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Abstract:

The object of study in the present paper is the co-authorship of city, that is, the comprehension about how certain beings/groups create new cities through the reversal of the use previously imagined for them. This use is proposed by capital, and creates "image-cities", which are commodified and control the spontaneity of the citizens' body. This body finds themselves constantly prevented from appropriating such "image-cities". As the uses of the city are reverted, a conflict is created between the city and the body, which generates the idea of urban co-authorship. In this sense, being a co-author means to respond to inequality through one's collaboration in the construction of the city, by actively participating with one's own body as an instrument of resistance. In this paper, such conflict is being approached from the concepts of spectacle and image, in opposition to the concept of urban *bodyographies* (Jacques, 2009), which brings us to the co-authorship based on ways of doing (Certeau, 2014) and communization (Harvey, 2014).

Keywords: Co-authorship, Spectacle, Body, Image-city, Co-authors

1 Introduction

Historically, cities have been built carrying some tendency to homogenization and elitism of spaces, in detriment of a diversity of the beings that are a fundamental part of them. This process leads to the exclusion of some social groups. In addition to the lack of public policies aimed to the city's most vulnerable parts, this spatially excludent city generates almost involuntary answers from its residents, such as the spontaneous appropriation of public space (Figure 1), or voluntary manifestations such as artistic interventions (Figure 2). Their responses can be understood as new layers of a city, so that through their reaction and the formation of new cities, residents become co-authors of the urban, collaborating in its physical and social construction.

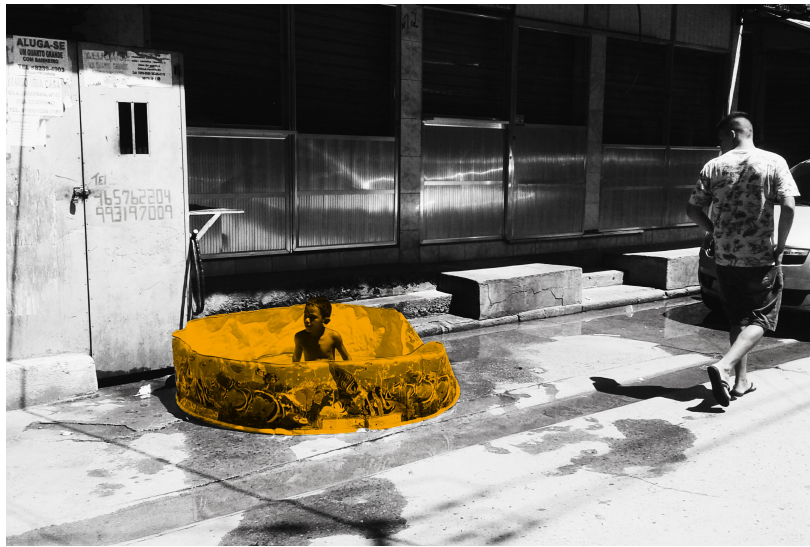


Fig. 1: Pool on a street in Favela Rio das Pedras. Source: Author, 2017.



Fig. 2: Child plays during a temporary intervention at Campo de Santana park, Rio de Janeiro. Source: Author, 2017.

To be a co-author of the city means to be a part of it, sharing the creation of its places and situations, both materially and immaterially speaking, peacefully or belligerently. Co-authors are here understood as actors that constitute groups such as the government, companies, town planners, formal or marginalized citizens, urban activists, etc. These groups of co-authors work together to form an urban whole, where each one, through his or her participation, can fit several scales, create links among different groups, create overlaps and generate urban conflicts, especially between those who have some political and/or economic power and the less favored. In this paper, one of these conflicts will be studied: what happens between “body” and “image-city”. Some concepts related to the body will be thus commented preceding the review of concepts that build that city, as they concern the image related to capital, the spectacle– and, finally, the conflict will be worked on. Lastly, we come to the concept of co-authorship, which will unfold in “ways of doing” (Certeau, 2014) and the idea of “commons” (Harvey, 2014), which are not apart of the process of capitalization of the city.

2 The body

body (Ferreira, 2009, p.556):

2. Anat. Physical substance, or the structure, of each person or animal.
The person, the individual.

Filos. Part of living beings are the support of the soul or the spirit.

Body is a matter. It is the point that touches the soul and the world, the interior and the exterior of the being, its desire and action. The body in the city is a live matter both transforming this latter and being transformed by it: the body molds the space and is molded by it (Figure 3). The body shows and creates distance, moves around, gets closer and farther. The body is a way of expression, resistance and art through its presence (Figure 4). This way, “to think the body, today, is to think of its performances, in a vision that contemplates as

constituent elements of a broad semiotic universe, in which subjectivities are produced” (Villça, 2009, p.35, our translation).



Fig. 3: The body occupies equipments on the Olympic Boulevard, makes alive the space, and becomes itself more lively because of the fun it enjoys. Source: Author, 2017.



Fig. 4: A mass formed by several bodies in order to express political resistance during the municipal vote counting at Cinelândia district. Source: Author, 2016.

Matesco (2009) discusses the assumption of a virtualization of these subjectivities when a notion of body is given. He says their tangibility will only be real when incorporating an [art] work. If such work is the city,

wouldn't its exploration and incorporation make tangible our subjectivity as well? The place we choosed to stroll in (by choosing this or that way), our behavior, our actions (by sitting on this or that bench, on the grass, the curb, a concrete beacon or not sitting down at all), what we look at: all of this makes visible -yet indirectly- the subjectivities of each body, both showing who we are, but also that the perception of a city is affected by each body's thought and experience.

When studying these subjectivities one can study the body, which leads to understand "[...] body memories resulting from the experience of space [...]" and to the apprehension of "[...] spatial memories registered on the body itself through urban experiences" (Jacques, 2009, p.131, our translation). This body is inserted in an environment, the urban environment, having a unique *bodygraphy* associated with choreography. According to Jacques, *urban bodygraphy* is the "cartography fulfilled by and on the body, that is, [...]" part of the hypothesis that the urban experience gets inscribed [...] on the very body of the one who experiences it, and this way also defines it, even involuntarily [...]" (2009, p.130, our translation). *Choreography* is the "[...] project of body movement, that is, the project to be fulfilled by the body [...]" (2009, p.131, our translation). A choreography happens every time our body explores the city; this experience creates a new *bodygraphy* in the body, as well as it can lead to changes of the urban design. According to Jacques (2009), in these new *bodygraphies*, the way of inscribing experiences is determined by intensity and temporality.

Therefore, choreographies, appropriations, and changes capable of creating new cities can simply start from the presence of the body, from a "being there" status, with no mandatory extra physical material to support or extend it. It gives the place a scale which modifies this space, by occupying it differently than it was officially planned. Jacques argues that, once traversed, spaces are experienced by city practitioners which "[...] give them a 'body' by the simple action of going through them" (2009, p.132, our translation). But such occupation is also possible by a body carrying instruments, either material or immaterial ones. According to Certeau (2014), these instruments add or remove something to or from the body, making them to be submitted to norms.

However, according to Villaga (2009, p.7), there is currently an "[...] excess of control over the production of our corporeity, either through medical interventions or any sort of interventions, in search of advertising perfection [...]" This control is also present in any ways of occupying the city, precisely because while acting unexpectedly, the body has a great power, which would cause a disjunction of the imposed city, as we will explain further.

Thus, when occupying a space, a body generates life, exchange and interaction. Even if only through a glance, its movement generates a solid fluidity. It means that a stable space, without occupation or life, is rigid and static, it is an image.

3 The image-city (Spaces' sacralization)

3.1 The image and Capital

Image (Ferreira, 2009, p.1072):

Exact representation or analog to a being, to something; copy.

Mental representation of an object, of an impression etc.

Sacralize (Ferreira, 2009, p.1788):

V.t.d.1. Attribute sacredness to.

An image can be read, appreciated, perhaps interpreted, which makes the interaction between it and the spectator to be physically passive. Certeau (2014) writes about the passivity generally existing in reading, placing it as the utter point, either about the image or the text. Thus, passivity is comfortable and palatable, making easier its use as a Capital instrument.

In this way, the Capital can sell illusion and appearance through images, as something to be shown. According to Debord, "the real consumer becomes a consumer of illusions. The merchandise is this illusion truly real, and the spectacle is its general manifestation" (2017, p.57, our translation). This sale through images arises in architectural and urban projects where "an urban image becomes synthetic, that is, allegedly capable of convincingly express the idea of a unique and undivided city" (Lima, 2017, p.10, our translation). As Raquel Rolnik pointed out, for attracting capital, architectural and urban products must be recognizable. That means, any city that has been subjected to its own "sale" displays the same glazed towers (verbal information)¹, museums etc., which are recognizable products as images to be consumed (Figure 5).



Fig. 5: The Museum of Tomorrow and the Mauá Square are examples of images extensively commercialized before the Olympic Games 2016, having been sacralized by the city's government. Source: Author, 2016.

The city limited and imposed by the Capital exists in different forms and is seen and/or appropriated in different ways, depending on how its image is displayed and sold, who can afford it, and who knows how to do it.

3.2 Image-city

Image-city is the spectacle that is introduced to an audience but not lived by it. It is the representation of a false reality, where "as a starlet, the agent of the spectacle taken to the scene is the opposite of the individual, it is the enemy of the individual in themselves so evidently as in others" (Debord, 2017, p.43). Assuming the city is lived in and constituted by the bodies that inhabit it, the scenario built by capital, which turns into merchandize, annihilates relations among people and between people and themselves. Even the quality of life becomes merchandize, in a way that there is no life, only staticity coming from the duplication of dead projects. In this sense, image-city ends up being created by urbanism, which, according to Debord, "[...] is the takeover of natural and human environments by capitalism, which, in developing its logic of absolute domination, can and should now redo the totality of the space as *its own scenario*" (2017, p.136, marked by the author, our translation). Villaça defends that "[...] in Renaissance it is the devoted that contemplates the image made by the hand of man. Hence the notion of work of art and of authorship" (2009, p.35, our translation). Image-city is work with its authorship concentrated in a few people, where there is no consideration who it was made for but only empty contemplation.

3.3 The spectacle

Image-city, as scenario, is part of a staging, becoming something spectacular. In this way, the spectacle is symbiotic to this city, because it is the spectacle that creates the city and, at the same time, the city feeds the spectacle. The spectacle is the relationship among people having its mediation through images, but that, from the moment it accumulates capital, it becomes image (Debord, 2017).

Image-city, as spectacle, nourishes the dead, the still, rendering the conscience also dead, which causes urban actions, even the excluding ones, easily digested. Therefore, there only remains the contemplation of this shallow, uninhabited and alienated city, where the spectacle makes the idea between true and false a blur to the eye due to the "[...] *real presence* of the false guaranteed by the organization of appearance" (Debord, 2017, p.164, marked by the author, our translation). When reality is not understood, there is a tendency to create other parallel realities, which could be called parallel falsehoods, which are fed by spectacle and by capital. These parallel falsehoods are also fed by fictional interlocutors that are introduced according to the merchandize to be sold, and that are the only ones known, according to Debord, by "[...] the spectator conscience, prisoner of a flattened universe, limited by the *screen* of the spectacle, back to where its own life was deported from [...]" (2017, p.164, marked by author, our translation).

Debord (2017) argues that, once the economy has had full control over beings, the spectacle dominates them. Therefore, it is known that merchandize promotes the spectacle and dominates life in such a way that it is almost impossible to disassociate from it (Debord, 2017), and this dominion extends to all spheres. That is, image-city, as merchandize, also holds dominion over social life and over organization. The possibility for meetings and exchanges amongst people is delimited (generally in classes) and undemocratic, necessarily happening as stipulated by power and amongst the people that hold this power, causing a fight against the

abolition of these classes and of the society of spectacle. In addition, image-city also has its leisure sold, which promotes its own consumption, making it trivial, through, for example, tourism. Beyond this, there is also the urban *gentrification*², where a change occurs in the visual and in the impression/perception of that place, probably before marginalized, and that now becomes elegant, refined, and apt to be consumed by those who can consume it. Those who have previously consumed it can no longer do so or are not welcome to do so.

The constant manufacturing of new products by capitalism makes former ones old and useless, so that their obsolescence creates a collective forgetfulness about the past. Being the image-city one of these renewable capitalist products, the forgetting of the past is one of its characteristics, where one must clean and create the new, without thinking of the existence of past events, especially in relation to people. That is, this city remains on newly-made surface that can be substituted by another. It is substituted and not over imposed, because the overlapping presupposes some touching between surfaces, contrary to what is proposed here, what conveys the idea of constancy and perpetuity.

4 The conflict

The image must be beautiful, in accordance to pre-established standards, pleasant and clean, otherwise it does not sell. This is why it is frozen and taken as sacred, where obstruction is prohibited. With this, there is a form of behavior of the body that suppresses its spontaneity, in a way that "commercialized, industrialized, institutionally organized leisure destroys this 'naturalness' from which people occupy themselves in order to traffic and traffic through it" (Lefebvre, 2004, p.116, our translation).

The space ends up being used for the purpose for which it was designed, with some conditioning and control imposed, being "[...] the starlet of spectacle. The condition of starlet is spatialization of apparent vividness" (Debord, 2017, p.64, our translation). This "control" can make a place safer to certain people, but at the same time, can be excluding for others, in addition to taking the space and the very static people, in a way that "the city historically formed does not live anymore, it is not apprehended practically. It is no more than an object for cultural consumption for tourists [...], avid for spectacles [...]" (Lefebvre, 2004, p.106, our translation).

Certeau writes that "The body repairs itself. It educates itself. It even produces itself" (2014, p.213, our translation). Thus, the staticity that connects itself to the cited spaces' sacralization, having in an unforeseen reaction some appropriation, a spatial desecration, "a sin" that deserves to be punished or prevented, so that the image continues "beautiful and static", limiting, educating and repairing the body that exists there. Bench anti-homeless people (Lettiere, 2017) and small water jets on the marquees (Brito, 2017) are real examples of punishment and prevention of the sin of occupying public spaces. Certeau uses Foucault³ to relate to the vigilance that exercises power, expressing the necessity of understanding how a society ought not to be limited by this vigilance, explaining that "[...] public procedures [...] play with mechanisms of discipline and do not conform with it unless to alter it [...]" (2014, p.41, our translation), and completes defending that it is necessary to understand the side of consumers, through their "ways of doing", that are "[...] silent processes that organize the sociopolitical order" (2014, p.41, our translation).

Therefore, the sacralized and spectacular image-city is bureaucratic, imposing barriers in its form of appropriation, one of these barriers being the space's buy and sell, making it possible for only some fractions of society to be able to pierce through bureaucracy. Harvey argues that wealth distributed in polarized form is inserted in constructed cities that "[...] more and more turn into cities of fragmented forts, of walled communities and of public spaces kept under constant surveillance" (2014, p.48, our translation).

Bureaucracy is an instrument that writes the law about the space and, consequently, about the bodies that inhabit/occupy it, understanding that "There is no right not to write about bodies. [...] From birth to mourning, the law 'seizes' the bodies to make them its message" (Certeau, 2014, p.210, our translation). Certeau addresses this existence and that of other instruments that write laws, such as truncheon, handcuffs, that "[...] compose a series of objects destined to engrave the force of the law on its subjects [...]" (2014, p.211, our translation). However, considering the necessity of equilibrium between what is imposed and what one really wants to do in space, understanding that something that mediates the relationship between the law to be inscribed and the bodies is necessary (Certeau, 2014). In this way, it ought to be noted the existence of instruments that work the body (Certeau, 2014), and that these ought to be considered in a manner as to respect the yearnings at the moment of occupation of the spaces.

Image-city is also a unified capitalist space or, as previously mentioned, apparently unified where, if a determined group does not reach the imposed level of consumption, such as homeless people, they become a group apart, reinforcing spatial and social divisions. In addition to the capitalist unity causing divisions, it is, according to Debord, "[...] an extensive and intensive process of *trivialization*" (2017, p.135, marked by author, our translation). This trivialization leads to staticity, to space's sacralization and to a certain monotony,

which is only broken from the moment of conflict created by the body that wants to utilize it, which causes new forms of creating a city (Figure 6).



Fig. 6: Diving into Guanabara Bay has become habitual after construction for the Olympic Games. However, this reversal of use was on the news at the time of re-inauguration described as “disorder”⁴, which proves space’s sacralization, understanding that this way the appropriation does not interfere negatively neither does it disrespects any other user of the space, besides not degrading any of the newly installed equipment. Notwithstanding, the mere presence of one of those people, alongside an act that subverts controlled use, is responsible for the creation of an imaginary where they become dangerous and where this informality of the use of the space becomes something marginal and dangerous. Source: Author, 2015.

5 The co-authorship

According to La Varra (2008, p.180, our translation⁵), public space is “[...] a compound of behaviors that crystallizes a place that does not necessarily have a public legal nature, but that it has the capacity to offer it, to its potential inhabitants, the structure for a collective act of sharing, even if temporary”. With this, it is understood that the different behaviors and forms of shared actions are manufacturers of space. To share is, or it ought to be, the grand bond of urban construction.

Therefore, it is fundamental, for the understanding of relationships between co-authors and city, to comprehend that “[...] the production of space and the spatial monopolies become an integral part of the dynamics of accumulation [of capital] [...]” (Harvey, 2014, p.92, our translation). Since Haussmann, capital surplus is directed toward and absorbed by the great urbanistic works, especially by those that favor a minority of the population. That is, there is a capital urbanization that makes the process of creating cities to be dominated by a determined class, generally imbricated to powers of big companies and or/politicians, and it may also be a way for a government to leave its mark in the place where it acts. This mark can generate the displacement of people or cultures that do not adapt to it (Harvey, 2014).

Due to the singularities of each level and their respective co-authors, added to the imposition of capital and of people in power, the conflicts in the urban environment are more and more intense and excludents, leading to the non-perception of the existence of this co-authorship and of the differences and subjectivities of each citizen. Thus, the co-authorship takes place at the moment in which the body destabilizes the imposition placed by the image-city, that is, “[...] the city allows itself to be a spectacular scenery at the moment in which it is lived in” (Jacques, 2009, p.132, our translation)

5.1 Ways to do

In order to understand co-authorship, the “ways to do” that Certeau develops ought to be looked into, being these “ways to do” the practices “[...] by which users reappropriate organized space through social-cultural production techniques” (2014, p.41, our translation). That is, these “ways to do” appear in different forms, come from different co-authors, where each one, having a different reference and vision of that space, will use their own interpretation to act accordingly. Thus, “ways to do” “[...] intervene in a field that regulates them on a first level [...], but introduces there a way of taking advantage of it, that obeys other rules and constitutes as though a second level is overlapped on the first” (Certeau, 2014, p.87, our translation).

Each co-author has life stories, visions and distinct urban experiences that, established in the body, make different readings about space. Certeau (2014) examines that these differences make the text, or even the

image, to become somewhere habitable. That is, we are renters during this reading, driving us to put a little bit of us in it, giving different meanings to what is being read and understanding that too “[...] the right to the city is an empty significant. All depends on who will bestow meaning” (Harvey, 2014, p.20, our translation).

At the same time, there is a formality in practices that causes them to be trapped within certain logic, according to Certeau (2014), and distinct places lead to different modalities of action, generally imbricated to these formalities. Therefore, even with the differences in each place, these rigid practices can offer a certain “danger” to empirical public actions, beyond the great resistance to the unpredicted. Nevertheless, the unpredicted is responsible for the creation of a more dynamic city, fluid and interesting, in that each co-author interacting with each place, modifying their actions and transitioning through the unpredicted, creates a fragmented city, where “[...] a way of thinking invested in a way of acting, an art of uniting indissoluble with the art of using” (Certeau, 2014, p.41, our translation). With this, according to Certeau, the “ways to do” are insinuated in the imposed system and over imposed, where, “[...] for this combination, (this person) creates for themselves a game *ways to utilize* the imposed order in place [...], they here establish *plurality* and creativity” (2014, p.87, marked by author, our translation).

Certeau (2014) expresses that proverbs as well as discourses are marked by uses. The “fragmented city” can also be read as a discourse, being marked by use and by its past, which is told in different forms by its respective co-authors, according to their needs (Figure 7). And then, conflict arises between discourses and between individualities of each being, which will create different niches of affection, politics and culture within the city.



Fig. 7: Unpredicted – bench on the square, which has as its main use the “sitting down”, being used for rest and sunbathes, attending to the need at that moment. Source: Author, 2018.

5.2 The commons and their capitalization

The urban commons by Harvey are here associated with the forms of urban co-authorship. According to him,

[...] the common ought not to be understood as a specific type of thing, active or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relationship between a given self-defined social group and aspects already existing or yet to be created from the social and/or physical milieu, considered crucial for his life and subsistence (Harvey, 2014, p.145, our translation).

Being the common a relationship between group and space, pre-existent or created, the action of the co-author of city is the common. By acting, the co-author produces the so-called *communalization* of the city, which is the “practice that creates or establishes a social relation with the common whose uses are so exclusive of a social group as partially or totally open to all” (Harvey, 2014, p.145, our translation).

For this action to become real, motivation is made necessary, even if involuntary, something that makes this co-author to act transforming the space or appropriating themselves with it, on several scales. For example, one day a person could have sat for a quick second on a square bench close to their workplace and noticed that angle and that space were pleasant for him. This same person may want to sit down on that same bench another day for a longer period of time, at the moment of resting from lunch, in addition to taking other people to that place, creating a network. As another example, a person who yearns to occupy an underutilized square close to their home and makes it alive, looks for neighbors and agrees on a picnic with them from time

to time in the place, which unfolds into a program⁶ for occupying underutilized squares on the part of the members of their respective communities. These co-authored attitudes (Figure 8) form the *communalization*, which to happen in local scale, “[...] a mixture of individual and private initiatives is enough to organize and learn externality effects while putting some aspects in the surroundings outside market scope” (Harvey, 2014, p.154, our translation).



Fig. 8: The Festival “The Walkway Is Public”, at Public Walkway, is an example of co-author attitude, where activist groups, in partnership with small local entrepreneurs and artists, search for the reactivation of the little utilized place. Source: Author, 2018.

Exactly for the success of these small actions, capital, that always tends to monopolize power, searches and can act around the commons, commercializing and trying to extract income from the place and from the people in that place. These people many times succumb to the market because, from it, they become “visible” and with rights because, under the eyes of capital, if something or someone is not profitable, it does have rights considered in the capitalist society.

In this sense, for capitalist urbanization, a city that is doing well is a city in which situations run the best way possible in the capital sphere. That is, the value of urban space is concentrated in only one sphere, excluding the main pillars that are the very people and the environment in which they are in. Without people and the environment, it is impossible to build a city.

The people or co-authors, generally belonging to less favored classes, as a consequence, fight to create the cities, many times seeking to attend to those belonging to the group, or to other cities that are close, somehow, to theirs. Thus, the people “[...] whose work is involved in producing and reproducing the city have a collective right not only to what they produce, but also to deciding what type of urbanism ought to be produced, where and how” (Harvey, 2014, p.245, our translation). Therefore, the co-authors make their own cities their own ways and, for this exact reason, ought to be contemplated, studied and consulted at the moment of implementation of urban projects, aware that “[...] the question about the type of city that we want cannot be separated from the type of people that we want to be [...]” (Harvey, 2014, p.28, our translation).

6 Final Considerations

Our action in the urban space says a lot about who we are, of our experiences and of our perception of city. If, for example, a citizen has had a negative experience on certain street, a different *bodygraphy* is created in them related to this experience. Therefore, their way of behaving in that space is altered, making them not walk through it or that they change the way they occupy it, to avoid the negative experience from happening again. That is, the creation that we make of cities inside the city is completely mutant and uncertain, varying from person to person. This uncertainty seems to be the big monster that haunts the classes that hold power. Certainty can be synonymous of profit, while uncertainty guides capitalist thought to the idea of waste and or loss, being this abominable. Uncertainty trembles the staticity of the image that represents urban merchandize.

As uncertain beings with different wants, it is needed to comprehend that the right to city, even if it involves particular desires, is a right “[...] more collective than individual, once reinvented the city inevitably depends on an army of collective power to go about the urbanization process” (Harvey, 2014, p.28, our translation). Is

the uncertainty the weapon of the urban co-authors who, in power, can draw attention and bring the dialogue and symbiosis in the construction of a more genteel and democratic city?

The answer to this question is unknown, but it is known that it is fundamental that the actions of the people are considered amid the city for the creation of broader projects, of public politics that can contemplate and support a portion of the population that is more controlled and excluded from the urban space. This way, the understanding arises that when people build and “[...] maintain the urban life there is a fundamental demand about what they produced, and that one of them is the right [...] of creating a city more in conformity with their very desires, we will get to a politics of the urban that comes to make sense” (Harvey, 2014, p.21, our translation).

In the midst of different existing niches, the urbanist, as “the official planner of the cities”, ought to identify and resolve all matters brought to surface, aware that “[...] to plan a city is, at the same time, to think its own plurality of the real and make it effective to this thought of the plural: it is to know and to be able to articulate” (Certeau, 2014, p.160, our translation). With this, the urbanist also ought to notice the co-authors - who are ordinary practitioners of the city - and that they update them when they practice it and experience it every day (Jacques, 2009).

At the same time, if the city is part of our bodies, it must be healthy and it must make sense to all. It needs to be a part of all, and not sick or without use. The collaboration of each one in the construction of city must be understood, must be noticed and it must receive its due importance. The urban environment is formed through the “working together”, through participation, which makes the respect for each fragment of the whole be fundamental. It is precious to comprehend that we all are the city.

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1 The theme was debated in the event **Open Interview Between Alan Brum + Raquel Rolnik**, in December 2017, in SARACURA, Rio de Janeiro, organized by the collective of Architects BETWEEN. Event's page: <<https://www.facebook.com/events/305919966570336/>>.

2 According to Gevehr and Berti (2017), authors such as Peter Williams, in the work *The Role of Institutions in the inner London housing market: the case of Islington* (1976), Jason Hackworth in the work *Post Recession Gentrification in New York City* (2002) and Alvaro Pereira, in the work *The Gentrification and hypothesis of income differential: explained limits and possible dialogues* (2014), among others, worked and gave a new meaning to the concept of "gentrification" originally attributed to sociologist Ruth Glass through her work "London: aspects of change" (1964). In this way, the authors explain about three temporal waves of gentrification, with characteristics that changed over the years, having the third (post 90s) as main characteristics: "[...] the local and federal intervention is more open and assertive to facilitate the gentrification; the movements anti-gentrification are more marginalized and, lastly, the gentrification is being spread to the most remote neighborhoods" (Hackworth, 2002 cited in Gevehr and Berti, 2017, p.92). Therefore, in image-city, it is possible to associate in these characteristics the third wave of the already cited tourism, the commercialization of the urban. Thus, Gevehr and Berti (2017) expose the idea of touristic gentrification, where "in some cases the appearance of gentrified spaces that attract tourism, in others it can be seen, firstly, the insertion of touristic activity that, therefore, will attract residents with higher purchasing power, incentivating, as such, the processes of gentrification" (Gevehr and Berti, 2017, p.97, our translation). For more information, the paper *GENTRIFICATION: a conceptual discussion* (2017), by Gevehr and Berti, it is available at: <<http://periodico.revistappc.com/index.php/RPPC/article/download/182/123>>.

3 The author comments about the idea of control proposed by Foucault in *Power and Law*, 1975.

4 The news "**Disorder is the new post-card**" was published in 28 September 2015 and is available at *Jornal O Globo* website. It is possible to search through this link <<http://oglobodigital.oglobo.globo.com/epaper/viewer.aspx>>. It is also available in an image of an excerpt physical newspaper at: <https://www.reddit.com/r/brasil/comments/3mq4vq/o_globo_desordem_no_novo_cart%C3%A3o_postal/>.

5 **From the original in Spanish:** "[...] un conjunto de comportamientos que cristalizan en un lugar que no tiene necesariamente una naturaleza jurídica pública, aunque tenga la capacidad de ofrecer, a sus habitantes potenciales, el marco para un acto de compartir colectivo, si bien temporal" (La Varra, 2008. p.180).

6 This is how it happened in São Paulo, in 2008, the Movement Boa Praça (Good Square). For more information, the site of movement: <<http://movimentoboapraça.com.br/>>.