



SOUND AND SORORITY: IMMATERIAL LABOR IN THE CAREERS OF WOMEN BELONGING TO A MUSICAL COLLECTIVE IN THE PEACE BORDER

SONORIDADE E SORORIDADE: O TRABALHO IMATERIAL NA CARREIRA DE MULHERES PERTENCENTES A UM COLETIVO MUSICAL NA FRONTEIRA DA PAZ

SONIDO Y HERMANDAD: EL TRABAJO INMATERIAL EN LAS CARRERAS DE MUJERES PERTENECIENTES A UN COLECTIVO MUSICAL EN LA FRONTERA DE LA PAZ

ABSTRACT

Objective: To analyze immaterial labor in the careers of women belonging to a musical collective in the Peace Border, a location known as the conurbation of Santana do Livramento (Brazil) and Rivera (Uruguay), due to its geographical, cultural, economic and social union.

Design/methodology/approach: A qualitative and descriptive case study (Godoi & Balsini, 2010; Godoy, 2010) of Proyecto Lunares Binacional, the first collective of women artists in this border location, was carried out. Data collection and analysis was developed through triangulation between documentary research (Godoy, 2010), with analysis of the collective's Instagram and YouTube social media posts; semi-structured interview (Godoi & Mattos, 2010) with the founder; and discussion group (Godoi, 2015) with four members of the collective.

Results: The collective emerges in support of the careers of female singers, instrumentalists and cultural producers. It is based on immaterial labor that becomes evident in self-entrepreneurship, the improvement of artistic performance and the creation of cooperation networks with a focus on gender, musical profession and border culture. Sound is seen as the search for a harmonious artistic career that values aspects of Brazil-Uruguay. Sorority is seen as a link of solidarity between women to combat misogyny in the music industry.

Originality/value: The study highlights the way immaterial labor operates with an emphasis on the importance of sorority in women's professional lives in the context of a binational musical collective, showing how cooperation is fundamental for the development and resistance of these artists.

Keywords: Immaterial labor. Cooperation networks. Collective. Gender. Careers in context.

 **Rafaela Machado Braz**

Graduation

Universidade Federal do Pampa - Brazil

rafaelabraz.aluno@unipampa.edu.br

 **Laura Alves Scherer**

PhD

Universidade Federal do Pampa - Brazil

laurascherer@unipampa.edu.br

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RESUMO

Objetivo: Analisar o trabalho imaterial na carreira de mulheres pertencentes a um coletivo musical na Fronteira da Paz, localidade como é conhecida a conurbação de Santana do Livramento (Brasil) e Rivera (Uruguai), devido a sua união geográfica, cultural, econômica e social.

Design/metodologia/abordagem: Foi realizado um estudo de caso qualitativo e descritivo (Godoi & Balsini, 2010; Godoy, 2010) do Proyecto Lunares Binacional, primeiro coletivo de mulheres artistas nesta localidade fronteiriça. A coleta e análise de dados foi realizada por triangulação entre pesquisa documental (Godoy, 2010), com análise dos posts das redes sociais Instagram e YouTube do coletivo; entrevista semiestruturada (Godoi & Mattos, 2010) com a fundadora; e grupo de discussão (Godoi, 2015) com quatro integrantes do coletivo.

Resultados: O coletivo surge em prol da carreira de mulheres cantoras, instrumentistas e produtoras culturais e acontece a partir do trabalho imaterial que se evidencia no empreendedorismo de si, na melhoria de performance artística e na criação de redes cooperativas com foco no gênero, na profissão musical e na cultura fronteiriça. A sonoridade é tida como a busca pela carreira artística harmoniosa e que valoriza aspectos do Brasil-Uruguai e a sororidade é tida como um elo de solidariedade entre as mulheres para combater a misoginia no mercado musical.

Originalidade/valor: O estudo evidencia o modo de operar do trabalho imaterial com ênfase na importância da sororidade na vida profissional das mulheres no contexto de um coletivo musical binacional mostrando como a cooperação é fundamental para o desenvolvimento e a resistência dessas artistas.

Palavras-chave: Trabalho imaterial. Redes de cooperação. Coletivo. Gênero. Carreiras em contexto.

RESUMEN

Objetivo: Este ensayo teórico explora los Objetivo: Analizar el trabajo inmaterial en las carreras de mujeres pertenecientes a un colectivo musical en Frontera de la Paz, localidad conocida como la conurbación de Santana do Livramento (Brasil) y Rivera (Uruguay), por su unión geográfica, cultural, económica y social.

Diseño/metodología/enfoque: Se realizó un estudio de caso cualitativo y descriptivo (Godoi & Balsini, 2010; Godoy, 2010) del Proyecto Lunares Binacional, el primer colectivo de mujeres artistas en esta localidad fronteriza. La recolección y análisis de datos se realizó mediante triangulación entre investigación documental (Godoy, 2010), con análisis de las publicaciones del colectivo en las redes sociales Instagram y YouTube; entrevista semiestruturada (Godoi & Mattos, 2010) con la fundadora; y grupo de discusión (Godoi, 2015) con cuatro miembros del colectivo.

Resultados: El colectivo surge en apoyo a las carreras de mujeres cantantes, instrumentistas y productoras culturales y se sustenta en un trabajo inmaterial que se evidencia en el autoemprendimiento, el mejoramiento del desempeño artístico y la creación de redes cooperativas con enfoque de género, de profesión musical y de cultura fronteriza. El sonido es visto como la búsqueda de una carrera artística armoniosa que valore aspectos de Brasil-Uruguay y la sororidad es vista como un vínculo de solidaridad entre mujeres para combatir la misoginia en el mercado musical.

Originalidad/valor: El estudio destaca la forma en que opera el trabajo inmaterial con énfasis en la importancia de la sororidad en la vida profesional de las mujeres en el contexto de un colectivo musical binacional, mostrando cómo la cooperación es fundamental para el desarrollo y la resistencia de estas artistas.

Palabras clave: Trabajo inmaterial. Redes de cooperación. Colectivo. Género. Carreras en contexto.



INTRODUCTION

Brazil has several border regions, which includes the city of Santana do Livramento, in Brazil, and Rivera, in Uruguay. They collaborate as if they are a single unit, with only an abstract division between them. This facilitates the unrestricted movement of individuals to walk, interact, shop, study and work. Known as the Peace Border, this area represents not only a geographic conurbation, but a cultural, economic, and social union between countries. In this context, work activities in this frontier acquire a unique complexity, marked by cultural exchanges that promote the development of frontier professions in the labor market (Martins & Scherer, 2023). According to Calasans and Davel (2021), the values and principles developed by engaging in community culture are essential for the construction and direction of individuals' career choices. An illustration of this is artists from the region who seek to enhance aspects of this border region in their careers, such as women in the music industry, the focus of this research.

Despite progress, women continue to face challenges in the workforce that are reproduced, perceived, and experienced in different ways based on a gender perspective (Mayhofer, Meyrer & Steyrer, 2007; Moterani & Carvalho, 2016), as, for example, through the wage gap (Lima, 2018). There are also symbolic obstacles such as the "glass ceiling," a barrier that prevents women and minority groups from ascending to the upper levels of the hierarchy in organizations (Lazzaretti & Godoi, 2013). Furthermore, there is a phenomenon known as the "crystal wall", which reveals a negative correlation between age and gender, resulting in stereotypes that portray young women as inexperienced and immature (Beltramin, Cepellos & Pereira, 2022). Additionally, females might need to take on extra work, as they are primarily responsible for raising children and overseeing domestic duties. This creates overload and difficulties in developing their professional careers (Lazzaretti & Godoi, 2013; Lima, 2018).

These challenges persist throughout the careers of women. They commonly unite in groups to share their experiences, lend support to one another, and seek opportunities for development, especially in professions where men are

the majority and women's roles are often overlooked (Pagel & Mello, 2021; Caldas, 2022). In the current economic landscape, social networks have become vital strategies, as they promote flows of ideas in creative processes, as demonstrated by teams of people who join forces to enhance their professional paths (Melo, 2015). According to Rocha (2009, p. 170, our translation), collectives are defined as "groups that develop creative processes and collaborative actions, as well as discourses on the conditions and political purposes of their actions".

This cooperation network helps to break down barriers and create a supportive environment where women can empower one another, which is a key aspect of the idea of immaterial labor. Lazzarato and Negri (2001, p. 50, our translation) assert that "the nature of immaterial labor is inherently collective, existing only in the context of a network and its dynamic flow". The connection between social networks and emotional work is significant; while emotional work helps building networks, these networks also play a role in generating emotional work, forming the essence of immaterial labor (Pelbart, 2000). The collective development of knowledge, images and emotions is concentrated in the immaterial labor. An emerging form of subjectivity is relevant in this new work configuration. Capabilities that go beyond physical strength and involve subjective aspects of the lifestyles of individuals in the production of their tasks are especially prominent (Mansano, 2009).

Our starting point is the understanding that intangible labor is inherent to the context in which female artists from a border region of Brazil and Uruguay come together to establish a support network for their careers and to recognize the different dimensions of their lives, such as their social and cultural reality. The general objective is outlined as: to analyze the immaterial labor in the careers of women belonging to a musical collective in the Peace Border. To achieve this objective, a case study was carried out on Proyecto Lunares Binacional, a collective aimed at women working in the music industry, the first in the border town of Santana do Livramento (Brazil) and Rivera (Uruguay), launched in December 2019.



There are already studies on the immaterial labor of artistic careers. Melo (2015), explores the role of entrepreneurial artists in the creative economy of immaterial labor, comparing results between Brazil and England. Lopes (2022) portrays the work relationships of classical musicians in Brazil, and Biehl (2018) presents the intangible labor of musicians from the independent and authorial music community in Porto Alegre. This study stands out as it addresses the immaterial labor of women in music careers who are part of a collective in a border context between countries. Its contribution to the literature synthesizes ideas related to career, immaterial labor, gender, and border culture.

The research emphasizes its social significance as it presents practical implications by offering insights applicable to binational public policies. Highlighting the involvement of women in music in a collective context on the Brazil-Uruguay border broadens the scope of understanding about immaterial labor in artistic careers, thus recognizing the importance of these collectives' efforts. This facilitates an extensive analysis of policy that addresses the labor market's challenges and opportunities, taking into account economic, territorial, social, cultural and gender aspects.

INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS ON CAREERS

A person's career trajectory can be interpreted as the sequence of positions and experiences over time in the context of work and study (Dutra & Veloso, 2013). The context in which the individual is inserted can enhance or hinder such experiences (De Vos, 2024). Thus, job trajectories no longer exhibit the typical features of linearity and sequence of positions in a single company. Currently, the era known as VUCA - volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (Woltés & Fernández-Mesa, 2022) - and the BANI context - brittle, anxious, non-linear, and incomprehensible - stand out, which drive individuals to seek more flexibility and versatility in their careers. This environment of transformation is also characterized by self-management of one's career (De Vos, 2024) and the resilience required

for leaders and workers in a system that is both unstable and full of anxieties. This situation has become even more evident in the post-pandemic scenario (Rodríguez Vieira, Maiuri Del Buono, & Díaz, 2024).

Apart from the general scenario presented, there are also specific contextual aspects, such as social and cultural dimensions, that are vital for career development. One key factor that emerges is "gender," as it shows wage inequality and disparity in opportunities for professional growth between men and women in the labor market. In the "race/ethnicity" roles, there is a reduction in opportunities in the professional field based on racial discrimination. The concept of "demographics" includes the wider setting in which both individuals and organizations operate, and regions serve as a reference for discussing vocational behavior. "Community factors" are agents of integration of individuals and the environment in which they are inserted in the local, civil, political and religious community, and are relevant to individual careers (Mayrhofer, Meyer & Steyrer, 2007).

Consequently, understanding careers requires a contextual analysis, as they are the product of social structures such as organizations or institutions and, simultaneously, they (re)produce these structures (Gunz, Mayrhofer & Tolbert, 2011). Montanari et al. (2021) illustrate this concept by showing how the environment of a city can influence the career success of creative workers over time. These workers use creativity as the main input for their work, asserting that personal achievement is intrinsically linked to the need for recognition, shaped by the identity of the city.

Calasans and Davel (2021) examines how the cultural and social context affects career paths, in their study on the management of creative careers in the music industry. Culture represents the way individuals see themselves, taking into account their values and aspects of their personality; and this vision is linked to the individual's professional aspirations and the way they want to be seen by society. The culture of a community can influence professional paths in various manners, as focusing on cultural management to preserve local culture and adding value to artis-



tic work by incorporating elements of traditional music. It also emphasizes the impact of collective leadership on creative careers, where management is carried out jointly, as a process of social interaction that seeks to share tasks and responsibilities.

A different investigation in this area is the one conducted by Martins and Scherer (2023), and analyzes how cultural hybridism permeates the careers of music and gastronomy professionals in a border area between Brazil and Uruguay. They assume that careers are shaped by the sociocultural context in which individuals are inserted, with particular emphasis on elements such as family and territorial origin. These are distinctive elements of the border cultural identity, such as hybrid families (*doblo chapa*), shared childhood experiences, the use of *Portunhol* (a mix of Portuguese and Spanish languages), country cuisine and artistic expressions. The identity formed at the border is crucial for the personal and professional development of these individuals, promoting and strengthening the growth of their careers. Such nuances of the subjectivity of individuals can be linked to immaterial labor.

IMMATERIAL LABOR

Lazzarato e Negri (2001, p. 46, our translation) explain that the theoretical notion of immaterial labor is characterized by the process of reproduction of subjectivity, which “produces above all a social connection (a relationship of innovation, production, consumption) and, only in the presence of this reproduction, its activity has an economic value”. Regarding the formation of social relations, Mansano (2009) presents a similar idea. She argues that immaterial labor involves a change of the human being, through the acquisition of knowledge, and interaction with their social context, with the aim of fostering emotional connections formed during social interactions, thus forming cooperation networks.

Additionally, Pelbart (2000, p. 43, our translation) highlights that “immaterial labor involves affective work in the sense that its products are intangible, such as a feeling of tranquility, well-being, fulfillment, enthusiasm, passion or even the feeling of simply being connected or belonging to a community” formed by bonds, that is,

that acts collectively.

Empirical studies show immaterial labor in different scenarios. Pagel and Mello (2021), for example, focus on the mobilization of women in groups, in online and offline environments, forming organized collectives. The research suggests that the immaterial labor of feminist networks is expressed in a complex web of affections and sorority via digital media, encompassing a spectrum of feminist movements and the idea of intersectionality. This transforms the plurality of meanings of being a woman in the 21st century. Therefore, the immaterial labor of feminist networks, while producing knowledge and demands, can aid in the restructuring of society.

Research has also been conducted on immaterial labor within the realms of art and music, such as that of Melo (2015), who analyzed entrepreneurial artists from different fields. The desire to develop their work makes these artists become self-entrepreneurs, allowing them to produce their art in an authorial and independent way, without adhering to the standards of large music contractors. This ability to manage oneself produces social and economic wealth for previously overlooked professions, including the arts. This is the economy “of so-called ‘immaterial labor’, which, like the arts, prioritizes aspects like imagination, care, cognition and affection” (Melo, 2015, p. 14, our translation).

Lopes (2022) outlined the configurations of classical musicians’ labor relations. He refers to the immaterial labor of classical musicians as a commodity impossible to quantify, store, or materialize. This work involves qualities of behavior, expression, and imagination, as well as technique and creation, which are inherently associated with ideological and economic factors. A further element involved the dependence on government incentives to implement projects, such as laws and policies to encourage culture. In pursuit of this goal, classical musicians form collaborative networks, a characteristic of immaterial labor, “to devise strategies and maintain permanent dialogues with the State” that can mitigate uncertainties and foster greater stability in their professional trajectories (Lopes, 2022, p. 58, our translation). The findings support the research conducted by Watson, Watson and Tompkins



(2022) on how independent artists need to evolve and build networks to sustain their careers. Given the financial vulnerabilities, this reflects Lopes' (2022) idea about the need for collaborative strategies (such as cooperative networks) to mitigate the uncertainties of the music market and promote careers that can thrive financially. The dependence on financial incentives, such as those offered by streaming services and social media platforms is compared to what Lopes says about the dependence of classical musicians on state funding and cultural policies to secure a stable career path.

The research conducted by Biehl (2018) aligns most closely with this research, as it focused on the intangible labor of musicians within the independent and authorial scene. The author maintains that the immaterial labor in this profession is shaped by the personal and professional experiences of individuals over the course of their lives. Musicians adopt various strategies to navigate the difficulties associated with the production, promotion and distribution of their work. They employ strategies to live their lives in search of harmony in a context increasingly shaped by consumerist values. So, individuals must be attentive, flexible, resist at least for the sake of their art, avoid virtual approval, maintain self-control, resonate with the authorial scene. They must go above and beyond, make the most of it, stay online to promote themselves, go offline to carry out pre-musical production, cooperate with their peers and the public.

The strategies adopted by musicians in the independent and authorial scene clearly demonstrate not only market demands, but also individual experiences, social and cultural interactions that permeate their work.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative case study was performed to examine the role of immaterial labor in the professional lives of women involved in a musical collective situated in the Peace Border region. Godoi and Balsini (2010) assert that qualitative research aims to explore and understand complex pheno-

mena from the perspective of the individuals engaged, delivering an in-depth and contextualized view of the processes. This strategy is grounded in interpretation, highlighting how individuals formulate meanings and how their experiences are shaped by specific sociocultural contexts.

The case study followed the guidelines of Godoy (2010). Drawing on the work of Stake, Yin, and Merriam, the author recognizes that this research approach aims to gain an in-depth understanding of a situation and its meaning for those involved. This work is defined by its descriptive nature, as it provides a detailed account of a social phenomenon. "Cross-cultural comparative research utilizes case studies to investigate the ways in which people from diverse countries, regions, or cultures understand and integrate significant concepts that shape their behaviors" (Godoy, 2010, p. 128, our translation), which is in line with this research. The study focuses on Proyecto Lunares Binacional, a collaborative initiative designed to organize events that promote artistic alliance among women. The inaugural initiative of the Peace Border frontier, located between Santana do Livramento in Brazil and Rivera in Uruguay, aims to create opportunities for professionalization and insertion in the music market.

Godoy (2010) emphasizes that the qualitative case study stands out as the premier approach for employing multiple methods in data collection. Therefore, various sources were used, including documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with individuals, and focus group discussions. Initially, documentary research was carried out to analyze the collective's social media posts on Instagram and YouTube. The analyzed components included images, videos and texts in posts released from November 2020 to August 2023, marking the timeframe from the initial to the final post. Godoy (2010) emphasizes the significance of analyzing documents, as this process expands and corroborates evidence from other sources. Some posts were used in the analyses to illustrate the immaterial labor of the collective.

Following that, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the founder of Proyecto



Lunares Binacional. As noted by Godoi and Mattos (2010), qualitative interviews work as dialogic exchanges that reflect the social and cultural context of the interviewee. This methodology plays a vital role in understanding the intricate nature of personal experiences and perceptions. The videoconference interview took place in April 2024 and lasted one hour. Among the qualitative interview modalities described by Godoi and Mattos (2010), the one based on a script was selected for its capacity to provide flexibility to the interviewer.

A discussion group was also organized. According to Godoi (2015), this is a qualitative research group practice, originating in Spanish critical sociology. This study aims to explore how shared meanings are generated and integrated into personal experiences, characterized by a non-prescriptive nature, but dynamic to the context of the research. Invitations were extended to all twenty individuals who participated in both editions of Lunares; however, only four could attend (three workshop instructors/students and one student). One of the authors was the moderator. The discussion group was held via videoconference in May 2024, and lasted 1h 30 min. Following Godoi (2015), the strategy of an "open" discourse situation was used, in which the moderator strives to remain unnoticed. To facilitate discussion, a script featuring sequential thematic questions acted merely as a stimulus for participants to speak spontaneously and in a disorderly manner. There was little influence from the moderator in the conversation, in order to allow free speech among the participants. Based on the conversation and its nuances, we sought to understand the group's consensus. Homogeneity and symmetry are characteristics of the formation of the discussion group aiming to avoid relationships of domination; therefore, we decided to conduct a separate interview with the founder of the collective.

The participants were contacted via WhatsApp and/or Instagram. The interviewees authorized the use of the collective name and their own names, by filling out a consent form. In order to illustrate the immaterial labor, some of their

authorial works are cited throughout the results, which require authorship credit. Also, the first final version of the research was delivered to the participants so they could read and provide a feedback.

The individual interview and the discussion group were recorded in audio files, which after transcription, totaled 30 pages of material for analysis. Godoy (2010) states that, in the analysis technique in qualitative case studies, data are segmented into significant units, which maintain the connection with the whole, and guide the analysis process. The segments are categorized according to an organizational system derived from the data itself. The main intellectual tool is comparison, which is used in all analytical tasks to form categories, set boundaries, and assign data segments to categories. Thus, categories were developed based on the objectives of the study, that is, on the prominent characteristics of the immaterial labor of the collective of women artists. The categories were: context of the emergence of the collective, characteristics of the immaterial labor provided by the collective, and border culture as a manifestation of the immaterial labor of the collective. The categories were analyzed by triangulating data from the documents, individual interviews and discussion groups, based on the theoretical framework.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

This section presents the participants' profiles and the analytical categories.



Figure 1
Profile of interviewees

Name	Nationality	Hometown/ city of residence	Age	Profession	Activities carried out	Education	Position in the collective	Years working in the collective
INTERVIEW WITH THE FOUNDER								
Carolina	Brazilian (mother's side and Uruguayan (father's side))	Santana do Livramento, RS / Montevideu, UR	30	Internationalist	Singer, foreign language teacher, manager and cultural producer	International relations – UNIPAMPA, Music at the Rivera Conservatory	Creator – Producer	2020 and 2023
DISCUSSION GROUP PARTICIPANTS								
Dida	Brazilian	Santana do Livramento, RS / Porto Alegre, RS	29	Singing teacher	Singer, composer, singing teacher, musical arranger	Bachelor's degree in Singing, Master's degree in Education – UFSM	Workshop instructor	2020
Bárbara	Brazilian	Santana do Livramento, RS / Santana do Livramento, RS	36	Visual artist, teacher and cultural producer	Artistic works, Cultural Production, Art workshops	Bachelor's and Master's degree in Visual Arts - UFPEL	Workshop instructor	2023
Silvana	Brazilian	Belford Roxo, RJ / Santana do Livramento, RS	35	Technology analyst at a company in the technology area	Corporate communication in the technology area, singer, producer	Economist - UNIPAMPA and Master in Communication - UnB	Workshop instructor	2020 and 2023
Rosilene	Brazilian	Engenheiro Beltrão, PR / Santana do Livramento, RS	52	Student	Studying for a competition, Volunteer singer in church	Administration and Law – UNIPAMPA	Student	2020

Source: prepared by the authors

Of the women participating in the study, four are Brazilians, and one is a double chapa, that is, she has Brazilian and Uruguayan nationality. They all perform multiple artistic activities: singers, composers, instrumentalists, arrangers, teachers, managers and cultural producers. Carolina and Dida have formal education in the area of music, the others have a degree in other areas.

Only Dida makes her living exclusively from music, the others work in different areas. Silvana works in technology, Carolina is a language teacher, Bárbara is a visual artist and Rosilene is studying for a public exam. Dida, Carolina, Silvana and Bárbara do music as a source of income. Rosilene is not engaged in any paid artistic work;

she volunteers by singing at her church.

Even though not everyone resided in Santana do Livramento/Rivera during the research, they often go to the border due to family ties, and the necessity to coordinate and participate in the collective's events. Carolina and Silvana participated in both editions, 2020 and 2023. Carolina serves as the overall producer for the project, while Silvana was involved in the initial edition as both a sponsor and a student of the project. In the subsequent edition, she was a choral singing workshop facilitator. Dida and Bárbara took part in a collective event, with Dida leading a singing workshop and Bárbara facilitating a session focused on feminism and the roles of women in art



and music. Rosilene participated in an edition as a student.

CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCE OF PROYECTO LUNARES BINACIONAL

a) Conception of the Collective

The Proyecto Lunares Binacional is a group that facilitates events through various editions and, as highlighted on its Instagram, serves as a “chance for women [...] artists, singers, and songwriters to gain professional experience and enter the music industry”. This is a pioneering initiative on the Brazil-Uruguay border, in the cities of Santana do Livramento and Rivera, characterized as a culturally hybrid space, where artistic expressions and linguistic practices merge in a unique environment of interaction. The work of the Lunares collective in the Brazil-Uruguay border context reflects a distinctive moment in which

the cultural policies of both nations promote artistic integration. Assistance from governmental resources and transnational mobility have become crucial elements for advancing artists’ careers in the border region, resulting in the creation of spaces and platforms for exchange and collaboration. Recent developments have created an environment where artistic careers can be more fluid, allowing artists from border regions to reach beyond political limits and cultivate a binational identity.

The project aims to: (i) democratize access to artistic training and training for local artists; (ii) encourage the sharing of ideas and experiences; (iii) boost collective creation among women; (iv) cultivate connections of mutual aid and encouragement among women involved in the border music community, as illustrated in the posts on Instagram.

Figure 2

Instagram posts with the collective objectives.



Source: Instagram of Proyecto Lunares Binacional.



Emphasizing women in cross-border situations introduces a dimension of sorority and resilience to these goals, highlighting how cultural projects can confront historical structures of gender exclusion. Research focusing on women's groups in urban contexts (e.g., Rocha, 2009) point to the importance of establishing support networks in spaces of cultural production. In the case of Proyecto Lunares, this network gains additional significance since it transcends national borders. It fosters a web of solidarity between Brazilians and Uruguayans who face specific barriers, including disparities in access to opportunities and visibility in the music industry based on gender.

Carolina, the founder of Proyecto Lunares, explains that the collective was born out of "a personal concern and the desire to unite in support of women". Consequently, she committed herself to her training in project management and the music industry, aiming to pursue a professional career in that field. To begin with, this emphasizes the characteristics of immaterial labor, particularly when the context demands the individual's ability to undertake its own career (Lazzarato & Negri, 2001).

The funding for Lunares events primarily comes from government sources, which are essential for many community groups (Rocha, 2009). Two versions of the event have taken place so far: the first in 2020, featuring four participants, and the second in 2023, with 16 participants (Brazilians, Uruguayans and *doble chapas*). In both editions, the collective received support from the Regional Fund for Culture (Fondo Regional para La Cultura), made available by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Uruguay. Upon presenting the project, Carolina received assistance from Silvana, who is well-versed in text and communication, highlighting the initiation of a collaborative network, another characteristic of immaterial labor (Mello, 2015). The collective is managed by the creator, who distributes the resources according to the activities carried out:

"The responsibilities of management encompass both the general production and the production assistant, along with other roles that are hired, for example: graphic designer who will do the artwork for the

project, and workshop leaders/teachers who are hired to give the classes. Several roles are involved depending on the kind of workshop. There were 7 workshops and 8 workshop leaders, so it involved a lot of work. I know it's a minor point, but the fact that there's already a second edition is a huge step forward." (Carolina)

The expansion of activities in the 2023 edition demonstrates the collective's achievement in establishing itself as a platform for cultural training and integration. This second edition built upon the initial version, taking place over three immersive weekends at the Casa de la Cultura de Rivera. The participants received training in composition, instrument maintenance, marketing and career management, body language, singing and sound design. The initiative established opportunities for women authors and poets who wish to acquire skills in songwriting. The closing ceremony culminated in a celebration of poetry and musical, during which the participants shared their learning with the border community.

Although there are other transnational cultural initiatives, Lunares stands out for its innovative and multidimensional projects to integrate binational culture, utilizing different forms of artistic and linguistic expression. Unlike other initiatives that concentrate on a specific domain like music or visual arts, Lunares integrates these diverse forms of expression into a **distinctive narrative articulated through women's perspectives**. **Portunhol**, a linguistic blend of Brazilian and Uruguayan languages, serves as a defining characteristic that distinguishes this community from other groups working in the same region.

b) Challenges in the Musical Career Leading to the Formation of the Collective

During their musical careers, the artists identified several challenges: **male chauvinism, lack of public political incentives, lack of cohesion among professionals, insufficient training for artists**.

The discrimination faced by women, particularly in culturally traditional areas like the Brazil-Uruguay Peace Border, was one of the main reasons that encouraged the creation of



the project. Young women, in particular, face additional challenges in having their work recognized and valued (Beltramin, Cepellos & Pereira, 2022). Gender stereotypes play a significant role in shaping how both the public and managers assess competence and seriousness (Lazzaretti & Godoi, 2013) of female musicians. The interviewees' accounts and the Instagram post illustrate these theoretical dimensions: "the participation and professionalization of women in music is considered inferior compared to that of men. On large festival stages, the participation of women is scarce".

Figure 3

Instagram post about women's participation in festivals

lunaresbinacional SABÍAS QUE...?

La participación y profesionalización de las mujeres y disidencias en la música, es considerablemente menor respecto a los varones.

En los Festivales masivos la participación de las mujeres sobre el escenario es escasa o nula, como por ejemplo la Semana de la Cerveza 2019 (2 mujeres en 34 presentaciones) y el Festival Minas y Abril 2019 (no hubo mujeres dentro de la grilla).

!! En nuestra frontera, en el Choricéva del año 2018, sólo había UNA mujer entre todas las bandas de la grilla.

En el año de 2019 eran DOS mujeres dentro de la grilla.

Proyecto Lunares quiere promover el intercambio de ideas y experiencias entre mujeres que están activas en la música en el circuito cultural de la frontera. Queremos conocer sus trayectorias, hacer con que puedan compartir experiencias y crear vínculos.

Las inscripciones van hasta el día 29/11!

No lo dejes para el último momento! Mandá un video tocando y cantando una de tus canciones autorales, llená el formulario y listo! Las bases están disponibles en:

<https://linktr.ee/lunaresbinacional>

#mujeresenlamusica #mulheresnamusica #fronteira #rivera #livramento #uruguay #brasil #lunaresbinacional #educacao #sororidade #arte #formação #capacitacaoprofissional #artistas

Source: Instagram of Proyecto Lunares

Binacional.

Carolina notes that several instances illustrate this phenomenon:

"Working in the music scenario can be really hard for women because there are tons of gender-related issues, and the industry is still super sexist. I was frequently the only woman leading bands and music projects, working at night. This is often frowned upon by a conservative society like Livramento." (Carolina)

While the expressions of discrimination towards women may be less overt, they continue to exist. The aversion to women, known as misogyny, has significant and lasting historical foundations. It is vital to explore the past to comprehend that this phenomenon is socially constructed and not an innate reality (Moterani & Carvalho, 2016). For this reason, Silvana decided to join the collective: "I realized that there are few women in these environments. The way things are organized is why we're not part of these environments. We need to focus on lifting each other up, getting familiar with one another, and being there for each other, plus giving each other more recognition". Numerous female musicians do not have the opportunity to reflect on how gender influences their careers in music. To encourage this critical reflection, the collective held a roundtable discussion, as a welcoming activity, about feminism and the role of women in music. Carolina explains the topic:

"We create this moment of sharing and welcoming, so later on they can be resolved and open their minds to focus on learning from the other workshops in the project. Usually, we are not taught how to turn music into a career. Being a woman, we feel awkward about doing certain things." (Carolina)

Another challenge is the lack of government funding and support. The music industry at the frontier faces the lack of standards to pay for professionals. Consequently, this leads to discrepancies in pricing, as each artist determines what they believe is an equitable rate for their services. Conversely, certain musicians might find themselves in situations of exploitation, earning inadequate compensation and frequently regarded not as employees, but rather as volunteers. This situation reflects the insufficiency, omission or even absence of public authorities in the par-



ticipation and support for the maintenance of this sector. It is essential for public authorities to recognize the importance of fostering and prioritizing culture as a key component of human development, building strategies committed to its appreciation (Lopes, 2022), as highlighted by Carolina and Bárbara:

“The music sector in the frontier is very disunited. I participated in the Municipal Council of Cultural Policies of Santana do Livramento trying to discuss with other people the issue of setting a fixed fee. But each person charges what they think is fair for their work. We’ve talked about these things before, like setting a standard pay for the professionals, so that we can also organize ourselves.” (Carolina)

“The problem is understanding that an artist is always a volunteer, someone who does good because s/he can’t do anything else. We don’t think of ourselves as workers, we are cultural creators. They say: ah, you are a doer because you are a volunteer. The fact is that we have a lot of work. If I tell you the value of the resource, it pays almost nothing! And this is a problem that we, as a collective, have to inform and communicate to people.” (Bárbara)

Brazil demonstrates significant and robust abilities in cultural output and, depending on the historical context, there is (or is not) recognition and investment of public resources for this sector. The cultural sector frequently faces challenges due to the scarcity of necessary resources and the lack of formalized support systems, which impede its overall development. From the perspective of the artists, this situation does not occur in comparison to other sectors considered to be of greater value, as Bárbara elucidates:

“During times of natural disasters, such as the recent flood in Rio Grande do Sul, the government steps in with financial help and resources for farmers, ensuring the continuity of production through the purchase of equipment and other assistance. There is a chain of action in this sense

so that production does not stop. Unlike other things, art doesn’t get the same kind of attention. Art is often treated as something special, dependent on specific notices and projects. This prevents artists from having a continuous support structure. If we had steady backing for buying instruments, we could run more workshops and boost cultural activities more regularly.” (Bárbara)

Dida stresses the importance of appreciating the frontier area. “Using Brazil and Uruguay as a border is a great way for us to explore the amazing variety and culture that our continent has to offer. It is clear the search for professional training, the building of connections among women to combat male chauvinism and misogyny, and the valorization of the political and cultural diversity of a given place can be configured as characteristics of immaterial labor. As will be illustrated in the following sections, artists utilize this approach to effectively establish a collective.

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMATERIAL LABOR PROVIDED BY THE COLLECTIVE

Immaterial labor refers to activities that involve the individual’s subjectivity in the creation of their work and require characteristics such as **self-entrepreneurship, cooperation networks and effective performance**. Lazzarato and Negri (2001, p. 94) define self-entrepreneurship as a form of independent work that requires individuals to possess significant skills in cooperation, management, and organization and commercial innovation, to carry out several activities simultaneously and, therefore, has “entrepreneurial” capacity. As stressed by Biehl (2018), those interviewed indicate that thriving as a musician in the independent and authorial landscape necessitates a range of knowledge and skills that surpass traditional music proficiency. Success in music demands a multifaceted approach; it is inadequate to rely solely on vocal quality, instrumental proficiency, stage presence, and musical talent; one must also cultivate further skills. To remain competitive in the market, one must effectively manage financial resources, navigate bureaucra-



tic processes, oversee public funds, handle contracts, coordinate teams, procure materials, and maintain accurate accounting, as underlined by Dida's insights on self-entrepreneurship:

"I make a living from music. It's my only source of income, but I rely on singing lessons for cash, and with my personal project, which would be my original songs (artistic project). This management must happen simultaneously with another, since they're pretty much linked. Managing my artistic career involves the creative part: which includes composing, singing, and instrumental performance; the bureaucratic part: fundraising, selling shows; and marketing, which is related to social media. So, it is difficult to manage everything" (Dida).

Bárbara associates the multiple activities involved in carrying out her (immaterial) work with the concept of "artist-etc." coined by Basbaum (2005):

"I'm into visual arts, but I don't make my living by teaching art classes. I work on some occasional projects, and I've gotten three grants already, but it's not common to get cash for art-related work. It's that concept of "artist-etc. We're more than just artists, because we cannot make a living from this. There is a whole backstory that even explains why we cannot make a living. Honestly, there's so much going on with communication, management, and admin stuff that it can really squeeze out our chances to be creative and write poetically." (Bárbara)

According to Basbaum (2005, p. 167, our translation), artists do more than just create works, the artist's role extends beyond artistic production: "A practitioner who commits fully to the art profession is termed an 'artist-artist'; however, when this practitioner reflects on the essence and purpose of their artistic identity, we label them as 'artist-etc.' This framework facilitates the exploration of multiple classifications, including artist-curator, artist-writer etc.". The

idea of the artist-etc. is connected to self-management, a relationship that Lazzarato and Negri (2001) identify with the characteristics of immaterial labor. While the various responsibilities offer a level of self-governance and flexibility, they simultaneously impose the obligation of managing the complete production cycle, which can be quite demanding for artists. As a result, many seek help from cooperative organizations.

Networks of collaboration, which are intrinsic to immaterial labor (Melo, 2015), serve as a valuable strategy for independent workers to face the burden of having to manage all facets of their careers and the obstacles presented by the job market. By collaborating, they share resources, knowledge and networks, expanding opportunities and strengthening individual and collective skills. It was in this meeting of female artists in a cooperation network that the Lunares collective was shaped. As a result, networks built on cooperation generate a favorable environment for innovation and the advancement of careers, particularly among minority groups like women, as demonstrated in the reports by Dida and Carolina.

"I thought it was a really cool idea, to bring women together and help them boost their artistic skills. When we get together, not only does art become stronger, everything changes! We become stronger together." (Dida)

"Interfering in this border society, inspiring people to create, exchange ideas, sorority, bringing women together in the music industry. This sharing of experiences. Still, it's super important to hold on to the spirit of this project, which is all about sharing, building connections, and teamwork." (Carolina)

The issue of gender - being a woman - is part of the collective's identity. They really emphasize that this project is open to all women, that inclusion is an important value in their cooperation network. They even mention on their social media that they welcome both cis and trans women, just like in that Instagram post.



Figure 4

Instagram post with an invitation for cis and trans women.



Source: Instagram of Proyecto Lunares Binacional.

Dida emphasizes that enhancing women's roles in the arts not only strengthens the social marker of gender, but also that of race. By asserting her identity as a black woman within artistic environments, she claims her place and demystifies the idea that the presence of black people is unique or isolated. In this scenario, the collaboration of minority groups, embracing their diversity, strengthen their careers (Mayrhofer, Meyer & Steyrer, 2007) creating a support network that encourages inclusivity in artistic spaces.

"I'm ready to step up as a black woman and fill every space I can with my art. I will be there. A major struggle that I have been

increasingly strengthening in my art lately is, mainly, breaking this myth of the black person being the only black in spaces. Many times, I found myself and my father being the only black people in artistic environments. Let's say, in environments of privilege. We had the opportunity to study and get out of the spaces where we sometimes feel trapped. All of this occurred due to art and education. So, I think that, being a black woman, and being in spaces with other women who will strengthen me, this is a mutual exchange. I think this is a very important thing." (Dida)

Unity within diversity can be seen as a powerful tool for empowerment and social change. When artists come together, they are not in female competition; on the contrary, they develop a sound work, in harmony: "We are women who empower other women. At Lunares there is no competition. From the beginning, we were there working together, in harmony. There was no individual dispute, because we were there to strengthen each other" (Rosilene). In addition to sound, there is also sorority, which is the practice of sisterhood and cooperation among women. It arises from the need to share subjective experiences, forming personal, social and political alliances, which empower these women, as explained by Pagel and Mello (2021) and Caldas (2022).

Especially in the work of musicians, another characteristic of immaterial labor is performance and its continuous improvement. As shown by Biehl (2018), this improvement requires searching for the capacity of originality and creativity, with autonomy and a do-it-yourself mentality taking responsibility for one's own work. This collective provided the members with autonomy to learn other activities and performances in their careers. Silvana states that the collective empowered her to start a new project: "Mainly in this sense of thinking: damn, I could submit a project. I have this dream of starting a teenage choir, and finally this year I will make it happen." Dida expanded



her idea about art in the countryside: "Art exists all around us and holds significant influence, even in the remote areas of Brazil. Being part of the group really reinforced for me this idea that wherever you are you have the ability to unite individuals and create impactful art. Based on this, Rosilene comments:

"With training workshops. If it was just one workshop, it wouldn't have influenced the project as it did." There were a lot of workshops, and every single one shared a different viewpoint, which helped us improve our skills as artists. All in all, it was a positive change; we enjoyed singing, writing, and body expression classes, and each workshop made a difference." (Rosilene)

Consequently, the collective's endeavors are marked by a type of immaterial labor that emphasizes self-entrepreneurship. Alongside their creative obligations, the participants in the interviews bear the responsibility for managing and continuously innovating their careers, undertaking a range of functions categorized as "artist-etc.". Networks of collaboration play a crucial role in non-material work, and within these collectives, the formation of bonds is clearly influenced by both gender and profession. A collective of artistic women collaborates to address prejudice and practice sorority to stay in the market. The group gathers to enrich their learning experience by participating in workshops led by guests, and by sharing insights with each other. By participating in classes and workshops, the artists enhanced their performance skills, acquiring more sound, self-confidence and autonomy to develop new projects.

BORDER CULTURE AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE IMMATERIAL LABOR OF THE COLLECTIVE

Martins and Scherer (2023) define border culture as a characteristic that emphasizes the cultural identity found at a frontier, exemplified by the blending of Brazilian and Uruguayan cultural elements. This unique identity contributes to the development of border careers. Collective Lunares demonstrates its immaterial labor through the utilization of the Portuguese language, the creation of artistic works, and the establishment of institutional networks that reflect both binational and border identities.

A significant representation of border culture in the context of collective immaterial labor is the linguistic blend known as *Portunhol*, which showcases an amalgamation of Portuguese and Spanish through the integration of words and phonetic traits (Martins & Scherer, 2023). This linguistic blend not only improves dialogue among speakers of the two languages but also serves as a representation of the specific cultural identity found in border regions.

This phenomenon can be observed on Lunares' social networks. Instagram posts feature captions and videos that are articulated both in written form and verbally, occasionally utilizing Spanish, Portuguese, or a blend of the two languages known as *Portunhol*. Rosilene asserts that language serves as the fundamental component of border culture, as individuals in that region frequently communicate in Portuguese, Spanish, and *Portunhol*. Sometimes words get mixed. We think in Portuguese and respond in Spanish and vice versa". Dida emphasizes that the variety of musical styles, along with the way of singing, speaking, reciting poetry", are elements of border culture as expressed through language. Such instances represent expressions of intangible labor, given that the ways in which the frontier communicates influence the subjectivity of the artists, which becomes integrated into the collective's activities. These are a characteristic that sets this collective apart.



Figure 5

Instagram post in Spanish and Portuguese

lunaresbinacional • ES: En diciembre se viene LUNARES!

El primer proyecto de la frontera Santana do Livramento/Rivera destinado a mujeres cantautoras que trabajan en la música! 🎵

• PT: Em dezembro LUNARES vem aí! O primeiro projeto da fronteira destinado a mulheres compositoras e musicistas que trabalham na área da música!

• ES: Serán seleccionadas 4 mujeres que sean compositoras y toquen instrumentos para participar de talleres y capacitaciones, para aprender sobre la inserción en el mercado de la música.

• PT: Serão selecionadas 4 mulheres compositoras e instrumentistas para participar de oficinas e capacitações, para aprender a se inserir no mercado da música.

! Súmate a Lunares! Difundí esta oportunidad y nos vemos en diciembre! 🍌🌸🌙

#fronteiradapaz #mujeresenlamusica
#santanadolivramento #rivera #mec #uruguay
#brasil #binacional #masmusicasuy
#masmujeresenlamusica #lunaresbinacional

Source: Instagram of Proyecto Lunares Binacional.

The manifestation of border culture within the immaterial labor of the collective's members can also be observed in authorial artistic products: an artistic intervention project developed by Bárbara; a song lyric composed by Carolina.

Bárbara's project presents her artistic creations inspired by her experiences in the border region that separates the twin cities of Santana do Livramento in Brazil and Rivera in Uruguay. The designer manufactured cushions resembling border markers, utilizing gray fabric that closely mimics the dimensions and hue of actual stone border markers. A border marker serves to delineate the boundaries of a territory, with numerous such markers positioned along the imaginary line of this region. Schools and universities received the cushions to stimulate discussions regarding the boundary line. They redefined the

significance of landmarks, employing irony to challenge the colonial divisions they represent. The images that follow demonstrate the idea of the project.

Figure 6

Real border marker – Brazil-Uruguay



Source: authors' collection

Figure 7

Instagram post of cushion markers as an artistic intervention



Source: Barbara's Instagram.

In figure 6, the photographs reveal both faces of a real border landmark demarcating the imaginary line that separates Uruguay from Brazil. One piece is situated on a genuine landmark, another is exhibited at an academic institution, and a third occupies the stage of an auditorium where a binational gathering occurred, during which Bárbara's band performed. The artistic intervention led to the development of her mas-



ter's thesis titled "Poéticas platinas: Passos de(s) marcatórios sobre o território fronteiro com-partilhado (Costa, 2023).

Carolina authored the lyrics for a musical piece named Santera, which merges the names of the cities Santana do Livramento and Rivera. In a YouTube video, she articulates that the piece explores the concept of identity for individuals living along the border. This distinctive situation affects the identity and daily lives of people who share the border, as can be evidenced in this excerpt from the lyrics:

Foi na fronteira que eu me vi crescer

Aprendi a pertencer

Vivendo na beira

Livramento, Rivera

Nosso velho oeste

Verde, amarelo, celeste

É só cruzar a rua

É a mesma lua

Ninguém esquece

O que é uma linha

E quem costura essa mistura?

Que é tua e minha

Não se faz sozinha

Da minha identidade

Fronteriza de verdade

Nunca esqueço e reconheço

Minha terceira nacionalidade

(Chorus)

Es lindo verte despierta

Santera!

Frontera abierta

Tu línea trazando un marco

Por mis venas abiertas

The artistic intervention and the lyrics of the song reveal components that contribute to the subjectivity of the artists involved: her childhood and growth in this open border, where a person can cross a line and place one foot in each country. Carolina refers to the colors of the Brazil (green and yellow) and Uruguay (sky blue) flags. She conveys a poetic insight that her status as someone from the border signifies a unique third identity. Consequently, the experience of being a border inhabitant extends beyond mere residence along the frontier of two nations; it embodies an identity that surpasses both political and geographical limitations. This identity emerges from the continuous interplay of diverse cultures, languages, social practices, and the cultural and physical characteristics inherent to both countries. It is entirely present in his artistic productions, as in Montanari et al. (2021). This refers to the person being indispensable to the production of their work and their interaction with the social context and their affective bonds that are evident in their work (Pelbart, 2000; Mansano, 2009), which characterizes immaterial labor.

The exercise of immaterial labor occurs within established institutional frameworks (Lopes, 2022). The collaboration involves public institutions from Brazil and Uruguay, providing services that benefit citizens from both nations along the border. The support of educational institutions is crucial for the implementation of the Lunares project. This concept originated from a classroom exercise at the Federal University of Pampa, situated in Brazil, where Silvana and Carolina engaged in their undergraduate studies. Silvana considers her involvement in the initial project initiated by Carolina at the university, stating, "it was really cool to see the idea take shape, mature, and become a real thing, which has application in people's lives".

Uruguay's governmental endorsement was crucial for the effective execution of this border project. The funding acquired by the collective via the Uruguayan public policy announcement facilitated the integration of the two nations. The initiative facilitated the involvement of artists from Brazil and Uruguay, who performed on both sides of the border, doing shows, standing here and there, in events that embody the title given to the region: Peace Border.



Projeto Lunares plays a significant role in safeguarding and enhancing the cultural identity of the border region, fostering a sense of community and solidarity among its participants. Calasans and Davel (2021) state that this occurs in creative careers. Dida's assertion illustrates this point: "The initiative strengthens my sense of self as a woman from the border region. The essence of Lunares lies in bringing women together. We are sisters, Brazil and Uruguay, all together." Successful completion of the project relied heavily on integration. Through their joint efforts, the team achieved results that surpassed what any individual could have accomplished independently, as noted by Rosilene.

"The way Brazilian and Uruguayan women came together and added their unique touches to the project was amazing, with each bringing their own values and personal experiences. We got involved in this huge sister project that's the biggest in the world, and it was super meaningful and really lovely." (Rosilene)

In light of the preceding discussion, border culture manifests as a collective subjectivity, articulated through immaterial labor, and reveals itself in ways that surpass physical boundaries. This is noticed in the use of Portunhol, symbolizing the union of cultures on the Brazil-Uruguay border. This cultural interchange manifests in creative projects by authors, particularly through artistic interventions and song lyrics. In both nations, governmental organizations actively promote these exchanges by nurturing a shared binational culture. Women actively pursue involvement in these organizations, as they perceive it to be the most effective, and occasionally the sole, means to realize their initiatives.

In this context, the collective produces art for this frontier region, taking with it the political and innovative female protagonism in their art-making. Concurrently, it embodies the singular quality of being situated at the boundary. The appreciation of yourself - of the culture of your locality - deepens with the experiences of the collective. The interaction between individuals initiates a subjective process that influences immaterial labor, leaving a lasting impact on the unique career trajectories of each person involved.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The primary aim of this research was to analyze immaterial labor in the careers of women belonging to a musical collective in the Peace Border. The Projeto Lunares Binacional was created to support the careers of women artists in the cities of Santana do Livramento (Brazil) and Rivera (Uruguay). The findings indicate that the emergence of the collective arises from the immaterial labor that is evident in self-entrepreneurship, with a focus on genre, the musical profession, and the border culture inherent to the artists' existence.

In this regard, the Projeto Lunares Binacional showcases its innovative nature. This phenomenon primarily emerges in discussions surrounding gender and binational origin, by articulating border cultural elements in artistic productions that transcend geographical barriers encourage collaboration among women of different nationalities. Although there are other artistic collective initiatives, especially in urban contexts or aimed at minority groups, the binational and border character of Lunares, combined with the cultural integration facilitated by Portunhol, and the backing from two nations, makes it unique in its purpose and execution. Additionally, the organization facilitates the convergence of these women not only to gain strength from each one's individual skills. By collaborating, individuals can engage in academic pursuits, gain qualifications, participate in political activities, comprehend the complexities of the artistic and musical industries, and develop self-assurance and greater independence to initiate their personal career endeavors. This distinct characteristic underscores its importance as a model for future initiatives, emphasizing the importance of fostering cooperative networks that value cultural diversity and promote the empowerment of all women in frontier areas.

The research highlights that a significant discovery was the combination between sound and sorority as support for these artists' ways of living and working in collaboration. Sound is interpreted as an initiative aimed at discovering a balanced artistic profession that highlights the sociocultural characteristics of Brazil and Uruguay, and sorority is seen as a link of solidarity between women to combat misogyny in the



music market. This integration enhances the functioning of immaterial labor, highlighting the significance of sisterhood in the professional trajectories of women within a musical collective situated along the Brazil-Uruguay border. It illustrates that cooperation and mutual support are fundamental to the development and resistance of these artists.

The findings of this study emphasize the necessity for governmental endorsement and community investment to acknowledge the immaterial labor of women artists in their region. This occurs, above all, because they emphasize and monetize border culture, resulting in increased visibility and economic movement between the two cities. This research provides the Lunares collective with a conceptual acknowledgment of the significance of their contributions, along with pragmatic justifications to pursue public backing and funding for future editions.

One of the primary challenges faced in this research was the restriction on organizing a discussion group with a larger assembly of participants. The participants' objectives, along with the recent consequences of the public emergency caused by the floods in Rio Grande do Sul, influenced this situation, as certain individuals were located in the impacted regions. The involvement of Uruguayan women or the presence of double chapas was limited, as numerous individuals turned down the invitation due to scheduling conflicts arising from their professional commitments. The analysis of social networks, along with reports from participants in Brazil and *doble chapas*, effectively highlights the border aspects of the research.

Future research should consider analyzing collective projects from other segments in this border region that also prioritize immateriality and border culture in their businesses. An example of this are family farming and colonial products collectives that could be examined to understand how small-scale producers use collaborative practices to strengthen their work. Additionally, one can examine how cooperation networks influence factors like sustainability, appreciation of traditional knowledge and the development of the local economy in the Pampas region, a biome that extends across both countries. These

collectives promote border identity as a unique characteristic, serving as tourist attractions in the region, but they also face challenges, aspects that deserve attention in future research.

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