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cidade e narrativa:  
discurso e direito à cidade  
nos espaços opacos  
the city and narratives:  
speech and the right to the city in  
opaque spaces

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PT | EN

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#### Abstract:

The divided city territorializes inequalities, legitimized by a hegemonic discourse that serves the dominant ideas and values. From its physically and socially fragmented spaces it chooses those to illuminate, to show as the image of the city of spectacle, and those which will be cast to the shadows and will be invisible. By mitigating subjectivities and rejecting deviant behavior and discourses, it builds, shapes and frames the city it wants to be and be seen. At the limits where the visibility ceases, the city is, however, in continuous production. The shadow that covers the marginalized territories also reveals them, since their practices escape the comprehension of the totalizing gaze. Through the marginal culture, underprivileged areas spread their shadow over the illuminated areas of the city, painting it with its subjectivity, giving it new meanings, disputing its spaces and speeches. From the peripheral territories emanate other narratives of the city and feelings of collaboration arise between partners in similar situations and opinions, aiming to conquer spaces in favour of the citizen participation. Under theoretical contributions of Michel de Certeau and Milton Santos, mainly, we aim to discuss the unequal distribution of the right to speech and visibility, and highlight the "ways of making" of the "opaque spaces", which dispute the city through its narratives, allowing new gazes over it, and other stories to be told that expand the right to the city. Here we defend the right to speech as a right to the city, translated into effective struggles for the deconstruction of social stigmas.

**Keywords:** Opaque spaces, Narrative, Marginal culture, Right to the city

## 1 Introduction

The city ruled by the productivist economic and social logic is in dispute. Its urban configuration has resulted from processes historically marked by inequality of rights and by socio-spatial segregation. We understand the concept of territorial configurations as the materialization of functions, uses and usages made in the territory, a meaning that includes both the space-materiality and the actions of the subjects that installs themselves on it and that refers to them. We deal here with socio-spatial phenomena converted into territories and experiential territorialities, as well as narratives designed to express them and make us reflect on them. We are dealing, therefore, with formulations and polyphonic and plurigenic phenomena that involve and demand polyphonic and dialogic readings<sup>1</sup>. The quantity and complexity involved in the understanding and expression of these questions require a cleavage, here established in the selection of narratives that counterpose to the hegemonic discourse, which is based on the asymmetric distribution of the right to enunciation to ratify the apparatus producing nefarious situations such as the already cited inequality and socio-spatial segregation.

In spite of the multiplicity of ways and means by which the city expresses itself and by which it can be read, felt and interpreted, it is perennial the attempt to impose a brand through a discourse that contains, synthesizes and unifies its identity. It creates an image of what the official discourse wishes to show, constructs an idea of territory from a consensus that shadows and invisibilizes what diverges from such an image, which suppresses what may presuppose dissent. That is, this search for an identity image of the city promotes a discourse that values the harmonic and the consensual and suppresses the divergent, the diverse, the conflictual, the dissonant (Pallombini cited in Vieira, 2012).

The ways of seeing, experiencing and narrating the city do not admit consensus, because they are part of processes of subjectivation (individual or collective) that vary with each experience. The city is not a homogeneous and indivisible whole; it is composed of multiple and distinct social and cultural components; therefore, it becomes equally plural and diverse in each of its parts. The hegemonic discursive conception of the city derives from a discourse that echoes and spreads an image of the city that, in most cases, goes against other narratives that want to be seen. Other narratives composed of experiences, bodies and lives that are also part of the city and that speak of it, but which, due to the hegemony of the dominant discourse, are obscured and de-legitimized, either by the non-recognition of their scientific nature or by the sociocultural factors of their announcers (gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic levels, etc.), or by their territory of origin. The hegemonic discourse cancels out what it cannot control, stealing its movements, its *ginga*<sup>2</sup> and its abilities, limiting its intensities, framing its tactics and painting its bright colors of gray. Enunciated by previously defined speakers, invalidates the other voices and narratives to define the course of history and the ways in which it must be told. It chooses the voices from which emanates all knowledge and all consciousness, albeit in an illusory and false way (Debord, 1997).

At the thresholds of visibility, after the hard and luminous borders that divide the city - center-periphery, asphalt-hill, formal-informal-, there is an incessant production that causes strangeness to the totalizing gaze (Certeau, 2014). From the opaque areas<sup>3</sup>, among the socially, economically, culturally and geographically marginalized, other discourses about the city emanate, which are often obscured or silenced when considered as "irrational for hegemonic uses" (Santos, 2006, p.210, our translation). The opaque zones are so because there is no light on them, because they are not allowed to appear, nor that their manifestations of resistance reach the surface. Over these spaces, the eye acts predominantly in an instrumentalized way.

These "impossible to manage" spaces (Certeau, 2014) are the ones that suffer the most from the violence of the imposition of limits in the hard attempt to give them an identity. The movements to make the opaque spaces invisible occur not only by their negation, by the erasure of what is deviation, but also by the imposition of a stereotype. Opaque spaces, identified as territories of poverty, are usually linked to situations of violence, exclusion and privation (Vieira, 2012). The emphasis on these negative aspects, resulting from a system anchored in inequality, generates a distance from the opaque areas of the city, deepening the boundaries that divide it and clouding what is produced in it that is different to what one expects to find there.

Misery and scarcity are part of the daily life of opaque spaces, but solidarity, readiness and resistance are also marks of these territories of creativity. Culture is produced abundantly in the peripheries<sup>4</sup>, but it is the authorizing voices that come from outside them, not from within, that legitimize or criminalize them. Attempts to make opaque areas invisible do not occur without movements of resistance from them, not reactive, but intrinsic to the process of spectacularization. It is within this process that criticism, in the form of deviations and fissures, occurs as microrresistences (Jacques, 2010, p.109). From the peripheral territories emanate other narratives of the city, which dispute their spaces and their speeches, and provoke feelings of collaboration between partners in similar situations and with similar opinions aiming to conquer spaces in favor of citizen participation.

In the opaque areas of the city, tactical actions are witnessed, both in their ways of inhabiting the peripheral or marginalized portions of the city - ways of building, adapting, changing geography and habitat - and of circulating in the city, transposing imposed boundaries and occupying spaces and speeches. The peripheral culture, in its various forms of manifestation - marginal literature, *saraus* (open mic events), slams, samba, funk, rap, hip hop, graffiti... - acts as microrresistencies to the processes of silencing imposed on the periphery and occupies radios, squares, sidewalks, stairs and walls. In this way, it reveals the dissent, stresses the urban space by disputing it and distorting the existing power relations, making the space spectacularized by the discourse political again: "urban life presupposes encounters, confrontations of differences, knowledge and reciprocal acknowledgments (including ideological and political confrontation) of ways of living" (Lefebvre, 2001, p.22, our translation).

The narrative of marginal culture seeks to destroy the foundation that legitimizes the official discourse for the circulation of ideas, seeks to overthrow the hierarchies that define those who have competence to speak and be heard. The discourse "is not simply what translates struggles or systems of domination, but that by what we struggle, the power we want to seize" (Foucault, 1996, p.10, our translation). Peripheral marginal culture claims its place as a narrator, making the marginalized people aware that they can say beyond what is authorized to them; it does so by questioning the authority of the one who speaks for another, to whom it delegates its voice and ends up seeing itself reduced and rationalized. Marginal culture emerges as a tool for the empowerment of peripheral areas, treating its multiple versions of history as a means of survival of these opacified spaces (Baptista, 2001). In general it thematizes the life in the periphery, claiming the right to a voice and the construction of the knowledge by those who do not inhabit the places of speech.

The peripheral spaces, which, under a hegemonic prism, would be identified by stigmas of violence, misery and privation, in possession of their place as the narrator are re-signified and valued: revealing their intense cultural production; exposing the *ginga* with which their bodies move in the formal city and in the *quebradas*<sup>5</sup>; stating their ability to speak about the daily life through subjective experiences; reporting on their individual struggles and their processes, but also on the solidarity among their residents; denouncing and confronting violence that results from inequality, as well as from devices of capture, surveillance and control.

From the study of marginal narratives, we intend to debate about the right to the city and the discursive instruments about life in it. Starting from the hypothesis of the dispute for the city and the right of speaking about and in it, the study was allowed to be guided by the narratives that emanate of the peripheral culture as a way of understanding the city no longer from a totalizer glaze, but from another point of view, which tells a different story, and which collaborates on and broadens the production of knowledge about the city and its understanding.

The discourse of the peaceful and harmonious city tries to make invisible both geographical portions of urban space, as well as its population, its productions and struggles. Milton Santos (2007) enlarges the concept of territory beyond what is summed up in physical space, expanding it to the place where actions, passions, powers, strengths, weaknesses occur, that is, corresponds to space where man manifests himself and builds his existence. Therefore, we talk of obscure territories. From the attempt to conceal and erase spaces, as well as the ways of life they shelter, their struggles, their challenges, their creations, the violence to which they are subjected, that is, everything that escapes and diverges from the discourse that affirms to know everything about city and poverty (Vieira, 2012).

There is an intense production of culture and narratives in obscured territories that, although invisible and silenced, act by destabilizing the place of mere object imposed on them, producing the city itself and also knowledge about it. The asymmetric distribution of the right to the city in space and speech justifies the need to access life in opaque territories from the optics and narratives of its residents.

## **2 The narrative of the city and the right to it through the opaque spaces point of view**

The Greater Vitória Metropolitan Area (GVMA) has witnessed a great growth of the movements related to the marginal culture. Driven by the hip-hop movement, it is possible to see the flourishing of numerous collectives that organize themselves around the production of literature, music, rhyme, dance, graffiti, etc. There is also a growing number of meetings generated by these movements, which occupy the public and institutional spaces every day of the week with *saraus*, slams, rap and break battles, to name a few.

In the attempt to find silenced narratives about the city, we sought the peripheral literary movement, already known from other places in Brazil, in its manifestations in the GVMA. The encounter with marginal literature<sup>6</sup>, driven by the discomfort with the silencing of peripheral territories and life that does not fit the image imposed by the official discourse of the formal city, triggered a series of connections and entrances towards the narratives produced by the population of these same territories. Literatura MarginalES, a collective composed

by young writers of the Greater Vitória, was the first access to the groups dedicated to the marginal literature produced in the region. Soon several other connections were established, and from this entanglement a network of distinct movements was formed, but which converged both in their content and in their actors, and supported the will to speak of silenced territories and lives. The meeting with this first marginal literature collective paved the way for a series of other meetings with groups practicing the written word and orality of the saraus, slams, and hip hop battles.

These groups do not speak of specific localities or districts, but speak generally about opaque areas. The origin of the members of these groups and the participants in the events and battles are multiple, they are residents of different neighborhoods of the several municipalities of the GVMA, but the main content of the speeches tends to be the same: the ways of life of the peripheral areas, the denunciation of the lack of rights to participation and the desire for visibility, the desire for enunciation. We sought to access, through marginal literature, saraus and hip hop, dissonant narratives from opaque spaces that revealed other ways of being and living in the city, as ways of resistance to invisibility and silence. Not only descriptive accounts, but the very experience of trying to participate in the production of space and urban life. We participated in a large number of marginal culture events and meetings that celebrated narrative orality, recording their speeches and poetic productions in a tone of struggle, outburst, denunciation and celebration, as well as collecting the graphic productions (fanzines, books) of marginal literature, seeking, in this way, to access other narratives that have been constructed and, also, obscured about the city<sup>7</sup>.

The place of residence of individuals plays a determining role for the full exercise of citizenship, allowing or not access to public services and life with urbanity. The urban developmentalist model excluded the lower income groups from participation in the country's advances. It is a development model that institutionalized socio-spatial segregation, through which an urban space is produced that not only reflects inequalities, but also reaffirms and reproduces them (Maricato, 2002). Socio-spatial segregation generates and reaffirms social exclusion, reserving to the population of the poorest spaces a precarious insertion in the city, even when spatially included in it, as reported in this poem:

Here is Far Far Away  
In Far Far Away  
There was a slum called Near Here  
There was everything in Far Far Away  
Health, education, leisure  
Art and culture for the brothers  
But in Near Here  
There was no health, no leisure, no education  
There was a lot of Police approach, shooting and exploring  
Lack of rice, lack of beans<sup>8</sup>  
Here is Far Far Away  
And Far Far Away is near here.  
(Slam Botocudos, April 27, 2017)

This poem, recited in a poetic battle of Slam Botocudos, a marginal culture event in Greater Vitória, shows the dimension of what it is to live and survive in the urban spaces reserved for the poor. The fragments of a multiple and segregated city, capable of touching each other due to spatial proximity, are separated by the hard border of the practice of power, where such diverse realities are confronted in such a way that the disadvantage of one translates into the advantage of the other. In the poem, "Far Far Away" and "Near Here" reveal the geographic space of the city. The quality of life sought by the periphery - which includes access to health, education, leisure, culture, food and security - is very distant despite being enjoyed right next to it. This narrative portrays the segregationist model of Brazilian cities, often denounced by those who live illegally due to socio-spatial exclusion.

This illegality becomes functional, since it supports archaic political relations, exchanges of favors and clientelism, aiming real estate speculation and arbitrary application of the law (Maricato, 2002). The narrative also denounces the violence suffered daily in the peripheries, by the oppressive presence of the State or by its indifference to the real civil war that happens in our cities; reveals a nonconformity regarding the unequal treatment directed at the different urban spaces, as in the poetic sections below:

We are sentenced and it isn't even in the judiciary  
This is the echo of the culverts that invades the noble neighborhood  
Unfortunately the shock troops don't go there also  
They are only made for going up the hill  
Killing bad guys who are poor  
*Enquadrando*<sup>9</sup> the residents

Pretending they will seize guns  
"Raise your hands! Look at the wall! "  
(Gnom, Sarau Emprete-Sendo, May 30, 2017, our translation)

An ordinary man  
Comites a small crime  
And stays in jail until he becomes a carcass  
A suit-and-tied man steals a nation  
And the biggest punishment is getting stuck inside his own house  
(Project Boca Boca, May 12, 2017, our translation)

The above poems show the different approaches relative and proportional to socio-spatial inequality, either in the way the security force appears or in the punishment instruments that it presupposes. The police are thus configured as a tool for maintaining socio-spatial segregation, which is necessary for the processes of domination through the differential treatment that it grants to the different social strata (Moassab, 2011). Fear for some, security for others, the police represents an instrument of social control of the State against the class of "born criminals", meaning: slums residents, poor, black people. The revelation of the violent treatment of the police comes with a critique of the type of urbanization carried out in obscured territories. For this population only the defense through the possible denunciations remains.

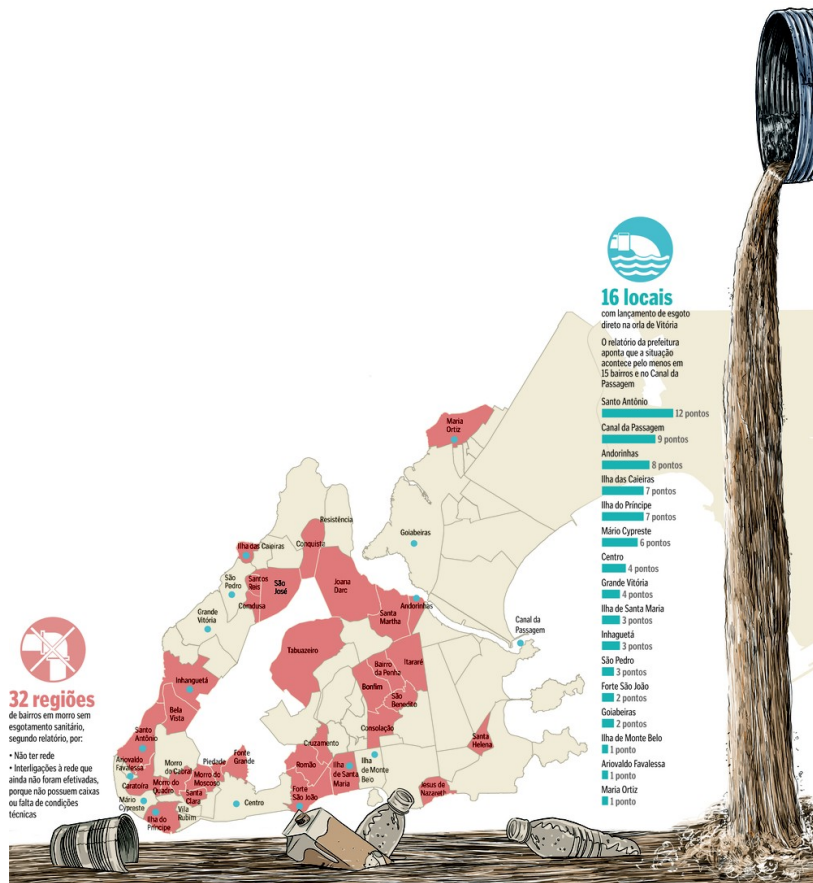
And they filled the slums with squares  
Just to make the violent *enquadro* easier  
And any preppy can't speak about the slums  
Because they don't live with death by their side  
(Sarau Emprete-Sendo, June 20, 2017)

The presence of the State in these territories is precarious and inefficient. On many occasions, the lack of sanitation in the territories of poverty is mentioned, highlighting the difficulty of access to treated water and sewerage:

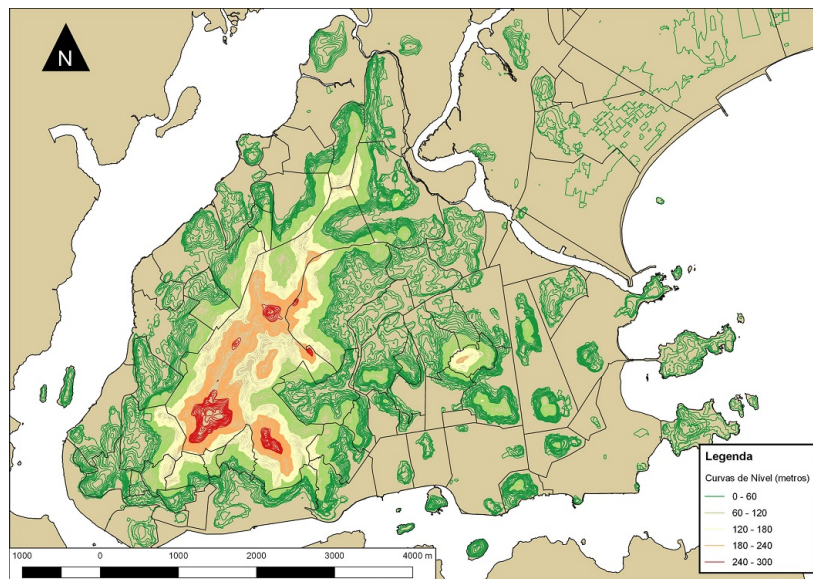
And I'm thirsty  
But not of blood anymore  
Not of blood anymore  
Only of drinking water  
That never got to the top of the hill  
(Sarau Emprete-Sendo, May 30, 2017)

Here there is no wealth, but there is the beauty of being happy.  
Happy happy  
Here we make the banquet from the crumbs that the State provides to be happy  
Unhappy  
Unpaved street  
Hill  
Open sewage  
(Slam Botocudos / Sarau Emprete-Sendo, Casa da Barão, Centro, Vitoria, July 27, 2017)

According to Cesan (Espírito Santo Sanitation Company), in 2016 the city of Vitória had 88.7% coverage of the sewerage, with approximately 69.6% of the capital's population connected to the system<sup>10</sup>. Although Vitória presents the best sanitation situation among the municipalities of the Metropolitan Region, it is still far from ideal. Among the regions not served by the sewerage system of the capital, 32 out of 79 are located in the hills and neighborhoods of the periphery, mostly in the northwest bay, as shown in the image below, of a journalistic survey, and as reported by the peripheral narratives. The map presented below (Figures 1), shows the coverage of the sewerage system and the wastewater disposal sites in the city of Vitória subdivided into neighborhoods; In Figure 2, which highlights the topography of the city, it is noted that the districts not served or served precariously by the aforementioned sewerage system, are mainly in the hills and peripheral districts.

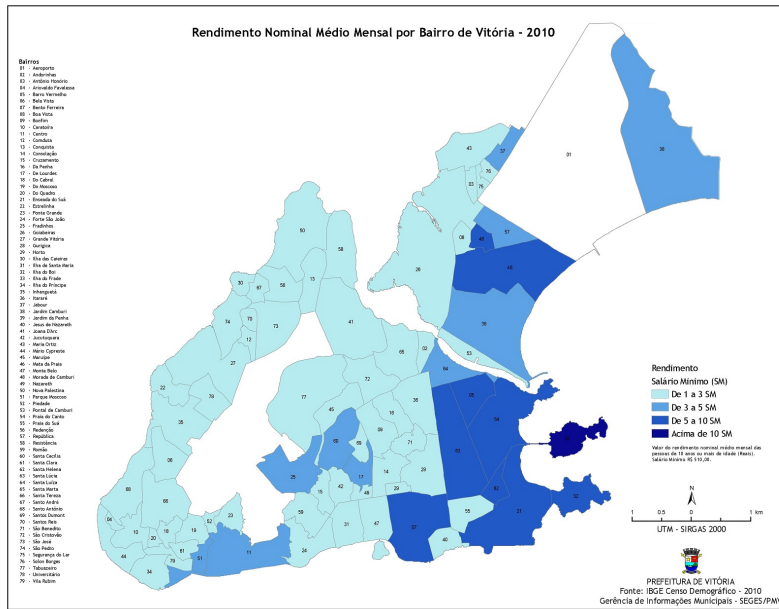


**Fig. 1:** Map of Vitória indicating áreas uncovered by the sewerage system and the disposal sites of this sewage on the seashore of the capital of Espírito Santo. Source: Sá and Verli, 2017, n.p.

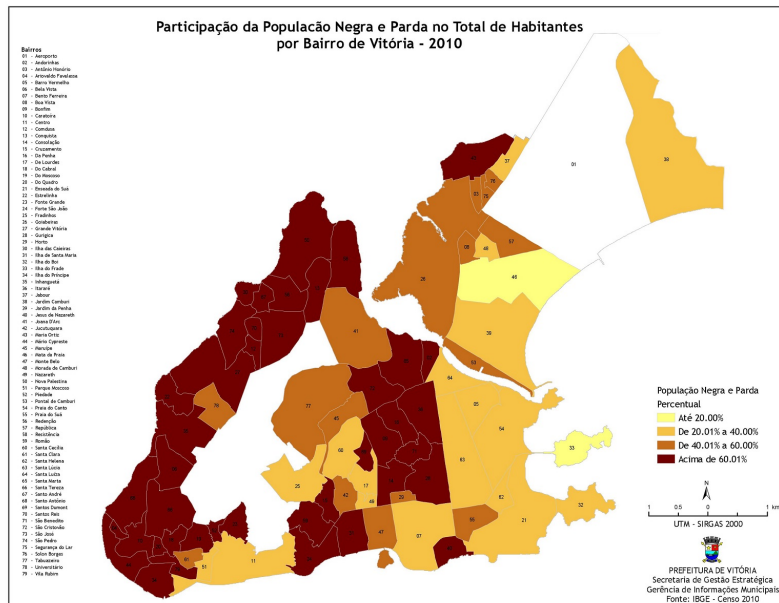


**Fig. 2:** Topographic Altimetric Map of Vitória. Source: Personal Collection (developed from data base of the City Hall of Vitória, ES).

The regions where access to basic sanitation and water services are more precarious, as can be seen in the maps, are also the areas where the population with the lowest income is located and where there is the highest concentration of the black and brown people in the capital. The following maps (Figures 3 and 4) demonstrate the uneven socio-spatial distribution of the city of Vitória, based on the segregation and concentration of the land of the upper-class strata, leaving the poor, black and excluded to settle in irregular areas, with difficult access, in need of infrastructure and the presence of the State.



**Fig. 3:** Average Monthly Nominal Income by District of Vitória 2010. Source: Vitória City Hall, 2010.



**Fig. 4:** Participation of the Black and Brown Population in the Total of Inhabitants by District of Vitória 2010. Source: City Hall of Vitória, 2010.

Life in these spaces is narrated in marginal poetry and in raps, which portray the battle for everyday survival as well as relationships within the communities. They are about the struggle to exist in the unequal city, in the spaces hidden by the political instruments and their ideological speeches, which hold the domain of the urban space.

The discursive and symbolic construction of what is "city" and "periphery" makes citizenship a privilege and not a right, covering the real city with the city that is desired to be seen (Maricato, 2001). Based on the harmonically forged idea of city, the periphery is seen only as the place of violence, crime, lack of resources, infrastructure and culture, and thus constitutes a non-city within the city (Moassab, 2011).

The image of the peaceful and democratic city hides the segregationist and excluding processes that constitute the urban, as well as the conflicts provoked by inequality. The deconstruction of this biased image is fundamental to the search for a less unequal urban space. In this sense, the marginal narratives of the literature, the rap and the art of the periphery play an important role in exposing the historical process of exclusion, as well as for the re-signification of the city. The artistic manifestations raise an intense debate about the deep social and urban inequalities of the periphery, searching for ways to reverse this picture.

For I write lyrics that portray our reality  
 From social disregard to criminality  
 Acting in places where nobody, nobody

Nobody wants to come in

(Sarau *Quebrando o Silêncio* (Breaking the Silence), September 19, 2017)

In this way, battles are fought for the deconstruction of the pejorative symbolic burden that has always weighed on the inhabitants of the poor regions; as well as for the recognition of their cultural manifestations and the knowledge produced by them, from an internal legitimization. In order to face the consequences of historical spatial segregation (such as violence and precarious infrastructure already mentioned), what is seen in the peripheral areas is an intense relationship of cooperativity and responsibility with each other, reinforcing the importance of such networks of collaboration and participation; what we see is a diversified and growing cultural production accompanied by entrepreneurial initiatives. That is, it is a periphery that is very different from the image that the hegemonic discourse tries to frame. As in the narrated sections below:

There, the collective is of neighbors filling the slab<sup>11</sup>

And, as Gaspar said, people "who have color acts"

(Extract from the song #VocêsFizeramDissCriminação (#YouHaveDisCriminated) by Diego Cavaleiro Andante, our translation)

The marginal narratives operate against the instruments of domination, symbolically reformulating the peripheries. They quarrel the city in its spaces; occupy the city through their speech. Battle against a production of a city based on domination and profit, against a segregationist model legitimized daily that defines the place in which the excluded should stay and reinforces the establishment of scarcity through a discourse widely repeated (often silently) throughout the society.

The peripheral marginal culture denounces a distant city, although it is "Near Here". The marginal narratives are used as instruments for the democratization of the speech that speaks of the opaque spaces, reconfiguring them symbolically and endogenously, resignifying the condition of its inhabitants as citizens who, in fact, they are. Shouting, they claim their existence so they will not be erased.

Talking about where I live

Stir a lot of emotions

For while I exist

The slum won't become extinct

(Marquin, Slam Botocudos, April 27, 2017, our translation)

### **3 By the way of conclusion**

This work faces the challenge of meeting the life experienced within a barely visible reality, approaching manifestations that try to break the boundaries that divide the city and of subjects who live their lives as acts of resistance by inhabiting and narrating it. The narratives occupied the work by converting it into an instrument that talks about life in opaque spaces. The little audible voice of the opacified subjects thus occupies the pages of academic production, a space still not very accessible to the peripheral territories and their speeches, exposing the daily life of their illegality in the urban space, participating in the construction of another history of the city, which also embraces the point of view of the excluded, and expands the knowledge and the right to it.

In the fissures of the city within the limits defined by socioeconomic policies, takes place the tactics of those who are prevented from participating in a fair sharing of rights, of being seen and having their voices heard. Through the problematization of the city from the marginal culture, that is, from the invisibilized and silenced territories, we try to "turn the compass to the periphery", as Sergio Vaz (Brum, 2009, our translation) states; putting the point of view of the losers in the center of visibility. Brushing "history against the grain" (Benjamin, 1985, p.157, our translation), and in opposition to the official and dominant discourse that hides what is not in line with its norms, we seek to discuss the right to the city and formulate new outlines in the struggle for participation and visibility. It seeks to denounce the marginalization and social exclusion of peripheral territories, to defend the right to a dignified life in the city as opposed to socio-spatial segregation legitimized by legal apparatus. Therefore, a movement of inversion of the logic that dictates the production of knowledge is adopted, questioning the place of the subjects and authorized spaces, and listening to the speeches of the marginalized, criminalized and condemned from their territory of origin.

Legitimized academic knowledge, as a rule, distances itself from the life produced in obscure territories. It speaks of them without understanding them because it does not experiment them, analyzing them from the outside, and disqualifying the knowledge produced in them, stigmatizing them under the sign of "popular", without scientific value. The place of marginal territories in scientific knowledge is usually of object of study; although we lack concrete numerical data, it is possible to see that the researches that investigate these spaces multiply. The presence of the university in the peripheries is frequent and comes loaded with the



weight of the instrumentalization of knowledge, of speeches, of researches of which results hardly return to the subjects who supplied them.

From the encounter with the marginalized narratives of the opaque territories, there was discovered much more than a desire for existence, but for participation; to be part of the city. In a work of many hands and voices, through collaboration was sought to bring to the surface a shaded speech, which produces knowledge about a city often denied from other views and experiences. From this encounter new arrangements were formed, places of power and speech were questioned and knowledge produced and shared by those prevented from taking part in the sharing of rights emerged.

In the encounter with those narratives, we spoke of the territories that are obscured in the segregationist logic that structures the urban spaces of Brazilian cities, addressing the specific case of the Metropolitan Region of Greater Vitória. There is no conclusion that closes the questions raised here, or, much less, ends the narratives found. The narrative is open, allows multiple approaches, brings up many other peripheries beyond those that can be seen here.

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**1** Concepts such as polyphony and dialogism can be considered as constitutive properties of all speech, are present in any enunciation. Therefore, they are basic for the reflections on intersemiotic relations and intertextual forms of expression here processed, that aim to analyze interactions of languages and of communication means that do not fit into the monologism, also understood as official or hegemonic discourse. In this sense, the brief extract from the article "Dialogism and polyphony: from concepts to analysis of an article of opinion" is illuminating: "If monologism makes us realize that 'the other is never another consciousness, it is merely an object of self-consciousness that informs and commands everything' (Bezerra, 2007, p.192); the dialogism, on the other hand, situates us and makes us aware that 'no significance is established, in any concrete event, without the presence of at least two centers of value' (Tezza, 2003, p.232); polyphony, though, is the eagerness of a world 'in which the multiplicity of plenary voices and of independent and unfundible consciousness has the right of citizenship - voices and consciousness that circulate and interact in an infinite dialogue' (Faraco, 2009, p.77) (Pires, Knoll and Cabral, 2016, our translation).

## **2**

*Ginga* is the denomination given to the basic movement of capoeira: when fighters protect themselves, diverting from the rival's attack, creating new counterattack directions. The *ginga* applied to life is a "creative ability, attention to the lurking of fissures that enable life to go beyond the determinations that imprison their existences" (Vieira, 2012, p.18, our translation).

**3** Geographer Milton Santos (2006) uses the idea of opaque areas in opposition to the luminous areas of the city. The luminous areas would be rationed and rationalized spaces, organized and endowed with technical and informational density. The opaque areas, on the other hand, would be those where these characteristics would be absent, closer to spaces of affection, creativity. We use the same adjectives to metaphorically denominate speeches as luminous and opaque according to their origin and their enunciators. It should also be noted that we use different denominations as zones, areas or spaces for these adjectives without concern to differentiate these categories.

**4** To speak of periphery in this work is to refer to the marginalized spaces, excluded from the city, not necessarily in a physical periphery. The marginalization that the opaque territories and their population are subjected to is often assumed and re-signified for the creation of what is new, proper, authentic, under that sign.

**5** *Quebrada* is how it is popularly called the peripheral and marginalized districts of the city, i.e., the slums or skid rows.

**6** Terminology presented by Ferréz in the launching of his book *Capão Pecado* (2000) is defined by the author as "a literature made by minorities, be they racial or socioeconomic. It is a literature made at the margin of the central points of knowledge and of the great national culture, that is, those of great purchasing power" (Ferréz, 2002, s.p., our translation).

**7** The transcribed narrative passages are identified by the event in which they were uttered. There is no identification of the participants as it ensures the norms of Resolution CNS 510/2016 about researches in Human and Social Sciences in Brazil. However, the authors have guaranteed copyright over the rhymes and poems, so it is being exposed in some poetry at their request.

**8** Rice and beans correspond to the daily basic nutrition of the majority of the Brazilian population. The expression used in poetry therefore talks about the lack of food.

**9** Slang that means the police's approach actions, sometimes along with physical or verbal abuse, treating the suspect as a criminal. Verbal inflection of *enquadrar* verb. Other forms in this paper: *enquadro* (substantive).

**10** Article from May 15, 2017. Available at: <[https://g1.globo.com/espírito-santo/noticia/cerca-de-125-mil-ainda-jogam-esgoto-no-mar-de-vitoria\\_g.htm](https://g1.globo.com/espírito-santo/noticia/cerca-de-125-mil-ainda-jogam-esgoto-no-mar-de-vitoria_g.htm)> [Accessed 23 May 2018].

**11** That expression refers to the autoconstruction currently made in the Brazilian slums. It is very common to reunite a group of neighbors to construct a new house or refurbish a neighbor's house.

