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vivências coletivas sobre a vida de adolescentes no morro capixaba ana paula lyra, collective experiences on the life of raquel mesquita adolescents in morro capixaba

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Abstract:

This study presents the results of a collaborative process to understand the daily lives of adolescents in the Capixaba Slums, a community whose population exceeds the capacity of the local city management to provide inclusion as established by the City Statute (Law no. 10.257/2001). The social inequality present in this community contrasts with the surrounding neighborhoods and reflects a condition in which fear and vulnerability afflict the most fragile. In this setting, where homicide rates are increasing, adolescents are the focus of controversial debates regarding the criminal majority while they suffer and reinvent themselves despite the reality of their daily life. This research is particularly concerned with understanding how these adolescents live and relate to this scenario, using workshops

developed in partnership with local teachers and pedagogues of their schools as a strategy. The participants construct a vision about the reality of this daily life and reflect on their meanings. The results, supported by direct observation of local conditions, confirm the existence of physical and social vulnerability. Nonetheless, the daily life of adolescents presents an apparent normality, limited to local rules, of common knowledge of those who live in the communities.

Keywords: Adolescents, Social vulnerability, Social exclusion, Participatory workshop

1 Introduction

The prevalence of violence and fear afflicting many Brazilian metropolitan regions has been a major concern for public managers and researchers. Recently, the adolescent population in these areas was placed in the media spotlight and tied to the controversial subject of the criminal majority. A debate ensued, motivated by the growing number of teenagers in conflict with the law. Some believe juveniles found guilty of crimes should be treated as common criminals and sent to prisons, while others believe we must invest in preventive actions, with the State and municipalities taking responsibility.

What currently stands out from this discussion is the need for collaboration between the State and society to search for solutions. This search aims to identify the origin of this problem in order to promote social inclusion of these adolescents, who are identified in this study as consequences of socioeconomic inequalities (Abromovay, 2002).

According to the 37th article of the Youth Statute, established by Law No. 12.852 / 13, all young people have the right to live in a safe, nonviolent environment, with a guarantee of their physical and mental safety, being assured equal opportunities and facilities for their intellectual, cultural and social improvement (Brasil, 2013). However, the number of adolescents involved in crimes indicates a potential inconsistency with the intent of the law because there are great concentrations of adolescents living in socially vulnerable conditions, grouped in subnormal clusters within cities. These clusters are growing by expanding their boundaries. In the absence of opportunities and decent access to the social functions of the city, such as housing, work, leisure and mobility, these young people become vulnerable to urban violence.

In the municipality of Vitória / ES, where the Gurigica community is located (the area of interest for this study), the highest concentration of violent crimes (2008 data) indicates that approximately 54% of criminal actions occurred within these subnormal clusters. In contrast, the adjacent neighborhoods, which have higher income, had a higher occurrence of property crimes (theft, burglary, etc). These formal neighborhoods essentially ignore the existence of the adjacent low-income ones. This fact is reinforced by the land use policies that addresses periphery for the settlement of low-income families. This duality perpetuates social exclusion of low-income neighborhoods (Lira, 2014).

This aforementioned reality has resulted in safety and security problems within low-income urban areas, which are expanding and causing greater sociospatial segregation. Such growth, coupled with the fragility of current public policies, has generated social conflicts that, in turn, contribute to an increase in crime and social delinquency. This situation has exposed the most fragile age groups of society to a scenario that is lacking in values, respect and dignity. It also exposed them to the diffused fear, characterized by the feeling of being susceptible to danger, caused by a sense of insecurity and vulnerability (Bauman, 2009).

The most fragile and vulnerable demographics are children and adolescents who grow up exposed to an exclusionary reality, segregated and devoid of urban facilities, infrastructure and security. This situation suggests a need for research that seeks to identify how those adolescents cope with such social vulnerabilities. The current study focused on characterizing the social and physical environments of the target community. This research involved analyses of their daily lives involving participatory and collaborative workshops. The adolescents studied are all residents of the "Gurigica Slums", a subnormal cluster located in the central region of the island of Espírito Santo.

The proposed workshop serves as a way to build collectively, through the collaboration of adolescents, the knowledge of their reality as residents of such areas of vulnerable urban and social context. This

study adopts the premise that adolescents are valued members of the community, which, in turn, influences the social development of its residents. The involvement of researchers in the areas of architecture and urbanism, law and social sciences in this participatory and collaborative process assists in the (de) construction of academic knowledge about the daily lives of adolescents in subnormal low-income urban clusters. This process is made possible by the collective cooperation between academy and community

This study was qualitative and embodied the author's subjective interpretation of some of the phenomena observed. The study considered social exclusion and fear in cities as variables in describing the characteristics perceived by the adolescents. It was decided to hold workshops integrated with the schedules of four teachers from two public schools located in or near the Gurigica neighborhood. Preliminary planning meetings were held between the research team and the teachers of the schools selected to detail the stages and defining the need for three workshops, each of which comprised an average of three meetings held over a period of one year with seventh- and eighth-grade students between the ages of 12 and 17, totaling 84 students.

The first workshop had the objective of identifying each student's home address, daily activities, our first impressions and other aspects of the participants' daily lives. The workshop involved the development of mental maps and collages expressing a week of participants' lives. As a form of help, stimulus questions were asked to guide the development of the proposed tasks. The questions asked about the number of hours participants stayed at home and at school, a description of daily activities they performed when they were not at home or at school, their access to recreational areas and the places where they used to go to have fun.

The second workshop sought to identify and understand how the students characterized the neighborhood in which they live. This exercise included the construction of subjective mosaics, which was attended to by the teachers of arts and informatics at the Paes Barreto School in Vitória. For this activity, students were asked to complete initial sentences on slides that would be associated with images and paintings.

The third workshop consisted in creating a talking map and was carried out with the participation of students from the Grêmio Estudantil, who participated in previous workshops. This workshop built upon the results of the previous ones. The workshop's purpose was to understand adolescents' relationships with their neighborhood and to characterize perceived experiences with various spaces and the environment.

In terms of technical procedures, we conducted a field survey, which was proposed for the subjective analysis of the study area, essential for understanding and for gaining a systemic view of the scenarios described by the students during the workshops. Notably, the option to work with adolescents in schools was the strategy adopted that allowed the meeting and the accompaniment of the same groups of students in an impartial environment, welcomed by the teachers who accompany them throughout their daily lives. In this context, the daily life lived and the knowledge / actions of the adolescents, the focus of this research, with their creations and inventions realized every day in their communities, in the school and in the classroom are essential because this experience can only be understood if it is experienced, participated in and shared with the subjects who live and make this reality happen (Ferraço, 2001).

2 The scenario of fear in the characterization of social vulnerability

As a conjunction of social problems in large cities, violence and other crime have been the leading target of the population as one of the main factors responsible for rupturing the quality of life in the urban environment. In this context, violence and crime ultimately join other dissipating issues of society, such as unemployment, inequality and social marginalization. These factors have intensified in recent decades due to the structural changes that affect the social spaces within cities, modifying the dynamics and the way in which the social relations in its interior are configured.

The process of segregation and urban exclusion resulting from this scenario has consequences for the more fragile strata of society, such as adolescents growing up in these marginal and peripheral areas of the formal city, usually described as subnormal clusters. These areas are largely devoid of infrastructure, health services, quality education, and public spaces for socialization.

One of the groups most vulnerable to violence, either as an aggressor or as a victim, is young people and adolescents. In Brazil, homicide is the main cause of death among 15- to 25-year-olds (Viegas-

Pereira, 2000). According to the United Nations Children's Fund, the first decade of this phase of life, involving adolescence, is essential and crucial for their development (UNICEF, 2011).

According to Abramovay, the vulnerability of adolescents is closely linked to violence. The author states the following:

Violence has been conceived as a multifaceted phenomenon that not only affects physical integrity but also the psychic, emotional and symbolic integrity of individuals or groups in the various social spheres, whether in the public space or private (Abramovay, 2002, p.2, our translation).

Brazil has 25 million adolescents in the 12- to 18-year-old age group, which represents approximately 15% of the population. Brazil is a country full of contradictions and is marked by intense social inequality, given that 1% of the rich population owns 13.5% of the national income, against the poorest 50%, who hold 14.4% (IBGE, 2010). This inequality, verified in social indicators and materialized in the urban fabric, has direct consequences on the living conditions of the Brazilian child and adolescent population (Chimin Junior, 2009).

This inequality was verified during a field visit to the community of Gurigica, when it was possible to observe the reality facing adolescents living in the region. Fear, described by Bauman (2009) as the feeling arising from the uncertainty of the unknown, was experienced on site visit and intensified by the feeling of vulnerability, encouraged by the occurrences of crimes highlighted by the current media.

In the beginning, it was the accumulated waste that stood out most to us, along with the confusing layout of buildings and streets, where there is no clear way of defining their beginning and end, as well as the unknown and the typology of unfinished buildings with an apparent characteristic of improvisation. This scene is where fear takes over, with the morphology of the place giving rise to a sense of insecurity. Fear dissolves and softens after the researchers' contact with the people, with the children playing in the improvised spaces of the place, with existing projects in the neighborhood and when they interact with locals, realizing that this reality is common in the daily life of that community full of children, youth and adolescents, that is, a community full of lives.

Notwithstanding the transient insecurity, the real picture of the community revealed a series of contrasts and risks, either due to the physical situation of fragile slopes and lack of infrastructure and sanitation of some buildings or the frustrated and chaotic landscape of the agglomerations, which made the researchers think about what it would be like to have to live directly within that scenario. There are children who jump from one stone to another without protection; there are houses next to areas that accumulate garbage; there are electrical wires exposed; and there are slippery slopes without lateral protection, among other situations. Figure 1 illustrates routine scenes of children and adolescents who experience this situation on a daily basis.



Fig. 1: Reality of Gurigica neighborhood, identified through field visits. Source: Research Archive, 2016.

This reality contrasts internally with the lower occupations of the hill, located along the roads through which public transportation passes, and with the privileged images of the surroundings, which can be appreciated from a viewpoint built in the neighborhood, as shown in Figure 2. In the lower areas, the constructions are more stable and finished, with coating, and have more varied uses, including commercial activities and services.



Fig. 2: Visuals of the neighborhoods around the community of Gurigica from a viewpoint built in the neighborhood. Source

The social vulnerability of these adolescents, coupled with the intense reproduction of the social and spatial fragmentation of the urban fabric of Espírito Santo, with the expansion of excluded places, contradicts the discourse of inclusion disseminated by the City Statute (Brasil, 2001, article 1) and serves as an alert for the sustainability of our city and for the future of these adolescents. The same Statute should establish "rules of public order and social interest that regulate the use of urban property for the collective good, security and well-being of citizens...", when regulating articles 182 and 183 of the Federal Constitution.

3 Participatory workshops with adolescents from Gurigica community

Each workshop was attended by at least one teacher from the school and a research professor from the university responsible for the research group with a background in architecture and urbanism. In addition, as a support team, the group consisted of two students with a master's degree in public security from the University and six scientific initiation fellows in architecture and urbanism. All staff of the institution that promoted the workshop were female, residents of formal districts of the municipality of Vila Velha, and aged between 21 and 58 years.

3.1 Workshop 1 – Mental Mapping

The first day of workshops aimed to get closer to the students and learn about their routines. To this end, a questionnaire was administered, seeking to identify the activities performed outside school hours and their preliminary perceptions about the neighborhood.

Another step taken in this workshop was the development of collages and drawings representative of the students' urban activities to identify their paths and daily perceptions. The last activity was the development of mental maps, in which students were asked to represent the path they carry from home to school, presenting those elements that they consider to be most relevant, visual, physical, or sonorous.

3.2 Workshop 2 – Subjective Mosaic

This workshop was carried out in two stages and aimed to identify and understand how adolescents characterize the neighborhood in which they live based on the construction of subjective mosaics. To do so, the development of a playful activity in partnership with the teachers of arts and informatics of the João Bandeira School was proposed, with the aim of constructing a mosaic based on the students' own perception of mobility, safety, housing, health and leisure in their neighborhoods.

Before the first stage with the students, the art teacher was contacted so that she could ask the students to take pictures of their neighborhood. On the first day of the workshop, held in the computer lab, as shown in Figure 3, students were encouraged to complete the following sentences: "For me, my neighborhood means..."; "When I open the door of my house, I see..."; "When I walk through my neighborhood, I feel..."; "What I like the most in my neighborhood..."; "I play around in the..."; "My neighborhood is missing..."; "I wish my neighborhood had...". The intention was to associate the responses to the photos brought by the students and the images they gathered through research to illustrate their wishes for the neighborhood in which they reside. The intention was to instigate the association of the responses to the photos brought by the students and the images researched by them to illustrate their wishes for the neighborhood in which they reside.



Fig. 3: Student conducting research for the subjective mosaic workshop. Source: Research Archive, 2016

The second stage of this workshop had the objective of assembling a mosaic from the material produced in the previous stage, in which students were asked to associate images from the Internet with the words quoted from the stimulus questions and the photos they brought, creating a synthetic representation of the neighborhood in which they live.

3.3 Workshop 3 – Talking Map

The talking map is a participative technique that allows researchers to comprehend knowledge of an existing situation based on a graphical representation elaborated collectively, making it an instrument used for visual diagnosis of a given reality along geographic, human, social and institutional dimensions. The map was constructed based on a collective view of the students aimed to portray the sociospatial reality experienced by the community.

The first stage of this workshop consisted of an informal conversation in which students could express themselves freely. This conversation was followed by an activity that consisted in identifying the Gurigica neighborhood through the design of its limits and discerning certain realities previously identified in the first workshops, gathered in symbols placed by students on a map projected on the wall. This first activity was proposed due to the identification, in previous workshops, of an informal division (from a legal point of view) among the communities that form the neighborhood.

It was verified that Gurigica is composed by three communities: Floresta, Jaburu and Constantino. Most of the adolescents, asked in the first workshops to identify themselves as Gurigica residents, remained immobilized. They explained that everyone in the neighborhood recognizes the communities cited as a residence, although the administrative division of the municipality only identifies Gurigica as a neighborhood. However, when asked to draw the boundaries of each community, they demonstrated that they did not have a consensus among them. Figure 4 presents three distinct divisions presented by adolescents in relation to the communities reported.



Fig. 4: Record of the constituent communities of Gurigica neighborhood from the perspective of adolescents: Floresta Constantino. Source: Research Archive, 2016.

The second stage of the workshop was aimed at understanding the quality of the neighborhood. Specifically, an aerial photo was projected onto a wall such that participants could place on the image symbols representing opinions such as "like" or "dislike" for something that they see or do in the neighborhood; "danger" to indicate areas where they feel insecure; "nasty" or "pleasant" for identifying places, sights or buildings; "meeting points" for friends and flirting; and "houses" and "establishments" that they frequent in the neighborhood, as shown in Figure 5.



Fig. 5: Talking map with the symbols identified by adolescents. Source: Research Archive, 2016.

Finally, a conceptual mosaic was created, in which two white sheets were arranged on two separate tables. On one sheet, teens were asked to graphically express the phrase "My neighborhood today... as it is." To that end, they were exposed to stimulus questions such as "What do I see when I leave the house? "; "What do I feel when I walk through my neighborhood? "; "What are the streets and sidewalks in my neighborhood? "; "What do I like the most about my neighborhood? "; "I usually spend my free time... (Where? Doing what? With whom? "); and "In my neighborhood...?"

The other sheet was intended for students' future thoughts about the neighborhood. On the sheet, they described "My neighborhood tomorrow... as I would like it to be", accompanied by the following stimulus questions: "What would I like to see when leaving home?"; "What would you like to feel as you walk through the neighborhood?"; "How would you like the streets and sidewalks of my neighborhood?"; and "What would you like to have in my neighborhood?" Figure 6 illustrates the activities.

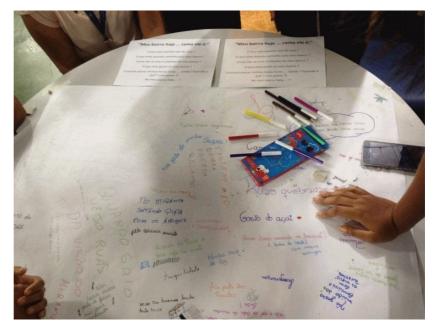


Fig. 6: Creation of a conceptual mosaic by adolescents during the workshop. Source: Research Archive, 20

4 Impressions on Capixaba hill daily life from adolescents' perspective

The findings made during the researchers' visit to the area of study regarding the physical conditions and sensations of insecurity and vulnerability also appeared in the adolescents' perceptions. These perceptions were verified during the workshops held between 2015 and 2016 at the Municipal School of Primary Education João Bandeira, located in the neighborhood of Consolação, and the State School of Primary and Secondary Education, Carlos Xavier Paes Barreto, located in the Praia do Suá neighborhood. These neighborhoods border the Gurigica neighborhood.

During the activities, a fear unlike that experienced by the researchers during the field visit was reported. It was no longer fear of the unknown and the violence highlighted by the media but a fear experienced by the adolescents and represented by the chaos that unfolds in the community when police arrive or when there are internal wars between the "owners" of the hills of the neighboring communities. Also highlighted were local weaknesses, such as the absence of recreational areas, as well as problems arising from rainy days and those related to drugs.

Notwithstanding the described reality, the adolescents were unanimous in affirming that they like to live in the neighborhood. "It's the best neighborhood to live in," they declared. When asked why, they responded that it is the neighborhood where they grew up, that they have relatives who also live there and that there is still a wonderful view of the surroundings, which demonstrates a strong sense of belonging. However, when asked about neighborhood relations, all the adolescents participating in the "talking map" workshop were unanimous in saying that they did not have such relations. This account results from an informal imposition existing in Gurigica that establishes limits on the relations between the communities of the neighborhood itself. The participants also indicated that there is a rivalry such that one cannot move from one community to another because of local conflicts. This situation, according to the participants, prevents, for example, the integration of colleagues who study in the same school and could develop group school activities but cannot even work together:

We cannot visit the neighboring district. I can go to São Benedito and Jesus de Nazareth, Jaburu no, or Bairro da Penha, and those who live there cannot visit here. We are afraid to go because of their rivalry, to look at them and something happens to us...and that bothers us...we have friends from other neighborhoods, but we cannot go to their neighborhood...it would be nice if I could talk to each other...I never went up to São Benedito...especially now I am a "milico" (verbal information, our translation)¹.

Participants also added that there is a correlation between the communities from a local hierarchy imposed by the "owners of the drug dealer spots" that dominate the traffic in the region. The reality of drugs, which causes fear among the "foreigners" that visit the neighborhood for the first time, is part of the daily life of these adolescents. All claim to be afraid and stop attending the few free areas of the neighborhood, not because of the fear of the "owners of the drug points" but because of the fear of being caught in the middle of a power struggle for points of traffic or of being victims when they make "beats" on the spot. This reality demonstrates the social vulnerability of these adolescents who, according to themselves, have been transformed over the years. In testimonies, they reported that the neighborhood had changed and that when they were children they could remain on the streets for longer:

[...] before I had the chance to stay until midnight playing in the street. Today it is no longer possible...it did not have as much rivalry of one being trying to catch the other's dealer point; they were not too armed. The police also did not shoot, so we had, like that, a freedom. Nowadays it's not like that anymore. You cannot stay on the street. We have to stay indoors. (verbal information, our translation)².

However, there is a mutual trust that we interpret as the internal politics of the hill, where the imposed order, when respected, generates a situation of knowledge and domination of all the residents. This situation is threatened in internal conflicts and when the police are present. In the testimonies, the adolescents commented on their everyday lives in the face of this scenario:

My life is not to leave home, I'm 17 years old, because my grandmother does not like. Because of this situation we do not use the local square or the viewpoint area. We ended up using the square in the Bento Ferreira neighborhood [...]. Yesterday the cops appeared and fired up to scare, and if there was someone there passing by the dealers at the bottom of the hill, they could have been struck without guilt. Dangerous of being shot... (verbal information, our translation)³.

The recurring themes voiced by most of the adolescents participating in the workshops suggest that they lack spaces for coexistence. They further argue that equipment for the benefit of the community tends to be destroyed by criminals, which encourages the adolescents to use the public spaces in adjacent formal neighborhoods. This fact emphasizes the problem that internal disputes are generated

in the collective social development of integration among the residents of the different communities of this neighborhood.

During the activity involving the identification of points of prominence on the map, all participants were unanimous in referring to the drug-trafficking situation, the "smell of marijuana" and stairs as barriers. The realities cited are indicative of discomfort with respect to access to and safe circulation between different areas of the neighborhood, which are identified as areas of "dislike" on various points on the map. Stairs were also present in the mind maps and drawings made by students, as illustrated in Figure 7.



Fig. 7: Photographic record and mental map drawn by a teenager from the staircase in the community. Source: Researc

At the same time, the participants were unanimous and proud when referring to the viewpoint and the views of the surroundings, which was captured by the item "like", portrayed in the colorful, cheerful and dynamic painting shown in Figure 8 compared to the monotonous formal city, highlighted in the drawing by the buildings and the black avenue and through the photo captured by one of the adolescents and portrayed in Figure 9.



Fig. 8: Painting created by a teenager during the workshop representing the contrast between the formal and informal city Archive, 2016.



Fig. 9: Photograph captured created by a seventh grade student showing the view of the surroundings from the Gurigic Source: Research Archive, 2016.

Some participants, however, indicated contrasting restraints and opinions because of the uncertainty of what might happen when the "owners of the drug dealer spot" come into conflict. For those participants, the neighborhood evokes a mixture of feelings that translate the confidence and fear they feel:

My community is everything! Pleasant because it is there that everyone that cares for me is, the partnership is strong, there is a lot of gossip, fake people, anything that happens may result in shot to everywhere, but that's where our family is, I was born there, my relatives live there... (verbal information, our translation)⁴.

This situation compromises the possibility of neighborhood relations. The dismantling of traditional bonds of humanity and solidarity, even in neighborhoods with predominant community roots, leads to the weakening of society in general.

Based on the reality of site vulnerability, identified by the researchers through field visits and confirmed by the adolescents in the workshops, it is necessary to note an existing limit in the search for knowledge within these communities. The insertion of a team to encourage participatory practices is not well perceived by the "owners of the hill", a factor that led the group to develop the research in neutral territory, where it was possible for residents of the different communities of Gurigica to participate. Such participation would not have been possible if the workshop had been held within the physical limits of the neighborhood.

5 Final considerations

Faced with all the difficulties presented during the workshops, such as the relationship between colleagues in the neighborhood, and despite the fear of being observed by drug dealers when returning from school and visiting a colleague in another community, it is observed that adolescents like much of the neighborhood where they were born and live. The joy they feel when talking about the neighborhood where they were born and about the view that the viewpoint provides reinforces the feeling of affection for the hill. The adolescents reinvent themselves each day, seek new dating relationships and encounter alternatives outside the neighborhood to maintain friendships. These new bonds of affection contribute to their experiencing and rethinking violence as something adolescents do not want for their daily routines.

In times when the search for security is constant, the contrast between the formal city and the informal city also reflects a reality in which, while at the same time emphasizing a discourse of social insertion of the less favored in activities of the ruling classes, adolescents who live in informal areas are excluded because while they choose the portion of land they live in, they consequently make clusters a byproduct of that choice.

This situation is identified in the morphology of formal cities, where constructions turn their back on informal areas. This morphology is developed by "turning their backs" on an existing portion of the city, by the number of blind walls located in the boundaries between the formal and the informal areas, and by the exclusion, even if involuntary, that is reflected in the fear of this proximity. This situation occurs

in outdoor meetings, inside cars, and when crossing a street or choosing not to go out into a public open space, if the presence of these adolescents is identified.

It is a fact that the stigmatization of these adolescents is already characterized by a process of exclusion, reinforced by the environment in which they live. Therefore, in addition to being excluded through territorial segregation, these adolescents are also ignored because they are considered people who do not belong socially to the place. Paradoxically, the workshop showed a sense of privilege on the part of the adolescents to live in the community and to enjoy elements of their own, such as the lookout, which guarantees a unique view of the surroundings. Participants also noted the duality between a monotonous (formal) city and a lively and dynamic (informal) city.

Therefore, the process of building collective knowledge, through the participation and collaboration of adolescents in the workshop, contributed to the understanding of the reality of socially vulnerable areas from the point of view of the residents. These adolescents understand the dynamics of cities differently from those who inhabit formal areas and who tend to reject the existence of these communities, contrary to what is indicated by the adolescents, who, conversely, appropriate spaces located in formal areas, especially public spaces, for leisure.

The testimonies reflect a conformity among adolescents with what is indifferent to them and an appreciation for the community that welcomes them and which they call home. Understanding how these adolescents define where they live can be useful in defining new public safety policies that, in line with urban planning guidelines, can effectively fulfill their role of social inclusion established in the City Statute.

We should also warn of a concern by the research team regarding the impending situation of depletion of land use resources for the appropriation of the sectors of the real estate market in Vitória city. The municipality is approaching its limit of land supply in the so-called "noble areas" of the city. In addition, what will happen when the municipality discovers that the view of the hill can be made more attractive than that of the edge, which has already been densified? Are the Capixaba hills the focus of new processes of gentrification, responsible for expelling the less privileged and fragile pockets of the population? Bauman (2009) states that living in a city means living together; therefore, it becomes fundamental to reinvigorate the sense of belonging, of having roots and identity. The great challenge for contemporary thinkers and politicians is to recover the communal dimension of public space as a way of learning the art of safe, peaceful, friendly and inclusive coexistence.

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- 1 Information obtained through the testimony of adolescents during the Talking Map workshop, in July 2016.
- 2 Information obtained through the testimony of adolescents during the Talking Map workshop, in July 2016.
- 3 Information obtained through the testimony of adolescents during the Talking Map workshop, in July 2016.

4 Information obtained through the testimony of adolescents during the Talking Map workshop, in July 2016.