

5X FAVELA – AGORA POR NÓS MESMOS¹: A PORTRAYAL OF THE FAVELA THAT GOES BEYOND POVERTY AND VIOLENCE

Caroline ROBERTO
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

RESUMO: A discussão em torno da representação da alteridade tem estado no centro de debates críticos na agenda dos estudos culturais nos últimos anos. Neste contexto crítico, um dos focos são as implicações de falar pelo outro, criando assim uma representação e até uma identidade para este outro. Neste artigo analisaremos o exato oposto: as implicações da representação desenvolvida *de dentro*; o outro representado por ele mesmo, fazendo uso dos meios dominantes para alcançar seus objetivos. Para este propósito será feita uma análise do filme 5x Favela – Agora por nós mesmos, e como ele representa a pobreza, ou, mais especificamente, a favela. A favela tem sido representada por sujeitos externos às comunidades, mas ultimamente, especialmente com as facilidades da era digital, as comunidades encontraram meios de criar sua identidade, não como ficção de violência estereotipada, mas como uma localização que tem muito de comum e similar ao centro, deixando de lado o exotismo mostrado anteriormente. O filme analisado foi dirigido por jovens moradores de favelas do Rio de Janeiro, treinados e qualificados em *workshops* liderados por nomes famosos do cinema brasileiro, e assim representa as comunidades: em um retrato de dentro para fora. A notável graciosidade do filme lidera o espectador pela comunidade com tal cuidado que só poderia vir de um olhar interno. A questão que permanece, no entanto, é o quão independente esta nova visão é dos meios dominantes que ela usa. Como nos alerta Linda Alcoff, quando se trata da representação do outro, deve-se direcionar importante atenção à localização do falante, pois o que é dito muda de acordo com quem fala e quem escuta. O principal objetivo aqui é relacionar esta obra de ficção – o filme 5x Favela Agora por nós mesmos – às complexidades da teoria da representação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: representação; identidade; cinema periférico brasileiro.

ABSTRACT: *The discussion around representation of otherness has been at the center of critical debates in the cultural studies agenda in the last years. Within this critical context, one issue that has been debated in cultural studies is the implications of speaking for the other, thus creating a representation, and even an identity for this other. In this paper I want to analyze the exact opposite: the implications of representation developed from within; the other representing themselves to the eyes of the outsiders, making use of the dominant means to achieve their goals. For this purpose I make an analysis of the film 5x Favela – Now by Ourselves, and how it represents poverty, or, more specifically, the favela. The favela has long been represented from outsiders, but lately, especially with the facilities of the digital era, communities have found the means to create their identity not as a stereotypical violence fiction, but as a location which has much of ordinary and similar to the center, leaving behind the exoticism portrayed before. The movie analyzed has been directed by young dwellers of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, trained and qualified in workshops given by famous names of Brazilian cinema, and accordingly it represents the communities: in a portrait from within. The notable cheerfulness of the film leads the spectator through the communities with such tenderness that could only come from an insider look. The question that remains, though, is how independent this new vision is from the dominant means it uses. As warns us Linda Alcoff, when it comes to representations of otherness, important attention must be given to the location of the speaker, for what is said*

¹ 5x Favela – Now by Ourselves (English title). The original titles of all films cited shall be used throughout this paper.

turns out to change according to who is speaking and who is listening. The main objective here is to relate this fictional work – the film 5x Favela Agora Por Nós Mesmos – to the intricacies of representation theory.

KEYWORDS: *representation; identity; Brazilian periphery cinema*

(...) all discourse is ‘placed’, and the heart has its reasons. – Stuart Hall

Introduction

The discussion around representation of otherness has been at the center of the cultural studies agenda throughout the past decades. Within this critical context, one issue that has been largely debated is the practice of speaking *for* the other, thus creating representation and even an identity for this other. In the article “The Problem of Speaking for Others,” Alcoff (1996, p. 98) claims “the dangers of speaking across differences of race, culture, sexuality, and power are becoming increasingly clear”. The need to fight dangers such as increasing or reinforcing oppression when speaking *for* the other brings forth the importance of an open debate that highlights the many implications of such practice. Bearing in mind this cultural debate, one point of interest within the Brazilian context of representation of otherness is the theme of favelas in film. The observation of the so called “favela films” may imply that in recent years there has been a turn from the past “speaking *for*” to a current “self-representation” – the favela has long been represented from outsiders (namely, intellectuals), but lately, especially with the facilities of the digital era, communities have found the means to create their own identity not as a stereotypical violence fiction, but as a location which has much of ordinary and similar to the center, leaving behind the exoticism portrayed before.

With the growth in the production of films made by community dwellers, representing a reality they are very familiar with, comes the question about the implications of representation developed *from within* – the other representing themselves to the eyes of outsiders, making use of the dominant means to achieve their goals. In order to investigate such important issues, I analyze the film 5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos, trying to show how it represents poverty, or, more specifically, the favela. The film has been created and directed by young dwellers of Rio de Janeiro’s favelas, trained and qualified in workshops given by famous names of Brazilian cinema, and it represents the communities in a portrait *from within* showing the audiences the insider’s point of view. The question that remains, though, is how independent this new vision is from the dominant means it uses. Keeping this question in mind, the main objective here is to relate this fictional work – the film 5x Favela Agora Por Nós Mesmos – to the intricacies of representation theory investigating how it responds to the representation of the social class other – in this case, the poor communities of Rio de Janeiro.

Representation of otherness and the Production of Identity

The conversation about representation of otherness usually centers on a common view which is the fact that when there is no official way for something to be constructed as history, it is constructed as fiction. The subaltern for a long time was kept in an unprivileged spot in official history. However, it recently (in contrast to the Self history²) entered the realm of written documentation in the reviewing of official historical accounts

² By “Self” I mean the high class white male heterosexual American Self.

by historians, and also (and I would dare to say mostly) as fiction. Both historians and fiction authors are speaking for the other. The understanding of speaking *for* the subaltern is based on Alcoff's view that either in speaking *for* or *about* others, their "needs, goals, situation, and in fact, *who they are*" is being represented "based on my own situated interpretation" (1996, p. 100-01). Even the act of speaking *about* is constructing the representation of the other. Even by speaking about the other, we are creating meanings about the subaltern and possibly even creating identity. In Brazil, in addition to written documentation, the representation of the social other has achieved a prominent place in filmmaking as well. Starting in the middle 1950s films such as *Rio, 40 Graus*, *Rio, Zona Norte*, *Orfeu Negro* and *Cinco Vezes Favela*³ have represented the favelas from Rio de Janeiro during our widely known and most studied filmmaking period, the *Cinema Novo*⁴. Within this period, middle class Brazilian intellectuals commenced the process of representing their social other and denouncing their social situation, hence speaking for this other.

By showing the favela on the big screen, the *Cinema Novo* filmmakers represented their social other's identity to the cinema audiences of the time. However, this was not a definitive identity. In the article Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation, Hall proposes a concept of identity that helps us understand the process of cinematic representation. For him

[i]dentity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps, instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished historical fact, which the new cinematic discourses then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation (HALL, 2000, p. 704).

Due to the production of identity, these films acquire main importance in the imaginary of Brazilian people towards what a favela is. *Cinema Novo* films introduced the Brazilian movie-goers to social problems that worried those young middle class filmmakers. In their films poverty was a recurrent theme and was aesthetically presented as a form of aggression directed towards the spectator, as a means of making audiences feel shocked by the horror of hunger. Being these audiences' first contact with these poor communities and the people who raised their homes on top of hills with no tap water or electricity, these extremely political films ended up creating what would be a first step in the process of producing an identity for the Brazilian favelas. Cinema audiences then saw favelas as violent places, where criminals and starving desperate people suffered terrible lives.

Besides *Cinema Novo*, other Brazilian films, especially contemporary ones (such as the very successful *Cidade de Deus*⁵ in 2002 and *Tropa de Elite*⁶ in 2007), also represented Rio de Janeiro favelas mainly as violence, crime and poverty laden places, and their population as either victims or criminals. The dominant discourse has positioned the favela within its regime of representation of urban violence and as well-intentioned as the filmmakers were, they still were the intellectuals representing their other and speaking for

³ Rio 100 degrees F., Rio Northern Zone, Black Orpheus, and Five Times Slum. (English titles, respectively).

⁴ Brazilian New Cinema.

⁵ City of God (English title).

⁶ Elite Squad (English title).

them. Not only those films created an imaginary identity in the audiences' minds, but they also made the *favelados*⁷ see themselves as Other, strange to the center, different. An example of the negative response these films caused in some Rio de Janeiro communities appeared as a reaction to the film *Cidade de Deus*. The main claim made by the community representatives – rapper MV Bill was one of the most emphatic ones⁸ – meets the cultural studies theoretical concern that representation creates identity. It has been argued that the representation of so many violent criminals created not only a personal identity, but also a collective identity for the community being represented, and the dwellers ended up carrying a stigmata of being from that place where violence and suffering is all there is.⁹ According to Alcoff “the practice of privileged persons speaking for or on behalf of less privileged persons has actually resulted (in many cases) in increasing or reinforcing the oppression of the group spoken for” (1996, p. 99).

However, differently from what those community exponents saw then, I would say the representation of favelas in fiction film has also brought an especially positive outcome (among many others I will not mention here). In *The Fantasies of Cultural Exchange in Latin American Subaltern Studies*, Williams (1996, p. 226) argues “[t]he subaltern either protagonizes or falls victim to the conditions of exchange that mediate both its social existence and its increasing presence”. By responding strongly to a successful film as *Cidade de Deus*, the subaltern was taking action as mediator of the exchange between society and the favela, and assuming the position of an actor – and not a victim – in the identity producing process. Those voices that were already active against domination rose one more time and met the academic debate where as the conversation on representation of otherness evolved, the need of a change was flagrant. At this point – the early 2000s, the possibility of self-representation started turning into a reality. It is noticeable that the practice of speaking for the other has not been rejected – being spoken *for* is still a long way better than being invisible. Nevertheless, it seems to have been understood that representation should come not only from outside showing how the favela is seen by the intellectual eye, but also from inside. In the favela, as anywhere else in the world, there is no such thing as homogeneity. The desirable multiplicity of representations is endorsed in *Can the Subaltern Speak?* by Spivak who claims “[...] one must nevertheless insist that the colonized subaltern *subject* is irretrievably heterogeneous” and so should be represented (1988, p.79, Spivak’s highlight).

After all the discussion on speaking for others, what is being presented lately is a different process. It could be seen as the subaltern speaking for themselves, the intellectual speaking *with* the subaltern (I’ll come back to this point later), or even some new way of representation not named yet. Nonetheless, what it can surely be seen as is a next step in the process of producing identity for the subaltern – at the present analysis, the subaltern are the *favelados* in Rio de Janeiro. For this reason I am intrigued by current favela representations in Brazilian films: they are creating identity for those communities and for

⁷ The term “*favelado*” was formerly a label that served mainly a pejorative purpose of designating the poor community dwellers. However, this term has been appropriated by these dwellers and is undergoing a process of “detoxification,” carrying the only meaning of “a person who lives in a favela.”

⁸ See MV BILL, *The Bomb is Gonna Blow Up*. In VIEIRA, E. R. P. (ed.) **City of God in Several voices: Brazilian Social Cinema as Action**. Nottingham: Critical Cultural and Communication Press, 2005, p. 123-124.

⁹ For more information on the reactions to the film *Cidade de Deus* see my Master’s Thesis: ROBERTO, C. **The Debate Around *Cidade de Deus*: Political Emptiness of “Pastiche” or Paradox of “Complicitous Critique”?** 74 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Letras Inglês) – Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Programa de Pós graduação em Inglês. Florianópolis, 2007.

the first time this practice is being thought of by the communities themselves. In order to understand better the outcomes of this representation I move on to an observation of the film *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos* which is a successful example of the production of identity from within, and for being a reenactment of an idea born in the 1950s proved to be a rich source of examination.

Cinco Vezes Favela: Speaking For

The film *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos*, released in 2010, has been conceived as a sequel to the before mentioned *Cinema Novo* classic *Cinco Vezes Favela*, from 1962. Before looking at the 2010 film, the understanding of the original 1962 project is necessary. This movie, the only finished project by *União Nacional dos Estudantes's* (UNE) *Centro Popular de Cultura* (CPC),¹⁰ reflected the main objective of CPC: the use of cinema and art in general as tools to accomplish political goals. Back in 1960 five young middle class filmmakers, from the universities student movement, gathered to direct, as the title of the film illustrates, five episodes showing these filmmakers different views on favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Carlos Diegues, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, Leon Hirszman, Marcos Farias and Miguel Borges decided the themes to be approached in each of their films and headed to the communities to get to know the people and the places' identity to be represented in the upcoming film. This recognition of the favelas was these young directors' attempt to represent that harsh reality they were willing to denounce. In the words of Diegues “*nós éramos cinco cineastas moradores do asfalto, generosamente decididos a levantar uma questão social*”¹¹. *Cinco Vezes Favela* came out as one of the first times in which the favela was thematized in the movies (*Rio 40 Graus* had been the first one in 1955), and became one of the pillars of the *Cinema Novo* movement.

Those five directors made the part of the intellectual speaking for the subaltern. They represented the favela and the outcome of this incursion in the Rio de Janeiro favelas turned out to be a sad and pessimistic film which achieved wide recognition. Even though in the 1960s the communities' reaction was not one of action as in the 2000s, there still are implications for this representation. The middle class directors who spent such short time in those poor communities ended up creating a representation that instead of portraying the favela, portrayed their own political objectives. As intellectuals they had the power to speak for the subaltern and produce an identity for them. Notwithstanding, the image shown on screen was that of the favela, the identity being created on the spectator's eyes was that of the favela, but what was really being shown was the directors' political concerns. The identity produced for the favela was one of harshness and poverty oppressed by a dominant capitalism. Those intellectuals' location as speakers made an impact on the effect of their creation. That is why the academic debate has reached a conclusion that

both the study of and the advocacy for the oppressed must be done principally by the oppressed themselves and that we must finally acknowledge that systematic divergences in social location between speakers and those spoken for will have a significant effect on the content of what is said (ALCOFF, 1996, p. 98).

¹⁰ The Center for Popular Culture, by the National Students' Union.

¹¹ “we were five filmmakers, who lived on asphalt, kindly decided to raise a social issue” (DIEGUES). This and further translations are my responsibility.

Being aware of this, Spivak suggests that instead of speaking *for* or *about* others we should speak *to* others, thus proposing a dialogue where they would have voice and be listened to. And that is exactly what one of the directors of *Cinco Vezes Favela* has done. Carlos Diegues became one of the most successful filmmakers of *Cinema Novo* and is still very active in the Brazilian cinema industry. By entering the cultural studies representation debate Diegues decided to take action in advancing the practice of giving voice to the subaltern, as well as the debate around representation of otherness. During the mid 1990s he got in touch with cultural organizations that acted in some Rio de Janeiro favelas and saw the filmmaking potential being developed by those organizations. He used many *favelados* as actors and technicians in his later films, and by observing the subaltern's abilities in speaking for themselves (but at that point only *to* themselves), had the initiative of making *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos*. And that is how this project was born.

5x Favela Agora Por Nós Mesmos – Speaking to led to a re-representation

The observation of the cultural studies theoretical debate shows the academic valuing of the eccentric, the peripheral, the marginal, what, according to Prysthon, has had an invigorating effect on national cinemas (2010). In Brazil, this effect is mostly shown from the 1990s on, and as mentioned before, in the early 2000s the self-representation of favela dwellers became a reality in Brazilian cinema. In addition to the intellectual speaking for the subaltern, the effort of giving voice for the subaltern to speak for themselves has become more and more recognizable. Following the cultural movement in the favelas that have showed great interest and talent for filmmaking, Diegues propelled the making of *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos*.

In the beginning of the 1990s, Diegues started cooperating with cultural organizations that were introducing filmmaking courses for community kids in the largest favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Many workshops were taught with the cooperation of Brazilian filmmakers and scholars who entered the communities and started a dialogue with the community dwellers. The aforementioned “speaking *with* the subaltern” was (and is still being) promoted and soon short films in digital media started being produced as the answer to the dialogue proposed. Around 2006 *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos* was inaugurated. Five organizations, in five different favelas, started teaching seminars and workshops on technique, production, direction, photography, edition, and over six hundred young filmmakers from the favelas enrolled. Two hundred of the students were chosen to develop the screenplay, and eighty-four to participate in making the film. Each of the five groups chose a storyline to be collectively developed in workshops. There was not one screenplay writer for each episode, but a “community writing” that decided how to represent themselves. In his article *The Margin at the Center*, Beverly brings forth a reflection that may fit this film's analysis. He brings Barnett's words that

the author has been replaced by the function of a “compiler” or “activator”, somewhat on the model of the film producer. There seems implicit in this situation both a challenge and an alternative to the patriarchal and elitist function the author plays in class-divided and in sexually and racially divided societies (BARNET in BEVERLY, 1996, p. 29).

This thought can be transferred to the filmic milieu: the film director is still there, but the collective work of screenplay writing and producing the film by as many as eighty-

four people in a community workshop challenges and presents an alternative to the patriarchal and elitist means used before to represent the subaltern.

The idea then was having the *favelados* speak, as shown in the film's title: "*agora por nós mesmos*" ("this time for ourselves"). Differently from the middle class 1962 directors, this time the filmmakers were witnesses (and *subjects*) of everyday life in the favelas, and were prepared to make different facets of the favelas' identity known to the "outside" world. Their location as favela dwellers is important for making their report trustworthy to the eyes of society, but the films being made by them were reaching mainly the communities where they had been produced. Their representation of themselves was staying in a place where the audience could recognize themselves and was benefiting from seeing that now they also had a voice, and that was of great importance. However, it was still necessary that they went outside the communities to represent themselves and produce their own identity in places where oppression has made them invisible in the distant past, and represented by intellectuals as politics, in the recent past. In order to reach other sections of society they needed the material means, and Diegues was the one who used his power as a successful well-known filmmaker to obtain this means. In Diegues' words

*[eu] não levei o cinema à favela; eles já faziam filmes quando cheguei lá. Apenas estou dando a eles condições iguais às que eu tenho para fazer meus filmes. O cinema deles é marginalizado; seus filmes só passam entre eles mesmos. O meu papel é o de derrubar esse muro e fazer com que se manifestem dentro da corrente principal do cinema brasileiro, dentro disso que a gente entende por economia formal do cinema.*¹²

And it was with Diegues' help that cinema turns not only into a means of artistic experimentation, but also a meaning spreading media, and a privileged mean of communication.

Before analyzing one of the episodes of *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos* in order to better understand this representation (due to space constraints I will discuss only one of them), I will just mention each episode, and how they have been characterized by their directors. The first one, "*Fonte de Renda*"¹³ directed by Manaíra Carneiro and Vagner Novais, talks about the *favelado* who goes to college and has to struggle for money, in Carneiro's words an everyday story they have seen and lived. In "*Arroz com Feijão*"¹⁴ the directors Cacau Amaral and Rodrigo Felha tell the story of a kid who wants to give his dad a nice birthday present: a chicken for dinner. The directors claimed their aim was to tell a funny story that made Brazil laugh (and so they did). The third story, "*Concerto para Violino*"¹⁵ has a different tone. It is not as good-humored and funny as the others, since it tells a violent story of three friends who end up having different destinies: one becomes a cop, the other a violin player, and the third a criminal. Still, the director Luciano Vidigal claims the theme of the story is friendship. Following, "*Deixa Voar*"¹⁶ is a tender story of a

¹² I did not take the cinema to the favela; they have made movies when I got there. I am just giving them means equal to the ones I have when making my films. Their cinema is marginalized; their movies are only screened amongst themselves. My part is to tear down this wall and make them manifest in the main stream of Brazilian cinema, in this we understand as cinema's formal economy (DIEGUES).

¹³ Source of Income

¹⁴ Rice and Beans

¹⁵ The Violin Concert

¹⁶ Let It Fly

teenage romance about humor and human beings, as sustains director Cadu Barcelos. Finally, “*Acende a Luz*,”¹⁷ directed by Luciana Bezerra shows a joyful favela that even facing an energy shortage on Christmas Eve keeps the good-mood. To exemplify the mood of the film, I will talk in a little more detail about this last episode.

As the other four episodes, “*Acende a Luz*” approaches the daily routine of the communities being represented, how the *favelados* live, what they think and do, and how they face the everyday little issues of any person’s life, independent of social class. On Christmas Eve the community faces a blackout, and as they prepare their Christmas parties the energy company worker Lopes is sent to fix the problem. The blackout encompasses a number of negative effects for the community dwellers: their visitors are arriving and without energy they have no water (for the water to arrive at the favela houses they need to turn on their water pumps), no ice (throwing a party in the heat of Rio de Janeiro in December needs ice), the women are extremely concerned with the beauty salon not opening... They have many reasons to be upset. However, that is not what we see. As Lopes asks for directions to arrive at the lamppost he needs to fix, the woman who helps him makes fun of the outsider who will have to face the distance the *favelados* climb on a daily basis, but for an outsider would mean a huge challenge:

*O senhor tá vindo aqui, essa rampa aqui? O senhor vai nela até o final. Depois dela tem uma curva, aí depois que terminar essa curva tem a escada. O senhor vai subindo, subindo, subindo... Quando o senhor chegar lá em cima, aí o senhor pergunta de novo, tá bom? Boa sorte.*¹⁸

The people are pleasant and friendly. The houses are not a picture of poverty. They have a swimming pool, a big screen TV, a bar with good whiskies, and seem perfectly happy – even living in a favela. Their concern is not violence, but the lack of service from the State.

The episode also shows the outsider’s prejudiced view of the favela. Lopes is afraid of the people and claims “*Porra meu, isso aqui é favela!*”¹⁹ His belief of that being a dangerous place was based on representations of the favela as poverty and violence. However, his being there shows him a different side of the favela that had not been represented to him. When Lopes can not fix the problem properly and ends up making an illegal connection, the energy only comes back in one lamppost. The solution is quick: let us all bring the party to the street! Even getting angry at a certain point, and preventing Lopes from leaving before fixing the power, the people end up welcoming him. The light company worker is offered coffee, snacks, and instead of spending Christmas alone (for he has nobody, as he confides to one of the dwellers while having a beer with him) makes friends with the *favelados* and stays for their street party. In this film the community dwellers find ways of solving conflict and problems with touches of good-mood, cheerfulness and humanity.

As a whole, this collective film brings a very positive image of the favelas, closer to any popular periphery neighborhood of big cities than to hardship towns. It makes a counterpart to celebrated favela films, but evidencing different feelings, especially humor.

¹⁷ Let There Be Light

¹⁸ Do you see here, this ramp here? You walk on it until the end. After it there’s a curve, then after the curve there are steps. You climb, climb, climb... When you get up there, then you ask again, okay? Good luck.

¹⁹ Fuck, dude, this is a slum!

There is no neutrality in the view of the directors of *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos*. Each episode of this film is representing the favela as their filmmakers see it, not “as it is” (it could be argued such thing would be a utopia). And by making this counterpoint, those directors are not representing the favela *again*, they are only representing a different part, and celebrating those communities heterogeneity.

Concluding Remarks

By analyzing *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos*, I feel tempted to say these filmmakers (and here I include all the collective effort to make this film) have reflected, and have reached a very healthy conclusion: they are representing the favela people as normal people, with routine concerns and struggles. This facet of their identity was not normally visible in the dominant forms of representation. The theme is not the favela, the favela is just a setting, the theme is this people who have to deal not only with the lack of money, but also with a prejudice against *favelados* that has been reinforced by previous representation. The past favela films, especially the *Cinema Novo* ones, followed this idea of a transformation of society through the awareness of social problems, and thanks to them society learned the *favelados* exist. Now we have to learn who they are. These previous representations were really important in opening the way, but now it is time to refine the representation and give this people the opportunity to show who they really are, with talent and quality.

The main concluding remark is that *5x Favela – Agora Por Nós Mesmos* goes beyond poverty by showing a heterogeneity not commonly seen before. Moreover, this film has opened doors to other representations to reach a wider audience (for instance, the idea has turned into a TV series – *Mais Vezes Favela*²⁰ - on Multishow cable channel). According to Robert Stam, when speaking of Latin American and Caribbean cultural discourses “[a]o mesmo tempo, essas estéticas compartilham o traço jiu-jítsu de transformar fraqueza estratégica em força tática. Ao se apropriar de um discurso existente para seus próprios fins, elas organizam e preparam a força do dominante contra a dominação” (2010, p. 114). The first generation of “*favelado* filmmakers” is following the same steps: they are appropriating an existing discourse to reach their aims of representing a different side of the favela. They are organizing, and with the help of the dominant’s power are acting against domination. Successfully.

References

ALCOFF, L. M. The Problem of Speaking for Others. In: ROOF, J.; WIEGMAN, R. (Eds.). **Who Can Speak? Authority and Critical Identity**. University of Illinois Press, 1996, p. 97-119.

BEVERLY, J. The Margin at the Center: on Testimonio [1989]. In: GUGELBERGER, G. (Ed.). 1996, p. 23-41.

DIEGUES, Carlos. **O cinema da favela desce o morro**. Entrevistadora: Araujo, Cecília. Entrevista à Revista Veja, 2009. Disponível em: <<http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/celebridades/caca-diegues-vez-cinco-vezes-favela>>. Acesso em: 28 abr. 2012.

²⁰ More Times Favela

FRANÇA, A.; LOPES, D. (Orgs). **Cinema, globalização e interculturalidade**. Chapecó: Argos, 2010.

GUGELBERGER, G. (Ed.). **The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America**. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996.

HALL, S. Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation. In: MILLER, T.; STAM, R. (Eds.). **Film and Theory: an Anthology**. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2000, p. 704-714.

HUTCHEON, L. **The Politics of Postmodernism**. New York: Routledge, 1989.

PRYSTHON, A. Outras margens, outros centros: algumas notas sobre o cinema periférico contemporâneo. In FRANÇA, A.; LOPES, D. (Orgs). 2010, p. 163-76.

SOMMER, D. No Secrets. In: GUGELBERGER, G. (Ed.). 1996, p. 130-57.

SPIVAK, G. C. Can the Subaltern Speak? In: NELSON, C.; GROSSBERG, L. **Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture**. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988, p. 271-313.

STAM, R. Para além do Terceiro Cinema: estéticas do hibridismo. In FRANÇA, A.; LOPES, D. (Orgs). 2010, p. 111-36.

WILLIAMS, G. The Fantasies of Cultural Exchange in Latin American Subaltern Studies [1995]. In: GUGELBERGER, G. (Ed.). 1996, p. 225-53.