support research and documentation activities⁵. The library was supported by the C&A institution through fiscal incentives defined in the national law for supporting cultural activities - Law Rouanet⁶. In the same way, PETROBRAS supported the website development⁷.

International partnerships have offered the community opportunities that were unanticipated when the project first started as, for instance, a temporary exposition of the Anne Frank House' archive in the *Museum of the Maré*. They have also allowed for exchange programs, as for example the one with the District Six Museum of Cape Town, South Africa, which also works with the memories of removals and marginalization experiences⁸. Still and in spite of multiple partnerships, the museum has limited resources to cover regular expenses, such as maintenance and staff.

It's evident that CEASM had already developed a strong *organizational capacity* before the museum construction. The lacking element of *agency capacity* was the *capacity to aspire* that was triggered by an informal network with academic professors. Informal networks expanded then to multi-level interactions embracing the Federal Government, Private Companies and International Organizations, which allowed the NGO to access financial and human resources for its project. This case confirms once more the remarkable capacity of culture in fostering partnerships.

An analysis of the Museum's Visitor's Book shows that nearly all the visitors of the museum are from Rio de Janeiro (approximately 95%). Although the museum receives student groups from several localities of the city, the staff of the museum notes that the permanent collection is mostly visited by students from the neighborhood. Other groups predominantly attend temporary exhibitions, when the audience considerably increases. In spite of this, the finding suggests that the museum is a cultural center at the city scale.

Although the museum is isolated in the urban periphery, aggravated by the already-mentioned power disputes between the organized crime within the neighborhood

⁵ Some of these institutions are funded with public money, so there is a lingering indirect support of the government to the project.

⁶ <http://www.jusbrasil.com.br/legislacao/109444/lei-rouanet-lei-8313-91>

⁷ See <http://www.museudamare.org.br/joomla/>

⁸ See <http://www.districtsix.co.za>

that control dwellers' circulation over the territory, it does not resemble a ghetto at all. Semantically, the museum is definitely a Center that connects slum's residents to cultural centers from global south and global north, and to their own historic roots - often neglected by conventional memory institutions. By highlighting ties and distinctiveness with other cultures, the museum is a tool for projecting their identity to other communities and to themselves.

Also, by attracting people from other parts of the city, the museum itself is potentially a symbol for the territory identity as happen to other cultural facilities around the world. The source of identification is no longer the drug traffic or violence but a cultural service.

6.3 *Actions: Disseminating new images*

The museum preserves the collective memory by narrating the ongoing process of city contestation. The images exhibited receive new meanings and become sources for a completely new territory identity.

The exhibition is structured through twelve symbols of the *commune cultural identity*. For example, "immigration" invokes the drought that hit resident's place of origin and their moving; "water" remembers the religious devotion of fishermen that initiated the settlement; "resistance" records community mobilization and struggles and, finally, "fear" focuses on the many sources of fear residents face in their daily lives, such as the fear of evictions, the fear of falling into dirty water, and the current fear of violence, due to the disputes between drug cartels and the policy. This last issue is very directly exhibited through photographs of bullet holes in the houses caught in the crossfire between drug dealing gangs fighting over traffic control and against the police. The collection of empty shells also displayed in the museum is a powerful reminder of the violence the community faces.

Nonetheless, not all are recollections of sadness and suffering. Other sections of the museum make use of culture to portray positive imagines: local parties, religious traditions, and children's games, among others.

The valorization of cultural identity elements enhances self-confidence and self-efficacy feelings (Narayan and Kapoor, 2008; 302). Through the re-signification of the symbolic ties that link people to their place, the museum improves self-esteem and enables residents not to internalize the stigmas associated to their communities. This is clearly perceived through writings and testimonials left in the Museum Visitor's Book in which visitors report feelings of pride of belonging to the community:

"I went back to my past: when I was a child. Congratulations for the beautiful work. As I see the life represented here of many families from the locality, I feel proud to be part of that history and to be somehow contributing to change this reality."

*"I liked a lot. It was as if I had gone back in time and seen how happy we were. In spite of the poverty, we could play without fear of violence, only the ghosts that we ourselves imagined. I am Cristina, born and raised in Mare, and proud to have a history to tell children and grandchildren."*⁹

7. Conclusion

This paper approaches an image reconstruction strategy based on the intangible cultural heritage of slums. By re-shaping the citizens' collective memory, a community-based organization aims at renovating the sources of collective identity to tackle the discrimination associated with slum dwellers. The case of the *Museu of the Mare* indicates that this strategy is a renewed expression of contesting actions performed by urban social movements. For their capacity of creating new identity symbols for slums, community-driven museums are means through which resistance *identities* become *project identity*. Below I summarize the main findings of the study.

As happens to a *resistance identity*, the stigma of slum dweller offers the necessary motivations for community mobilization toward *project identity*. By investing in self-knowledge construction and dissemination, CEASM shaped the way the local community desires to be identified by themselves, by other citizens and by policy makers. The recognition and promotion of the cultural heritage of slums also makes residents proud of belonging to the place, enhancing self-esteem and self-perception.

Regarding networks, findings reveal that the process of projecting identity

⁹ Free translation by the author

requires broadened group-based interactions - which are extremely important to improve the *organizational capacity* of slum residents – to multi-level ones. Multi-level networks are necessary channels to produce and distribute cultural identity symbols. While they can influence individuals' and organizations' capacity to aspire, they are the means through which organized local communities access the necessary resources to implement actions for new images dissemination.

As institutions through which identity is communicated, the community-driven museums proved to be an efficient tool for grassroots organizations *bridge social capital*. The fact that the museum attracts people from other parts of the city suggests that it is a venue for integrating people from different backgrounds. By attending an exhibition about the community, other citizens not just become aware of slums' constraints but also of positive features of slums. The museum is therefore a communication channel between slum residents and other actors. CEASM takes advantage of such interaction space to build resources, as many of those actors eventually become partners or funders from within and outside Brazil.

The *Museum of the Mare* is a bottom-up institution for cultural heritage preservation and diffusion. It represents a break with prior patterns, where local memories were not valued by local residents and much less by outsiders. Considering also that the museum is not only about the history of the Maré's communities, but it is about the history of the city from the perspective of slum dwellers, it contributes with a new meaning for the prospect of community resistance. The museum transmits - in a socially acceptable way - the message that slum dwellers are crucial labor force in the construction of the city but are socially, economically and symbolically excluded from the city. In this way, community-driven museums tackle an erroneous identification of slum dwellers as squatters, top-down imposed and built by elites.

Yet, the community-driven museum is not only a new resistance tool but a promising mechanism to empower marginalized groups. The effects of cultural institutions in the life of marginalized populations should not be underestimated. Cultural institutions are instruments through which cultural values are transmitted, among which are the roles to be played by different societal groups. They have great potential to influence education, self-perception and access to job opportunities. The case

investigated here indicates a community-based organization with complete control over their project of image reconstruction. They decide on the goals and strategies of the museums, how and which information will be transmitted to the public, the way financial resources are allocated, among other issues. This is a clear evidence of empowerment.

This new repertoire of action, moving from *resistance* to *project identity*, inserts favelas into the city with a new and transformed image. Increasing access to the museum through municipal level incentives that stimulate school visitation, for instance, would be a form of sustaining the project in the long haul and increasing its visibility. Hence, renewed partnerships with the local government could represent a new phase for the project.

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