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Abstract:

Abstract

From the study of 39 urban activism groups in Belo Horizonte-MG, the present article seeks to understand the action of civil society as one of the many actors that produce the cities. As this VIRUS issue's editorial heralds, "the contemporary city is produced by multiple actors, from public managers, planners and scholars to private business groups, third sector organizations and, in particular, by its inhabitants." (2017, s.p). However, the imbalances of power between these actors are evident, which Souza and Rodrigues (2004) emphasize in the existing consonance between the State and the already privileged groups of society.

The articulations between urban activism are the most dramatic moments of rupture - even if temporary - of this scenario of imbalance, making it possible to catalyze the construction of common projects among groups of organized civil society. Information technologies are a valuable tool in networking among urban activism, which is increasingly using WhatsApp, Facebook, and other digital social networks. It is precisely in the analysis of these means, especially Facebook, that this article is built. To do so, urban activism fan pages were monitored as well as their interactions, occurring through Facebook likes and content sharing.

Obviously, the relationships between urban activism go beyond Facebook. However, the connections occurring in this social network reproduce several characteristics of the other articulations, inside and outside the digital environment, such as its ephemerality, its connection to emergency moments or the recurrence of some common guidelines.

Keywords : Urban activism; Belo Horizonte; social networks.

Introduction

The city supports the reproduction of some society's social and economic relations, being both product and producer of its dynamics (Lefebvre, 2006). In a society marked by profound power asymmetries, the city thus becomes the stage for the performance of relations of domination such as those between classes - as observed by Lefebvre and Harvey -, of race - as Eugene McCann (1999) -, or of gender - which is argued by the geographer Doreen Massey (1994). The dominant city is the result of those relations, synthesized by Lefebvre as a space in which "homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchy" prevails (2013, p.58, our translation).

3. Urban occupations for housing purposes
4. Activisms linked to the mobility agenda
5. Occupations of public spaces and empty spaces for other purposes
6. Activisms in direct relation to the protests of 2013 and 2014 World Cup
7. Neighborhood and local defense associations
8. Libertarian field

Urban articulations and activisms

Once urban activisms were delimited, an attempt was made to apprehend its form and articulations. These perform in both physical and digital spaces in a strong complementary relationship.

In addition to the local context and occasional events, the recent actions of organized civil society groups are also related to a macrocontext of the rise of neoliberalism, changes in the organization of work, the emergence of leftist governments since the 1990s and the participatory wave. The sociologist Ana Clara Torres Ribeiro (2014) considers that a culturalist emphasis of the contemporary social movements, the abandonment of the notion of class and the consequent fragmentation of a supposed collective subject would be direct reflexes of these broader social, economic and political transformations.

Despite the fragmentation, the articulation of networks is one of the fundamental characteristics of activisms. An adoption of such an organization is not restricted only to activisms, the whole society organizes itself this way, being a striking feature of power relations. Dominant groups are arranged through articulating projects that mobilize different networks - political, military, cultural, etc. The opposition to power relations must, therefore, as Castells (2005) affirms, operate in the same logic of its organization: Activist networks around common alternative projects.

The identification of these networks and the themes and events capable of mobilizing and articulating urban activisms in the present research were made through consultation in the academic literature reproduced on the activisms studied, monitoring their fan pages on Facebook and interviewing some of the referred groups' activists.

It is important to emphasize that, despite the new possibilities brought by current articulations for the expansion of scope and dynamism in the groups, both driven by information technologies, the imaginary around the uniting force between urban activisms is the fruit of a long historical process. Together with the empirical results of articulation experiences, contribute to this work several intellectual assets that systematically recover throughout the history of critical thinking the commitment with the articulation between the subjugated groups of the society.

When Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848, it evidenced this commitment on an alliance for revolution by appealing to the constitution of a class identity among the workers' groups engaged in local struggles and, in some cases, in conflicts between them. This spirit is summed up by the famous phrase: "Workers of the world unite!" (Marx and Engels, 2003).

Later on, Gramsci (1999), from a failed context of the expected revolution in Western Europe, reaffirms the importance of an alliance, extended, however, beyond the urban proletarians. For the Italian Marxist, the construction of a class identity is restrictive, since, in addition to the urban proletarians, other groups are dominated in the capitalist system. The strategy of revolution must, therefore, be based on an alliance between the subordinated groups, articulated and directed by the working class (Gramsci, 1999).

More recently, Laclau and Mouffe (1987) take up and update Gramsci's thinking, reinforcing his idea of expanding the articulations for the oppressed beyond the working class. They, however, challenge Gramsci's leading role in the working class in the construction of this alliance and also suggest the transposition of class boundaries and the "construction of partially unified subjects whose fundamental determination is popular determination" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987, p. 23, our translation).

More than seeking evidence of systematic adherence to the thought of this or that author, on what concerns activisms, it is interesting to observe to what extent these theoretical constructions are able to apprehend the reality of the articulations that are established between them. For this overlap, it was necessary to seize the networks created between urban activisms in Belo Horizonte and the joint projects that articulate them. These analyses were based on interviews with groups' participants and public interactions among their Facebook fan pages. Numerous other connections are established in the digital environment via email groups, WhatsApp, and other instant messaging applications, of course. However, although reported by the interviewees, these spaces are restricted to the activists. Therefore, in addition to the lack of access to them, the ethical issues in publicizing interactions established in private media must also be considered.

In Belo Horizonte, the interviewees reported a dynamic relationship between the groups. These articulations are considered fundamental to the resistance of activisms due to the fragmentation of these collective actors and their concentration on isolated themes and local approaches. They serve both to broaden the groups' agendas - in addition to local demands and actions - and to increase their political pressure, especially in relation to other actors in the production of urban space - such as the State and the private sector.

The mobilizations that stand out in the recent history of activism show, however, that, in general, the most expressive networks occur for short periods and as resistance to the possibilities of losses. They are catalyzed by the constitution, albeit temporary, of a "common enemy", such as the case against the impeachment - coup - of President Dilma, who has been able to mobilize even traditional activism long concentrated in peaceful action within the governmental spaces.

With the placing of antagonism in particular people or events - in the mayor Márcio Lacerda in Belo Horizonte, in the President Michel Temer, in the 2014 FIFA World Cup, in the increase of bus fares, etc. - articulations happen in emergent and punctual situations. After the end of the fact that unified activism, due to victories, even if momentary, or the exhaustion of the possibilities of action, the networks demobilize. As Castells (2013) observes, its unification is the common indignation towards a given situation.

The perception of the need for more durable articulations between activism, constituting permanent spaces for dialogue, exchange of experience and the constitution of an articulating struggle is widespread among the interviewees. However, these attempts are usually subsumed by daily threats and individual group struggles. When they are longer lasting, they are confined to same or near agendas' activism, such as mobility, empty land occupation movements, or cultural movements.

The perception that the city's segregation is also reproduced in the articulation between activism is widespread: there is a discontinuity between the centre and periphery activism and between both and society in general. This discontinuity is evident in the speech of one of the activists: "[the articulation] is centric because we think that Belo Horizonte is its central area! We forget that the city is much bigger than that. The central area is very well put together, while all hell is breaking loose on the periphery." (P.K., 2015). Obviously, there are exceptions and some attempts to overcome this lack of dialogue, but in an even less expressive way. The few peripheral activism that can articulate with the central groups do so, in general, moving from the periphery to the central area.

The lack of dialogue is related, in part, to the difference of agendas. While in peripheral activism the tendency is for struggles for access to rights that are already established but not universalized, central area activism is fighting for the recognition of new rights. The distance between central areas and periphery groups is further reinforced by the critical positioning of new activism concerning previous attempts at approximations by these so-called base work. In fact, this practice often resulted in dependency relations and paternalistic, colonizing, and even utilitarian ties.

If the dialogue between central areas and periphery activism is not very productive, echoing beyond this universe in society as a whole is even less. Even in matters that concern most people, such as a call to protest against the increase in bus fares, hardly a group beyond the usual will be mobilized. This situation does not necessarily mean that the agenda is considered illegitimate by those outside the activist universe, but that, between identifying and assembling, there is a distance that the groups have not been able to surpass. This is precisely one of their great questions: How to reach and mobilize society in an expanded way since it is also subjugated by the same domination patterns fought by the activist groups?

Networks in the network: digital social media and activism

The subjects listed in the previous section are also observed when analyzing the public interactions among Facebook fan pages. In the context of this research, two types of relationship mediated by activism fan pages were considered: Facebook likes between activism fan pages and the sharing of information between them. To the information extracted were applied methods of Social Network Analysis (ARS), which are based on the interactions between actors and on the roles they play in their contexts (Recuerdo et al., 2015). For this, mathematical and computational models that generate graphical representations are used, the so-called graphs, that relate elements at a given moment. In graphs, relationships are represented by edges that join the actors, represented by circles.

The nodes of the generated graphs are, therefore, urban activism fan pages, united by two categories of relationships: Facebook likes and information sharing. In the latter case, shared content is also represented by circles, since they are articulators of the various agents that compose the network.

Facebook likes among activism fan pages bring relevant information, because they mean publicly assuming a connection, the recognition of struggle, or even the interest in following their publications. Using Netvizz to extract Facebook likes data, two networks were generated. The first one, called grade 1 network (Figure 2), is restricted to articulations made by Facebook likes among urban activism fan pages in Belo Horizonte, forming a universe composed of 39 of them. The second, called grade 2 network (figure 3), broadens the universe of factors for activism linked to other themes, such as media channels, academy groups, public institutions, political parties and political figures.



Fig. 2: Grade 1 network. Source: the author.

The circles and font sizes correspond to the number of Facebook likes of each fan page by the other actors of the network. As a result, we have, as shown in figure 2, a network with a high degree of articulation between fan pages, although some remain marginal. The well-defined division between some categories of activism is remarkable. Those with a predominantly environmental agenda, for example – Parque Jardim América, Fica Ficus, Rede Verde, Salve a Mata do Planalto, Comupra (Conselho Comunitário Unidos pelo Ribeirão de Abreu) and AMAU (Articulação Metropolitana de Agricultura Urbana) – find themselves in the upper limit of the graph; Whereas, the anarchist and autonomist groups - Bloco de Lutas pelo Transporte, MPL-BH (Movimento Passe Livre – BH) and, in part, APH-BH (Assembleia Popular Horizontal) – are located to the left of the graph and the urban occupations for housing purposes, although well inserted in the network, are strongly connected to each other and to the groups that support them.

It is also noticeable the proximity between activism groups that have the same space - Santa Tereza Viaduct - as a place of encounter and that with it developed a sense of belonging. A Real da Rua was born from the need for a discussion forum on the space of the viaduct, while A Ocupação, a cultural event that has as its premise the appropriation of public spaces and that has had three of its editions there. The Viaduto Ocupado, an articulation in opposition to the infrastructure works of the viaduct in 2014 and the Okupa Viaduto Santa Tereza, a group against municipal government's urban cleansing policies in the central region, characterized by a great frequency of marginal groups (street dwellers, prostitutes, and transvestites, etc.). The proximity between these groups evidences that some locations can become catalysts for articulations, unifying groups for which they are references to identity and belonging.

In the following step, Netvizz also collected information about Facebook likes in an expanded universe of fan pages. Called the grade2 network, it considers, besides the Facebook likes among urban activism delimited groups for the research, all the fan pages they have liked and the interactions of these with the other urban activism fan pages. The following colours were used in the differentiation between the agents that make up the graph: urban activism in the strong sense in pink, movements linked to art and culture in purple, traditional and alternative media channels in gray, activism of other places or broader ranges in yellow, student movements in light blue, religious groups in brown, institutions and public bodies in orange, activism in Belo Horizonte with a distinct focus than urban space in green, research and outreach university groups and university organizations or groups of technical assistance in dark blue, political parties and political figures in red and trade unions and professional associations in light brown.

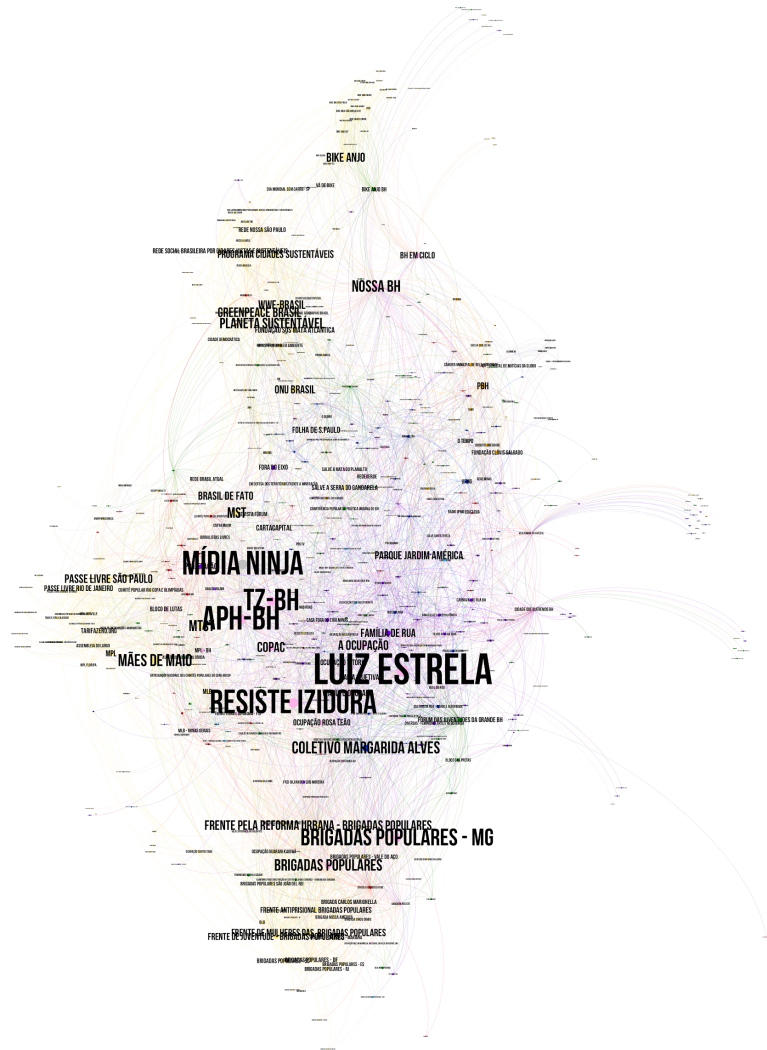


Fig. 3: Grade2 network. Source: the author.

In this new configuration, displayed in figure 3, a strong insertion of actors linked to art and culture is noticed. Their involvement with Belo Horizonte's urban activisms has been a constant since Praia da Estação movement when an artistic-cultural slope has been incorporated into the forms of action and protest, the 'party-protests' (or carnivalesque protests) observed by Igor Oliveira (2012).

Again, it is displayed a proximity between groups of the same subject or political position, explaining the existence of articulation between them. Groups linked to the mobility issues, for example, are concentrated on the extreme left of the figure, while those related to cycle activism are in the upper portion of the figure and government agencies and institutions on the extreme right. It is worth noting the little insertion of parties, unions and religious movements, especially when we remember that at some points in the past these actors were influential articulators of urban activism.

Temporal articulations on Facebook

Still based on Facebook interactions, the analyses of publications and content sharing among urban activisms fan pages reinforces many of the trends already presented. From the information gathered during the research, between September 1st, 2015 and June 3rd, 2016, the escapable of articulating groups during this temporality and its periodicity surfaced. 1357 posts published or shared by urban activisms were collected. These posts were systematized by date, groups that interacted with them - publishing or sharing - and the topics covered. With this information, the following graphs were generated representing the articulations established on Facebook during the ten months of data collection. The same previous color pattern was adopted in the categorization of actor types, with the addition of dark pink to theme circles and lilac to people who had their posts shared by activisms fan pages. Their names have been replaced by initials, keeping only known public figures' ones. It is important to note that in addition to people whose posts were shared, thousands of others interacted with the collected publications. Research, however, did not concern individual interactions, but rather those of activisms as collective actors.

In September 2015 the second occupation of the City Council (in Portuguese Segunda Ocupação da Câmara Municipal), promoted by activisms related to the transportation issue, managed to mobilize groups linked to the different themes comprised on this research, as shown in figure 4. The action had as its primary agenda the holding of a public hearing to discuss the increases of the bus fare occurred that same month. On the other hand, subjects of less expressiveness were contained in same themes groups, as can be seen in the case of urban occupations for housing purposes on the left of the graph, mobilized around

themes such as urban evictions in Canaã (in Contagem) and Macuco, Recanto Verde and Limoeiro (in Timóteo), urban occupations in small towns of the state of Minas Gerais.

The environmental groups are another nucleus on the right of the graph whose main discussion topic is a meeting of COMAM (Conselho Municipal de Meio Ambiente) in which the licensing for the Construtora Direcional's real estate projects in a green area of almost 200 thousand square meters, would be approved.

The disruption of Fundão dam, in Bento Rodrigues (in Mariana, Minas Gerais), occurred on November 5th, 2015, was also a theme that was able to mobilize the various activism groups in the digital space, as shown in figure 6. The commotion around the disaster is explicit in the fan pages activities in November. However, urban activism promoted or engaged in fewer off-line actions. This demonstrates that, although often the issues brought in the digital environment reflect ongoing actions - either direct or institutional - outside it, this is not a rule. Engagement will not necessarily reflect actions beyond this medium.

This graph also reveals the lack of relationship between traditional and new activism. In the isolated group on the left are the traditional housing activism, founded between the late 1980s and early 1990s. This disconnection, noticed earlier in the research and in interviews, delimits the scenario in which, on the one hand, traditional activism with action rooted in institutionalized channels, and mostly against direct action - radically against empty land occupations, for example - and on the other, the new activism that usually sees the former as part of the status quo.

Figure 8, which represents the dynamics in January 2016, reveals once again the increase in bus fares as a mobilizing issue. There were three consecutive acts against the increase (calls for actions were made by MPL-BH) and at the same time two lawsuits were filed alleging irregularities in the increase: one by the State Public Defender's Office (Defensoria Pública), triggered by Tarifa Zero-BH, and the other by the Public Prosecutors' Office of Minas Gerais (Ministério Público de Minas Gerais). Even with these articulations, the increase was maintained.

It is also remarkable in this graph that the disruption of Bento Rodrigues dam practically disappears between the shared subjects, evidencing the brevity of the mobilizations that are established in this environment. On the one hand, the very dynamics of internet contribute to this fact by overlapping information by new information generated. To this disinformation produced by information excess is commonly used the term white out (Prudêncio, 2009). On the other hand, this fact reflects the very nature of urban activism articulations, very restricted to the emergency moments for, soon after, dissolve themselves. Daily obligations and struggles of each group, thus, cause the quenching of a common agenda.

In February, it is important to emphasize the emergence of the feminist agenda among urban activism, an agenda that became constant from then on, which is revealed in figure 9. The emergence of gender discussion in different groups reflects the creation of feminist fronts that seek to discuss the gender issue both concerning their activism themes and about the reproduction of gender domination relations within their groups. This is a systematic discussion, although it strengthens at critical moments, such as at the time of proposals against women's rights by Eduardo Cunha in the Federal Congress, or in the case of the collective rape of the 16-year-old girl in Rio de Janeiro (these moments appear in the graphs of November and May). It is not possible to say that there is an articulation between these groups, which act in a dispersed way in their activism, nor that there is a unit of thought among these feminist activists (it is even probable that there are a series of conflicts between them). However, the repercussion that Tina Martins occupation, a self-managed reference house to women victims of violence, had among other urban activism seems to show the strength of the gender identity among the activists.

On March 13th, 2016, the first of a series of protests against Dilma Rousseff's government took place, what would trigger her impeachment process. This issue became a generalized theme among urban activism, which can be seen in Figure 10. Resistance, however, occurred in a fragmented way.

The process of impeachment and the protests against it continued as central themes between the groups during April, as manifested in figure 11. Tina Martins occupation's danger of eviction was also one of the articulating themes by then. Its great echo suggests the strengthening of feminist agenda among urban activism. Surprisingly, the eviction was suspended by the establishment of a negotiating table with Minas Gerais State government. A State-owned house was assigned to the group, still included in a network to combat violence against women. Its current challenge is to resist autonomously from the State, especially financially.



Fig. 8: January 2016. Source: The author.

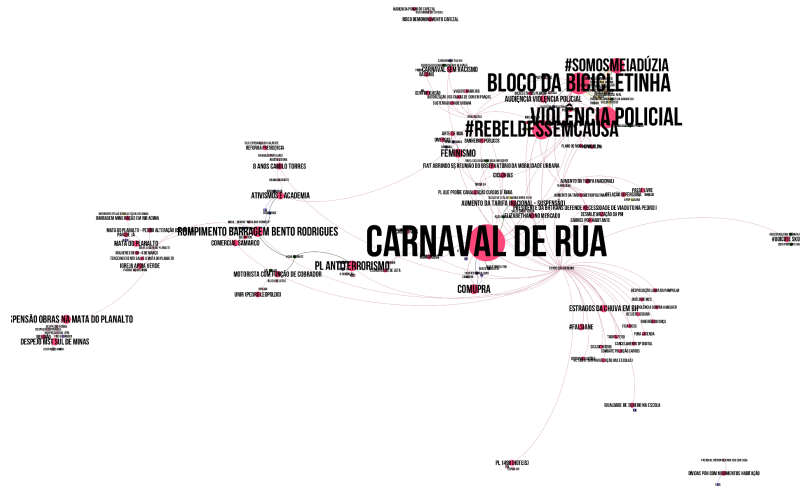


Fig. 9: February 2016. Source: The author.

which the former often intervenes and decides in favor of the latter. That is, these moments have the capacity to balance, albeit briefly, the power of influence of urban activism in the production of the urban.

However, as we have seen, these moments are, in general, punctual articulations that emerge as resistances to destitution processes that threaten groups or their agendas. Although they are not continuous, gains are glimpsed from these articulations, because in a context of dispute, their performative character and, therefore, the idea that there is a constant and uninterrupted support network between the activists, is enough to give them political force. There are significant gains such as the resistance of 9 thousand families in the 16 urban occupations for housing purposes in Belo Horizonte, despite multiple attempts to evict them. The conservation, at least so far, of two areas of environmental importance threatened by the construction of real estate projects - Mata do Planalto and Parque Jardim América. The promise of shared management between public power and local groups for an old local market located in Santa Tereza's district.

As resistances to governmental and private sector processes, these gains are, for the most part, "non-losses" and, therefore, hardly capable of structural transformations. This is what we can observe in the speech of one of the activists:

'[...] we are held hostage to the conflict! And being held hostage by the conflict, the other ways of life and other practices dimensions [...] are kept in the background. [...] You overcome the conflict and then you have to build beyond the conflict. How to mobilize, how to ensure people's presence? It is always difficult, and conflict is a great mobilization device' (J.M., 2015).

On the other hand, from these resistance processes can arise constructions capable of enlarging the horizon of struggle and also of the activists. The didactic character of the conflict has been reported countless times by the interviewees, whose awareness of the impacts of their actions and the forces and interests in the urban space disputes and its production feed their political formations. This is the case of História em Construção group, which was initially set up as a resistance movement to residents' evictions during the real estate works of Vila Viva government program in Viladas Antenas. After the end of the intervention that resulted in numerous evictions, the group continues to act, one of its actions being a community workshop, where the collective management of resources and work objects is discussed, based on sharing knowledge.

Actions, therefore, contribute to the mentality transformation of their activists and, in some cases, succeed in expanding into other groups, resulting in small changes in thinking here and there, albeit in a minoritarian way. In urban occupations for the purpose of housing, for example, one perceives a subtle change of thought about private property. Among its supporters - people linked to social movements, academia, class entities, etc. - the submission of private property to social and environmental interests has always been a consensus. Besides, among the residents, especially in the areas of spontaneous formation, it was common to perceive the justifying focus for their actions in the lack of formal access to housing. Today, although the necessity discourse persists, there is also recognition of the legitimacy of using land that does not fulfill its social function. A beginning, therefore, of questioning the absolute character of private property

Moreover, the limits of these mentality changes can be observed in recent events as the setbacks related to labor rights, democracy and the use of police violence against demonstrations during the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games, it seems, with a significant part of society's consent. Contrary to the 99% announced by the famous slogan of the Occupy Wall Street movement, few people seem willing to think of other possible horizons or identify themselves against the current reality. With such a limited field of influence, how can urban activism counteract the dominant model of city production?

The small gains that preserve or broaden rights are added to those of activist resistance, such as the implementation of Casa de Referência Tina Martins, a shelter self-managed by women for women at risk; The public spaces occupied by cultural activities; The taking of the city by the Festival, though temporary, during Carnival. They are all constructions that point to another city that overcomes that dominant and essentially capitalist, but still, misogynist, racist and homophobic one. Although small, incipient and crossed by various contradictions, urban activism can bring some freedom, justice, and equality to urban space, working as prototypes of other possible horizons, sparks of hope, even more necessary in these dark times that await us.

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