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# autoria compartilhada: cinema, ocupação, cidade

## shared authorship: cinema, occupation, and the city

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### Abstract:

The starting point of my approach to participatory and collaborative forms in audiovisual authorship is the analysis of the films [*projetotorresgemeas*] (2011) and *Novo Apocalipse Recife* (2015). These works emerge from an engagement of their authors in the struggle for the right to the city. Such social disposition uses, in the city of Recife, cinema as a tool for the production of collective knowledge. By associating militant gestures of social movements with the films' forms of organization and aesthetic-narrative expressions, I use the concepts of *multitude* (Hardt and Negri, 2014) and *right to the city* (Harvey, 2012) to build a reflection on activist cinema and temporary urban communes, taking as an example the political interventions of the Occupy Estelita Movement and its initiatives for the democratization of urban planning.

**Keywords:** Audiovisual activism, Right to the city, Multitude, Occupation cinema

## 1 Introduction

Cinema is born as a device that manages multiple contacts. Either the contact between the one who operates the camera and the subject which is in front of it, or the contact between people in a production team, or even the contact between spectators and the images traditionally screened within a collectivized space. The space of the movie theater also produces, therefore, a contact between the bodies brought together for a screening. As a technological apparatus for the capture and projection of images that was born in the industrial age at the turn of the century, the way these contacts were produced were soon influenced by the Fordist industrial model<sup>1</sup>.

These contacts, or rather, the relations between the subjects involved in the different stages of the productive chain of cinema, are then mediated by the dynamics of productivity in scale and by the compartmentalization of tasks. The logic of the production line is applied so that the film crew is organized by a hierarchy of roles, divided into an organization chart that determines creative, technical and financial agents. There has been a

variety of possibilities and permeabilities between these instances from the beginnings of cinema to the present day.

But from the perspective of industrial cinema, the holders of capital and of the technical apparatus organize themselves as operators of a system, disputing not only control over modes of production, but also the cognitive and social effects of film reception. Viewers become regulated by an attempt of predetermination in which they are not seen as individuals or subjects, but rather as consumers. Therefore, the dominant narratives aim at a massive dissemination of these products to the consumers, while simultaneously aiming at producing them as such. One of the forces behind this operation is obvious: making movies to make money by seeking an effective production formula for that purpose.

[...] the industry works within clear paradigms for the transformation of matter into product to work ideally. It is necessary to put the subjects on an assembly line in which their subjective and creative capacities are left out – which is not to say that in the industry there is no creativity [...] It is necessary, in the limit, between design and product there be no change so that everything works in absolute predictability. For the industry, a policy of scarcity is needed, where copies are regulated; a new product means more raw material and assembly line time in operation; and therefore, cost (Migliorin, 2011, p.1, our translation).

As Shohat and Stam (2006) point out, the beginning of cinema coincides with the rise of imperialism. The *dominant cinema* expressed the voice of the *winners* of history and a significant part of this filmography idealized the colonial enterprise as a "civilizing mission." The images accompany the intense colonial disputes of rich countries for territories in the most vulnerable nations and regions. Thus, "the programmatically negative representations of the colonies helped to rationalize the human costs of the imperialist enterprise" (Stam, 2006, p.34, our translation).

Industrial or dominant cinema proved to be an effective operator of social relations, of the political images of the modern world and of new customs. However, as a language and a medium, cinema was also at the center of the struggles faced by revolutionary social groups, transgressors and libertarians. In addition to opposing dominant discourses, these groups produced archives of the political struggles for themselves and future generations.

This opposition/counterpoint establishes one of the bases for the discussion of a specific aspect of this historical and political trajectory: authorship. At the turn of the 21st century, there was a decline of industrial hegemony in the economy. And consequently, what emerged was immaterial capitalism, financial operations, speculative capital and the virtual Internet market.

If in the contemporary world value and subjects no longer have industry as a paradigm, such a passage, or overlap, from one form of value creation to another makes contemporary cinema establish strong dialogues with this configuration – which is not something all that new, but nonetheless it is still surprising in its consequences, in that it demands that social agents rethink problems of incentive, production and distribution under new compositions (Migliorin, 2011, p.1, our translation).

In post-industrial contemporary cinema, the technical division of labor, which separated specific roles, is often abolished or subverted. Online broadcasting from digital arrays adds yet another layer of complexity to the distribution dispute: corporate control of digital networks. At the same time, the post-industrial turnaround opens possibilities for reconfiguration of both *auteurcinema*<sup>2</sup> and militant and insurrectionary cinemas. The political dimension of authorship traverses the history of cinema, but here this trajectory will be investigated from the perspective of a specific contemporary event: the Occupy Estelita Movement and the struggle for the right to the city in Recife.

The José Estelita pier is an area of ••more than 110 thousand square meters, located in the historic center of Recife. The land is on the edge of the Pina basin, an ecosystem that is crucial to the reproduction of several species of vegetation, birds, fish and crustaceans. Dozens of urban fishermen in the region make their living from this activity. The pier is also one of the major postcard landmarks of the city. In 2008, this public land was auctioned off illegally, and it was bought by the Novo Recife consortium. Made up of the companies Moura Dubeaux, Queiroz Galvão, Ara and GL Empreendimentos, the consortium intends to build up to thirteen towers, many of them more than 40 storeys high, divided between commercial establishments and luxury apartments.

I write about Ocupe Estelita as an audiovisual researcher and director, but also as an activist engaged in the social movement. I participated in the collective and collaborative production of a series of militant short films, as well as live broadcasts of protests, production of manifestos and temporary occupations, among other actions. One of the strategic characteristics of this mobilization that fights for the right to the city in Recife is precisely the articulation between different social dimensions, with the promotion of cultural activities, political assemblies and institutional disputes.

In this text, I propose a reflective path with the films produced in this encounter. I observe them together with the historical and anthropological processes that produce them, such as gestures and actions. I'm positioned nearby, therefore I'm half subject, half object in the sense indicated by Guattari (2012). I was one of the authors of *Novo Apocalipse Recife*<sup>3</sup> (2015), a film made by the Ocupe Estelita Movement and the Carnival troupe *Empatando Tua Vista*, which will be part of the analysis of this text. The other film to be approached is *[projetotorresgemeas]*<sup>4</sup> (2011), a collective production, which was born from a call for the production of images and narratives about power relations in the city. Both works turn to the production of city and collectivize the authorship as a political and aesthetic strategy. The focus of the reflection that I propose is: how can authorship-sharing modes produce commonality and thereby collaborate in the democratization of urban space?

## 2 Cine-multitude

In April 2010, a post was made in social networks by a group of activists, identified only as *[projetotorresgemeas]*, which was an invitation to gather interested parties to discuss power relations in urban territory through the production of a collective film. The call exposes a desire to mix perspectives, almost as a transposition to the audiovisual field of the concept of city as a mechanism to mix people together, as the following excerpt testifies:

Anyone – whether from Recife or not – can contribute to the work by producing material that will engage with the proposed discussion, with total freedom in the approach. There is no restriction in terms of the format of the material (film, video, photography, illustration, music, written text, etc.) or capture technology or genre (fiction, documentary, video art, interviews, essay, poetry, song, declamation, etc.). Although the starting point is the “Twin Towers”<sup>5</sup>, the material can and should expand to different territories and themes, which somehow interact with the initial discussion ([ProjetoTorresGemeas], 2010, n.p., our translation).

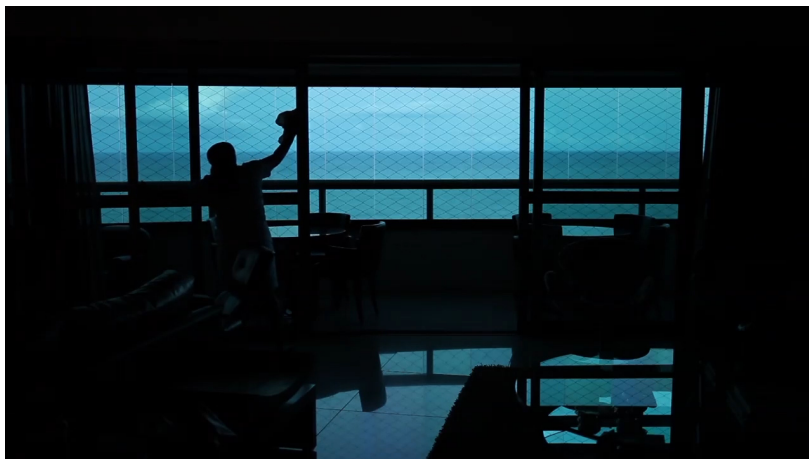
The *[projetotorresgemeas]* took the final form of a short film of 20 minutes, bringing together records that are used in subjective, ironic or poetic modes, or that take part in the “Real” to establish their narrative connections with the theme. The general narrative is designed precisely as an encounter of these gazes and different experiences of the city. The images go together on the screen, and the film is an amalgam of singularities expressed in the images. Altogether, 57 co-author directors took part in this project, of which the majority already had a connection with audiovisual production. But a significant part joined the initiative from other fields, including architecture and urbanism, the fight for housing, cultural production and the university. Let's look at how this mobilization is expressed on the screen by focusing on certain scenes selected for analysis.

A plastic doll submerged in a pool; the perspective from the window of an airplane that flies over the city, turning to the stretch of waterfront occupied by skyscrapers; the shadows of the “Twin Towers” projected on the green waters of the Capibaribe River while the frame is crossed by a motor boat; or a woman dressed in the costume of a symbolic blind justice holding scales that carry models of upper class residential towers.

A criticism of the unequal city is present in sequences such as that of a maid who briefly enjoys the sea breeze and the view of the greenish horizon from the balcony of one of the “Twin Towers” apartments and then continues her routine cleaning of the windows that frame this perspective. At the end of the day, the worker leaves this place of private peace, so recurrently reaffirmed in the ads for real estate in Recife, to then enter the chaotic and overpopulated universe of cars on the street, as shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3.



**Fig. 1:** Frame of *[projeto torresgêmeas]*. Source: *[projeto torresgêmeas]*, 2011. Available at: <https://projeto torresgêmeas.wordpress.com/assistir/> [Accessed 29 October 2018].



**Fig. 2:** Frame of *[projeto torresgêmeas]*. Source: *[projeto torresgêmeas]*, 2011. Available at: <https://projeto torresgêmeas.wordpress.com/assistir/> [Accessed 29 October 2018].



**Fig. 1:** Frame of *[projeto torresgêmeas]*. Source: *[projeto torresgêmeas]*, 2011. Available at: <https://projeto torresgêmeas.wordpress.com/assistir/> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

By triggering its mixing mechanism, the assembly of images seems to disperse throughout the duration of the film another action that connects both aesthetically and spatially to the trajectory of the domestic worker. I am referring to a scene that shows a human-scale cardboard tower that walks the pedestrian strip and stands in front of the cars as a temporary advertisement at the red light. The use of traffic signals as a point of seduction of consumers is recurrent in the Recife real estate market. During the 2000s, there was a boom of economic growth in the entire country and in the state of Pernambuco, which over a few years grew more than the national average. During this period, it was common to find young people wearing uniforms at street lights distributing flyers for upcoming real estate developments. Figure 4 allows for the visualization of this procedure in a staged manner.



**Fig. 4:** Frame of [*projetotorresgemeas*]. Source: [*projetotorresgemeas*], 2011. Available at: <https://projetotorresgemeas.wordpress.com/assistir/> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

The relationship between bodies is therefore divided by those who remain on the street, waiting for the red lights, to circulate among the cars, engaging with potential consumers who sit inside the cars. The contact occurs through a gap in the windows, which may or may not open. The ownership of a car, in this case, is a decisive factor in the pursuit of the target audience of consumers. Pedestrians on the sidewalks do not serve the real estate market; the owners of cars do.

In a visual revelation of this dynamic, the film shows, in an opposite shot of the cardboard tower standing in the pedestrian range, a young man, all shrunk up, serving as a human support for that façade, as shown in Figure 5. Once again, the film brings the image debate close to the bodies and their relationship with the materiality of space and its regimes of visibility. The cardboard tower frames a squeezed body. On the one hand, the car drivers and passengers, with their own windows to the outside world, see a surface of the image – the surface of consumption. On the opposite side, where only people crossing the pedestrian lane can see, is the impact on a body – the intentionally hidden result of this dynamic.



**Fig. 5:** Frame of [*projetotorresgemeas*]. Source: [*projetotorresgemeas*], 2011. Available at: <https://projetotorresgemeas.wordpress.com/assistir/> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

In another sequence, the film enters a ruined public building, located a few meters from the Pier Maurício de Nassau and Pier Duarte Coelho buildings. As the camera moves through this space occupied by families of homeless people, the soundtrack uses a jingle, an ad for a real estate project. There are children running barefoot on the stairs, toys scattered on the floor, several families occupying the space. Dialogically, image and sound construct a projection of the imminent future. The people occupying this public building will not stay there for long, they are all being subject to being removed due to the circle of wealth designed to "reshape" the city center.

This new landscape does not foresee the people who today occupy the housing center, but, rather, those who can enjoy it from the perspective of a consumer. Thus, a respective visuality is established for the demarcation of the spaces and organization of subjects. The last scene of the film appears to confirm this dynamic. Two white male bodies appear in the frame, positioning themselves with their pelvis in the foreground. In the center of the frame is the male genitalia, as the men begin to caress themselves. Gradually, the sexual organs become erect. When they reach full erection, the first and the last fields of the frame are interposed with mock-ups of the landscape surrounding the "Twin Towers". The visual rhyme alludes to the phallic dimension

of this image of the city associated with the centralization of power in a still patriarchal society. One of the cues seems to be: which subjects will be guaranteed an active role in this "new" urban space in construction?

Once again, the visual narrative refers to a distribution of visibilities in the neoliberal city, which organizes a precise division among those who see the horizon from above and turn their backs on the historic city and public space. From the street, the perspective is marked by the omnipresence of the two high buildings. By temporarily subverting this imposition, as in the maid scene observing the horizon from a terrace, the film states that a certain visibility implies the invisibility of an significant part of the population that has repeatedly been denied the right to present itself, to be visible in its singularities.

The construction of the Pier Maurício de Nassau and Pier Duarte Coelho buildings is confronted with urban legislation for a historic area, and the buildings by Moura Dubeux are erected on the Santa Rita Pier, near the historic center, even with a demolition order. The current project of transformation of the center that is underway includes the "Twin Towers" as a step of a much broader action that takes place according to the logic of gentrification. That is, these "renovations" serve to displace a low-income population contingent, which is withdrawn and removed from the center, in order to favor another group with higher purchasing power.

Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) suggest that contemporary gentrification – based on large inequalities of wealth and power – resembles earlier waves of colonial and mercantile expansion that exploited national and continental differences in economic development. It was exported from the metropolises of North America, Western Europe, Australia and some Asian countries to new territories in former colonial possessions around the world.

This process privileges wealth and whiteness and reasserts the white Anglo appropriation of urban space and historical memory (W. Shaw 2000, 2005). And it universalizes the neoliberal principles of governing cities that force poor and vulnerable residents to endure gentrification as a process of colonization by more privileged classes (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008, p.167).

The city and the urban process that produces it are, therefore, important spheres of political, social and class struggle, since, as Harvey (2012) sustains, the urbanization of capital is linked not only to its capacity to "dominate urban process" in the perspective of control of state apparatus. Urbanization from the market perspective strategically uses processes of subjectivation as a form of exercise of power also over the lifestyles of the population, their capacity for work, their cultural and political values, their worldviews. In such a way that the dimension of the visible or of a right of the subjects to present themselves with their singularities, is centralized by the exclusionary logic of privatism and patriarchy. This process of concentration and asymmetry is closely linked to another equally vilified right: the right to the city.

The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (Harvey, 2012, p.4).

The Novo Recife project is a subsequent step in this plan to reshape an extensive stretch of waterfront that runs from the south coast, near the Port of Suape, on Cabo de São Agostinho, to the Naval Village in Olinda, as stated by urban planner Cristiano Borba in a testimony for the short film *Recife, stolen city*<sup>6</sup> (2014). What the urban rights movements want is precisely the opening of this planning to social participation. This demand for participation conflicts directly with the interests of large companies that are the key players in the real estate market, in open adhesion to a production perspective of a city of consumption.

By confronting the processes of atomization of the neoliberal city, the film produces collectivity. It requires months of collective work, with regular face-to-face meetings and a mailing list for discussion. The filmmaking process requires organization, compromise and also a certain disposition for dissent, since the final version only uses part of the footage. In this perspective, collaboration and participation do not point to a community reduced to unity, but just the opposite – a collective that presupposes difference and its articulated singularities.

What [*projetotorresgemeas*] does with its gesture is a collectivization of the screen between different subjects that are juxtaposed, and it is in this juxtaposition that the film points to another possible city. Social criticism, irony, the symbolic, all this also operates in contact with the bodies mobilized for the making of the film. Initially, the short film suggests collaborative procedures that will be evoked during narrative and media

disputes related to the destination of José Estelita quay. With the occupation of the wharf, which lasted about 50 days in its different phases, there is an intensification of cooperation processes for narrative production, not only in the audiovisual sector, but also in design, photography, manifesto writing and public activities.

The organization of this production and the sharing of the place of authorship arise in a variety of arrangements. The way to communalize the audiovisual production is directly linked to a collective strategy that is being reworked throughout the struggle of Occupy Estelita. As we will see later, shared authorship may point to a polyphony, as in [*projetotorresgemeas*], but not only this.

### 3 Carnivalizing the institutional image

If in [*projetotorresgemeas*] there is a mixture in the textures of the different image and sound records, but also in the different narrative approaches immanent to the different subject-authors, in *Novo Apocalypse Recife* there is a centralization of the aesthetic regime of the film. While the first film points to a multiple city, articulated by the different natures of the image and the singularities included in a polyphonic narrative, in the second there is a frontal and unified attack. There is a target: the relationship of the mayor of the city of Recife, Geraldo Julio, PSB, elected in 2012 for his first term and re-elected in 2016, with the contractors that make up the Novo Recife Consortium.

In 2011, the saturation of the city's verticalization project began to gain a counterpoint through social mobilization, even if still dispersed and occasional, with articulation groups for urban rights and the "Twin Towers" as an inflection point. By 2014, the occupation of the Jose Estelita quay<sup>7</sup> had acted as a catalyst for debates over the democratization of urban planning. As is ironically rendered by filmmaker Kleber Mendonça Filho in testimony to *Recife, a stolen city*<sup>8</sup> (2014), the "Twin Towers" were just a trailer of what would come to be presented as Novo Recife.

The collective experience of the occupation, the attempts to negotiate with the municipal executive body and the violent repossession on June 17, 2014, had marked the bodies and the memory of the movement. There would be no end to attempts at social pressure and negotiation with the city executive. On June 30, 2014, the Ocupe Estelita Movement organized an occupation of the ground floor of the building of the City Hall of Recife. In an action that had repercussion through the digital networks and mobilized all the local press, the activists set up camp with a specific agenda: that the Novo Recife project be canceled.

The ground floor was occupied early in the morning, as shown in Figure 6. Immediately, the municipal security apparatus was activated, and in a few hours the building was closed, and municipal workers sent home. During the two days of occupation, there were a series of meetings between occupants and representatives of the city hall. However, in the end, the exit of the occupants was placed as an imposition and the city hall obtained in the Judiciary an order of reintegration of possession. The document established the departure by 2:00 p.m. on July 1, with the proviso that, if the occupants did not leave the building, the Military Police Shock Battalion would be called into action<sup>9</sup>.



**Fig. 6:** Frame of *Ocupar, resistir, avançar*, which shows the occupation of the ground floor of the building of the City Hall of Recife. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KX6rirSw7c>> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

The outcome of the city hall's occupation generates frustration. In general, the national and even international media repercussions of the occupation of the quay had an important empathetic effect on public opinion, bringing the support of a number of social actors, but from a practical point of view the Novo Recife project continued its course in the scope of the municipal executive. For this reason, there was the attempt of a direct

intervention in the city hall. But the mobilization of the bodies was undergoing a post-occupancy hiatus, and the occupation of the city hall had required a great political effort of articulation without practical results. In addition to these factors, the consortium Novo Recife counter-attacked with a number of ads on the main television channels and an opinion poll that claimed that 80% of the population of Recife was in favor of the venture<sup>10</sup>.

Given this context, the argument for *Novo Apocalypse Recife* arises. The gesture of the film is in line with the gesture of the performance collective *Troça Carnavalesca Empatando Tua Vista*<sup>11</sup>. Using a carnivalesque and provocative tone, the narrative resembles a parody advertising piece in which the mayor of Recife, Geraldo Julio – reincarnated with a paper mask –, makes an ode to the Novo Recife project. Aiming at provoking emotions and laughter, the movie parodies the music by Reginaldo Rossi entitled *Recife, minha cidade*.

In a series of playful situations, the character that represents the mayor acts in praise of the "qualities" of the Novo Recife project, whether dancing in swimming trunks with the insignia of the Pernambuco flag in front of the glass skyscrapers of the Boa Viagem neighborhood (Figure 7) or being led as a puppy by one of the fancy towers of the *Troça Carnavalesca Empatando Tua Vista* (Figure 8).



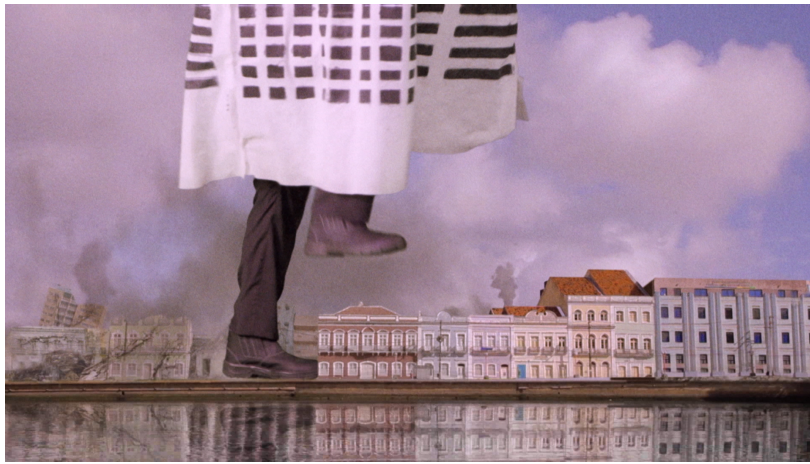
**Fig. 7:** Frame of *Novo Apocalypse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk>> [Accessed 29 October 2018].



**Fig. 8:** Frame of *Novo Apocalypse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk>> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

In a climactic moment of the film, the character-towers grow dizzyingly, like Godzillas, squash historical and vulnerable parts of the city (Figures 9 and 10) and catapult the mayor in the air like a superhero (Figure 11).





**Fig. 9:** Frame of *Novo Apocalypse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk> [Accessed 29 October 2018].



**Fig. 10:** Frame of *Novo Apocalypse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk> [Accessed 29 October 2018].



**Fig. 11:** Frame of *Novo Apocalypse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

The gesture of producing the image of a "new" mayor for a "new" city intends to unmask a face that is not always visible in power relations: the intimate association of private interests in the agenda of representatives of public power. In Figure 12, the new mayor celebrates the successful business with characters who carry in their heads paper bags stamped with the brands of the companies that make the Novo Recife consortium.



**Fig. 12:** Frame of *Novo Apocalipse Recife*. Source: Movimento Ocupe Estelita, 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk> [Accessed 29 October 2018].

In the case of *Novo Apocalipse Recife*, the asymmetry of institutional power, demonstrated by favoring real estate capital and contempt for popular participation, is investigated through a series of institutional negotiations. Thus, one should not look at the gesture of the film outside the recent history of the *newest social movements* producing a critique of the representative system, or its recurrent capture by capital. Looking specifically at the local context, one of the unfinished projects of activists and filmmakers involved in *Novo Apocalipse Recife* is another production of a collective call entitled *Elections: Crisis of Representation*<sup>12</sup>.

*New Apocalipse Recife* expresses the insistence of the Occupy Estelita Movement in denouncing the illegalities related to the wharf. It is worth pointing out that this insistence was challenged both by the municipal executive and by organized groups of society that formulated another narrative: that Novo Recife would represent the modernization of the city. The gesture of carnivalization of the image of the mayor remains associated with the gesture of the social movement for another discursive production: this supposed collective progress associated with a "modernization" tries to cover up the fact that projects like Novo Recife favor only the few<sup>13</sup>.

The José Estelita quay, as a space of a public nature, has the potential to bring together different individuals who can, in their own way, reconfigure the space, transforming it into a place of commonality. This power is in the matrix of the right to the city, as an essentially collective social device that offers a shared perspective in terms of the authorship of the processes of city production.

In its own way, the dilution of audiovisual authorship into a plurality that guides and enacts a narrative that has aesthetic cohesion does not erase the singularities of the people involved, but rather permits an expression that agencies collective affections. The germ of the film is equally materialized in a decentralized way, either through the performance interventions of the *Troça Empatando Tua Vista*, or in the series of meetings that took place for scriptwriting and debates for strategic decision making at assemblies and events organized by the Ocupe Estelita Movement.

Perhaps here it is worth looking back at a brief history of the *Troça Empatando Tua Vista* and its search for a more direct constraint of institutional politics. During Carnival, the group makes appearances during the traditional breakfast in the cabin of the Galo da Madrugada, the meeting place of politicians in the city. These actions have received recurrent restrictive reactions from the public power.

In the 2016 carnival, officials of the Urban Control Board prevented demonstrators from parading with the tower costumes. And the following year, military police officers seized the costumes. In 2018, the protesters obtained a precautionary *habeas corpus* to guarantee transit with the costumes. The film as a critical collective gesture unfolds this performativity before the institutionalized hierarchical power. With this, I don't want to force a positivity of the film's gesture, or even a presumed effectiveness. There is an ambivalence in the processes of *carnivalization*, whether on the discursive or the performative dimension. Shohat and Stam (2006) will also put forth the different lines of force that are in action depending on who carnivalizes who.

Historically, carnivals have always been politically ambiguous events; sometimes they constituted symbolic rebellions of the excluded, sometimes encouraged the festive transformation of the weak into scapegoats of the rich (or the less weak). Carnival and carnival practices are not essentially progressive or regressive: it all depends on who is carnivalizing who, in what historical situation, for what purposes and in what way. Carnival forms a changing configuration of symbolic

practices, a complex dialogue between ideological manipulation and utopian desire whose political valence changes with each new context. Official power sometimes uses Carnival to carnivalize energies that could otherwise encourage popular revolts, just as carnival can also provoke disquiet among the elites and thus be the object of official repression (Shohat and Stam, 2006, p.23, our translation).

In the final editing phase of the film, the Occupy Estelita Movement decides to occupy the sidewalk in front of the building where the mayor lives. The occupation even allowed for a scene of this intervention to be included in the film, strengthening the bonds between the carnivalized narrative and the direct action of the collective.

What these procedures of narrative production to a performativity of the gesture of occupation indicate, in my view, is a productive interweaving between these dimensions. Militant cinema that collectivizes authorship remains open to aesthetic and formal experimentation, without being exempt from the presence that activates a force of direct action. Thus, the political and conceptual production of the occupation operates as a vital force of audiovisual production and vice versa. At the same time, these vectors create friction of the institutional process of urban planning, because they reconfigure an image of the dominant power and consequently offer another image of the city.

#### **4 The present image**

Deleuze (1985) argues that modern political cinema differs from classical political cinema not by expressing itself in an emancipatory way "by the presence of the people," but on the contrary, by "[...] showing how the people are lacking, which is not present" (Deleuze, 1985, p.257, our translation). This authorial analysis serves to produce a more general conclusion, both in American cinema and in Soviet cinema, in its classical forms: "[...] the people are given in their presence, real before actual, ideal without being abstract" (Deleuze, 1985, p.258, our translation), and the essential difference of a classical approach to its modern face is that "[...] the people no longer exist or do not yet exist ... the people are lacking" (Deleuze, 1985, p.258-259, our translation).

Are people still missing? Or were people missing? Or are people missing maybe just in another way? For Hardt and Negri (2014), an ontological change occurred in the contemporary world, and for this reason they propose a shift of the concept of people by introducing another conceptual approach, the multitude. The authors' main criticism of the concept of people is that the term carries a unification. "The people are one. The population, of course, is made up of numerous different individuals and classes, but people synthesize or reduce these social differences to an identity" (Hardt and Negri, 2014, p.139, our translation).

The *multitude*, by contrast, cannot be unified, and remains plural and multiple. The authors argue that, according to the dominant tradition of political philosophy, "[...] the people can rule as sovereign power; and the multitude, can't" (Hardt and Negri, 2014, p.139, our translation). From their point of view, that is a false proposition. The multitude conceived by Hardt and Negri is composed of a set of singularities, in the perspective of a social subject "[...] whose difference cannot be reduced to uniformity, a difference that remains different. [...] The plural singularities of the multitude thus contrast with the undifferentiated unity of the people" (Hardt and Negri, 2014, p.139, our translation).

It is important to point out that there is a dispute between concepts regarding the conception of contemporary collective political subjects both through a different reading of social realities and through an exercise in philosophical reflection that opens different paths with different theoretical genealogies. For example, the concept of multitude as drawn by Hardt and Negri has been recurrently questioned by both researchers and activists who point out a certain idealization of its revolutionary nature.

That said, I use the concept of multitude because it offers a productive spectrum of possibilities to operationalize a reading of the authorship in this cinema that is made in the dynamics of contemporary urban social movements in Recife. With this, I don't want to exclude other concepts, such as that of the *people*, in its various meanings, to approach collective political subjects. The notion of people articulated, for example, by Butler (2015) indicates powers linked to a collective performativity.

So, I ask the reader to use the concept of multitude for the purposes of film analysis, in this specific case [*projetotorresgemeas*] and *Novo Apocalipse Recife*, and not for a more general discussion about which conceptual mechanism might more accurately comprise the political forces of global emancipation. In short, Hardt and Negri tell us that the multitude is about "[...] an active actor of self-organization" (2004, p.17, our translation).

From this perspective, I depart for a political reflection of the gestures, as pointed out by the Invisible Committee:

When it is said that "the people" are in the street, it is not a people that existed previously, on the contrary, it is the people that previously lacked. It is not the "people" that produce the uprising, it is the uprising that produces its people, raising the common experience and intelligence, the human fabric and the language of real life, which had disappeared (Comitê Invisível, 2016, p.51, our translation).

It is the uprising that produces its people. From this perspective, I also suggest that it is not the authors who produce the films in an occupation cinema, but the films that produce the authors. From this perspective, the production processes do not turn only to a supposed exterior in a narrative or discursive dispute, but to the gestures of the groups that are mobilized in these audiovisual actions. The relationships that are established with the organization and execution are as important as the impact of the end product. Starting from this reflexivity, I recognize practices of urban occupations as gestures that produce commonality, which traverse the communicational spectrum, transforming the modes of production, without pre established formulas. In dealing with their own demands in order to come about, these films produce collectivities.

With this, I don't fail to consider the symbolic dimension articulated in these processes, as is constantly reaffirmed in this text. To politically contest the production of city is also to dispute another image of city. If the right to the city in its shared essence projects this collective movement, militant cinema made in association with the social movement offers a tool not only for narrative-mediatic dispute, but for mediation. After this brief passage between the production processes and an aesthetic-formal analysis of the films discussed here, I would like to sustain that an occupation cinema, in its gestures, affirms singularities and preserves differences, which serve to activate collective participation and the power of transformation and democratization of the city.

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**1** Fordism is a term that refers to the model of mass production of a product, that is, the system of production lines.

**2** The term *auteur cinema* comes mainly from the discussions produced from the ideas called author theory or authors' politics, which emerged during the 1950s and 1960s in Europe and were disseminated throughout the world.

**3** Produced by the Ocupe Estelita Movement. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE0wJi6xNBk>>.

**4** [*projedetorresgemeas*] in a direct translation can be read as [twintowersproject]. Co-directed by Allan Christian, Ana Lira, André Antônio, André George Medeiros, Auxiliadora Martins, Caio Zatti, Camilo Soares, Chico Lacerda, Chico Mulatinho, Cristina Gouvêa, Diana Gebrim, Eduarda Ribeiro, Eli Maria, Felipe Araújo, Felipe Peres Calheiros, Fernando Chiappetta, Geraldo Filho, Grilo, Guga S. Rocha, Guma Farias, Iomana Rocha, Isabela Stampanoni, João Maria, João Vigo, Jonathas de Andrade, Larissa Brainer, Leo Falcão, Leo Leite, Leonardo Lacca, Lúcia Veras, Luciana Rabello, Luis Fernando Moura, Luís Henrique Leal, Luiz Joaquim, Marcelle Lima, Marcelo Lordello, Marcelo Pedroso, Mariana Porto, Matheus Veras Batista, Mayra Meira, Michelle Rodrigues, Milene Migliano, Nara Normande, Nara Oliveira, Nicolau Domingues, Paulo Sano, Pedro Ernesto Barreira, Priscilla Andrade, Profiterolis, Rafael Cabral, Rafael Travassos, Rodrigo Almeida, Tamires Cruz, Tião, Tomaz Alves Souza, Ubirajara Machado and Wilson Freire. Available at: <<https://projedetorresgemeas.wordpress.com/assistir/>>.

**5** The nickname given to the Pier Maurício de Nassau and Pier Duarte Coelho buildings refers to the towers of the World Trade Center in New York destroyed by the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.

**6** *Recife, stolen city* is a film that wants to dispute the narrative about the production of city, of which I am also a co-author, held in association with the Ocupe Estelita Movement. It is recurrent in contemporary Recife that this mode of production occurs in the urgency of disputes, produced in an autonomous, collective and collaborative way, and that has the urban question as a transversal theme. From a call of the Ocupe Estelita, in 2015, for the production of an anthology on DVD, more than 80 films produced in this perspective were mapped between the beginning of the years 2000 to the present day. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJY1XE2S9Pk>>.

**7** On the night of May 21, 2014, when the Novo Recife consortium began demolishing the old sugar stores on the quay, a group of activists occupied the site, preventing the buildings from being put down. When faced with the action of the machines, one of the activists of the group Urban Rights posted on Facebook a call. Within minutes, other activists arrived and entered the field. The next day, information on the occupation had already run through the digital networks and more people had reached the dock grounds. Quickly, a task force for donor organization and legal aid was built from both the cooperation circuit built over the years and social partners and new activists who joined the occupation to build and maintain it. A new phase of political articulation is set in motion, the terrain of the Jose Estelita wharf is temporarily functioning as a point of convergence of the urban struggles in Recife. The occupation lasted about 50 days counting its different stages - first in the internal area of the quay and after a violent reintegration of possession the occupants established camp under the viaduct Captain Temudo, next to the land.

**8** Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJY1XE2S9Pk>>.

**9** A summary of this process can be seen in the film *Occupy, Resist, Proceed*: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KX6rirSw7c>>.

**10** On July 4, I received a call from Ipespe, an institute hired by the Novo Recife project for an opinion poll. This video shows the interview in its entirety, revealing the biased form with which the research was conducted: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35vhQheS1pA>>. The material was used in an action of the State Public Ministry against the Ipespe.

**11** Description of the Troça Carnavalesca Empatando Tua Vista on their Facebook page: "we are a political-folio act critical to excessive verticalization, which neglects urban planning, the history of the place, privatizes the unveiling of the waters, the landscape and the view of the monuments". Available at: <<https://pt-br.facebook.com/empatandoatuavista>>.

**12** A summary of the project can be accessed at this link: <<http://crisederepresentacao.blogspot.com.br/>>.

**13** At the same time, the discourse of modernization is evoked to hide or even attempt to justify the irregularities of the administrative processes that involve, in general, large enterprises, as affirmed the promoter Belize Chamber in *Civil Deconstruction* (2011). Available at: <<https://vurto.com.br/2012/03/17/desconstrucao-civil/>>.