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OUR STAGE IS THE STREET: REFLECTIONS ON URBAN CARIMBÓ AND THE PRACTICE OF MANGUEO AS A SOCIABILITY RESOURCE FOR THE AFFIRMATION OF THE RIGHT TO THE CITY¹

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Abstract: This work aims to analyze the practice of *manguéo*, the act of exchanging money for some object or performance, as a phenomenon of sociability printed within the cultural manifestation of *carimbó* produced in spaces in the metropolitan region of Belém for the affirmation of the right to the city by making use of the street as a stage and media for publicizing the work of *carimbó* ensembles. Based on testimonies collected from urban stampers with the objective of investigating the daily life of those who produce and experience *carimbó* through the appropriation of urban spaces in the face of the processes of spectacularization of the cultural industry and the appropriation of common urban spaces in the city by capital.

Keywords: Urban *carimbó*, street, *manguéo*, city.

INTRODUCTION

To investigate the manifestations of popular culture, such as the *carimbó* of the State of Pará, is to immerse in a process of dynamism, where we find several agents in exchange, transiting between concepts of opposition, aggregation and inclusion within a scope that articulates interests and meanings through sociability phenomena that update or maintain an experience of cultural tradition and that promote conflicts that are interrelated with production structures in society.

According to Canclini's concepts (2003), we will understand which elements were mobilized in the process of hybridization of *carimbó* within urban spaces of the metropolitan region of Belém and thus be able to visualize how the dynamics of the ways of doing, from the production chain to artistic expression, as well as, also, of the ways of living, as a cultural manifestation and social movement, printed in what we call urban *carimbó*.

In this sense, we will observe which elements are mobilized in the *carimbó* production process, within urban environments, and we will focus on the practice of *manguéo* by urban stampers in the streets, fairs and squares of the metropolitan region of Belém, to analyze how this resource of cultural resistance is configured in the face of the processes of capital, through the cultural industry, and the absence of private spaces or public policies of promotion, not focused, in the molds of the patrimonialization of *carimbó*.

In this sense, it is relevant to understand how the reality of urban contexts within the Amazon of Pará works for a better understanding of the spatial contradictions present in the daily life of the metropolitan region of Belém, based on the concepts of Lefebvre (2006) on the social production of urban spaces. and how the cultural manifestations, in this case the urban *carimbó*, transit and survive not only in the material sense, but also in the power relations projected in the dispute for the symbolic territory.

There is a clear need to expand research on the production of *carimbó* in the metropolitan region of Belém so that, this way, we can expand cultural studies regarding the phenomena of sociality present in the cultural manifestation of *carimbó*, from its aesthetic unfolding within the urban space. of the capital of Pará, because it is urgent to realize that the elements mobilized by the urban *carimbó* demonstrate differences that need to be understood in view of the patrimonialization of the *carimbó*.

DEVELOPMENT

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE CARIMBO

The best known traditional musical genre in the State of Pará is the *carimbó*, records

indicate that it is a manifestation that has taken place in much of the territory for more than two centuries and is considered a fundamental symbol of the cultural identity of Pará. The word carimbó originates from the Tupi language Korimbó – union of curi (hollow stick) and m'bó (hollowed) resulting in the expression “pau that produces sound” – which gives the name to the drum, the curimbó, used to play and which is a fundamental characteristic of the carimbó.

In 2014, carimbó was recognized as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Brazil by the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Iphan) based on the research registration process related to the Preliminary Survey and Identification of Carimbó in the Northeast Mesoregions of Pará, Belém Metropolitana and Marajó occurred during the years of 2008 and 2013 that generated the Dossier Iphan Carimbó and it is important to emphasize that the movement of patrimonialization of the carimbó was made from visited 45 municipalities between the capital and the interior of the State of Pará, in more than 150 places and carried out 415 interviews with stamp workers.

The context of cultural negotiation that the carimbó was submitted through the safeguard instruments used by the carimbó patrimonialization movement mobilizes processes of signification and resignification of popular culture within contexts that involve the mechanisms of legitimation and the instruments of resistance of popular culture as observed according to the concepts of Mignolo (2005).

According to the Iphan Carimbó Dossier (2013) there are records that indicate the emergence of carimbó in the city of Marapanim, located on the coast of Pará from Tupinambá indigenous people, as well as there are documents that point to the carimbó as an invention of black slaves. that

occupied the Amazonian territory of Pará in the 17th century. Therefore, researchers such as Gabbay (2012) and Salles and Salles (1969) claim that carimbó is a result of the union of cultural influences through the interaction between Indians, blacks and Portuguese, as elements of both ethnicities are present within the cultural manifestation.

In general, the African batuque was probably the origin of carimbó and its variations in styles. Indigenous influences can also be seen in the choreography (imitative steps of figures of native animals, such as turkey, catfish, rooster and skunk, all of which give their name to carimbó choreographies), verses (in nominations and typical sayings and environments of nature) and music (with a sometimes more horizontal melody and a more marked and unison rhythm), in addition to the remarkable Iberian heritage in ballet and part of the instrumental, such as the banjo and the “castanholar” of the lundum (GABBAY, 2012, pg.58).

Conceituar um ponto de partida para o surgimento de uma manifestação cultural como o carimbó dentro do contexto amazônico do Estado do Pará abre espaço para discussões sobre os elementos de miscigenação mobilizados na Amazônia paraense, haja vista os processos de hibridização da identidade cultural desse espaço, sendo assim, é necessário pontuar, como afirma Salles (1980, pg. 27) que dentro da Amazônia nada é essencialmente, indígena, africano ou europeu.

Presented as a result of the union of the cultural influences of Indians, blacks and Europeans (Portuguese), the carimbó is commonly publicized as one of the most significant forms of expression of the Paraense and Brazilian identity, since these references would be present in an integrated way in the song, in the music, dance and instrumental training. In this figuration, the association of the carimbó became common to the emblems and identity icons of cultural promotion

discursively emanated by its defenders and practitioners. (DOSSIÊ IPHAN, 2013, pg. 14)

According to Salles and Salles (1969) the carimbó is a cultural expression marked by the orality of traditional communities in the Amazon of Pará, reproducing, this way, cultural elements belonging to communities in different regions of the State of Pará, which can be divided into: first the pastoral carimbó, present in Marajó Island, according to the rural carimbó, referring to the one produced in the Lower Amazon region and, thirdly, the praieiro carimbó, alluding to what was done in the coastal strip of the Salgado Zone, mainly in the municipality of Marapanim and on the island of Maiandeuá, both referring to what is considered traditional carimbó or carimbó pau e corda.

In addition to these variations of the carimbó mentioned before, it is necessary to talk about the inclusion of the modern carimbó as one of the aesthetic developments of the cultural manifestation within the logic of urban spaces, that is, the stylized carimbó with the insertion of instruments such as the guitar, the drums and the electric bass, which was popularized by Pinduca through the distribution of rhythm in the 70's by the phonographic industry in the Brazilian market.

According to Amaral (2004) regarding the questioning of the types of carimbó that exist within the State of Pará, it is necessary to analyze the counterpoint between traditional carimbó and modern carimbó that are presented on the cultural manifestation of carimbó in the metropolitan region of Belém, after the previously explained, between the existence of two distinct currents of observation: one that analyzes the existence of the traditional carimbó and the other that evaluates the experience of the modern carimbó.

The Marapanim carimbó, as a musical and choreographic matrix for the Belém carimbó, would have been organized into two distinct types, in the latter location: 1st) a traditional carimbó and 2nd) a modern carimbó. The first, represented by the singer Verequete, would maintain the musical structure of the Marapani reference of "originality"; the second, represented by Pinduca, would have altered this structure, in the sense of attributing to it a feature of modernity. This differentiation built the idea of the existence of two carimbotic currents in Belém, confirming a historical rivalry between defenders of tradition and modernity. (AMARAL, 2004, pg. 03).

It is believed that the tensions between modernity and tradition are permeated in all the different and diverse modalities of cultural, social and communicational expression of humanity. According to Debord (1997), within the scope of his reflections on the characterization of contemporary sociability, the presence of complex and multifaceted stimuli is clear that illuminate oppositions and convergences in the construction and maintenance of cultural manifestations in contemporary capitalist society that guide and guide the guidelines of symbolic construction of cultural identities.

Canclini (2003) proposes a reflection on the spectacularization of popular culture and its various forms of expression in Latin America to stimulate the debate between the globalization of capital and the historical relations with popular culture to understand how the conceptual matrices of this dialogue are formed, therefore, it is possible to find the manifestation of carimbó in urban spaces of the metropolitan region of Belém within this context after the massification of its musical aesthetics through the assimilation of carimbó by the productive chain of the cultural industry from the 70's with variations of repercussion in the decades of the 90's and, recently, after a new appreciation of the carimbó after the

consolidation of the cultural manifestation as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Brazil in the early 10's of the 21st century.

The dichotomy between traditional and modern within carimbó offers a look between concepts of popular culture and the cultural industry, however after empirical experiences within events of hits, carimbó wheels, contact with masters, stampers and rehearsals of carimbó sets it is possible to perceive intertwining between the traditional carimbó, stick and rope, and the modern carimbó, which can be called urban carimbó and has been produced within the metropolitan region of Belém.

The urban carimbó has variations within its production context, such as carimbó events such as the Hits of Praça da República or the São Brás Market or interventions such as the practice of mangueo, the act of the artist's exchange relationship with the public on the street through the exchange of an object or artistic performance for money, thus configuring as resources for the survival of the rubber stamp production chain within the urban space of the metropolitan region of Belém.

These phenomena are produced through the concept of occupation of public spaces, in addition to being able to identify aesthetic developments in the composition of the lyrics that address themes referring to issues that involve not only local urban sociability, but also cosmopolitan contexts such as the issue of violence, or diversity, in addition to modifications to the instruments that make up the instrumentation, such as the PVC curimbós or banjos with motorcycle helmet coatings. Therefore, some of the elements mentioned above make up the picture of transformations pointed out by the carimbó production chain within the urban spaces of the metropolitan region of Belém in the State of Pará.

WHAT DOES MANGROVE MEAN? WHY OCCUPY PUBLIC SPACES?

The mating between the traditional carimbó and the modern carimbó resulted in the emergence of the urban carimbó from developments that involve the production of cultural manifestation within urban spaces, therefore, it is necessary to investigate which elements stimulated new modes of production of carimbó in the metropolitan region of Belém to recognize other formats of sociability that are mobilized in the process of urban resignification of carimbó,

Thus, the proposal is to analyze the mangueo practiced by the rubber stampers in an itinerant way through the streets or within the occupation events in squares or markets that are called hits as forms of occupation of the city characteristic of the manifestations of popular culture due to the absence of promotion, they happen in an organic way among the stampers who gather in points of the metropolitan region of Belém to present themselves to the passing public.

Mangueo, according to the dictionary, can be characterized as the act of asking for money on the street, however, it may or may not presuppose the exchange of money in exchange for artistic objects, given that the practice of manguear is something that comes from the counterculture and from mechanisms of sociability and resistance of the hippie movement, as also observed in the research by Da Silva Neto (2017).

[...] exposure condition in the occupation of a given urban space: the floor of a square, sidewalk or any public place. In this context, the "mangueo" is to offer, to call attention to the artistic object that is placed in negotiation, as well as the possibility of convincing – the power of language in favor of cultural representation itself. (DA SILVA NETO, 2017, pg. 8).

The act of manguear is an urban phenomenon linked to the group of street artists who produce handicrafts and marginal literature, as well as those who carry out interventions linked to scenic and circus aesthetics. Therefore, the mangueo is seen as a source of income through the exchange of artistic or cultural products, whether material, such as zines, necklaces and earrings, or immaterial, such as performances and theatrical plays.

After the aforementioned, I will point out the issue of demarcating the differentiation between rubber stampers and hippies, given the need to show that both do not belong to the same social group, that is, they do not share the same lifestyle, signs and cultural elements, however there are convergences in the phenomenon of sociability of the appropriation of public spaces as the example of the mangueo which is a practice used by both subjects with the same economic objective, however, the communicational intentions in the making of the urban rubber tree when practicing the mangueo that presupposes the cultural making and, consequently, in the specific case, the artistic as well.

The occupation of public spaces through a cultural manifestation implies changes in the market's production chain, as we will discuss later, when we bring together Harvey's (2014) concepts and interpretations of stimuli and interventions in the sociality of urban environments by collectivities, such as in context of the carimbó produced in urban spaces of the metropolitan region of Belém that carry in their doing the intention of reinventing the city to consolidate the survival of the urban stampers' lifestyle and, consequently, the resistance of the cultural manifestation.

That right, he claimed, was both a complaint and a demand. The complaint

was a response to the existential pain of a devastating crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was, in fact, an order to face the crisis in the eyes and create an alternative urban life that was less alienated, more meaningful and fun, but, as always in Lefebvre, conflicting and dialectical, open to the future, to clashes (both fearful as well as pleasurable), and to the eternal search for an unknowable novelty. (HARVEY, 2014, pg. 11).

According to Paes Loureiro (2001) in his research on Amazonian culture and the Iphan Dossier (2013), the carimbó is a cultural manifestation linked to a regional identity, therefore it was not completely absorbed by globalization, so it is not part of the dominant group of people. cosmopolitan cultural manifestations of the cultural industry.

The isolation that covered the Amazon with the cloak of mystery, distance and timelessness, which prevented it from exchanging its cultural assets, contributed to the accentuation of a folkloric and primitivist vision of it. Therefore, against this current of thought, when dealing with an Amazonian caboclo culture, it will be understood as an expression of the society that constitutes the Amazon contemporary to the history of this society and contemporary to the western one. A dynamic, original and creative culture that reveals, interprets and creates its reality. (PAES LOUREIRO, 2001, pg. 55).

The concept of the mangueo for capitalizing financial resources for the rubber stampers applied to the musical exercise, in the context of the carimbó produced in urban spaces in the metropolitan region of Belém, is done in an analogical way through the streets, except in moments of occupation with the events of hits, where sound equipment is used, thus configuring two distant forms of mangrove production, one in motion between locations and the other static in one location.

From the concepts of Lefebvre (2008) on the social production of urban spaces

and Harvey (2014) regarding the sociability interventions of popular culture within the urban environment, it is possible to understand which elements are mobilized by the urban carimbó in the processes of appropriation of spaces public spaces, such as streets and squares, in the metropolitan region of Belém from the practice of mangueo through performances and musical products from urban stampers.

THE HITS AND THE MANGUEO AS PHENOMENA OF SOCIABILITIES OF THE CARIMBÓ PRODUCED IN PUBLIC SPACES IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF BELÉM

After an analysis of the concepts about the social production of space and, also, about the interventions of the sociability of popular culture within the urban environment, together with an analysis of interviews carried out during the research with urban stampers on the mangueo issue, it is possible to weave comments.

We found the existence of social dynamics that incorporate crossings in the cultural manifestation of carimbó in the metropolitan region of Belém, given the need for mechanisms that allow urban stampers to find their livelihood in urban spaces through the production of carimbó.

It is necessary to realize that the urban carimbó moves other structures of sociality for the exercise of the right to public spaces in the city, such as, for example, the experience of the mangueo as a sociability resource through itinerant presentations on the street, as well as a media space. of dissemination and distribution of their authorial works, as well as a mechanism of sociocultural resistance and economic capitalization from the financial donations of individuals who come into contact with the authorial show performing, according to Harvey (2014),

that the interventions of the urban carimbó sociabilities stimulate changes in street dynamics and allow, as observed in Lefebvre's (2008) concepts, new configurations in the social production of space through the occupation of public space by urban stampers in order to develop resistance mobilizations with popular culture through the mangueo.

It is important to point out that between the 19th and 20th century, in the municipalities of Vigia, in the interior of the State of Pará, and in the capital Belém, according to Salles and Salles (1960), there was a municipal law No. 1880, of the Code of Postures, which marginalized the practice of carimbó with penalties and imprisonment, thus generating a prohibitive stance on cultural manifestation. "It is forbidden, under penalty of a fine of 30,000 reis [...] To make noises, shouts and screams [...] To play drums or samba [...] Play drums, carimbó, or any other instrument that disturbs the quiet during the night" (BELÉM POSTURE CODE apud Salles and Salles, 1969)

As it was seen before, according to interventions of Lefebvre's concepts (2008), we can say that the emergence of urban carimbó promoted new conditions for the exhibition and production of cultural manifestation and one of them was the debate on the appropriation of public spaces by carimbó producers within of the urban context and this fact demonstrates the emancipation of the individual from the construction of spaces of social interaction through elements printed by the stamp crossed by urbanity.

creative activity, art and knowledge are particular manifestations and moments that more or less surpass the partial division of works. Finally, the need for the city and urban life is only freely expressed in the perspectives that try to isolate themselves and open the horizons here. Are specific urban needs not needs for qualified places, places of simultaneity and encounters,

places where exchange would not be taken for exchange value, commerce and profit? Isn't it also the need for time for these meetings, for these exchanges? (Lefebvre, 2008, pgs. 105-106)

The creation, therefore, of cultural events such as, for example, hits in the metropolitan region of Belém, having as exponents of this movement, the batuques of Praça da República and Mercado de São Brás functioned as spaces for the promotion and dissemination of authorial works by sets, masters and rubber stampers in the middle of the urban space of the State of Pará that confer new conditions on the spatial dialectic from elements that allow the sociocultural maintenance of the production of urban carimbó, however it is necessary to recognize that the city has areas where public safety prevents the free movement and expression of individuals who are not framed in moral aspects linked to the culture of the neighborhood.

The urban carimbó is one of the artistic manifestations that must claim its right to the street, just like any other manifestation. I see that this right is granted in specific places, for example, the same stamp I played at Ver-o-Peso with all the acceptability and interaction with the public, but in Batista Campos square it is considered "noise" and disturbance (part of the interview with urban stampmaker Marcos Sarrazin)

These events mobilized groups from Icoaraci, Guamá, Terra Firme, Ananindeua, Cidade Velha and other neighborhoods in Belém with the aim of offering a free space for the capital's production chain and open to dialogues and ways of making the cultural manifestation of carimbó in urban spaces. of the metropolitan region of Belém as squares, fairs, markets and streets.

In addition to moving hundreds of people around the carimbó wheels set up as the horizontal stages between the urban stamper and the community. Transforming, this

way, the social production of public space through democratic actions, where there is no obligation to pay admission, but there is the practice of mangueo, as an alternative to the issue of financial maintenance for urban stampers those participants who have the interest to donate.

The mangueo, in fact, subverts the idea of stage, the very movement that is happening from street carimbó, from drumming, going against the concept of mainstream, or the fact that there is an elemental point that will make all this dynamic happen. And playing on the street allows the person who is watching to sing along with you and if they know how to play an instrument and have one left, they will play, so we destroy the idea of a stage and transform a more human relationship with everyone. (part of the interview with the urban rubber stamper: João Pinheiro).

According to Lefebvre (2008), the appropriation of public space by citizens confronts the logic of domination or marginalization in the social production of space. realization of their cultural practice that is produced as an element of urban belonging of the community of Pará as an expression of cultural identity.

The right to the city cannot be conceived as a simple right to visit or return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a right to urban, disturbed, renewed life. (LEFEBVRE, 2008, p. 117)

In order to better understand the relationship between the mangueo and the urban carimbó, it is decided to characterize the urban carimbó from the observation of the elements found in the interviews carried out with urban stampers from some sets in the metropolitan region of Belém to hear how this practice is modeled on the ways of making the carimbó. in urban spaces, therefore, eight interviewees were chosen, and of this total, seven conversations were

recorded and one was held off-line.

Manguear is taking our sound, our culture and love for what we do to that particular environment and, as a result, using the hat pass, which would be retribution, thus helping and helping financially. (part of the interview with the urban rubber band Raira Maciel).

One of the factors that contributed to the practice of appropriation of public spaces through the practice of mangueo in the context of the urban stamp is the absence of private spaces to promote the cultural manifestation of the stamp produced in urban spaces in the metropolitan region of Belém, such as the fact that there are only two show houses specialized in the maintenance and production of carimbó, which are the “Coisa de Negro” in Icoaraci and the “Espaço Cultural Apoená”, which open the doors to urban groups and stampers at the beginning of their careers that do not yet have audience or works with trajectories already consolidated in the music scene produced in the State of Pará.

Manguear in the context of carimbó, manguear means taking our own culture to the streets, bars and sidewalks wherever there is a hot sun or a full moon and doing a lot of carimbó. It's a political act, a resistance, because we don't have so many spaces to send our stamp, to listen, to experience this from our land, so we create these spaces as a way to support ourselves. (part of the interview with the urban rubber stamper: Mateus Leão).

In the context of the urban carimbó produced in the metropolitan region of Belém, the act of manguear for the urban rubber tree is to create the possibility of visualizing the street as a stage, where the public can emancipate itself through the choice of donating some money to the hat, which normally it is passed from hand to hand during the mangueo to the rhythm of the carimbó wheel. At this

moment, the street is also seen as a medium, after all, the repertoires of these itinerant performances, in most cases, are composed of carimbó songs already belonging to the public domain, as well as with insertions of songs authored by the urban stampers, thus making the dissemination and distribution of their authorial works.

There are countless mestres and mestres and groups that keep this heritage alive without any assistance or incentive, therefore, most mestres, mestres, male and female musicians are low-income people who often use the practice of mangueo as a matter of survival. (part of the interview with urban stamper Loba Rodrigues).

From what was approached by Lefebvre (2008) we can invoke the work of the researcher Harvey (2014) on the theory of rebel cities to affirm that the urban process has expanded through globalization, in this sense the right to the city has become the right the urban life. Therefore, we can analyze that the carimbó produced in urban spaces started to stimulate the social appropriation of the public, social and political space within urban environments such as squares, markets and streets, encompassing the realization of an aesthetic unfolding of the carimbó as discussed above, when we comment on the elements of the practice of urban carimbó.

Harvey (2014) explores the concept of the right to the city by Lefebvre (2008) as a collective right over the urbanization process and this implies conflicts with the structures established in public spaces, however, we realize that the cultural manifestation of carimbó in urban spaces crosses and is crossed by these aspects, therefore, through interventions such as the practice of mangueo by the rubber workers in the metropolitan region of Belém. We perceive, therefore, elements of sociability such as promotion, production and presentation of shows,

dissemination of events that dialogue for the construction of a productive chain that involves the capitalization and distribution of authorial works of urban carimbó.

The right to the city is, therefore, much more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more in accordance with our deepest desires. Furthermore, it is a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends on the exercise of collective power over the urbanization process. (HARVEY, 2014, pg. 28).

In this sense, the social actors modify the dependence of the productive chain of the cultural industry and start to dialogue with new formats of social production of the space for the maintenance of their cultural production through the carimbó produced in streets, squares, fairs and markets, developing a space exchange, meeting the differences from the intervention of the sociabilities of popular culture as observed during the course of the field and bibliographic research on the production of urban carimbó by the rubber stampers of the metropolitan region of Belém.

CONCLUSION

After gathering the previous notes on the existence of the urban carimbó, that is, produced in urban spaces in the metropolitan region of Belém, it is possible to affirm that the mangueo is a sociability resource that prints the exercise of the right to the city through the occupation of public spaces and is based on the realization of a cultural manifestation that brings together elements that build a lifestyle within the urban carimbó as well as an aesthetic exercise, long before the intention to make a material artistic product emerge for the commercial market., thus aiming at the promotion and resistance of cultural expression in the urban imaginary.

The understanding of the mangrove, in the context of urban carimbó, as a sociocultural and political manifestation of the practice of carimbó in public spaces, thus configuring new formats of social production of space through the intervention and occupation of urban spaces such as squares, streets, markets and fairs demonstrates that the act of manguear exercises the relationship of the communities' contact with the cultural manifestation, thus enabling the resistance and survival of the carimbó in urban spaces of the metropolitan region of Belém with objectives that potentiate the collectivity, the sociability, the convergence of cultural manifestations with the social daily life of the city are presented as resources that go in the opposite direction of the definition of the city as a commodity, as it causes the re-signification of the relations of use of public space.

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