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TERRITORIALITIES

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ARQUITETURAS CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICAS: TERRITORIALIDADES

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Cover Image | The image on this issue's cover was created by the Hungarian Visual Artist Ilona Lénard, who kindly granted V!RUS permission to use it. It shows the Zekreet winter camp in Qatar, half farm, half weekend family home. With the arrival of summer, the family dismantles the camp and leaves, keeping the desert in its natural state, perpetuating and updating centuries-old local traditions of the local people.

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EDITORIAL
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COUNTER-HEGEMONIC ARCHITECTURES: TERRITORIALITIES
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The large number of good works received in response to the call “Counter-Hegemonic Architectures” made it possible to produce two issues of the V!RUS journal – V!24: Territorialities and V!25: Identities. The general theme finds foundations in the Gramscian notion of cultural hegemony, and unfolds, expands, and deepens reflections proposed in our recent editions. In the twenty-second edition, we discussed the awareness and commitment of being researchers in Latin America. In issue 23, we broaden the debate on valuing references produced in the Global South to examine the region's specificities. This edition focuses on physical and symbolic spaces in a confrontation with the dominant hegemonic logic. It articulates many aspects of the expanded field of Architecture and Urbanism — sociopolitical, technological, formal, spatial, functional, environmental, energetic, multi scales, multiple conceptions and representation processes, productive arrangements, methodologies, and theoretical-historical approaches — shaping what we are calling here counter-hegemonic architectures.

With the subtitle "Territorialities", V!RUS 24 brings together works closer to subjects connected to the production of buildings and the city. Generously supported by more than two hundred external reviewers, all eminent researchers from different areas of knowledge, we selected eighteen contributions for this edition. They deal with the theory and teaching of architecture and urbanism, historical and cultural heritage, and design and production of the city, aside from an interview with scholars invited by the editorial committee. We are grateful to the dozens of authors who answered our call, especially those who authored the works we are proud to share with the academic community.

At the invitation of the Editorial Committee, the Architect and Urbanist Gabriela Leandro Pereira - Gaia, Ph.D. in Architecture and Urbanism and professor at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil, granted the interview Building collective breaths to Social Scientist Joana D'Arc de Oliveira – also our guest. In a rich dialogue, they offer an exceptional reading on urgent racial issues that permeate reflections on the city and contemporary education in Architecture and Urbanism.

Three authors address the contribution of **insurgent social movements**. Starting by examining the etymology of the word territory, Igor Guatelli's [De]territorializing Movements and Another Democracy: Extrusive Intrusions brings up the issue of urban occupations to discuss counter-hegemonic processes of formation of other territories. The work Urban Squatting as a Counter-Hegemonic Struggle in Brazil, by *Clarissa Campos*, deals with occupations in Belo Horizonte as a space for resistance and claiming rights. And in Urban Mobility, Participatory and Insurgent Planning, *Juliana Tamanaha* discusses social movements and their counter-hegemonic potential in claiming the right to come and go in the city.

Two works deal with relations between **commerce, the tertiary sector, and urban centers**. In Revisited Centrality: Tertiary Territorialities in the Digital Age, *Heliana Vargas* outlines a wide range of references on changes in urban flows and centralities based on the integration of digital technologies, and in Non-hegemonic Globalization and Changes in the Historic Center of Belém, *Ana Beatriz de Macedo*, *Helena Tourinho* and *Nadime Fróes* problematize the notions of hegemonic and non-hegemonic globalization, focusing on the trade of products from Asia and changes in the dynamics of the historic center of Belém, Brazil.

Examining **counter-hegemonic alternatives to the production of the neoliberal city** shapes the background for two works: Another Urban: Considerations Across Solà-Morales and Careri, by *Luiza Melo,* which uses concepts such as transurbance and terrain vague to think about a different urbanism, and The Counter-hegemonic Smart City: From the SDGs to the Right to the City, in which *Fábio Ferraz* discusses the phenomenon of smart cities in the light of the Right to the City.

Questioning hegemonic postures in **urban space design**, *Edson Mahfuz* presents and discusses Three Counter-hegemonic Projects based on the didactic experiences of his design studio around the notions of everyday infrastructure and qualification of public spaces.

Mexican artist Gina Cebey addresses labor relations at the construction site of large urban infrastructures in a reading of the documentary Invisible Foundations: Construction Workers in En El Hoyo.

Social housing is revisited under counter-hegemonic logic in the photo essay Redescribing The Project of the Ground: A Photographic Essay, by *Marcos Rosa*, and from an international comparative perspective, in The (Un)Sustainable Public Housing Policies of Brazil and Venezuela, by *Oriana Serrano, Ricardo Barbosa,* and *Juliana Batista*.

In The Meaning of Counter-Hegemony Possibilities in Architecture, *Mariana Wilderom* and *Luiz Recamán* return to **theories and criticisms of modern architecture** for the construction of contemporary counter-hegemonic possibilities.

Three works deal with **the teaching of architecture and urbanism, and design**. The article Education Co.: e-Learning Hegemony in Architecture and Urbanism in Brazil, by *Zander Pereira Filho*, *Mayara dos Reis*, *Maria Calil* and *Vítor Halfen*, demonstrates the increase in the number of places in the Distance Learning mode in Brazilian undergraduate courses in architecture and urbanism, and how this modality has become hegemonic compared to the face-to-face teaching mostly offered in public universities. The work Tectonics in the Periphery: Alternatives for Design Teaching, by *Juliana Sicuro* and *Ana Slade*, brings experiences and references in a project studio aimed at peripheral communities and constructive logics with low environmental impact. *Flávio Ferreira* and *Juliana Franco* reflect on design teaching in Brazil and how to appropriate decolonial thinking to produce a counter-hegemonic design in the article Brazilian Design in the Decolonial Gyre.

Finally, entering the field of **heritage and memory**, the works Contravention in Contemporary Architectural Ruins, by *Mayra dos Santos* and *Francisco Spadoni*, and From Ruinology to Ruinophilia: Perspectives on Ruined Architecture, by *Rafael Souza* and *Ethel Pinheiro*, investigate the place of ruins in contemporaneity, from the perspective of its meaning and social role. And the work For the Preservation of Marks of Distress, by *Vitor Garcia* and *Eline Caixeta*, points out counter-hegemonic ways of coping with situations where heritage has been destroyed by human factors.

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We wish you all an excellent reading and a New Year full of hope, solidarity, more spaces for struggle, and great victories.

ENTREVISTA
INTERVIEW

BUILDING COLLECTIVE BREATHS
CONSTRUINDO RESPIROS COLETIVOS

GABRIELA PEREIRA - GAIA, JOANA D'ARC DE OLIVEIRA

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Marcelo Tramontano*:* On behalf of the editorial committee of V!RUS Journal, I thank Profs. Drs. Gabriela Leandro Pereira, *aka* Gaia, and Joana D'Arc de Oliveira for accepting our invitation for this interview. For our twenty-fourth issue, we decided to invite a prominent researcher in the field related to gender issues intersecting with blackness, who, in turn, invited a researcher of her choice to be interviewed. This is how we are honored and privileged to participate in this conversation between these two black women who are outstanding in their fields and who kindly accepted this challenge.

Joana D'Arc de Oliveira*:* Good afternoon everyone. The editorial team of the V!RUS journal made me this powerful invitation, instructing me to select someone whose role I consider crucial in the approaches related to counter-hegemonic architectures, which is the subject of the journal's twenty-fourth issue. Gabriela Leandro Pereira, known as Gaia, is someone whose work and trajectory I have been following for some time with great admiration.

I thank you, Gaia, for having accepted our invitation. I want to say that it is a great honor to share this space with you. To start our dialogue, I would ask you to tell us about your journey.

Gabriela Leandro Pereira - Gaia: Thanks, Joana and the journal team for the invitation. I am currently a professor and researcher at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Brazil, but I come from Espírito Santo. I attended undergraduate studies at the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES), where I returned this year for a postdoctoral internship after sixteen years away. Therefore, I migrated from the Southeast to the Northeast region, from a state almost on the periphery of the Southeast in terms of the Brazilian centrality of the academic field and major publications. The Espírito Santo state does not lie on the Rio-São Paulo axis but at the crossroads between the states of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia. It is a very interesting place to be.

I studied architecture in the early 2000s, right at the turn of the millennium. It was the end of the FHC[1] era, in the transition to the first Lula's government when the Ministry of Cities and then the Statute of the City was created, and many master plans were yet to be done. Throughout the course, at the same time that I came across some issues that seemed strange to me, I also found some powerful paths, especially a big bet on social movements and popular participation. These issues took on great importance in my education, helping me think about issues that seem central to me today, such as raciality. At that time, they seemed somewhat secondary because there was a great urgency to think about a political project for a more left-wing country, largely based on the demands of urban reform together with social movements.

These events took place at universities that were much whiter than they are today. Although architecture courses are still predominantly white today, in the early 2000s, they were much more so, and the racial debate was absent. At most, the debate existed in an unnamed place on the urban outskirts, alongside social movements, but it was not an academic topic. I worked on several urban master plans in cities of Bahia state and the Metropolitan region, which made me experience many contexts and face some difficulties. In the university background I came from, I had also participated in research work from the middle of the Architecture undergraduate course, but at the same time, I took part in extension projects at the university's projects office, which was a place of practice and militancy. After graduating, I started working in urban planning, and I knew this was the place of my interest, the place of community readings, dialogues with movements, and facing the difficulty of incorporating the demands of social movements into institutional planning. After a year and a half of working on various plans, participatory processes, and community readings, I realized that I needed to go back to the academy to critically analyze this experience, which was the greatest bet of my education.

I decided to apply for a master's degree in Salvador, a crucial decision as the city is radically pulsating, either in its intensities of various natures, or insisting on constantly demonstrating the conflicts and coexistence until then incomprehensible to me. When I entered the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) in 2007, 80% of Salvador's population was black, but the Graduate Program was completely white. It was a great shock to realize that. I was coming from the city of Vitória, where 52% of the population was black, but such a fact was not part of the discourses about the city, which privileged a narrative about Italian and German immigration from the end of the 19th century, taking a

[1] Presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994-1998, 1998-2002).

huge place in the city imagery.

But Salvador is an undeniably black city, and I was shocked to see that, even though UFBA was already an incredible college in 2007 for debating ideas, 100% of the graduate faculty was white, and so were approximately 80% of students. In this context, I started trying to name those issues that became impossible for me to neglect. In my doctoral dissertation, I turned this search into a motto that guided research reflections. Thus, in my teaching career at UFBA since 2016, I have mainly sought to structure a way of working with issues of raciality and intersectionality within the field of Architecture and Urbanism, from the perspective of theories and history, but also urban planning and criticism.

> **JDO**: At what point in your work, your approaches, analyses, and reflections did you realize that it was essential to select and integrate the racial aspect to understand territorialities, the city, its hierarchies, and dispositions? From what moment did you place yourself in the role of a black female researcher who analyzes cities from a racial perspective?

Gaia: In my master's research, I developed a proposal to build a critical and cartographic analysis of an urban occupation I had already worked with since my undergraduate studies. This occupation lay on the outskirts of the metropolitan region of the city of Vitória. Today, this is the Alice Coutinho neighborhood, located on the border between the rural and urban areas of the municipality of Cariacica. Throughout the undergraduate course, I worked with fellow students on a university extension project to advise the movement that organized this occupation. I moved to Salvador to take distance from the extensionist and advisory practice, which demands involvement in daily struggles. But I also wanted to keep a reflective distance to understand what led those families with different backgrounds, some similar and many marked by violence, to settle in that isolated occupation. The fact that it lie on the boundary between urban and rural made it simultaneously an achievement and a hiding place.

Occasionally, the Child Protection Council referred some families who had been victims of domestic violence to this occupation, in agreement with the movement, considering that it was a somewhat protected place, far from the families' aggressors. Thus, many hopes for the continuity of life converged there, but also crucial differences and very striking trajectories. In my master's research, I tried to understand these trajectories, seeking to study this occupation beyond the movement's agenda as a common space for families with such remarkable histories. I had already experienced powerful dialogues with social movements as I worked on the master plan for that municipality. At the end of the process, this occupation became a neighborhood that we managed to incorporate as a ZEIS[2].

One major achievement of this occupation was the construction of a nursery, which the community managed to keep as a public space for collective living. It was built through public bidding by the winning company that offered the lowest price. Shortly after the inauguration, the building collapsed due to constructive precariousness, namely the use of inappropriate and low-quality material. Three children died. Realizing that even extremely desired achievements were dismantled in such a tragic way made me think that there is something in this system that structures precariousness, obviously in a mix of several factors.

Something conditions these peripheral subjects' lives and it goes beyond the processes of rethinking politics. The question of raciality became central to my research from that moment. Perhaps if I had looked at disputes over land and markets elsewhere in the city, I would have found a different picture. Such deaths in the periphery do not generate commotion. They are perceived only as ordinary deaths. Thus, raciality became a fundamental analysis element for me since it is impossible to think about the city without considering the racial point of view. Reflecting on these processes in the academy generates a feeling of impotence. But I had to go back to the place of education, which is more than a place of research. I have a great interest in thinking about education. Among everything that forms the academy, the classroom as a training place excites me the most. So I brought up the issue of raciality as a central theme in my doctoral research but avoided closing myself in the academic environment away from militancy. Because I understand that perhaps the place of militancy at this very moment must be somewhere else. Academic reflection can help me rethink how I reposition myself in militancy and understand the

[2] Special Social Interest Zone, from the Portuguese Zona Especial de Interesse Social, our translation.

processes that structure our cities from a racial perspective.

> **JDO**: I would like you to comment on what you learned from Carolina Maria de Jesus[3] throughout your doctoral research. What did she teach you? What marks did she leave on Gaia that pervade you with a different approach and program when in a classroom? What did she bring to you and your practice in architecture and urbanism?

Gaia: As a coincidence, I have here by my side the book "The Trash Room: the diary of a favela woman"[4], a beautiful new edition released in 2020, which is in relation with my speech and with what I learned from Carolina. I started my doctoral research inspired by her narrative, but I was not sur where I would end up. I was studying the soirées [saraus] on the outskirts, but I didn't want to go into the field to question people. The periphery is always expressing many things. It is time to perceive this expression less as something information can be extracted from and to understand that it has the power of reflection. Perhaps, looking at the textualities constructed differently from the academic text in a less childish way. The periphery has been talking for a long time. Who are its residents? Where are these people? Where do they find these texts? And if they are not texts, what are they? At first, I tried to map places of cultural production that would generate some content, products, and works, places for soirées and collectives, from 2010 onwards. But when I started to investigate places of literary production, Carolina appeared as the main reference. In the speeches of various cultural producers, writers, poets, and those who participated in hip-hop battles from the periphery, Carolina Maria de Jesus appeared at some point, and I didn't know anything about her until then.

It had been a long time since her books had been released, since her production was not in great demand. When I managed to find these books and started to read her production, I was astonished to see "The Trash Room", a book that talks about the favela of Canindé in 1960, cleared in 1961. How come this is not mandatory material in the Urbanism course? A favela was cleared in 1961! Written in 1960, the book is a gem about everyday life in a favela. Afterwards, I read "Diário de Bitita" [The Bitita Diary][5], which covers her journey from Sacramento, in the state of Minas Gerais, to the city of Sao Paulo. The covered period starts in 1914, at her birth as the granddaughter of an enslaved person and the daughter of a woman born under the Free Womb Law[6]. Carolina was born in the rural area of the Minas Gerais state, in a society still living according to slavery standards. What did it mean for her to go to Sao Paulo, a big city that was becoming a metropolis? I fell in love with the power of her writing. She was aware of the importance of what she was doing. She was sure that being a writer was her destiny in life. She was very attentive to the political debate, with very few years of schooling – one or two years – but she had the sagacity to understand the political and historical moments and reflect on them in her texts. Carolina is, in fact, a very clever writer who is tying knots in her own story, which she tells us ingeniously.

Finding Carolina was a radical experience for me in terms of recovering this long-forgotten literature. Perhaps in Literature and Literature, she was still present, but in other fields, she had disappeared. On the centenary of her birth in 2014, she resurfaced unimaginably. It was nice to see this resurgence and the articulation of black women writers and black publishers from the periphery. It was decisive to realize that there was an organization of the black movement and black intellectuals to bring Carolina to a prominent place in academia. She was a bestseller in the 1960s but quickly consumed as an exception. Thus, I endeavored to bring her narrative into line with the narrative of the city's urbanization processes.

I tried to bring Carolina's narrative closer to authors in our field, especially urban planning researchers. She brings elements related to raciality that urbanism and urban planning studies almost do not touch. I then structured a dialogue between the established field of urbanism and planning and Carolina literature and other interlocutors from the Arts and Literature who contributed to shaping the conversation. Carolina helped me think about paths. I take her texts as a guide that dialogues and rubs, but above all, it helped me to move through the already established academic literature without letting myself be limited by it.

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[3] Carolina Maria de Jesus (1914-1977) was one of the first Brazilian black writers, as well as a musician and poet. Known for her book "The Trash Room: Diary of a Favelada", published in 1960. More info: https://bit.ly/3W4HneF.

[4] Jesus, C. M.; Dantas, A.; Teixeira, A., 1960. *Quarto de despejo: diário de uma favelada*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria F. Alves.

[5] Jesus, C. M., 2015. *Bitita's Diary*. Routledge.

[6] Brazilian law enacted in 1871.

> **JDO**: Some intellectuals, theorists, artists, and people from the black community used to think about all the violence brought about by urban processes, especially in the early 20th century, when proposals for the modernization of the city and a project of marginalization and exclusion of black bodies were produced. So there is a black production thinking about all these processes, from Lima Barreto to other intellectuals such as geographers Andrelino Campos and Renato Emerson dos Santos who are anchored in these approaches to understand the city. Apart from theorists, writers, and authors who are thinking about the city they live in or from a historical perspective, how do you see the role of black movements? How do black movements deal with urban transformation processes that directly impact the lives of black people in various aspects?

Gaia: From an institutional point of view, my approach to black movements is very recent. I entered the university before the quota policy was created, as the second generation of the family attending the university. The path to academia was a "natural" path for me, which in the early 2000s put me in an exceptional situation concerning many young black Brazilians. At the time, the stories of my black peers in the architecture course were very similar to mine. Almost all of them had also attended federal technical schools and then entered college. We saw the black movement as a movement that built paths, and I walked that path without acting directly alongside the movement. I got closer to the black movement in the debates on quotas and affirmative actions policies when I understood the relevance of the movement for these newly opened paths.

Currently, thinking about very recent movements such as the Black Coalition for Rights[7], which brings together several black movements and organizations to build an agenda of relevant themes and issues, the right to the city and housing are central issues. It is interesting to observe how these movements and organizations claim specific aspects of urban or territorial issues, such as *quilombola*[8] organizations. But at the same time, in the construction of urban reform and the debate in the field of urban planning, even when carried out in the progressive field allied with movements fighting for housing, the racial issue does not appear as a matter of urban planning or other areas involved in the construction of Ministry of Cities urban policies. This debate also needs to be racialized in partnership with the black movement. It was inserted on different fronts, demands, and issues. Racial issues are also urban issues, but are not on the official agenda of urban-specific movements. On the other hand, black movements actively participate in public debate and build a lot. Because even if they may not formulate urban policies along the lines of urban reform, they are the ones who are sewing policies into everyday life that directly affect peripheral territories. The theme of the right to the city and urban planning issues is a topic at the various black movements and organizations' debates. It is time for this agenda to become official, to be presented as an agenda for the right to the city, as black movements are also disputing and tensioning what this debate would be. Because popular courses[9] are in the territories, in cultural spaces as well as in the network that articulates all support to communities, from the distribution of food in the Covid-19 pandemic. It is urgent to understand how peripheral territories operate and how it is possible to build networks there. Black movements are those who dominate these territories, and this is a major fact. We are now articulating these agendas and seeing how we can build something together, at least in the field of urban planning.

> **JDO**: Now I would ask you to talk a little about how black people spell the territory. In addition to the policies of exclusion, imagination, etc., how are these spellings expressed? What is your perception of these spellings, which many call black territorialities and spaces of resistance?

Gaia: The black presence is inscribed in cities in many ways. Thinking with authors like Maria Estela Ramos[10], who studies black neighborhoods, and Diosmar Filho[11], a Geographer with whom I have often worked on black territories in Salvador, I understand that the "white" city is also black. This city does not rise from anything, does not rise without its builders. I have

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[7] The Black Coalition for Rights is an organization in favor of the black movement in Brazil. It brings together more than 200 associations, NGOs, collectives, groups, and institutions. Additional information at: https://coalizaonegrapordireitos.org.br/.

[8] A quilombola is an Afro-Brazilian resident of quilombo settlements first established by escaped slaves in Brazil. They are the descendants of Afro-Brazilian enslaved people who escaped from slave plantations that existed in Brazil until abolition in 1888. More info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quilombola.

[9] Free popular upgrade classes for university entrance exams in poor neighborhoods.

[10] Maria Estela Rocha Ramos Penha. CV: http://lattes.cnpq.br/3100513551876982

[11] Diosmar Marcelino de Santana Filho. CV: http://lattes.cnpq.br/3918996705603114

been thinking a lot about this effort since the material history of cities is a history of black commitment. I do not believe in a hermetic debate based on understandings such as "this neighborhood is black" and "that neighborhood is white". The issues are more complex, and negotiations are continually taking place. That is why it is not possible to study the city as if it was raised dissociated from the black presence.

There is an American researcher I really like called Adrienne Brown[12] who argues that the history of architecture is the material history of races. All architecture is racial architecture. This argument shifts the discussion elsewhere. I believe that there is a way of writing for black people in cities, but this way can also be presented in very different ways. In the cities of Vitória and Salvador, I find overlapping issues in terms of organization of territories with a black majority, but at the same time they show specificities. Some neighborhoods in Salvador grew from the presence of *terreiros*[13], in a process very poorly handled by the field of Urbanism, given the small number of researchers working from this perspective. When we study the Salvador urban history, we find justifications for the growth of the periphery, arguing that the center expels residents there. But we also find the agency of the *terreiros* in bringing people together around them, in building neighborhoods and communities. This process was not yet sufficiently described in the history of Salvador. In the city of Vitória, where the presence of *terreiros* is not as expressive as it is in Salvador, or it is expressed otherwise, we need other lenses to understand how these communities were structured, sometimes in the periphery, sometimes in the hills, sometimes in the strip between the urban plan of Saturnino de Brito and the hills.

One of the great challenges is, therefore, to understand the racial evidence in the production processes of cities and the creation of spatialities, but also to understand the persistent negotiation between the different ways of organizing the territory. These ways are not necessarily exclusive, but overlap, contaminate, and influence each other, and are different over time. I believe that time creates overlaps that demand us to understand what are the layers in this huge palimpsest that accumulates inscriptions in the city. I have thought of this issue as a major challenge that does not set aside the supposedly "white" city, and that does not prevent us from thinking about the city as a place where racialities also organize the ways space is produced.

JDO: What do you suggest to improve the education of architects and urban planners, in addition to including black authors and racial themes in undergraduate and graduate courses? There are some discussions about the contributions of African knowledge to Brazilian architecture. What would be essential to be clear for teachers to train future professionals? How to bring to the education process a greater engagement of these guidelines?

Gaia: Returning to Adrianne Brown's debate, all architecture is racial architecture. The material history of architecture is the material history of races. We must understand that the history of architecture and urbanism are imbricated in racial events. They are connected, and they are not neutral. Architecture is not just naively responding to a state of affairs. Understanding architecture, technologies, and theory from this perspective makes our reflection start somewhere else. I have been very resistant to giving elective courses. I am more interested in teaching mandatory seminars, even though they are traditional mandatory ones. Because even if I use a bibliography that does not address these issues, the way I approach it says something else about it. From the questions I ask, the questions I bring, and who I choose to dialogue with in this literature. And, of course, we need to create new, more specific seminars, such as studies of African architecture around urbanism produced in Africa. We must ask whether it is urbanism or what other names we give to millenary space organizations that are there and that we ignore. In this case, it is a matter of content, as this content was never presented before to us.

But beyond the content, I have been thinking a lot about how we approach the field, technology, and history. In addition to seeking further references, this approach demands a critical and practical gesture. For example, in a design studio, even if it is not a project about African technologies, which technologies do we choose to answer which questions? To what do they respond? And what do they also rock when responding? The Brazilian urbanism of the beginning of the 20th century, an urbanism of eugenic improvement, is another example. But even avoiding the eugenics discourse, this urbanism is all about

12 Adrienne Brown is a Professor at the University of Chicago specializing in American and African-American Cultural Production in the 20th century, with an emphasis on the history of perception shaped by the built environment.

13 Places where ceremonial rituals take place and offerings are made to the orixás, or African gods.

the de-Africanization of the city. Thus, in addition to questions around health and all the eugenic heritage inherent to hygienist urbanism, the hegemonic posture carries a desire for the disappearance of certain ways of life, which shapes in the 1930s the discourse of romanticization of miscegenation. This is what architecture is responding to.

I am enjoying following a certain debate from the Global North. I am very interested in diasporic issues, even though the South has several crucial questions about decoloniality. But to think about diasporic topics, it is not enough to think about a South-South dialogue, although the dialogue with Africa is fundamental. But considering that the diasporic experience is also a North experience, I have been looking for authors in architecture and urbanism who think about this disciplinary field from a diasporic perspective. Thus, we can dismantle the idea that the field is neutral. Understanding the architecture and urbanism production as immersed in the ideologies and racial events provides us with other ways of building pedagogical practices, reading texts and critical possibilities, and imagining new practices.

I am currently studying the mountainous region of the state of Espírito Santo, from where part of my family came. It is a region where many descendants of German and Italian immigrants live but where all the technology employed in agricultural production is a mixture of indigenous and African techniques and the techniques of the settlers. In the official narrative, this resulting technology is completely whitewashed. This version claims that the European settlers were successful farmers, unlike the indigenous and Africans who stayed there so long and would not have been able to produce anything. What understanding is this? I don't have practical answers, Joana, but maybe my answers are questions: how do we approach the field? What questions do we ask the field? And how can we bring questions of racial evidence as a bet to understand the city, architecture, theory and criticism, and the field of urbanism? That is how I have tried to think about pedagogical practice.

But this practice also demands racial literacy. What can I criticize if I am so far from a debate based on a racial perspective? There are two movements: one, looking at the field from a racial perspective, and the other, how we build racial literacy, such as the recent Federal Law 10.639[14], which made the study of African and Afro-Brazilian history mandatory in schools. This is a grand achievement of the black movement, perhaps one of its most relevant achievements, considering its impact on the field of education. But when you get to college, this understanding disappears. Each disciplinary area already has its specificities and a list of canonical debates. How make this racial literacy happen and bring it into our spaces, so that we can look critically at canonical and non-canonical issues?

> **JDO**: Your reflections, Gaia, are meaningful in the deconstruction of hegemonic architecture, in understanding the production of cities from a racial perspective, recognizing the participation of black subjects in building a city that is also white. I would like you to talk about perspectives for us to reach the potential you brought, through racial literacy, the insertion of racial approaches in the architecture and urbanism course program, and the relationship with practice. A crucial point of your speech is how we look at the questions we must ask. It all makes a big difference. What perspectives do you foresee for such aspirations, which occur on multiple college campuses, but often in isolation? How do you see it? We both started our research history in 2000, and we entered graduation at the same time. I started my doctorate in 2010 studying this topic, following a long, exhausting, but breathtaking trajectory. Carolina de Jesus' work did not have the repercussions it has today. We have achievements, but we have many challenges that we still need to overcome. What are your perspectives on this teaching of architecture and urbanism to produce professionals who see the city from a plural, racial, cultural, ethnic, and social perspective?

Gaia: It is a long, arduous road, with much still to be done. Thinking about possible steps, in recent years, I have been trying to build a very close dialogue with incoming students, especially those coming from affirmative actions and quota policies. We try to think together about the issues they are raising in a plural way. Because the students who are entering now bring their contexts from specific peripheries, from family histories, from different backgrounds. And, in the end, how does this impact our disciplinary field? What will their presence demand from the field? I have been thinking a lot about issues common to many students or those we have to build as we find them meaningful, such as design issues.

References are a huge demand from students. They don't have references, so we search. In general, design studios occupy

[14] Brazil. Law nº 11.639 of January 10, 2003. Guidelines and bases of national education, to include in the official curriculum of the Education Network the mandatory theme "History and Afro-Brazilian Culture", Brasília, DF, 2003. Available at: https://legislacao.presidencia.gov.br/atos/?tipo=LEI&numero=10639&ano=2003&ato=431MTTq10dRpWTbf4.

a large part of the workload of Architecture and Urbanism courses. At UFBA, our university, we give 12 hours of design studio per week, which means that most of the time, students are concerned with the design and design references. They have a constant demand for black architects who are pushing the design field. We started to raise and share references, and bibliography, create a blog, promote debates, and see which issues could be addressed by the projects.[15] In this way, the project becomes a critical issue in the debate of raciality and the peripheries. What outskirts are these? What are the untold stories of these territories? How do we superimpose their narratives on the official ones of established places?

The debate is not necessarily on places or objects we don't know or where we have never been. When we are willing to approach these same objects and themes from questions and paths that are absent from books or research papers but that students bring along with their own experiences and stories, it becomes clear that there is much to be done. Be it from a place, from a specificity of practice, criticism, theory, or history. I thought about how often we kill young students when they arrive at the college, filling them with canonical content that they have to learn so that only later can answer the questions they bring that are not in the canon. In recent years, this has become a big challenge for me. How can we feed students and not let the faculty annul the references they bring? Or how can we build collective breaths? Because it is heavy for undergraduate students to have to deal with all the canonical references – which, in many aspects, are foreign to them – and still have to construct arguments to refute it.

So how do we communicate with the students' reality, not only those who come from peripheries but the reality of the contemporary world, where the 20-year-old generation now entering college lives? Beyond the debate in the field and the issues not addressed, dialoguing with students brings fresh and new things. We are not even able to perceive them, despite our race and gender experiences, and even though we are already used to the academic universe of architecture and urbanism. I believe they bring up things that I don't understand, very new things, and this dialogue helps me wake up, takes me out of my comfort zone, and makes me think about issues beyond the universe I believed to dominate.

The effort always ends up involving students by understanding their issues but also that the university is a tiny part of their lives. I have been trying to integrate the history of the students' families in research, projects, and on several fronts. In our study group, we have been carrying out a series of works and projects that include rescuing a little of these family histories and thinking of them as spatial histories. This path seems to be very powerful as it is part of academia but goes beyond it because, in order to be carried out, it mobilizes other people, close people and people who are interested. They also start looking at their personal trajectories as something that matters to academia, starting with their children and grandchildren. This is a suggested path.

Recently, at the São Paulo International Architecture Biennial, I proposed the installation of a research that I have been conducting with my sister, which is called "The Fabulous Inventory of My Grandfather's Works"[16]. My two grandfathers were builders, as they worked in construction. One of them was a *cavoqueiro*, a professional who extracted the rocks that later became streets paving, curbs, and retaining walls. This profession disappeared with new technologies, I don't know if it still exists, but officially he was an employee of the city hall. My other grandfather was a marble worker. Talking to them, we realized how much they liked to talk about the works in which they participated. We don't usually look at these works as part of the city's material history as we study, investigate, and turn other architectures into reference. This experience has been very significant for us. We have been sharing with students who are also in search of their grandparents and builder parents. Suddenly, we found what we call the heirs of the city, the heirs of the legacy left by parents and grandparents. They never appear in the references, in the inventories of listed architectures, such as, for example, Vitória's Acoustic Shell in Moscoso Park, where one of our grandfathers worked. We sought inventory documentation. We knew, obviously, that we would not find his name in the documents, but searching confirmed that these subjects are anonymized by historiography, despite having been building the city's architecture.

When we talk about the builders' trajectories with students who reach university through affirmative actions, we confirm that poor black men in this country mostly work in civil construction or have worked in, or that someone is the grandson of a

15 See the research website "Black Architect Women and Men around the World" at: https://arquitetasnegras.ufba.br/.

16 13th São Paulo International Architecture Biennale | Crossings. "The Fabulous Inventory of my Grandfather's Works". More information at: https://bienaldearquitetura.org.br/en/programacao/activation-of-the-work-legacy-fabulous-inventory-of-my-grandfather/.

grandfather who worked in, or migrated to the city to work in. They are children and grandchildren of women who were or still are domestic servants. A student who defended his Final Graduation Project today said: “how can I design a maid's room if my mother and sister are maids? But designing maid's rooms is mandatory in the offices where I do my internship”. This debate is part of his project.

These stories are spatial, material, and design stories that speak of our disciplinary field. Even if seen from other subjects and perspectives, they seem to point to powerful paths capable of exploding the limits of academic reflection, academic exercises, and subordinated individuals made invisible by the field itself. It is a bet towards thinking about how they can radically affect places and lives that are not the target of attention and care. So, it's about race, it's about raciality, and it's about architecture, urbanism, about many other things, many other racialized lives. It's not just about violence but how we can think of fulfilled lives and even reposition these anonymized subjects, who now have names. Who anonymize them? They are grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and uncles. They are dear people who play the guitar and go to the beach with their families. This action re-humanizes them. It is such a trivialized relationship that we continue to build hierarchies between architects, builders, and all the other subjects that make up the civil construction chain of which we are a part.

This has been a beautiful path, which I believe will not change the field radically. But it will change practice and the lives of people who matter, starting from their arrival at the university.

MT: Gaia, I have one last question for you that we ask all of our interviewees: does the future look promising to you?

Gaia: Yes, it looks so to me! I think it needs to look like this. It seems promising to me but also challenging, unstable, and always under threat. That is a constant warning, but as long as it exists, the future is real. I am faithful to the promising future, but I am aware that it is threatened all the time. Which makes the work of keeping it alive and promising extremely arduous and essential.

MT: Joana, may I ask you the same question: does the future look promising to you?

JDO: Yes, I also see the future as promising, mainly anchored in the active participation of students, as the new generations that are arriving eager for other approaches and further knowledge. As Gaia so well explained, they take us out of our comfort zone, inviting us to think beyond academia, programs, and theories, which are crucial but must be understood in convergence with other processes. I see several potentialities for the future and threats in the economic, racial, and social fields. Racial clashes are historic and remain in our society, impacting the lives of young black people in peripheral neighborhoods. I believe we can think of attitudes that dialogue with a broader, more diverse, and more plural society through the academy. I see education as an essential transformation tool, both for the fight against structural racism, current in architecture, urban planning, and in varied fields, as for a process of insertion and emancipation of the subject. Education is transforming, still in dialogue with Paulo Freire.

One issue Gaia brought up is very dear to me: family histories, understanding how much the individual carries the knowledge of ancestry and history. As I work on houses and backyards, I think we must understand how the spatiality around the house and the backyard connect with the education of individuals and how to bring these guidelines to the academy. We need to receive these students at the university in a more welcoming way. I care about this approximation with them, listening to what they bring and experiencing this exchange daily. And I also believe that racial literacy is something to be debated by all professors, all students, all university employees. The deconstruction of racism is always a collective struggle.

INVISIBLE FOUNDATIONS: CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN EN EL HOYO
CIMIENTOS INVISIBLES: TRABAJADORES DE LA CONSTRUCCIÓN EN EN EL HOYO

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Abstract

In 2003, the filmmaker Juan Carlos Rulfo began to document the construction of what was to be the longest elevated highway in Mexico City. Running above the peripheral highway called *Anillo Periférico*, the elevated was meant to relieve heavy traffic in certain areas of Mexico City and move thousands of vehicles at a greater speed. This public megaproject inspired Rulfo to anchor the plot of his documentary around the lives of some of the more than 7,000 workers who labored on the construction of this elevated highway. This paper analyzes the documentary *En el hoyo/In the Pit* (Rulfo, 2006) in order to more closely address the role played by construction workers, a voiceless guild in the history of construction in Mexico, through an architectural work that in its time was a symbol of urban development. It explores the visual mechanisms used in the film to represent reality. Using the notion of countervisuality—a term belonging to the field of visual studies—the paper assesses whether or not the documentary is an attempt to set up a counter hegemonic vision of architecture by directly engaging with the practices and ideologies pertaining to architecture and urban development. The paper concretely alludes to practices and ideologies related to the lives of a subalternate group that makes it possible to construct large-scale public works.

Keywords: Countervisuality, Construction Workers, Documentary Film, Elevated Highway

1 Introduction

Social and economic models see architecture and urban development as important fields of expression. Society disseminates and assimilates ideological and political significations by drawing on the spatial materiality of the constructed object, making use of scale, or modifying public space, to mention only a few aspects. In its simplest application, after Antonio Gramsci, Raymond Williams (2003, p. 160, our translation) recalls that the notion of hegemony is linked with the political domination of the relationships between the state and social classes. However, the nature of this domination is understood in its broadest sense, given that “it is not limited to issues related to direct political control, but rather to attempts to refer to a more general domination, the key features of which include a specific way of perceiving the world, nature, and human relationships.” The way of perceiving the world that this concept refers to implies that the determining factors of the hegemonic or dominant order are able to find expression through a spectrum of means spanning from institutions to relationships of consciousness in such a way that the message is conveyed as if it were “common sense” or “normal reality.”

For Gramsci, hegemony assumes that social life is oriented in a way that is laid out by the dominant groups through indirect relationships in which a “set of superstructures” mediates the sphere of production. These are superstructures located in political society (government and state administration) and civil society (private organizations and institutions) that set up belief systems and forms of consciousness (Gramsci, 1986, p. 357, our translation). The domination to whom the hegemony refers to alludes to the experience and form of consciousness acquired by a government model, such as a comprehensive form that permeates cultural factors or social practices through the mass media, education, and other means, for instance. These factors or practices establish a dominant view, i.e., a view defined by the parameters of a hegemonic group. It should be noted that one of the mechanisms for maintaining this hegemony is the consensus expressed through agencies of public opinion (Gramsci 1981, p. 124). Similarly, Gramsci views the consensus of the broader masses of small-scale farmers as a tool through which the working class can become a dominant class, since the class alliances on which consensus is based would enable mobilizations against capitalism and the bourgeois state (Gramsci, 2013, p. 285, our translation).

Within this context, architecture is intertwined within hegemony, since it is an expression of dominant ideas regarding space that, in general, respond to the needs of the dominant classes. In megacities of the Global South, the hegemonic image of the neoliberal city is imprinted in urban landscapes constituted by glass skyscrapers and monumental works that imply a challenge for engineering. The skyscraper, for instance, is a sign of power expressed in form and dimension, materially expressing the capital used for its construction, as well as the economic relations and relationships of power that unfold within the building. Architecture and urbanism are therefore fields in which hegemony can be repeatedly perceived and

reconfigured. However, things are different when we think of space in terms of counter hegemonic configurations, i.e., forms, actions, or visions that confront, resist, or challenge the way dominant models express themselves spatially.

Taking this background into account, this paper is a reflection upon the documentary *In the Pit* (2006), directed by Juan Carlos Rulfo that explores the possibility of considering this audiovisual portrayal as a filming endeavor that, to some degree, constitutes a counter hegemonic vision representing the world of construction workers. It concretely portrays a small group of construction workers who participated in building the Mexico City Belt Highway (Distribuidor Vial de la Ciudad de México)—colloquially referred to as the “Second Floor" of the peripheral highway—a mega-transportation construction, symbolizing urban development, erected during the administration of Andrés Manuel López Obrador as mayor of the capital city of Mexico (2000-2005).

It is important to note that construction workers have not been represented as a group in the history of Mexican architecture (nor in social history). The figure of the construction worker has remained voiceless both in the official discourse of urban development and in the historiographies of Mexican architecture. The omission of the figure of the construction worker, an essential element to reflect upon urban history and Mexican architecture responds, among other factors, to the existence of an architectural historiography that usually elaborates its history from two perspectives: a biographical perspective in which construction is originated and depends directly on the figure of the architect and another perspective devoted to studies about specific works detailing the construction work and the socio-spatial context of the work.[1]

Although outstanding social and cultural histories of Mexican architecture have been published, a review of the recent publications issued by publishing houses specializing in the history of architecture reflect the prevalence of this historiographic paradigm. In the face of architectural and urban history’s indifference toward their central labor force, the few studies regarding the construction worker’s guild come from other fields such as anthropology or sociology.[2] Given the lack of narratives by and about construction workers, it is germane to address a representation such as that constructed in the documentary *In the Pit* in order to be able to understand significant aspects of the work carried out by construction workers, on the one hand, and question the ways in which this subalternate group is represented within the context of the construction of a hegemonic architectural public work.

The point of departure to approach this documentary was a set of key notions regarding visual studies that could help to value the counter hegemonic sense expressed in moving images. It should be noted that for this field of study, visual representations, rather than images, are social practices “held in place by an implicit and shared repertoire of beliefs and values that sustain the accumulation of more or less stabilized and more or less hegemonic cash-ridden load-bearing structures, symbolizing capital” (Brea, 2009, p. 5, our translation). Of course, this depends on the context in which the visual representations are found. Visual studies take an interest in the act of seeing that is conditioned and constructed both culturally and politically. These two factors are therefore essential for a visuality that is not only constituted, according to Mirzoeff (2016, p. 34), by “unique visual perceptions,” since it encompasses a universe of relationships that combine ”information, imagination, and reflection in order to generate a panorama that is both physical and psychic.”

José Luis Brea proposes that visuality evidences “subjectivation and socialization effects that the processes of identification/differentiation emerging from mobile hegemonic, minority, counter hegemonic imaginaries” (Brea, 2009, p. 7, our translation). For Mirzoeff, it is necessary to confront the visual mechanisms upon which the exercise of power lies during specific historical times. This exercise creates countervisualities, i.e., “a variety of realistic formats structured around a double

[1] I have developed this theme, specifically regarding the historiography of modern Mexican architecture, in *Katzman, Manrique y Obregón Santacilia: tres aportes historiográficos a la arquitectura contemporánea mexicana* and *Nociones de lo moderno en la historiografía cultural de la arquitectura del siglo XX. La obra escrita de Carlos Obregón Santacilia.*

[2] See the sociological and anthropological studies presented by Dimitri Germidis, *El trabajo y las relaciones laborales en la industria mexicana de la construcción* (Mexico, El Colegio de México, 1974); Carmen Bueno, *Flor de andamio: los oficios de la construcción de vivienda en la ciudad de México* (Mexico, CIESAS, 1994) and Antonio Zirión, *La construcción de habitar. Transformación del espacio y cultura albañil en la ciudad de México a principios del siglo XXI* (Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2013). Other valuable contributions are the thesis presented by Elvira Fabila, *Los trabajadores no calificados de la industria de la construcción de los ejes viales en el D.F*. (BA thesis in Sociology. ENEP Acatlán. UNAM, 1983); Norma Angélica Montes, *Artífices de la urbe: los trabajadores de la industria de la construcción en la Ciudad de México, 1970-1982* (BA thesis in History. ENEP Acatlán. UNAM, 2017).

tension: on the one hand, the need to grasp and oppose a reality that exists when it should not exist and, on the other hand, the arrival of another reality that would need to materialize even though it is still in process" (2016, p. 35, our translation). In a certain way, the use of countervisuality implies disobeying the hegemonic discourse: visual studies intimate that it is well worth paying attention to those precise areas in which hegemony claims that there is nothing to see. In analyzing this film, the inquiry process led to the world of construction workers and to try to understand how it is that an assemblage of images formatted as a documentary records and interprets a concrete event, in this case, the construction of an elevated highway above the peripheral highway.

2 In the Pit

The first image of the documentary is that of a man trapped in a narrow and deep pit. It is nighttime. From above, his co-workers light the scene and ask him to keep calm. The trapped worker ties a rope around his waist and his co-workers pull him to the surface. This is the first allusion to a pit, the element that inspired the film title. It is perhaps also a metaphor for one of the proposals underpinning this audiovisual work: to shed light on the work carried out by construction workers, men who have to descend to the depths of the works they construct and whose labor is hardly noticed or acknowledged. When in 2003, Juan Carlos Rulfo witnessed an urban landscape morph due to the new road works that were being constructed in the city, he decided to record the process of this transformation from the perspective of the construction workers building the elevated segment above the peripheral highway. The director explained:

> [...] my intention was that when people used the elevated highway they would think about the construction workers and visualize their faces and personalities; that they would envision the life stories they shared, in their own way of narrating things and using their own jargon, so that we could get closer to the people who make constructions possible. The moment I saw them dig these pits in the life or construction of a city, I felt compelled to bring audiences closer to those who one way or another are far away. Of all the Mexican people, this group of workers are in charge of materializing reality and, nonetheless, we are so far from them. Construction workers are even far away from each other because there is no ongoing representation of their histories nor of their everyday life (FICM, 2021, our translation).

In order to implement this project, Rulfo descended into one of those holes where the cement supports became anchored. There he accompanied—or followed—during a few months the daily work of various workers. The construction workers speak directly to the camera, share their opinions about life in general, and refer to their yearnings and frustrations. They address the director, who using the camera as an eye and testimony tries unsuccessfully to be invisible.

Thus, speaks, for example, Isabel Dolores Hernández, alias "Chabelo," an amicable man who operates a crane (see figure 1). We see him when he arrives to work, changes into work clothes, and descends into the hole. He comments that life is good, that his only concern is to have work and food, and that he must take advantage of every single opportunity. José Guadalupe Calzada, nicknamed "El Grande" (The Big One), narrates that, for more than a decade, he has worked in construction, which he refers to as "this Hell." He is a mechanic, in charge of raising rebar structures and maneuvering. He does a little bit of everything. He jokes and swears. In the past, he broke the law and perhaps that experience brought him to the conclusion that corruption is the only way to climb the social ladder: "Honesty brings you only beans and eggs… those who study, study in order to learn how to steal." *El Grande* is not afraid of heights; instead, he is afraid of not having money to buy food. Agustín, a driver who transports prefabricated concrete structures, rambles about love, as he drives a semi-trailer truck and gives orders to the drivers around him through a loudspeaker.

Fig. 1 Isabel Dolores Hernández, alias "Chabelo." Photograph by Ana Lorena Ochoa, courtesy of La Media Luna Productions, 2006. Available at: https://lamedialuna.mx/producciones/en_el_hoyo . Accessed on November 9, 2022

Throughout the film, the spectator can observe how Rulfo's camera, which started documenting the depth of the hole, gradually follows the progress of the work, until it emerges at the surface and continues its ascent to the heights. From there, the spectator witnesses how the urban landscape morphs drastically. A kind of euphoria possesses the structural iron workers; these workers are assigned the task of braiding the rebar that forms the pillars' structural framework. They shout down challenging the director: "Come on up here and see what it feels like!" They are intrepid, climb with minimal security measures, work swiftly, and claim to have no fear of the forty-meter height that separates them from the ground. One of them, Vicencio Martínez, the foreman, shares his dream of working until he turns 32 to then retire to his ranch to take care of cows. This character represents an interesting case. The film director follows him to his ranch, where we see him wearing cowboy gear and taming wild horses. For a while, the documentary abandons the urban landscape and focuses on the private life of the worker. On the one hand, the film portrays the intimate link between the urban construction worker and his rural background, while, on the other hand, it highlights the characteristics of a complex multilayered subjectivity constantly changing location. As Antonio Zirión (2017, p. 162, our translation) explains, "Rather than remaining in one fixed place, it is common for workers in this guild to be in transit, in flux, displaced, and shifting between one place and the next. They are multilayered, multilocated subjects."

Within this film's framework, these fragments or careful portrayals of workers and their surroundings, constitute the warp and weft of what we can understand as the construction workers' culture. In the film, it is understood as a cultural matrix, i.e., "a series of experiences shared by the construction workers that confer common cultural characteristics" (Zirión, 2017, p. 160, our translation), including, among other things, their musical tastes, food habits, and customary card-playing, use of slang, and knowledge of the techniques corresponding to their profession.

Within this context, the characters that parade across the screen sharing ideas about life, work or love, speak to us in the midst of a chaotic environment in which the noise of the work mixes with that of heavy traffic, revealing the entropy of urban order. It is worth recalling that the workers are building a mega traffic-related project emblematic of Andrés Manuel López Obrador's term as mayor of the city (2000-2005). By 2002, when the elevated highway project was announced (known in Spanish as *Segundo piso sobre el Anillo Periférico y el Viaducto Miguel Alemán*), Mexico City had been suffering many decades of stifling mobility problems. The accelerated and disorganized growth of this megalopolis, an inefficient system of public transportation, and an index of sustained and increasing motorization had caused the problem of environmental pollution accompanied by countless traffic-related social evils. In particular, the excessive time absorbed by transportation within the city evidences the inequality gap in terms of people's capacity to move around.

The elevated highway was targeted to improve traffic circulation between San Antonio Avenue and the Peripheral Highway, increasing the driving speed by "300%, from 15 to 45 kmph," thus benefiting inhabitants "of the eastern, western, and southern zones of the city who travel every day along Revolución and Patriotismo Avenues" (Bordón; Adalid, 2003, our translation). This large-scale public transit work was questioned since the beginning, not only because of the lack of

accountability regarding cost and the contracts it generated,[3] but also because of its minimal social relevance, a warning expressed in several studies. The main users of the Peripheral Highway are private car drivers, "a minority sector, 17% of the total number of inhabitants of the metropolis, with higher income, living in the southwest and working in the northwest." This sector contrasts with the majority of the population in the capital city, "13% of whom use the subway and another 55% use collective transportation, which is the most heavily polluting" (Delgado et. al., 2003, p. 50, our translation). The elevated segment of the Peripheral Highway was a public work that, far from promoting an equalizing form of transport, such as the use of public transportation, promoted and privileged private car use. Similarly, specialists informed that the positive impact on the environmental would most likely be minimal:

> […] it would be able to reduce almost 6,000 tons of polluting emissions per year, out of an approximate total of 2,492,000 tons. On the contrary, during the first year, it would imply a considerable saving of 13,911 man-hours per day, taking into account an increase of 1.1% of the national stock of vehicles plus a 3% increase of traffic induced over a projected 18-year period" (Delgado et al., 2003, p. 61, our translation).

The history of the elevated highway the spectator witnesses being constructed on screen is that of a colossal project based on and supported by the private car ideology, accompanied by the urban uses and values that are of interest to the dominant groups who have access to this technology.

3 Seeing the Elevated Segment of the Peripheral Highway

Far from ignoring the hegemonic narrative of this public work, *In the Pit,* in fact, uses film language to portray this narrative in a supportive way. The testimonies of the construction workers who speak to the camera and the images that carefully detail their daily life in the world of construction, as can be observed in figure 2, combine with vast general shots that try to show the dimensions of an unending megalopolis. Some of those images generate high quality urban compositions in which the workers become diminutive figures compared with the iron frameworks they are erecting. The film thus establishes that the two spaces that it portrays: the hegemonic elevated segment of the peripheral highway and the counterhegemonic hole, depend on each other to be able to exist. Without workers, there would be no elevated highway, and vice versa.

Fig. 2: Construction workers building the elevated highway. Photograph by Ana Lorena Ochoa, courtesy of La Media Luna Productions, 2006. Available at https://lamedialuna.mx/producciones/en_el_hoyo . Accessed on November 9, 2022

The film highlights sequences in fast motion (time-lapse photography) which compacts urban time to allow the spectator to witness how the days pass and the pillars are raised among unceasing traffic (see figure 3). In those sequences, out of the noise produced by the city and the work (hammering, bulldozers, traffic, sirens, and the work itself), emerges a sound track of electronic rhythms, a composition of Leonardo Heiblum that enhances the aesthetics of the scene. Such resources, which

[3] See S. Dolútskaya (2018) "Las obras viales en el Distrito Federal (1976-2012). Los efectos de la democratización sobre el modo de gobernanza" in Le Galés, P. and Ugalde V. *Gobernando la Ciudad de México. Lo que se gobierna y lo que no se gobierna en una gran metrópoli*. El Colegio de México.

may remind the spectator of commercials or videoclips, describe a hegemonic visual regime related to widely disseminated mass media representations. This idea reaches its peak expression during the film's final sequence, an aerial shot in which we see the full extension of the elevated highway throughout more than six minutes. The construction is imposing, the city unfathomable, and the workers diminutive.

Fig. 3: Two shots of the elevated highway. The photo on the left reminds us of images widely disseminated by the mass media. The one on the right corresponds to the final aerial shot with which the documentary concludes. Source: shots from *In the Pit*, 2006

In contrast with this elevated highway that pierces the heights of the city, this film seeks to represent the construction workers in a gaping hole in the ground. In spite of a few moments in which the documentary constructs the elevated highway using hegemonic visuality, it is possible to consider the hole as a liminal space: a site that is in the process of laying the foundations of a hegemonic spatial public work. However, in the meantime, while it is still under construction, it opens up in an extraordinary way, enabling the director to record the social interaction, usually rendered invisible by the rest of society. This pit is a transcendental in-between space, akin to that described by Homi Bhabha as a site for exploration and confusion, where space and time intertwine in order to "produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion and inclusion" (1994, p. 1). This threshold, a liminal space, has opened up temporarily (the spectator becomes aware that once the work is completed, this hole will no longer exist). It is precisely this emergent nature that, according to Bhabha, elicits a critique and a negotiation of signs of identity. According to Bhabha, "[i]t is in the emergence of the interstices–the overlap and displacement of domains of difference–that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2).

Symbolically, the image of the hole expresses a tension between what exists outside and what exists inside. It is perhaps time that evidences this paradoxical tension more clearly. The city's accelerated time outside dramatically contrasts with the attention to detail inside the hole. To dwell "in the beyond" implies "be[ing] part of a revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity..." intervening "in the here and now" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 7) in order to reinscribe this omission or make it visible. This is also a task of contemporaneity. We must live in the moment. Agustín, one of the construction workers in the film, reminds the spectator of this: "We must try to do what we can in the moment since we never know whether we will be able to do it tomorrow."

4 Final Considerations

The critique this documentary has received is divided between comments that praise its ethnographic qualities and social sensibility (Canclini, 2006; Zirión, 2017) and others who consider that the life of the construction worker gets diluted next to Rulfo's grand visual elegies to the urban landscape (Morris, 2007). However, one of the most interesting points is his creation of symbolic tension between the visual portrayal of the elevated highway, a work that represents the dominant visual regime in an attempt to express the hegemonic value of this large-scale work, and, the potentiality of having countervisuality emerge through focusing on micro scale. This micro scale represents how this subalternate group lives the present moment, the logic ruling their existence, and the strategies that this guild adopts in order to face a hegemonic organizational model: time for rest and relaxation, closeness and solidarity, ongoing examples of community sharing, the complexity of constantly being on the move, the multi-locality of work.

Even though this documentary could function as a record of a grandiloquent and monumental construction, to glance into the hole—the space in which the workers dwell 'in the beyond'—evidences that this elevated structure, albeit having been designed to join areas of the city and bring citizens closer to their destination, on the contrary, only increases the distance between inhabitants and widens the social gap. As *El Grande* states in the film's final scene: "It's looking nice, but it's a pity that I'll never be able to use this damn highway because I don't even have a bike."

Using counterpositions appearing in the documentary *En el hoyo,* such as depth-surface, inside-outside, visible-invisible, this paper shows some of the mechanisms that visibilize the daily collision between the hegemonic and the counterhegemonic in the urban sphere. In this initial approach to this audiovisual material, it highlighted the relationship between hegemonic and counter hegemonic visions. The grandiosity of this large-scale work for the use of a dominant class contrasts with the everyday life of the actual builders who will not be able to enjoy what they built. This mirrors the daily life in a megacity. Even though the film does not pay attention to issues regarding the organization or decision-making on the part of the construction workers in order to deconstruct or transform the hegemonic content of the reality in which they are engaged, the workers' small gestures provide the spectator with a glimpse of mechanisms to defy the dominant hegemonic ideology. In the face of a general panorama that for decades has ignored the labor of construction workers, this audiovisual work could be considered an effort to address his situation. A future work remains to be attempted, to analyze the role played by the film director as observer/participant, by placing himself as the one who gives voice to the characters and thus becomes one of them. Perhaps this presence could in some way motivate the workers to become agents of counter hegemonic transformation.

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REDESCRIBING THE PROJECT OF THE GROUND: A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY
REDESCRIÇÃO DO PROJETO DO TÉRREO: ENSAIO FOTOGRÁFICO

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Abstract

This photographic essay and accompanying text continue an effort to document and update the Jardim São Francisco housing complex (Demetre Anastassakis, São Paulo), developed in the late 1980s, with a particular interest in the spatial implications of that collective housing experience. Unlike the spatial products imposed by hegemonic thinking — dictated by the hypercommodification and standardization of the 'urban economy' — this collective experience offers an alternative spatial proposition, capable of questioning the dominant practices and ideologies. It was developed based on the engagement with housing struggle movements and generated friction conditions with those hegemonic spatialities, standing out from violent development processes and seeking alternatives. Interpreted as manifestations of resistance, they help to make legible ways of life that are already among us and have gained relevance in recent investigative exercises. In addition to the documentation effort, the photographic essay presented here, carried out in 2021, gives support to an exercise of redescription, as proposed by AbdouMaliq Simone and Edgar Pieterse (2017), in light of the discussion of *Progetto di suolo*, by Bernardo Secchi (1986). By questioning and opposing the dominant understanding of the space of dwelling, the photographic essay, an exercise of redescription, reveals aspects of urban life's spatiality that seem to have disappeared, local vitalities that were turned invisible by an apparent decline. Thus, this documentation intends to give visibility to a perspective that allows us to disarm our perception, offering a framework for critical reflection. We indicate it as an incubator for counter-hegemonic spatialities, a resource for the discipline of Architecture and Urbanism, and a reference for decision-making and action processes that seek an alternative to spatial homogenization.

Keywords: Collective Housing, Jardim São Francisco, Redescription, Urban Land, Ground Floor

1 Introduction: preamble

1989, Sao Paulo. The Greek-Iguaçuan architect Demetre Anastassakis (1948–2019) coordinates the winning team of the competition for social housing in Jardim São Francisco. Developed for a plot of land in the east zone of the city, sector 8 occupied an area of 103,720 m^2, "typical of the outskirts of large, underdeveloped urban centers [characterized by] sparse occupation, access difficulties, and infrastructure deficiencies" (Marinho, 1990, p. 48, our translation). The proposal follows a constructive criterion that articulates dozens of housing units. It develops reasoning that involves arrangements that provide economy of scale and define a clear intention in the urban design of the ground floor, the ground of the city. Furthermore, this proposal is the result of a collective construction as a record of localized processes and knowledges, fostering coexistence and forms of appropriation of this space by residents. Its unfinished form is determined by the relationship with the housing units themselves, creating an interface and a porous limit that offers an alternative to the urban enclave.

Fig. 1: Portico. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 2: Pedestrian path.
Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 3: Streetscape.
Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 4: Alley. Source: ROSA, 2021.

The end of the 1980s inaugurated a phase that involved new actors in a series of pioneering experiences in the field of collective housing. The exponential growth of the urban population, the territorial expansion, and the urban sprawl that took place in the second half of the 20th century situate the urgency with which the issue of collective housing was presented in Brazil. In the late 1970s, in the face of growing slums and the housing deficit, organizations and social movements emerged with claims that included housing and less excluding and unequal cities (Bonduki; Rolnik, 1971; Ferro, 1972; Maricato, 1979; Sampaio, 1995). Aligned with this agenda, the academy also participated as one of the actors, in what would become known as the National Movement for Urban Reform (Maricato, 2001). As a product of this context, the housing complex developed with Anastassakis' team would become a paradigmatic experience. It was built based on the *mutirão*[1] and self-management formats, developed under the municipal government of Luiza Erundina, in a context in which the restructuring of the housing policy was a priority and characterized a new posture (Bonduki, 1996, p. 180).

That moment was accompanied by the subsequent development of an instrumental framework in urban planning that aimed to fight social exclusion (Rolnik; Cymbalista, 1997) by enabling governmental mechanisms to operationalize scaled production (Maricato, 2001). This effort was followed by a critical reading of the effective scope and limitations of the application of these urban instruments with the perspective of building democratic and socially just cities (Ferreira, 2003). In

[1] *Mutirão* is a Brazilian word that stands for mutual help. The term relates to the United Nations' promotion of assisted self-help in the 1970s, understood as a way to scale an economic housing promotion and mitigate the increasing global housing crisis. In the 1980s, the workers' party in São Paulo developed a format of assisted self-help that aimed to merge institutionalized and non-institutionalized construction processes, allowing social movements to actively participate in the decision and construction processes of their future dwelling. See Stiphany (2019).

this sense, we focus our observation and documentation on the scale of urban design and everyday life. This provides an opportunity for a discussion about the mutually impacted relationship between urban form and collective experience, which appears to gain legibility in the permeable and collective ground floor of São Francisco.

2 Frictions between hypercommodification, standardization, and prescription

The 2000s were marked by the massive construction of new housing units across the country. The context of a real estate boom and accelerated economic growth allowed the federal government to implement programs of great magnitude. The federal program *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (2009) made possible an unprecedented volume of housing subsidies, for the lowest-income population group. It was accompanied by the Growth Acceleration Program (*Programa de Aceleração Econômica* — PAC, 2007), responsible for providing resources to build infrastructure, with a great impact on the production of urban space. (Rizek et al., 2014; Rolnik et al., 2015) Despite the fact that these policy-market arrangements enabled the large-scale production of affordable housing, "much of contemporary urban development actively undermines the very kinds of experiences, stories, and relationships from within, from which the subsistence of expanding urban populations can be significantly increased."(Simone; Pieterse, 2017, p. 8).

These investments largely disregarded the demand for improvement in existing units and settlements, as well as in ongoing processes that had been organized for decades by movements fighting for housing. As a result, one indicates in the adopted hegemonic ways the very generator of great impact in the city, which is characterized by the low quality of built architecture. As a result, the urbanity standards achieved point to problems such as location, repetition, and low quality (Ferreira, 2013). As early as 1972, Turner and Fichter verified the centralization and control over the format of public housing policy through the model of investment and execution of the plan, in addition to the imposition of a notion of what housing should be. This model did not take into account the understanding of those who would be affected by the proposed housing policy:

> The most common objection to changes in public policy which would increase a user's control of housing at the expense of centralized institutions is that standards would be lowered as a result. The standards the objectors have in mind, however, are not something that can be achieved with available resources, but, rather, represent the objector's own notion of what housing ought to be. (Turner; Fichter, 1972, p.148)

The imposition of a hegemonic spatial model that ignores the characteristic diversity of urban life is a violent gesture. Spatial products and urban policies often result from practices that precisely propose a set of ideological and cultural structures and processes. Being dictated by dominant groups, they disregard non-institutionalized processes and knowledges. This stance is related to the “policies of urban knowledge” (Simone; Pieterse, 2017, p. XIV). They are in line with the idea of hegemony proposed in the field of political theory by the philosopher Antonio Gramsci: they dictate a political direction, protected by a legal framework and legitimized by intellectual authority and moral consensus, oriented to silence the majority (Gruppi, 1978). They point to a trend in the form of governmental action by a political elite and a corporate apparatus associated with it, which exercise control over the forms of production and the use of urban space. This happens through the prescription and emptying of the capacities, ideas, and resources of the majority, with the goal of maneuvering situations where, otherwise, they would not have legitimacy and knowledge.

The spatial products of this hypercommodification and standardization of the urban economy are gated communities, new peripheral neighborhoods, and massive and uniform housing units in the peripheries. These are responsible for parceling (the land), fragmenting, converting space into property, and creating enclosures that are reproduced *ad infinitum*. In contradiction to this movement, we find experiences that present conditions of friction with those spatialities. These friction conditions are manifested in the organization of forms of resistance to the hegemonic reasoning, which is behind the production of space. Transitional movements can transform opportunities for experimentation into resources based on these potential conditions. The project developed with the team coordinated by Demetre Anastassakis for Jardim São Francisco is one of those occasions of experimentation, transformed into a practical and discursive resource in the disciplinary field of Architecture and Urbanism. That proposal offers an alternative spatial proposition that is capable of questioning dominant practices and ideologies. It articulates social, cultural, environmental, and economic arrangements in the built form: an entanglement of articulated spaces that carry intention, different from the spaces deployed by the hegemonic force. The

result of this reasoning seeks to transcend the analysis of binaries to focus on aspects of space in relation to urban life that seem to have disappeared.

Going back in time, updating its documentation, and revisiting that experience allows us to contribute to a theoretical-historical approach and articulate very urgent environmental and social inclusion aspects. This attitude is in line with an agenda that evolves around urban life, in which the city is seen as the perpetual oeuvre of its inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 178).

3 (Re) description

We depart from the discussion proposed by AbdouMaliq Simone and Edgar Pieterse (2017) to propose a redescription exercise detached from official forms of description.

3.1 Description

Cities are arenas where existing forms of action are considered, valued, controlled, or legitimized. The official descriptions controlled by the cities define the rules and habits, the possibilities, and the restrictions. There are, however, numerous forms of transgression that coexist with hegemonic practices, despite often not being recognized and legitimized. This duality can be found in cities' imaginative power, which is fostered by experiences and forms of sociability and governance. Robinson (2016) suggests generating knowledge from comparative acts, seeking to reconstitute a range of possibilities for what the urban is and what it can be. From this perspective, the portrayed experience forms part of a larger body of knowledge that is under construction. This process corresponds as much as it diverges from previous references and conventional narratives. It points to forms of urbanization that exist in the present while experimenting with new forms of engagement, design processes, and governance.

3.2 Redescription

As a method, redescription makes it possible to compose what urban knowledge can be as well as what it is. According to Simone and Pieterse (2017), the meaning of redescription is related to Celia Lury's n-dimensional spaces (2012), that is, states of existence that might be. It is not just about projecting possible imaginaries of the future. Rather, it is about redescribing existing conditions that are found in the city as components of a process that may be taking place at a very moment. This is despite being opaque, obstructed, or labeled inoperative, due to the perspective from which it is observed. With that perspective, the opportunity lies in aspiring to do things differently, starting by seeing something different from what we are just seeing. Hence, by unpacking what is undervalued one may reveal the contumacious character of local vitalities. (Simone; Pieterse, 2017, p. 11).

By suggesting a redescription, therefore, this photographic essay intends to reveal spatialities based on a particular way of revisiting its history. Through the photographic record, the gaze into what already exists aims to give legibility to something that seems not to be seen. Consequently, it may configure itself as a resource or reference for decision and action processes. We seek conditions and components that indicate a possible becoming, that is, something that can cause it to exist, evolve, and modify, based on the spatiality of the built environment. It is at these interfaces that we find points of intersection that can serve as places of redescription.

4 Project of the ground: the urban ground

In 1986, Bernardo Secchi published *Progetto di suolo* in Casabella magazine. The article reacts to the profound trend of fragmentation observed in the way of pondering the urban territory. It is based on the design of the ground, the ground floor of the city. Despite the marginality of the theme, Secchi draws attention to its relevance and relates this fragmentation to a division identified in two segregated forms of production of the ground floor in cities. These are the design of architecture as self-contained objects and the merely technical application of a standardized and universal representation of urban functions, as a codified interpretation of space. This discussion has recently regained relevance. Mantziaras and Viganò (2016) point out that the conventional rules of the game are inadequate as they follow the exclusive logic of mass production of housing and urban space as separate units. According to them, this would generate enclosures and promote standardized infrastructure.

Here, we point out topological resonances in experiences that derive from a set of relationships and practices about the inhabited, co-produced, and lived space. These constitute ways of claiming the world against those enclosures that prioritize individuality, disregarding bodies and experiences. We consider how they articulate environmental and social pressures in the construction of the urban ground floor, as we are particularly interested in the spatial implications of these processes. Hence, the focus of interest is experiences that managed to stand out from the violent processes of urban development by providing space for conflicting reflections without flattening divergence and difference. With this reference, we indicate this experience as an incubator of counter-hegemonic spatialities. In response to the demands posed by social movements, the developed architecture departs from places of collective production where innovative models and experiences are generated. Their spatial matrices differ radically from the monotony verified in the depersonalization and lack of authenticity that result from the serialization of large-scale housing complexes.

5 Redescription: the ground floor of the dwelling in Jardim São Francisco

Well-known elements of the city, such as the street, the block, the lot, and the village, organize the spatiality of the neighborhood. These are based on the typology of a traditional Brazilian city. Grouped housing units of different typologies form a perimeter structure around the block, in alignment with the street. From the street, pedestrian paths start at porticos and cut through the blocks, connecting other grouped housing units in the inner part of the urban block. The surface of the ground floor follows the original topography of the site, altering it as little as possible. It denotes a diverse composition of urban situations at the intersections of houses and streets. Porticos serve as entrances to courtyards in the middle of the housing block. That structure provides the housing complex with a sense of unity in its relationship with the city. Those elements seek to integrate it with the city by articulating the domestic with the public space. The resulting collective space increases the permeability between the buildings through both visual and physical access.

The reasoning used in the development takes the popular house as a reference, developed as an embryonic structure. Based on this idea, different typologies of housing units may receive incremental ad hoc expansions, something facilitated by the designed setbacks and slabs. Each resulting arrangement of eight units is accessed by an inner courtyard. A basic constructive criterion is applied to guarantee economies of scale. Modules are combined to generate volumetric variations in implantation and height, considering factors such as density, form, and spatial complexity. The application of a set of rules defines the spatial typologies of the traditional city, such as the corner, the veranda, and the patio. Once superimposed, the various combinations of housing typologies are organized into clusters, which determine the collective urban space (Mendes; Celani, 2012). On the ground floor, this space is delimited by the threshold of the housing units and the street, the pedestrian paths, and two squares.

The architectural elements articulate the transition from the inside — the domestic space — to the outside — the collective space. They include the whole, its volume, dimensions, proportions, details, materiality, and surface properties, as well as the everyday experience, which is characterized by a diversity of uses and forms of appropriation. The interface elements between the domestic and the collective include physical and visual accesses that can be opened, such as porticos, staircases, ramps, gates, doors, and windows, made of materials with different levels of transparency. Other elements such as porches, niches, and building setbacks, slab projections, balconies, and spaces under stairs and between pillars can generate vitality by contributing to the character of the place and defining the topography of the ground floor. Additionally, objects such as mailboxes, signs, street names, benches, vases, and lamps contribute to the characterization of the space.

The shape and volume of the ground floor result from the integration of architecture with the numerous modes of appropriation foreseen as well as with the streetscape. Hence, the housing modules play a definitive role in determining the common space between the houses, creating a collective unit of space that connects and relates to the domestic. This space is not an abstraction — that is, a technical proposal promoted by the city or by the developer (Alexander, 1985) —, but a collective expression of the residents' will. This makes them responsible for co-producing a cohesive and authentic unit of shared space that configures the ground floor of these housing experiences, where “spaces are continuously and contiguously appropriated by all: there are no 'voids'” (Anastassakis; Cascon, 2012, p. 46-47, our translation).

In this proposal, one reads the ability of space to define a field of action with precision (Janson; Wolfrum, 2006), which characterizes the common urban ground floor. Such capacity defines openness to appropriation as something that is not equivalent to chance (Zoller, 2018). Unlike this, the interface defined on the ground floor is a space in-between created by

architectural elements. Their form and urban insertion were negotiated with future residents, resulting in a design that reflected their own identity and was an expression of their desire.

Fig. 5: Courtyard of the housing block. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 6: Accesses. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 7: Accesses. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 8: Roof profile.
Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 9: Passage. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 10: Belvedere.
Source: ROSA, 2021.

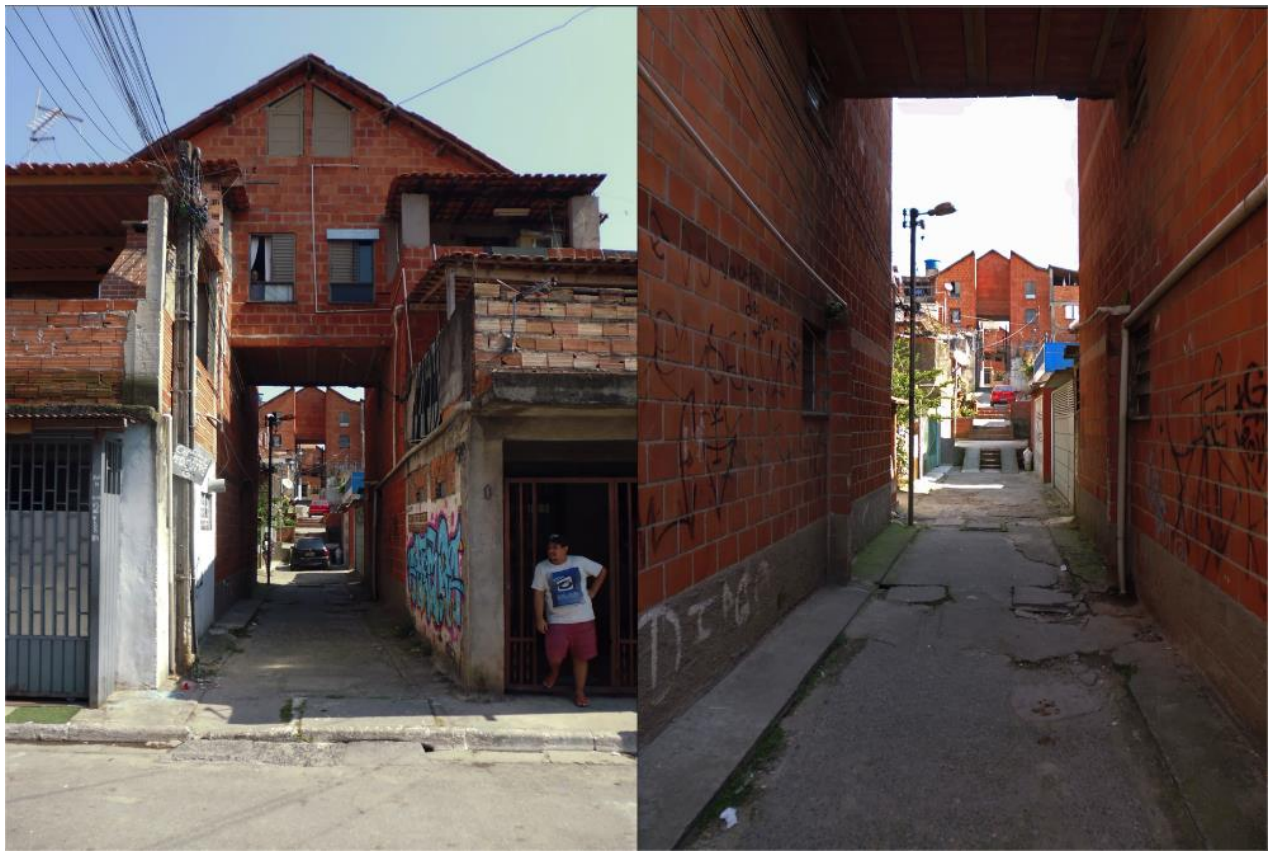

Fig. 11: Portico and pedestrian path. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 12: Courtyard of the housing block. Source: ROSA, 2021.

Fig. 13: Courtyard of the housing block and assembly. Source: ROSA, 2021.

6 Notes about the photographic gesture

Intertwined with the text, the photographic essay, carried out in 2021, also forms the basis for the argument and redescription. The aim is not to present visual evidence and translate it textually, but to develop the relationship between these two forms of knowledge production. With that, in

addition to the effort of documentation, the photographs support the redescription of existing conditions found in the city, in light of the discussion of the *Progetto di suolo*. They also include a redescription of the act of looking and possible ways of observing, analyzing, and influencing the production of space and its stories. Roland Barthes (1984) refuted the understanding of the photo as an authentic representation and credible record of the world. He draws attention to the photographic referent placed in relation to the camera, without which there would be no photography. Similarly, Vilém Flusser defines photography as a "two-dimensional description of a gesture," suggesting "considering photography itself through the photographic view" (Flusser, 2019/1991, p. 42, our translation). This approach shows that the situation is structured by the intention of the investigator, who is not outside the situation he observes: both situations interpenetrate into a single one (Flusser, 2019/1991, p. 44). In this sense, it is important to deal with the procedures adopted for carrying out the photographic gesture by the researcher for the production of images.

No photograph is neutral. The act of photographing is not something naïve, nor should it be naturalized as a fact in itself. In an operation located in the photographic event itself, the potential of photography can make something visible. The resulting image is not mere technical documentation of a constructed situation but problematizes issues that it proposes to redescribe. The first act in this direction was the critical departure from panoramic images, which simplify the complexity of a place and its agencies by distancing the gaze and flattening reality (Latour; Hermant, 1998). In contrast, the photographs were produced during site visits and were taken from the street and public pedestrian paths. We privileged central vanishing points in the images, which were framed at the height of the human eye, and recorded a sequence throughout the housing complex. The public and accessible structure of the space at the ground floor interface allowed us to enter the housing complex. From that place, the gesture of photographing was preceded by approximations with residents, seeking to provoke conversations about life in that place, their history of struggle, research, the reasons for the visits, and the act of photographing itself. The opportunities for these conversations occurred at random, according to situations experienced at the time of the visits, some of which are portrayed in the images. The photos reveal a spatiality resulting from the processes involved in that experience. Those encounters provided opportunities for continued exchanges between residents and researchers.

Although these brief notes are not intended to constitute an in-depth reflection on the photographic gesture itself, they suggest that the redescription can also be a useful exercise in asking questions about the act of photographing itself and its agency as a gesture of the gaze. Thinking about the photographic gesture as part of the redescription methodological procedure includes a series of complexities, potentialities, and challenges that can be stressed. The very gesture of photographing itself is a political instance to be problematized. It can assume the right not to participate in the hegemonic project. On the other hand, it indicates a dispute about how photography can collaborate with an act of reimagination, that is, a way to decolonize spatial imagination (Azoulay, 2019). By associating redescription with the gesture of photographing, we problematize the hegemonic ways of seeing the city.

7 Final Considerations

Unlike the generalizing trend and the imaginaries that it carries, the conditions on the ground are less homogeneous, more unequal, turbulent, and volatile. This is due to stiff competition for urban land aimed at the construction of housing and urban development. Diverging from hegemonic thinking and its spatial products, alternative experiences of urban transformation derive from the intersection of different ways of dwelling, histories, cultural records, economic capabilities, relationships of proximity, forms of collaboration, and sharing. The resulting alternatives reveal architectures capable of transforming the everyday life. They make room for new political imaginations of the urban, in which we can indicate counter-hegemonic spatialities.

These experiences are embedded in a paradox. On the one hand, they envision an alternative to the urgent and massive demand to improve and qualify the urban structure, mitigate the environmental impact of urban development, and promote equality and citizenship. On the other hand, they coexist with a series of hegemonic urban development modalities that are highly formatted, executed by governmental and corporate agents, and therefore incapable of encompassing infrastructures and economies built and managed by communities, therefore undermining them.

The experience on screen is entangled with a body of knowledge that reveals a power that transgresses the hegemonic narratives, despite the initial scale limitations. This potency resonates in very particular situations. These are transgressions of the real that are capable of shaking up a plastered and naturalized reality. The photographic documentation, as an exercise of redescription, is intended to give visibility to a reference that allows us to disarm our perception, offering a framework for critical reflection.

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REVISITED CENTRALITY: TERTIARY TERRITORIALITIES IN THE DIGITAL AGE
CENTRALIDADE REVISITADA: AS TERRITORIALIDADES DO TERCIÁRIO NA ERA DIGITAL

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Abstract

This article aims to reflect on the observed territorial changes resulting from the increasing integration of digital technologies into the scope of retail trade and services activities, with a significant impact on the nature, intensity, and direction of urban flows. We define the concept of centrality as an attribute that stems from the concentration of people, goods, and information. We revisit the concept through a historical review by considering classic authors and contemporary reflections based on literature under construction, supported by reports and recent research. This path allowed us to identify changes in socioeconomic and cultural contexts at global and local levels, demanding a counter-hegemonic review of urban management, public policies, and architecture. Three significant moments related to the importance of centrality in urban life were spotted: the identification of centralities and their attributes, centrality as a sought and planned vitality, and on-demand centrality.

Keywords: Retailing and Services, Consumption, Urban Flows, Urban Vitality, Industry 4.0

1 Introduction

Meeting point places for the flow of people and goods, marked by the confluence of routes, have always been places of centrality, where certain retailing and services activities have emerged, giving rise to urban centers, from small cities to global ones. This situation allows us to state that commerce and the city have a relationship of origin (Vargas, 2001). Quickly identified as meeting points, these places have started concentrating activities and buildings that made them different from other areas inside the human settlements. In other words, the characteristics of these places were the concentration of people, goods, and activities. From a given moment, they not only responded to the flows that originated them but also started to act as attractors of flows, assuming a condition of command and autonomy. Often, the dynamics observed in these areas overlapped the concept of a center, such as a geographic location geometrically defined. The notion of centrality, conceived here as an attribute of the center, goes further and does not refer exclusively to so-called central places, as defined by Walter Christaller in 1933.

Choosing, therefore, the production processes of centrality areas as a major object of analysis, the present work aims to propose a reflection on changes observed in the territory, particularly in urban areas, considering the advance of digital communication technology, the Industry 4.0, Artificial Intelligence and the Internet of Things. These changes are directly related to trade and service activities, the structuring of urban space, and urban vitality. They pointed out a significant impact on the places, motivations, and time devoted to consumption in today's society. This article is, therefore, an instrument of questioning and opposition to hegemonic thinking about urban planning and intervention, given the performance of digital technologies, through the analysis of the concept and meaning of centrality.

The methodology is based on the bibliographic review of classic authors who studied centers and centralities during the 19th century, when the occurrence of concentration of activities and flows in specific places, internally to human settlements, began to draw the attention of scholars and intellectuals. We also included contemporary literature on the advancement of new technologies and the possible impacts on urban dynamics in the analysis, supported by reports and essays, because of the contemporaneity of the theme. We also must mention that the pandemic period made observational research possible, given the behavioral changes to which society was exposed. Using his methodological path made it possible to spot three moments: the identification of centralities and their attributes, centrality as searched and planned vitality, and on-demand centrality.

2 Identification of Centrality Areas and their Attributes

During the 18th century, accelerated urban growth, the advance of industrialization, and the change in the speed of transport brought to the fore several approaches to study cities dedicated to discussing the concentration of people and activities in urban space. Their emphasis shifted to understanding social relations, spatial configuration and locational preferences. As for the social relationships found in urban life, relevant themes were centered on the differences perceived between communities and metropolises. They sought to explain the stable and daily social bonds as opposed to temporary and

ephemeral ones and the indifference current in social behavior. Emphasis should be given to Ferdinand Tönnies' work, Community and Society, published in German in 1887, and Georg Simmel's 1903 essay, "The metropolis and mental life". Both authors were essential for the development of Urban Sociology, aside to other currents of thought that developed at the time, such as the Chicago School of Human Ecology, that ended up reinforcing the spatial configurations of human settlements through the graphic representation of urban patterns.

Concerning the concept of centrality, the ideas and discussions outlined and developed by the pioneers of the Chicago School related to retailing and services activities are introduced by Eufrásio (1999): the hierarchy of the centers (Park, 1915), the concept of neighborhood (Park, 1915, Mckenzie, 1923), the existence of centers and sub-centers (Mckenzie, 1923), the concept of the main center, CBD (Central Business District), a term coined by Burgess (1924), the dominance concept highlighting the tertiary category of command (Park, 1929), the discussion on the differences in the price of urban land and the dispute for better locations (Park, 1915, Burgess, 1924, Mckenzie, 1923, 1924), the notion of time-travel cost (ecological distance) (Mckenzie, 1924), the importance of different flows of people (Burgess, 1924), as well as a differentiation between basic and specialized needs in Mckenzie (1924), supplied by centers of different sizes and locations.

Burgess (1924) also discusses the concept of agglomeration by explaining the differences between the concept of concentration as group activities (economic space) and the concept of centralization as a central place (geographical space). According to Tourinho (2004), the decentralized concentration also appears in Burgess, indicating the emergence of sub-centers (satellite centers) that were polarized and dominated by the main center. Lately, other researchers from the same School, as Harris and Ullman (1945), advanced the discussions and perceived the city as the central place of a territory and, according to Eufrásio (1999), have indicated the possibility of setting up other urban clusters stemming from universities and recreational centers because of the flows these activities generate. They have anticipated, to a certain extent, the discussions about growth poles and centers carried out by François Perroux (1964).

Criticisms indicated the rigidity of the proposed spatial models without support in other urban realities beyond the city of Chicago and pointed out the lack of consideration of production relations and conflicts arising from the dispute over urban land (Richardson, 1973; Tourinho, 2004). Despite criticism, these studies produced, in our view, decisive findings in the field of urban economics and discussions on the tertiary and the city. However, these analyzes did not pay attention to understanding the demand (consumers). The same rigid graphic spatial models were presented in Ebenezer Howard's book published in 1898, "To-morrow" (Garden Cities of Tomorrow), launching the Garden City movement whose principles influenced the urban design of various cities in the United States and in Europe, especially after the end of World War II.

Regarding studies discussing the locational factors intended to explain the preferred business location in the geographic space, the pioneering contributions were given by the authors: Johann Heinrich von Thunen, whose work The Isolated State (1826) focused on the study of agricultural activities; Alfred Weber's Theory of location of industries (1909), concerning industry; and Walter Christaller's Central Places in Southern Germany (1933), on commercial position. This latter work greatly influenced the discussion on the concept of centrality disseminated among Brazilian geographers. All these neoclassical models drew on unreal assumptions, such as full knowledge, rational economic behavior, profit maximization, a linear relationship between distance and travel cost, and the idea of homogeneous territory. They have been criticized. According to Krugman (1997), these theories were of great importance to science, even though they faced resistance from the dominant scientific community at the time.

The attempts to explain the location of economic activities have welcomed another seminal work called Principles of Economics (1890) by Alfred Marshall. According to Silva (2004), Marshall is perceived as the official introducer of the agglomeration theory. For Marshall, agglomerations produce externalities, as they allow companies to take advantage of the existence of a dense local market for qualified labor, easy access to input suppliers, and the presence of spillovers effects that provide for greater dissemination of knowledge and technology, thus enabling a quick learning process, creativity, and innovation (Oliveira, Ribeiro, 2012; Fochzatto, 2010). Then came the economic-base theory initially formulated in 1921 by M. Aurousseau, discussing the employment issue (Silva, 2004). Together, these two theories established the basis for understanding the power of induction and polarization of given activities in urban and regional development, frequently included in the discussion that occurred after the Great Depression of 1929. A moment when the classic work by Keynes

(1983 [1936]), the General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money, boosted the state's participation in economic planning and development, with greater emphasis on the post-war period.

Still in the field of Economics, but from an individual's point of view, that is, the motivation of urban life, is Thorstein Veblen's work, The Theory of the Leisure Class, published in 1899. In this work, Veblen (1965) defines the expression "conspicuous consumption" to describe expenditures not intended for basic needs but performed for hedonic reasons, anticipating discussions on a need for social recognition by consuming. It took very long before consumers received due attention from retailers, which had mainly focused on the offer, that is, on goods.

This brief bibliographic review recovers the main ideas that dominated the scene until the end of World War II. It was then possible to confirm that the phenomenon of concentration of activities and people, often referred to as centers and subcenters, was presented as an attribute of centrality, mapped and configured through graphic schemes and mathematical models. As a result, the dynamics of the phenomenon of agglomerations that included externalities, perceived as inducing centrality and vitality, gave rise to the idea that agglomerations could contribute to economic development based on planned state actions.

3 Centrality as the Searched and Planned Vitality

After the Second World War, the idea that the development of countries and the reconstruction of Europe would only be possible through public actions was strengthened. Initiatives aimed at planning the development of socioeconomically less favored regions and urban development controlled by an increasingly complex planning system proliferated. This system was improved in the 1960s and 1970s, under strong technocratic influence and oriented towards the project/plan (Ashworth; Voogd, 1990). The work in regional development enters the field of economics, while the process of recovery of urban areas has a significant presence of urban planners.

In the field of development planning, François Perroux work must be highlighted (1964,1972) with his Growth Poles Theory, showing that regional development arises from some economic units (industries). Ranging among the key elements of this theory is the notion of economic space as a field of force, where poles, called driving units, attract centripetal forces and emanate centrifugal forces. They, then, give rise to a technical interdependence between companies (linkages) by forming a complex and acting as a driver of regional development (Vargas, 1985). Such effects were in phase with Marshall's externalities. Perroux's idea of growth poles based on the power of driving industries influenced the debate on centers of growth by Hirschman (1968) and Myrdal (1957), leading to a discussion on the effects stemming from the power of polarizing some centers in their region. Following Perroux, Friedmann, and Tinbergen (1973), Hirschman and Myrdal considered tertiary activities the driving element to enable the emergence of economies of agglomeration and urbanization, also functioning as a growth pole, as outlined by Harris and Ullman, as early as in 1945.

Rochefort (n. d.) followed the same direction, conceiving in France the concept of métropoles d'équilibre [metropolises of balance], from the 50th French Plan as a regional development strategy of the Délégation Interministérielle à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Attractivité Régionale, in 1963. Rochefort (1976) also introduced the concept of tertiary of command, described as a tertiary represented by the headquarters of companies whose purpose is not to assist consumers but to do business. In the same command line, Milton Santos (1959) defined centrality as the quality of an urban center responsible for coordinating and commanding different activities in the surrounding space, reinforcing its autonomy. That is, the greater the centrality of an urban center, the greater its autonomy. While in the scope of regional development, issues seemed to be understood, and public policies based on the theories of development poles started being implemented in several countries, including Brazil (Vargas, 1985), the situation was more complex in the urban space.

The construction of New Towns and Directional Centers during the European reconstruction and urban decentralization brought to the scene a strong presence of architects and urban planners. New Towns were built simultaneously to the American suburbanization process, leading to the desertion of traditional centers. The need to keep urban vitality became a topic. According to Jane Jacobs (1967), it was due to the diversity of uses capable of gathering people at different times of the day. Furthermore, it created an intense flow of people walking through urban places and thus promoted social interaction. But the difficulty was to know how to promote urban vitality. In the planning of European New Towns, while the segregation of urban uses and zoning were decisive elements arising from the ideas of the Modern Movement expressed in the Charter

of Athens of 1933, the dimensioning of retailing and services activities received little attention. Graphic schemes and strong indicators of centrality attributes outlined these activities, ranging in a hierarchy of centers and subcenters, very much in line with the Garden Cities movement and the mistakenly read works of Walter Christaller.

These urban designs disregarded the commercial logic and the fundamental role of consumers. This fact is a misreading, as the model created by Christaller demonstrated that the quantity and variety of goods offered and the served population size determined the centers' hierarchy, among other factors. A third factor was the economic distance, defined by the relationship between the price of the good, cost and travel time, and the distance traveled (Berry, 1970; Vargas, 1985). In cities built by the private sector, as in the USA, although influenced by the Garden Cities movement, the implementation of retailing and services centers, hierarchically defined, moved according to demand dynamics (Bailey, 1973; Stein, 1966). Furthermore, the American suburbanization process was not limited to creating new towns. The construction of suburbs by the private sector gave rise to two other interdependent phenomena, the invention of shopping malls and the deterioration of traditional centers.

The invention of shopping malls in the US stemmed from the need to make viable housing developments far from central areas, starting with small commercial and service centers (Vargas, 1992; Garrefa, 2010). Two strategies supported it: one, creating internal conditions for attracting consumers based on the instructions of rapid-growing retail science, administration, and marketing, and two, choosing cheaper and larger areas distant from the urban center, making them privileged by the performance of real estate capital. Both strategies were able to generate new areas of centrality by generating and attracting consumer flows (Vargas, 1992). Retail and Marketing studies focused their attention on the consumer and the competition, with contributions in different moments through the works of Richard Nelson (1958), William Applebaum (1966), Paco Underhill (1999), and Daniel Miller (1998), who dedicated themselves to figure it out in a more emphatic way: Who buys? Where? What? When? How? And why?

Among the various business strategies continuously incorporated, the most expressive change concerning shopping malls was in the traditional anchor stores, firstly represented by department stores, then by cinemas, food courts, courses, events, etc. (Vargas, 1992, 2001; Garrefa, 2010), with leisure activities as a priority. This phenomenon known by shoppertainment had the West Edmonton Mall in Alberta, Canada, and the Mall of America (MOA), in Minnesota, USA, as pioneering paradigmatic representatives in the 1990s (Timothy, 2005). Concerning real estate strategies, which focused on privileged locations, the sector started creating such places through the successive investment of capital and work in urban land (Lefèvre, 1979; Lojkine, 1979) by reproducing, in practice, Marxist ideas on space production and agricultural land rent (Marx, 1980).

Real estate entrepreneurs started carrying out mixed-use projects, setting up areas for receiving residential buildings and complementary services in the immediate surroundings. They intended to value local urban land and to create the necessary purchasing-powered consumer flows to make their ventures viable, as shown by Vargas (1992) in the case of Sao Paulo. Mistakenly, public managers and their consultants believed that the success of Shopping Centers was due to the modernity of the spaces created and the emphasis on the separation between vehicles and pedestrians, ignoring the venture's business management. This belief led to the process known as Urban Renewal in the USA between 1950 and 1970 and the proliferation of exclusive pedestrian areas in several cities (Vargas, Castilho, 2006).

They failed to consider that ventures like shopping centers belonged to a single owner/entrepreneur, with centralized control and management and large financial amounts involved, which differed from the city centers. From the 1970s, this ability to create locations entered the field of city marketing public policies, now in a public/private partnership, on a city scale basis. According to Selby (2004), tourism, historical heritage, and cultural industries became the main driving elements for attracting and concentrating flows. Even though they were temporary, ephemeral, and on demand.

4 On-demand Centrality

The existence of flows of people on foot or in motorized vehicles determines urban vitality. People flows, in turn, are generated and or attracted by specific labor-intensive activities (employment), such as large public or private service providers and temples and churches in past times. In addition to the flow generated (workers), some of these activities may also attract users to their services (consumers), as well as companies that start taking advantage of the existing flow, stimulating trade and bringing vitality to the place (Vargas, 2020). However, the adoption and spreading of Industry 4.0 based

on digital technology, Artificial Intelligence, and the Internet of Things were stimulated by the Covid-19 pandemic (Riveira; Loureiro, 2020). The pandemic highlighted ongoing territorial transformations, such as the creation or abandonment of areas of centrality, and even promoted changes in the structure of physical manifestation. The current scenario indicates that consumption practices and jobs are the main targets of these changes.

Concerning consumption, the flow resulting from mandatory purchases of goods and services for survival and personal comfort started being impacted. They are standardized and easily acquired by online purchase and delivery systems, such as food products, health, home appliances, accessories for home office work, and ready meals. Other sectors already absorbed by digital platforms (place market) such as accommodation services (Airbnb) and means of transport (uber), in addition to real estate sales, banking services, and job search, among others, had their use accelerated. The same occurs with distance learning and telemedicine, leading to a decrease in consumer flows and their replacement by the flow of small vans, cars, motorcycles, and bicycles.

In addition to resorting to a more qualified workforce, the technologies employed to create and operate these platforms promoted an outsourcing process at several levels, silently starting to fit within a new economic system known as the on-demand economy (Schwab; Davis, 2018). Thus, hiring services only occurs upon demand, in a process known as Uberization that deterritorializes the work's performance.

The decrease in the flow of consumers, the randomness of their occurrence, and changes in their qualifications suggest a spatial rearrangement represented by the emergence of new arrangements, such as coworking points, which can be dispersed in large cities. The occupation of hotel rooms (Globo, 2020) occurred during the pandemic in 2020 since working from home is not always the most appropriate, which led to the emptying of office spaces and to rethink the use of these places. In the lower circuit of the Economy, in peripheral regions, the relationship with employment reinforces the importance of mixed usages, which have always been carried out informally in communities, combining housing, work, and consumption. This informal mixed usage meant a resistance and opposition to the hegemonic thinking of separation of uses, still present in many urban plans and in legislation for financing properties for low-income families.

In another direction, new formats and new uses of establishments start appropriating the urban territory as large centers for the distribution of goods, black stores, small distribution centers scattered throughout the urban fabric and closed to in-person consumers, dark kitchens of ready-to-deliver meals, and places for collecting products purchased online. They all compete for strategic locations in proximity to the consumer market (density and income) and available for lease. These locations aim at the speed of delivery, responding to the last mile phenomenon. (Lavado, 2021). Since they don't receive consumers, the buildings and their inward-facing activities make it difficult for other retail activities to emerge in their surroundings. Place market platforms, which virtually command their entire distribution processes, are self-sufficient and closed in on themselves. They can lie anywhere in the territory – as is already the case with telemarketing centers – dispersed in several virtually connected points.

Thus, questions remain: what motivation will make people move around the city, preserving the vitality of traditional areas of commerce and services? How will retailing and service activities that depend on the flow generated by tertiary jobs be held, nowadays heavily reduced and carried out remotely? In other words, how will the areas of centrality be born spontaneously, or how will they be maintained or created, considering that they are responsible for the vitality of urban areas? How to face conflicts of uncomfortable urban usages? In consolidated and higher-income areas, compulsory in-person purchases are strongly impacted by new technologies, as the flow of consumers is being increasingly replaced by couriers (delivery men) who go shopping. On the other hand, hedonic purchases, whose motivations involve pleasure, not only concerning the purchased good but also the act of purchasing, have other intentions and meanings (Veblen, 1965; Miller, 1998; Timothy, 2005), as well as different spatial and temporal relationships. In addition to changes in the uses of public space, they imply changes in new architectural projects. The goods' brand, multiple activities, and services offered involving experiences and pleasure, the place of purchase, and the quality of public spaces are now being strengthened as crucial elements to increasingly attract consumers and contribute to preserving urban flows (Vargas, 2017). In the case of areas where the lower circuit of the economy prevails, urban uses mix and interfere with the residents quality of life, especially noisy ones, with no control over discomfort. The moments of leisure and entertainment in undefined places are ephemeral, unpredictable, happen on demand, and uncontrollable.

5 Final Considerations

Contemporaneity reveals that the notion of centrality, as it is understood and desired, begins to acquire further contours. First, because it is sensitive to the decrease in flows, in search of compulsory and daily purchases, or due to remote work. It implies a decline in the concentration and diversity of activities and people. This situation reinforces, in a counter-hegemonic way, the need for demographic and constructive densification, with a mixture of usages, which opposes the idea of zoning with separation of uses and which remains very strong in the master plan of Brazilian cities.

Perhaps we should assume that the most promising activities to form areas of centrality are leisure and entertainment, which already occur in different ways, focused on hedonic consumption and experiences. These activities also have motivated and fed the flow of people to specific places, such as recreation and leisure centers, parks (public or private), beaches, bars and restaurants, and other public spaces. The place can also be any place, defined at an opportune moment, with a flow instantly attracted by the rapid dissemination on social networks without any prior planning. This speed of changes and demands is another condition that requires a counter-hegemonic rethinking of medium- and long-term planning that includes immediate tactical moves. The attraction of people to large outdoor events promoted by the public or private sectors, which are sometimes sporadic, tend to intensify, since events are efficient tools for disseminating and promoting brands and places, as well as alienation and social control. From an architectural point of view, transient and flexible architecture with sensorial appeals, capable of hosting new activities essentially aimed at hedonic consumption, presents itself as a counter-hegemonic movement. Assisted by technology, these architectural appeals have also invaded everyday shopping spaces such as supermarkets.

Centrality begins to lose its primarily permanent condition and takes on a temporary and ephemeral character, on specific days, on weekends, at night, or for the duration of a large-scale event. In other words, on-demand centralities. The polarization exerted by the large virtual platforms does not seem to incur territorial polarization, nor does it affect urban dynamics. Their interests remain limited to the concentration of capital and the exercise of virtual command, given the enormous power they have over bigdata control. The counter-hegemonic management of the territory must also be based on data and information, which is still far from being effective in the Brazilian context.

Based on the analyzes and reflections presented in this article, we can suggest that a change is underway, moving towards a dispersion of areas of centrality with varying intensities, temporary and ephemeral, with no capacity for polarization. The notion of areas of centrality as we know it begins to reflect the current economic system. In other words, coexistence with on-demand centralities is assumed, which – as a counter-hegemonic imposition in the Brazilian context – will demand changes in the character and format of public policies and ongoing urban management in urban design, and the architecture of our cities.

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[DE]TERRITORIALIZING MOVEMENTS AND ANOTHER DEMOCRACY: EXTRUSIVE INTRUSIONS

MOVIMENTOS [DES]TERRITORIALIZANTES E OUTRA DEMOCRACIA: INTRUSÕES EXTRUSIVAS

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Abstract

Through a winding route, this paper develops the concept of territory (almost) as another term in relation to common sense. It weaves a reflection about the processes of territorializing de-identification of the subject as an opening to an urban revolutionary becoming. The notion of land derives from the French term *terroir,* which, in turn, derives from *tieroir* [*territoire*], from Latin *terratorium*, an alteration of *territorium*, *territoire*, in accordance with *terre*, from whence come *terra* (land) and territory. They are close to the term *territõ*, *territatum*, which means terrible. Territory, *terra,* and terror are woven together through an etymology that operates by shadings. Based on this unusual approach, we intend to think about the power of disturbing minority, marginal deterritorializing flows that affect a territory, transgressing its codes, rules and property regimes, of what is supposedly their own by "natural right". Finally, this paper explores how these counter-hegemonic, rebellious flows can become the means by which the struggle for land signifies openness and resistance to dominant social and cultural constructions and, at the same time, the founding condition of another urban democracy grounded in the action of taking collective possession of a territory, as Occupations do.

Keywords: Territory, Deterritorialization, *Voyous,* Democracy to Come, Occupations

1 Introduction

History shows us that counter-hegemonic barriers, whether in the form of barricades (Paris Commune, May 68) or collective enclaves of struggle for existence (*Quilombos*, cultural Occupations that are also linked to struggle for housing movements) can become devices for the cutting of majority flows and the beginning of deterritorialization and the decoding flows of dominant productive arrangements. Unpredictable territorializations arise from deterritorializations processed within a political arena called Territory.

Territory is a concept that belongs, unavoidably, to the lexicon of architecture and urbanism, especially the latter. Often treated generically, and sometimes confused with the idea of space or place, the concept of territory, despite its historic semantic layers, has an ontological residue that remains and that cannot be surpassed. Or, at the very least, this should be the case when the term is evoked or emulated.

In an etymological digression, territory refers to the French term *terroir*, which, in turn, comes from the popular Latin *terratorium*, later amended in Gallo-Roman to *territorium*, *territoire*, in accordance with *terre*, from where emerge *terra* (land, in Portuguese) and territory. Territory refers to a natural region with homogeneous characteristics, and its meaning is associated with an extension of land suitable for agricultural production; but which can also be read as a kind of cultivation field, outside the city, characterized by a population of peasants who live at the fringes of city laws. However, close to this term is the Latin term *territõ* (*terrify* in English)*,* present infinitive of the verb *territãre*, to the infinitive verbal name *territatum*; from these, derives *terreõ*, from which arises terrific, terror, and terrorism; but from which one can also deduce or extract, without great maneuvers, the term *térreo, terra,* or ground as a vital place, a place of insemination, dissemination, and germination, or cultivation. *Territorium, territõ, territatum* are intertwined; from the enclosure of the full and established meaning of the concepts, we will follow the trail left by their tracks. These connections are made possible by the regime of the sign and the multivalence of its meanings which drive meanings that exceed their reification and worn-out encodings. To see the concept in palimpsest is to think about our future.

Also close to territory are the French terms *terroir* and *terreur*. From this dialogical etymological digression, we can present the concept of terrorism closer to the idea of a struggle for land; Jacques Derrida points out this possibility to us in his article "*Qu'est-ce que le terrorisme*" ("What is Terrorism?", our translation), published in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, in February 2004.

Here, we enter a conflictive conceptual field, a field where cultivation, dispute, struggle, and sovereignty meet. Subsequent to the French Revolution, an event marked by the struggle for land [*terroir*], the period known as the "Reign of Terror" [*terreur*] was marked by an unstable movement of intense legal disputes for the consolidation of a germinating democracy. Derrida

points out that terrorism is born from and in this struggle. Territory, *terra*, terror, and terrorism are distinct terms with shaded, convergent radicals.

Although derived from *terreur,* etymologically, terrorism is close to *terroir*. The concept of Territory (*territor,* but also *territõ*), in an etymological derivation, is linked to a movement of dispute or struggle for land, for the ground, through which we build or cultivate our existence and from where emerge modes of existence more or less rooted in this land. From this struggle for existence and survival, with different gradients of intensity and possibly due to these degrees of resistance, re-existences arises from processes of identification with the place. Hence, the notions of belonging, identity, by cultivating territory based on its assumptions, characteristics, attributes, or *disaffection* in relation to it when initiating other germination processes from this conquest and right of usufruct.

Remainders of what was, or what it is, when becoming another territory during the struggle, the levels of resistance faced will constitute modes of existence as “remnants” (traces of self and other; that which erases and evades itself to avoid being pure presence, remaining detached, neither absence, nor presence) in relation to what they are or have ceased to be. Full identities – with no remainders, fused to the land for which they fought and continue to fight for, or identities lacking in relation to their own selves when aspiring to become another beyond what they have always been, i.e., alterities of themselves.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine a territory, a place of dispute, unscathed in its being, in its onto-teleological dimension,[1] precisely because this is the place of an often permanent, irresolute conflict. The territory, place of dispute, of conflict, is an *archi*-trace in a Derridean sense, a trace of itself in relation to its origin, seeing that it is a place of instability, of an unstable stabilization, an interval between what has been and what will become as ontologically unstable ground, a passage between one being and another, a becoming, a place of dispute and difficult agreements. Unstable, a place under dispute, the territory emerges as a vector of unpredictable deterritorializations and movements, according to Deleuze and Guattari, of minorities capable of disrupting artificial and incessant reterritorializations promoted by the hegemonic power (state, market). Deterritorializations are abrupt, unpredictable actions that, motivated by feverish movements of counter-hegemonic occupations, wish to denature hegemonic processes of domination, hierarchization, and social stratification. For this reason, it is not possible to think of them through the legality of legal law, which historically legitimizes illegalities, or through the reordering and prescription of new regulations.

Its path can perhaps be thought of negatively, based on a counter-path, a path that does not trace a path, but opens gaps in the logics traced by the hegemonic power; a counter-path that can be thought of as a deviation from paths naturalized by the majority reterritorializing movements. Articulating and disseminating themselves throughout the territory in the form of bundles and interweavings, these agents (active subjects, no longer constituted in the given, the predictable, and in the habit, operators of urban micro-transmutations) make the appropriations that promote, for the most part illegal, a proscribed movement of subversion of the hegemonic territorial order. They are bundles that produce informal, unstructured flows, disseminating a new political, social, and urban energy, through which flows a variety of intensive self-organizations, of territorial morphogenesis of paradoxical power from the deterritorialization of the routes prescribed by the Capital-State. Let us now consider this close bond formed between territory-[i]legality-[de]structuring.

2 [Des]territorializations *Voyous*

Voyous, French for criminals, but also bandits and vagabonds, is a work by Derrida in which the goal of the philosopher was to reveal that the term *voyou*, which serves to frame, stigmatize, and characterize states that do not abide by the rules of international law, the UN or other international legislating bodies, can also serve to characterize the same states that employ the term in the name of democracy. According to Derrida (2003, p.97, our translation), "The *voyou* is someone who, by social pedigree or by manners, belongs to what is most common or popular in the people. The *demos* is thus never far away when

[1] In Aristotelian metaphysics, the *télos*, the immanent end of an action, can be divided into two types of activities: the *enérgeai* (complete, immanent purpose) and the *kinéseis* (incomplete, imperfect, but aimed at achieving something, however not its purpose or a purpose). The territory and practice of *terroirisme* are perhaps closer to the place and action of *kinéseis*.

one speaks of a *voyou*, and thus, neither is democracy from voyoucracy."[2] (Derrida uses *voyoucratie*, in a play on words, which can also be translated as "criminocracy."]

Based on a discussion about democracy, sovereignty and criminality, a disturbing reflection is built around the notion of democratic states and terrorist states i.e., states that operate within the law and states that operate outside the law. However, of which law and democracy are we talking about and considering when an alleged democratic state, in the name of the law and democracy, gives itself the right to invade a state declared *Voyou,* criminal, bum, or thug? What crime is the outlaw state being accused of? Laws often exist to legitimize crimes considered "within the law". Derrida provokes us by questioning the notions of sovereignty and democracy based on the prerogative of International Law itself, which recognizes that a sovereign state, in the name of democracy and order, understood here as global order, is exempt from complying with the laws and rules of International Law itself, and is self-regulating its legitimacy to invade another state, previously stigmatized or considered *voyou*, delinquent, marginal, criminal, terrorist – here used as synonym of one that disseminates terror. Would this state, considered democratic, also not be a "legitimate" *voyou* state?

The cards are shuffled by Derrida so that we can ask ourselves about certain notions and ontologically stable values. A necessary mediation between Territory, Democracy, Terrorism and Sovereignty is a prerequisite for an uneasy reflection on the "destinerrances."[3] We have reached a point where territorialization processes, perpetrated by sovereign states, are justified in the name of preserving an established world order. This order is responsible for the emergence of criminal "states", territories considered or declared *voyous* for harboring terrorists, and that are therefore liable to be invaded in the name of restoring democracy and general order.

In some situations, even before the possible terror practiced by these states can be proven, the territorialization by a sovereign state considered democratic will be considered justified. This sovereignty promotes territorial agencies of adequacy and maneuvers that aim to control and order its "chaotic" flows – of humans and material – but that also tries to avoid deterritorializations in its solidly territorialized interior, also in the name of managing the flows and backed by the so-called democratic sovereignty. However, another horizon for the practice of a democracy perhaps not yet inscribed in the logic of prefigured, pre-codified sovereignties arises from these chaotic de-territorializing movements. Let's think about *voyou*s, "marginals," "outlaws" democratic deterritorializations.

3 [De]codifying [De]territorializations

As argued by Deleuze and Guattari in A Thousand Plateaus (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, p. 170-172), the axiom of capitalism[4] always requires a center – necessary to generate a periphery and, with it, unequal exchanges. However, there are always unstable flows capable of destabilizing and throwing off balance the balanced-imbalance proposed and sustained by the center, the sovereign power. Case in point, axioms (and here the duo cited Keynesianism, Marshall Plan, the New Deal as examples of axioms created in the interwar period and after the Second World War) regulate both material and immaterial flows, from working classes to unions, from job positions to the role of the state and markets. Such axioms are responsible for territorializing a territory, bridging unpredictable lines of flight that they themselves produce and become possible sources of threatening deterritorializations.

The decoded, deterritorialized flows are the inescapable and inevitable result of the constant [over]codifications and territorializations of the territory, promoted by the sovereign state and capital. These flows become a vital action for their stability because unstable flows, loose gears external to the global axioms of capitalism, represent a risk to the desirable

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[2] From the original in French: *"Le voyou est ce qu'il y a de plus populaire dans le peuple. Le demos n'est donc jamais loin quand on parle du voyou. Ni la démocratie est très loin de la voyoucratie".*

[3] In Derridean language, errant destinations, other destinations already distant from their original or foundational meaning, of the concepts of terrorism, territory and, now, territorialization.

[4] "The axioms of capitalism are obviously not theoretical propositions or ideological formulas, but operative statements that constitute the semiological form of capital and that enter as component parts into assemblages of production, circulation, and consumption"(Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, vol. 5, pp.163, our translation).

homogenization of the global and local territory, conducted by the state. If there is always an intention from sovereign power and capital to stratify and encode the territory for better control of its material and immaterial flows, then

> [...] assemblages are different from strata although they are produced there. There are zones where milieux are decoded, and assemblages are able to extract a territory from them. Any assemblage is territorial first. The first concrete rule of assemblages is to discover the territoriality they envelop, because always is one in their trash can or on their bench, Beckett's characters stake out a territory [...] The territory is made up of decoded fragments of all kinds, which are borrowed from the milieu, but are turned into 'properties' in assemblages, and even rhythms can take on the meaning of the refrain (ritornello). The territory creates the assemblage." (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, vol.5, pp. 218, our translation).

From the idea of assemblage, once again the territory approaches another possible interpretation of its meaning, the place of conflict, of struggle for the right of that which gives existence, of the enunciation of that which exceeds the codification and the stratification imposed by the sovereign power. Territories territorialized by contents and regulations linked to the sovereign power, the state, and capital can be crossed by deterritorializing lines and forces; "The territoriality is no less inseparable from deterritorialization than the code was from decoding." (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, pp. 220, our translation). The constant reterritorializations of the territory, promoted by capital and state in favor of expansions or redirections of their axiomatics, imply, at the same time, deterritorializations and decodings, flows that escape this needed adjustment and/or alteration of axioms. It is these new deterritorialized flows, always generated in conjunction with existing deterritorialized flows, that are capable

> [...] to enter into "connections" that delineate a new Land; without their constituting a war machine whose aim is neither the war of extermination nor the peace of generalized terror, but revolutionary movement (the connection of flows, the composition of non-denumerable aggregates, the becoming-minoritarian of everybody/everything). (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, p. 177, our translation).

We are in the field of undecidability, of an uncontrollable future. The deterritorializations of a territory codified by the axiomatic of the state and capital, attributing "properties" to it from a bureaucratic programming, global or local, would be the unforeseen connections of its lines of flight, links that begin to operate transversally to the stratifications of the territory. In sum, of everything that escapes and is discarded by the axiomatic itself; "Every struggle is a function of all these undecidable propositions and constructs revolutionary connections in opposition to the conjugations of the axiomatic." (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, p. 177, our translation)

The condition of the possibility of a revolutionary urban becoming, beyond the axiomatic of capital and the state, lies in the ability to want-say something almost impossible made possible by the struggle, by the conflicting desire to overcome a determined democracy – or a democracy determined – by a broader democracy, a democracy that is based on the near unconditional embracement of the other. As conflicting territorialities and territories of struggle, the so-called Occupations have positioned themselves as problematizing and propositioning actions of the territory and its future from potent deterritorializations (decodings) of the territory itself.

4 The Territories of Urban Occupations: Territorializing Deterritorializations

In a sort of glossary at the end of the fifth volume of A Thousand Plateaus, Deleuze and Guattari created a conceptual dictionary, where they condensed the thoughts presented over the course of the 5 (five) volumes. Under the letter D, Deterritorialization is defined as

> The function of deterritorialization: D is the movement by which "one" leaves the territory. It is the operation of the line of flight. There are very different cases. D may be overlaid by a compensatory reterritorialization obstructing the line of flight: D is then said to be negative. (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, p. 224, our translation)

In a thought constructed by and through paradox, we perceive the duo's predilection for processes of deterritorialization of the territory where, to them, there is always encoding. Perceiving and enhancing lines of flight of a territory means making it the other-of-itself. By means of deterritorialization, the territory, framed and guaranteed by the legal-judicial framework related to property, to the right of land (of which right?) to the sovereign power, releases from prerogatives, specificities, heritages and surpasses its own meaning and borders. Occupations, which are the subject of any study in current times related to housing and sharing, located in central territories, mainly in metropolises, can represent such lines of flight, much needed to the urban future.

Occupations exceed limits and borders, confirming them by transgressing their senses and meanings, territorializing them as key devices for the opening and embracing through deterritorialization. They do not take borders to be static limits between the inside and outside, between what belongs and what is strange and foreign to it. Borders are no longer the place of difference between the *in* and the *out*. And the “the out-sider,” the foreigner is never a *voyou*, a potential criminal or bandit, but one who arrives and, already from “in-side”, helps build the logic of “out-side,” which goes beyond borders. Considering that in most cases Occupations begin with a *voyou* act, a crime in the eyes of “democratic" legal law of the sovereign power, it will be by means of this *terroiriste* action of struggle for a place that a territory of near unconditional embrace from the struggle for the right to land will be constituted, without, however, reterritorializing it as a property with clear limits between the in-side and the out-side.

Occupations become territories that resemble the concept of *Khôra,*[5] discussed by Derrida (1995, p. 26). Originally defined by Plato, *Khôra* is a surface of inscriptions constantly [re]marked by the out-side and not only by those who already belong to it or become its proprietors - proper to the place. Its borders seem to exist only to de[s]limit tangible forms and contents related to what is proper or external to it. Like *Khôra*, Occupations are places of a different hospitality. They become a spacing before becoming a delimited territory, an interval that opens an opening (redundancy intentional) to the future, unpredictable, place where the out-side becomes essential to the consolidation of the in-side.

Occupations are places of *kineseis*, of the *imperfectum*,[6] matter of dissemination of social becomings from the construction of singular contents that are often times foreign to them; the parties, courses, workshops, debates, lectures, are supplementary content to housing act, but essential to survival as heterogeneous territory, space of blends, of the hospitality of the territory. Figures 1 and 2 show the 59th Rivoli, public occupation of artists from many countries in the central region of Paris, a collectivity originated from the occupation of former headquarters of *Crédit Lyonnais Bank*, literally arising from the breaking down of its front door. Figures 3,4 and 5 show the 9th of July Occupation in downtown São Paulo, a current and still illegal occupation of an old abandoned public building that housed the Brazilian Social Security Institute (INSS). Both, places of unforeseen ritualizations and behavioral rhizomes.

These are examples of territorializing deterritorializations, both 9th of July Occupation and 59 Rivoli become founding places of a common territory, the shared cultivation of a hospitable space. A territory constantly deterritorialized by the unnamable other that arrives and enters, not necessarily as guest, but who is embraced as an “out-sider” becoming an “in-sider,” inasmuch as these territories are strengthened by their abaleity, precisely (and not by aseity, i.e., existence in itself). Here, we are speaking of profane interworlds, generated, quite often, by unforeseen, unexpected coexistences, not guaranteed by social affinities or proximities. Parties, assemblies, food get-togethers or cultural events become in these places instituting praxis of the hospitality of presence or passage. Occupations not guaranteed by law – i.e., that emerged as *voyous* territories from the legal judicial standpoint – are territories deterritorialized in their routines by such moments that territorialize them as permanently decoded territories by the occasional presence of such any another.

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[5] “*Khôra* receives, so as to give place to them, all the determinations, but she/it does not possess any of them as her/its own. She possesses them, she. She possesses them, she has them, since she receives them, but she does not possess them as properties, she does not possess anything as her own. She ‘is’ nothing other than the sum or the process of what has just been inscribed ‘on’ her, on the subject of her, on her subject, right up against her subject, but she is not the *subject* or the *present support* of all these interpretations, even though, nevertheless, she is not reducible to them.”

[6] From Latin, *imperfectum*: purposes not consummated, yet to come, or always in process.

Fig. 1: 59 Rivoli: Artist occupation. The former headquarters of Crédit Lyonnais Bank has become a place where anonymous artists of many countries and continents spend some time for cultural exchanges, an authentic Tower of Babel. Source: Igor Guatelli, 2017.

Fig. 2: 59 Rivoli: praxis that institutes a common territory. The magic of the process and of a being committed together proves to be more important than the product. A place of social micro-assemblages, without pre-established geographic, social, and economic borders. Source: Igor Guatelli, 2017

Fig. 3: 9th of July Occupation: main access and public party in the courtyard. Source: Igor Guatelli, 2018

Fig. 4: 9th of July Occupation: Assembly with the participation of students from the Mackenzie Presbyterian University.
Next door, art workshop for neighborhood children. Source: Igor Guatelli, 2018

Fig. 5: 9th of July Occupation: Performative reading of the “Cosmic Manifesto,” from Mario Novello's cordel, Pandemic series, n-1 Publishing house, lunch time, May 8th, 2022. To the right we can see a stand with books from n-1 Publishing house. To the left, a mannequin with clothes from the thrift shop operating in the Occupation. Source: Igor Guatelli, 2018

The programmatic supplements, assembled in their interiors, deterritorialize them as housing entity transforming it into another entity, an in-between, unnamable, undecidable. Being an undecidable other in relation to the axiomatic of capital, being able to decode it without imposing itself as a new sovereign logic allows Occupations to take on an ontological dimension obscured by the deterritorializing movement they emulate. In other words, they deterritorialize the metaphysical oppositions they promote by representing the in-between, an interval between one thing and the other, private and public, exterior and interior, without the need to name it. The territory constituted by the Occupations have no regard for the axioms and territorialities linked to the housing act imposed by state and market framework, not allowing this dwelling to reterritorialize in the *eidos*, primordial idea, original and supposedly founding limits of its contours.

Occupations are unstable, *voyou* to the legal judicial framework of the pseudo-democratic state. Ordinary places, belonging to everyone and no one, democratic and embracing of minorities, sovereign without the exercise of sovereignty (exercise of force that imposes itself as force, as demonstration of force), simultaneously public and private, interior, while at the service of constructing an out-side. Thus, Occupations tear apart prerogatives that they themselves institute. In other words, as a heteroclite dwelling, it rids itself of the idea of belonging and the logic of identity. As places of invention of the other, of unforeseen interactions, without a pre-determined destination, Occupations thus are a territory of equivocality (complex, entangled), of the interplay of proximities, distances, entanglements, differences.

Occupations are deterritorializations of a place that territorializes as in *terroir*, as a cultivated field of future, an enunciation that does not configure a new code. Any attempt at codifying or recodifying would mean a coercive conduction of the social-becoming emulated by solidary struggle, by the construction of an impossible hospitality which cannot be reduced to the

order of those who build it or whom it is intended for. Without associating themselves to a sender or a recipient, Occupations are enunciations with no statement or aim. They are collective assemblages that enunciate another territory, a territory of embracement and introversion, while also representing territories of passage, of opening to other forms of living based on aesthetic practices which escape the enunciation (axioms) of state and capital. The lines of flight provoked by Occupations are aesthetic practices linked to the formulation of different social bonds and ways of living together.

5 *Imperfectum* Territory

These are the territorializing deterritorializations of territories, here considered intra-urban territories, specifically the Occupations, a path for a destinerrance of the territory. Place of a territorialization that must always be completed, deterritorialized by the spacing it itself generates, it is a place between ontologies and specific destinations, not fully one thing nor the other. A place of destinations without the destination of place, errant in its interval condition, a possible impossible, a difficult condition of possibility, always to come, always struggling. Again, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1997, p. 82-83), territorial assemblages can be differentiating traits against the homogenization of the state machine. Occupations become this spectral trace of what is a dwelling entity and what a dwelling can come to be, without prior enunciation, but through assemblages of enunciation of a possible other, possible only because of its impossibility, of its apparent, but disturbing, inadequacy, if evaluated from what is formulated and proposed by the state and capital.

The machines of state and capital encode social flows of the territory (human, goods, desire, consumption, behavior, language, communication flows), disciplining and territorializing them into productive chains – social production – as desiring chains alienated from desire. According to Deleuze and Guattari,

> [...] every machine functions as a break in the flow in relation to the machine to which it is connected, but at the same time is also a flow itself, or the production of a flow, in relation to the machine connected to it. This is the law of the production of production. That is why, at the limit point of all the transverse or transfinite connections, the partial object and the continuous flux, the interruption and the connection, fuse into one: everywhere there are breaks-flows out of which desire wells up, thereby constituting its productivity and continually grafting the process of production onto the product. (Deleuze; Guattari, 2011, p. 55, our translation)

The housing-machine and its gears – social housing is one of them – has its flows that are generated and encoded by the mega-machines of the state and capital. However, there is always the chance of breaking “naturalized” flows, deterritorializing them. It is in this process of break-disconnection, break-residue (Deleuze; Guattari, 2011, p. 57-62), that new flows emerge, fugitive, random, unforeseen flows, heterogeneous “ungoverned” machines. From these flows, discordant, misaligned, partial objects (remnants) are produced. Occupations – partial objects resulting from the break and the chaotic flows caused by the mega-machines themselves – become the future of the social-housing machine, deterritorialized and unpredictable, producers of different social flows, which are flows of decoded desire that have not been previously marked by the social codes they are part of.

A field for cultivating the political being, occupations are the territory of the middle, neither the origin nor the end of something. They are territorial assemblages of coexistences, matter of territorial content and expression, of turbulent movements as counterpoints to a democracy determined, democracy at same time in debt and that has come, has been de-reterritorialized, and still is to come. It is not a becoming of democracy, but a democracy-becoming, a democracy still to come, but already in enunciation, in gestation, not in terms of reproduction, but of producing social lines of deterritorialization, social lines of flight. Once again, according to Deleuze and Guattari, “What we term machinic is precisely this synthesis of heterogeneities as such” (Deleuze; Guattari, 1997, p. 151, our translation). Occupations are machines of expression of a *terroiriste* action, rhizomatic machines of social destratification by leveraging swarms of people without addressments.

6 Displacements - Placements

For some time already, Saskia Sassen (Sassen, 2016) has highlighted the globally widespread material practices of acquisition of foreign lands, generating brutal expulsions and evictions. Sovereign and multinational states, global economies, resort to deliberate practices (soil contamination, stimulation of internal wars) of forced cleansing, displacements,

and eradications (where burials of human beings are acceptable collaterals) of natives from their territories, debilitating them. They build the ideal scenario for large-scale acquisition of foreign lands for their own use, especially through plantations and installation of extractive mines. Displacements degrade social bonds. People and place are irretrievably territorialized by a global code based on the subservient and lenient sovereignty of minority states to dominant states and corporations with their covert, sweetened practices of terrorism; *terreurisme* (destruction of the alien land) not as *terroirisme* (struggle for land), but as promotion of deleterious forms of conflict for the social death of the land.

If, according to Sassen, "territory becomes merely land in the case of plantations and dead land in the case of mines" (Sassen, 2016, p.102, our translation), occupations inseminate life in sterile urban territories, deterritorializing them as territorialized lands, as per the inviolable principle of property and market axiomatics, while territorializing them from the "repatriation" of the unlanded standpoint, exiled from within and from outside, fellow citizens without the right to citizenship. From deterritorializing Occupations – *voyous* territorialities – another territory of a different discreet, sober [*sōbər*] sovereignty [*sōbər*] arise. No longer is it the sovereignty of the strongest, but of the modest, a place of modesty, a territorial extension [*in]*sovereign; (not) of one's own (nor) of others. A democratic sovereignty that is built with the other, by interdependence, by living together. The territories of the Occupations are the becoming *terroirist* of a territory, perhaps (not) from salvation [*salut]* but above all, from the salutation [*salut*] of the other.

Product of hegemonic, dominant actions, which have or hold control over which way the territorialization of a city – and its endless reterritorializations – are engendered, explains the distribution of functions and zones in urban, local, and global space. Functions and zones are always [re]created, organized, and maintained by dominant, axiomatic reterritorializations (parental, patrimonial, state, market). In this sense, deterritorialized self-organizing minorities, constitutive and constituted by territorial [ex]appropriative occupations, are the chance of counter-hegemonic disorganizations. Apparently incipient, they have shown themselves capable of leveraging processes in which certain components and zones of the urban environment, expropriated from their majority properties, become a means of trans-spatial [dis]arrangements.

7 Final Considerations

If, in modernity, the processes of urbanization promoted by the state are dominated by the zoning of society in populations from within and outside, occupations are constituted as counter-hegemonic actions promoting territorial and legal disarrangements within this process. They are, therefore, the fundamental inadequacy to the emergence of another logic of territorial organization. When talking about occupations, we are talking about an *ethos* of the graft, of the residue that is generated, gestated, and strengthened by the intruder, of an intrusion that, beyond that specific place, is the chance to make something foreign and surplus to itself. According to Nancy (2017, p. 60, our translation), grafting is a "metatechnique, an art of combinations, supplements, substitutions, permutations, prostheses, regenerations, inscriptions, transfers, transpositions, transactions."[7] Via the hospitality of the intruder, directed at the intruder – and made possible by him – to anyone who introduces themselves without being invited, a radical exercise of aesthetic and political *épochè* takes place, the suspension of any exclusionary identity logic as a condition of the openness to any other, to a common becoming without preconditions.

Intrusions and foreign grafts to a place's past generate the necessary divorce between memory and history so that both become traces not of a past, but of a future, of an unnamed other, of a still impossible democracy. They are territories that function as a living archive, a memory without memory, an inaugural deterritorialization. Here, memory is no longer as an internal continuity of the place linked to a past, but as a discontinuity emulated by its exterior, caused by the unexpected arrival (events without memory, according to Derrida) of this any other, inaugurating other contents; place-archive as a barn of possibilities, and not a memory or an inheritance of what was or has ceased to be.

Occupations are strange communal grafts in a world logic that aims at stratifications, territories of becoming-*Quilombo*, factories of the "power of living" through friendship, hospitality, resistance of a lived experience that experiences the other, from the anti-servility, are transformed into urban erogenous zones. Zones that amplify the desire for the otherness, that serve as catalysts and disseminators of another socio-spatial libido, nameless, devoid of parental and patrimonial *nomos*.

[7] From the original in French: "*métatechnique, l'art des combinaisons, supplémentations, substitutions, permutations, prothèses, régénérations, inscriptions, transfers, transpositions, transactions*..."

Encrusted in the heart of cities, intrusive *res-publica,*[8] they cease to be only parentheses of norms when they begin to subvert them from within to become a beyond, and inner overflow. The graft is always a territorializing deterritorialization.

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[8] From the Latin, *res-publica* does not mean only the public thing or the state but the place where people gather and debate publicly. Res, from the Greek *rethos*, *rhema*, *reden* in German, i.e., network [encounter].

ÁGORA
AGORA

URBAN SQUATTING AS A COUNTER-HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE IN BRAZIL
OCUPAÇÕES URBANAS COMO LUTAS CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICAS NO BRASIL

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Abstract

This paper aims to present urban squatting in the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte (RMBH), southeastern Brazil, as a counter-hegemonic struggle. We argue that the squatters' practices go beyond providing housing for those in need and demanding institutionally regulated rights and, instead, their struggles include and engage with a broad range of other locally constituted dimensions, equally necessary to accomplish real changes in life and society. We substantiate this assumption by means of a comprehensive theoretical framework, focused on spatial control as a form of power strategy.This framework includes a critical view of traditional urban planning, institutionalised participation and self-management processes. Also, given that most studies on the subject relate to cases in the Global North, the proposed analysis contributes to expanding perspectives from the South. The view of squatting in this Metropolitan Region as a specific form of counter-hegemonic architecture is justified by a consistent opposition to the naturalized idea of squatters as dangerous trespassers, and their practices as unjustifiable crimes. Methodologically, this paper presents a critical analysis of data obtained by the author during her doctoral research, based on the connections between squatters' practices and the production of their own, alternative spaces, the squatters' capacity to create and promote prefigurative policies, and the collective and quotidian character found in processes of self-management. We conclude that squatting in the RMBH goes beyond the denial of imposed forms of socioeconomic relations or modes of production, and also implies a refusal of how space is controlled, distributed, organized, and owned.

Keywords: Counter-hegemony; Squatting; Spatial Practices; Prefigurative Policies; Self-management

1 Introduction

As proposed by Gibbons (2019), hegemony exists when a rule is enforced over a (subaltern) group through a balance of power and consent. While following this assertion, this paper also acknowledges the complex possibilities and intricacies of power relations that, as suggested by Foucault (1982), cannot be simply understood as violence or consensus – although these may be instruments or results of power relations. The author believes that behind these explicit or tacitly accepted rules, written laws, or unspoken codes of social conduct, there is a much more complex and subtle dimension, which occurs at various scales, from individuals to populations, at the level of everyday actions. In other words, how some actions modify others. Power only exists whether in action.

In a correlated manner we assume that space should not be thought of as merely a physical and inert base on which one lives, circulates, and interacts. On the contrary, we agree on Lefebvre's (1991, p. 26) notion of social space as a social product that "also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power." Souza's (2006) considerations of space as a product and a conditioner of social relations at the same time also substantiate some of the arguments in the following sections.

By its articulations, openings and closures, circulations, and interruptions, and in its locations, settlements, and zonings, space becomes crucial for the way we live and how we act toward ourselves and others and, in this sense, to the configuration of power relations. Traditional urban planning has historically taken advantage of the correlation between space and power, or spatial organization and control, in a heteronomous and hegemonic way, from top to bottom, in a clearly asymmetrical power relation. Space thus produced serves as a tool of power that benefits the interests of neoliberal governments and the dominating classes, to the detriment of the less favored.

Such a heteronomous production of urban spaces – and ultimately of contemporary cities – does not necessarily imply a direct or clear imposition of certain spatial forms, locations, and flows: Institutionalized participatory processes, extensively criticized in urban studies literature (see for example Lefebvre, 2016; M. Martínez López, 2011; M. A. Martínez López, 2013; Milagres, 2016; Souza, 2006), not rarely operate as mock exercises of direct democracy and, while there is the apparent involvement of the general population in decision-making processes, the neoliberal status quo remains comfortably secured.

There is, though, the possibility that institutionalised participatory processes may present certain advantages (such as the availability of public budget and plenty of technical resources) that could contribute to a more democratic production of city spaces. It is no coincidence that many urban social movements that struggle for social justice have historically advocated for more inclusive, accessible, democratic forms of urban planning. Although not always expressed or elaborated in these terms, it is as well known to them as to the ruling classes and governments that urban space and the way it is produced, appropriated or dominated are determinants for the configuration of power relations – and, therefore, it is an object of dispute.

Other groups, in their turn, present us with different types of insurgent spatial practices that, as Harvey (2008) affirms, seek to remodel the city in a different way to that advocated by the interests of the state and the ruling classes. Significative examples are urban squats – the term commonly used in English to refer to unauthorised occupations of unused public or private property, including buildings and land for self-construction, housing and other political and cultural uses.

It is important to note, however, that hegemonic powers constantly seek to neutralize or destroy such initiatives, supported by historically naturalised narratives of fear and crime, stemming mainly from the mainstream media and certain governmental groups. These frequently classify squatters as dangerous trespassers and their practices as unjustifiable crimes. Squatters' practices, in turn, consistently challenge such oppressive ideas by giving new meanings to the production and appropriation of space, constituting a form of counter-hegemonic architecture.

They represent localised but integrated focuses of resistance that insist, sometimes by necessity, others by conviction and very often by both, on fighting head-on against naturalised power structures and on demonstrating that other forms of social relations are possible, in a clear prefigurative perspective. Importantly, squatters' practices are inherently collective, rendering the notion of self-management of a quotidian character. These are also significant features of squatting in the RMBH. Not only does it respond to the general assertion that counter-hegemonic forms of resistance imply a collective effort to "think, imagine and dream beyond hegemony" (Gibbons, 2019, p. 74), but adds to it through direct, autonomous and collective action.

From a methodological point of view, this paper presents a critical analysis and further developments from part of the data obtained in Campos (2020)[1], when the author conducted a comparative study on squatting in three urban areas in Brazil, Spain and the Basque Country. In addition to an extensive documental and bibliographic review, the methodological strategy included participant observation and semi-structured interviews with activists, researchers, and/or residents of urban squats. The analysis of self-produced documents in the visited venues, and previous academic research also integrate the research method.

Nine field visits and fifteen interviews were conducted in the RMBH in 2019. Since then, the author has actively participated in a workgroup at Kasa Invisível, a squat for housing and other cultural and political purposes in the central area of Belo Horizonte (the main city in RMBH), which also contributed to this discussion. Table 1 indicates dates, localities, names of squats where conversations took place (or a "_" when the interview occurred in other locations), and a code for each interviewee. In one case, the interviewee asked to be identified by an alias. Figure 1 presents the visited squats on a map of Belo Horizonte.

[1] This research was partially funded by a scholarship granted by the Capes Foundation, Brazil, process number 88881.189843/2018-01.

Código do Entrevistado	Data	Localidade	Ocupação
BH1	03 jul. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Ocupação Carolina Maria de Jesus
BH2	03 jul. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Ocupação Dandara
BH3, BH4	05 jul. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Ocupação Pátria Livre
BH5	05 jul. 2019	Belo Horizonte	–
BH6	11 jul. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Ocupação Paulo Freire
BH7	01 ago. 2019	Belo Horizonte	–
BH8	06 ago. 2019	Belo Horizonte	–
BH9	15 ago. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Casa de Referência da Mulher Tina Martins
BH10	20 ago. 2019	Santa Luzia	Ocupação Vitória
BH11	28 ago. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Ocupação Dandara
Zenite, BH12, BH13	03 set. 2019	Belo Horizonte	Kasa Invisível
BH14	13 set. 2019	Belo Horizonte	–

Table. 1: Interviews RMBH, 2019. Source: Campos, 2020, p. 44.

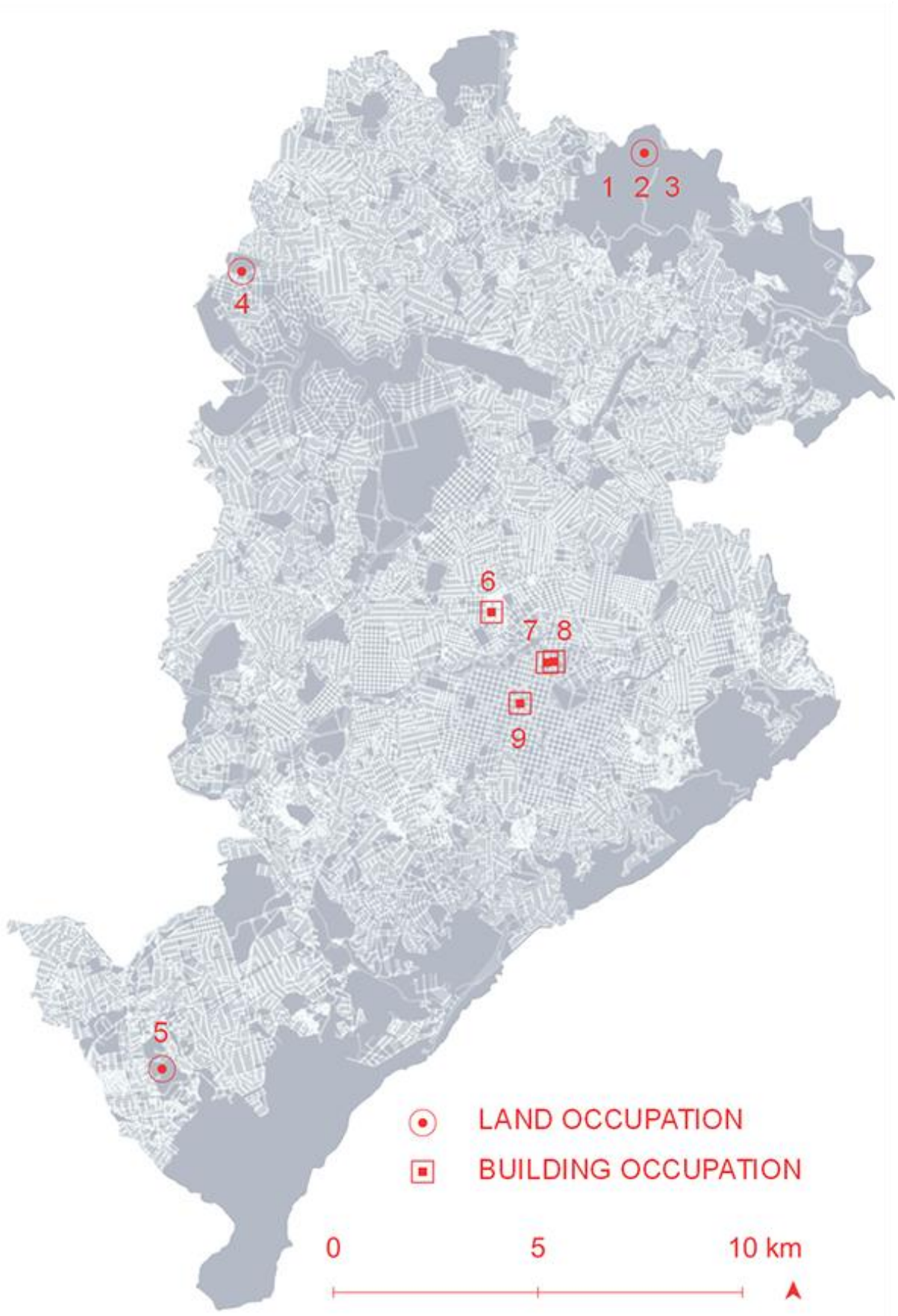

Fig. 1: Field Visits in Belo Horizonte, May/Sep. 2019. Source: Campos, 2020, p. 170.

Complementarily, the author currently coordinates an interdisciplinary and interinstitutional collaborative mapping initiative in the RMBH, with the participation of activists and other members of the squatting movement in this Metropolitan Region, which also contributed to some of the ideas expressed in this paper.

2 Spatial Control as a Power Strategy

The notion of discipline was proposed by Foucault (1995) as something that binds the exercise of power over the body (of an individual or a population) to the distribution of objects in space and the objectification of the masses. And just as this relation can be observed in a prison, a monastery, or a workshop, it could also be verified in a city. It proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space, where each individual has their own place, avoiding distributions in groups, breaking dangerous communications, supervising and individualising bodies without, however, giving them a fixed position, but distributing them and circulating them in a network of relations (Foucault, 1995).

The idea of a spatial organisation that aims to control where one can live or circulate, most often not through direct orders but by the insertion into a naturalised dynamics of bodies in space, as if a punitive logic has in fact been applied to the whole of society, is by no means foreign to how contemporary cities are planned. As Souza (2010) suggests, such coercive spatial practices have been concretely of various types, including dispersion, segregation, confinement, access interdiction, monopoly or oligopoly of spatial resources, in addition to more subjective strategies, as the induction of behaviours through signs inscribed in space. Not only are these strategies of power and political control, but many of them are essential mechanisms for profit-oriented processes that completely disregard the needs of populations considered to be standing in their way.

Lefebvre (1991, p. 358) considers that "thanks to the operation of power practical space is the bearer of norms and constraints. It does not merely express power – it proceeds to repress in the name of power […]. As a body of constraints, stipulations and rules to be followed, social space acquires a normative and repressive efficacy." If space is made useful by the governing entities, be them representative of the state, or private interests, say the real estate market, and contributes to an individual and collective coercion of bodies, a possible question to be made is: *Does the taking of power over space to transform it and use it more autonomously constitutes an effective counter-hegemonic strategy?* This is a relevant point of investigation, especially considering that historically, urban space has been proper to differentiate and hierarchise, compare and normalise, homogenise and exclude. The different, that is, the unable to meet the standards and norms imposed by the capital and by private property, are in most cases excluded and forced to the margins. Only those who can conduct themselves accordingly – the rich, the owners, and sometimes the docile and productive workers – are welcomed to the centre.

It is also possible to affirm, however, as suggested by Souza (2010), that spatial practices have historically served either domination, coercion, imposition from the top down or from the outside into the laws and norms that regulate the life of a group or society (in a word, to heteronomy); or emancipation, self-determination, legitimate self-defence, self-government, the free and lucid institution of laws and norms by the body of citizens, directly (in a word, to autonomy). At the same time, even though space in itself may be primordially given, its organisation and meaning are products of social transformation and experience, and therefore we should refer to space as a social construction (Soja, 1989). Despite how clear the intentions of the planner may be – say, to design spaces as tools of control; or, well-intentionally, as tools of emancipation – it is no less accurate to say that the (ever-changing) meanings and uses of urban space establish themselves only in a posterior moment when its materiality is socially appropriated.

As Lefebvre (2016) suggests, neither the architect, the urbanist, the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher, or the politician can take from nothing, by decree, new forms and relations. They do not have the powers of a thaumaturge, he says, nor create social relations: Only social life in its global capacity has such powers. More generally, it is each society, or as specified by Lefebvre (1991), each mode of production and its specific relations of production that produce their own peculiar spaces. In the case of capitalism, Lefebvre (1991) calls the instrumental space thus produced *abstract space* – which has as tools for its implementation traditional urban planning and certain forms of institutionalised participation.

2.1 From criticisms of institutionalised participation to self-management and autonomy

If on the one side several progressive sectors of society have historically struggled for a more democratic and inclusive production of contemporary cities, on the other, institutionalised participatory processes regulated by the state can present risks to urban social movements, especially related to their capacity and conditions of autonomy. When people are not given the conditions to take part in decision-making processes other than to choose between a few previously formatted, ready-

given, limited options; or to actively participate in defining the methods and rules of those processes – which is more often than not the case – autonomy is, as a direct consequence, left out. Institutionalised participatory processes have also been criticised concerning the possibility of cooptation, manipulation by politicians, and state influence on civil society organisations and their militants (Souza, 2006).

In a correlated manner, such processes may also be strongly subordinated to the interests of politically and economically privileged groups that maintain specialists and technicians with the power to define the processes that, although forging an appearance of equal power of decision, do not broaden or even consider the field of action of the people (Milagres, 2016). In the specific case of urban planning, this technocratic conception of participation has been particularly influential, and technical professionals are usually considered the only agents with appropriate scientific knowledge for planning (M. Martínez López, 2011).

If social movements are to be critical towards traditional urbanism and institutionalised participatory processes, then instruments designed and appropriated by neoliberal governments should always be looked at in the context of stabilising mechanisms that may contribute to keeping the order of things as they are. Therefore, in Lefebvre's (2016) radical differentiation between an *ideology of participation* (a more or less developed simulacrum of social activity that allows the acquiescence of the people concerned and at issue to be obtained at the lowest price) and *real and active participation* that he finds in self-management, we will concentrate on the latter. As a significant example, the following section presents a critical assessment of squatting as a counter-hegemonic struggle in the specific context of the RMBH.

3 Urban Squatting as a Counter-Hegemonic Struggle

To date, there have been rich conceptualisations, theorisations, and empirical studies on squatting, with several contributions from different authors worldwide (as examples, Bastos et al., 2017; Campos, 2020; Campos; Martínez, 2020; Canettieri et al., 2020; Cattaneo et al., 2014; Franzoni, 2018; Martínez, 2018, 2020; Moore; Smart, 2015; Nascimento; Libânio, 2016; Squatting Europe Kollective, 2013; Squatting Everywhere Kollective, 2018; Tonucci Filho, 2017; Vasudevan, 2015, 2017, among others, include reflections from both the Global South and North). In part, what draws attention to such movements is the fact that they create and adapt in multiple ways alternative economic activities and modes of production, social interaction, and organisational processes that diverge from contemporary neoliberal models. In doing so, as Vasudevan (2015) suggests, they prefigure a different social order while seeking to build conditions for social justice and autonomous forms of collective life.

Squatters' capacity to create *prefigurative policies* (as they formulate and engage with a set of principles and forms of action geared at objective possibilities to change life) significantly substantiates our argument that urban squatting can be seen as a particular type of counter-hegemonic struggle. Furthermore, at the same time as it is deeply related to housing injustice (homelessness, precarious housing conditions, high costs of dignified housing, etc.), it encompasses a much broader range of political, economic and social issues, engaging in broader disputes against neoliberal policies and their effects.

Moreover, the activities squatters promote are largely based on self-management processes that fundamentally differ from institutionalised participatory processes: In self-management, rules are defined by the participating group itself instead of being imposed on them. Finally, all this occurs in an indissoluble and mutually compelling way to the appropriation, adaptation, and production of their own specific spaces. In tune with Lefebvre's (1991) view, in the context of squatting, changes in life occur by means of a correspondent spatial practice, which implies the production of new spatial forms and relations. Squatted lands and buildings correspond and are made as adequate as possible for their collective use. In this process, at least as far as the plan of intentions is concerned, use-value outweighs exchange value, reflecting the possibility that these spaces may fundamentally differ from the oppressive spaces of control naturalised by neoliberal models of society.

3.1 The case of the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte, Brazil

In the RMBH alone, the third-largest urban agglomeration in Brazil, over 20 thousand houses were built in land occupations in the last decade.[2] Interviews and field visits (as mentioned in the introductory section) allowed to better understand how the quotidian of squats is profoundly shaped by practices that not only seek to respond to urgent needs but also to a critical opposition to oppressive neoliberal urban policies conforming an important form of counter-hegemonic struggle.

As proposed by Ince (2010), prefigurative politics include organisational strategies and decision-making practices. They imply the creation of participatory spaces of/for autonomous social practices and solidarity, rooted in the everyday and engaged in struggles for improvements in the present, in a constant effort to remain self-critical and self-organised, while seeking to prefigure future emancipatory worlds (Ince, 2010). As mentioned by an interviewee (Zenite):

> I think the most important is to show people that it is possible for you to organise with a few people. For example [in *Kasa Invisível*], ten people managed to squat and keep a house in downtown BH [Belo Horizonte], technically the wealthiest area in the city, and make it a lively, self-managed space that is not geared towards profit-making activities [...]. It is open to anyone, whether they have money or not. And from an educational perspective, to show people that it is possible to make a building something communal, to make a space something communal and everything that circulates in it to be communal. [...] To show other people that it is possible. If in a city with three million people, we can inspire 100 more people to make spaces like this, we will have more and more and more, right? (Campos, 2020, p. 105, our translation).[3]

However, it is important to observe that people who decide to live in occupations for housing in the RMBH usually do so in a context of urgent necessity. While some may come from overcrowded situations, others could no longer pay rent or simply lived on the streets. Having a place to live without needing to pay rent means more financial autonomy, which to some people is as simple as being able to pay for food.

Moreover, as reported by several interviewees, especially in the case of squatters in land occupations for self-construction, the perspective of a roof over their heads is only a first step. Once the territory is occupied and people start to settle, their struggles continue, sometimes over many years. Squatted lands usually have no sewerage system, water network, electrical network, street pavement, etc. As they are considered illegal, local governments hardly provide them with the necessary infrastructure. Therefore, squatters build much of it themselves, as much as they can. This means sometimes opening streets without appropriate machinery, temporary electrical and water networks and, of course, their own homes. Difficulties in accessing several public services (such as public schools and healthcare) have also been reported.

These and other issues are addressed by squatters through collective and autonomous practices mostly based on self-management processes. Self-management is not an easy term to define in a few words. First of all, it is not configurated by a fixed set of previously defined rules – quite the contrary. Self-management inevitably entails the possibility of changing the rules, including new parameters, or excluding criteria that no longer fit the group's objectives or organisational procedures. Different squats tend to have different self-management models, better adapted to their own goals and internal dynamics. Specifically, striking differences in the scales of occupations – which ranged from a few dozen (or hundreds) squatters to thousands of people – are also reflected in the models of self-management adopted.

Another critical differentiation, in building occupations that do not have housing as a (main) purpose, for the most part, the squatters themselves defined internal rules and participated in decision-making processes, etc. In many cases, they also belonged to other collectives and/or broader urban social movements. In the case of occupations for housing (in abandoned

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[2] Based on the lectures of Frei Gilvander, Izabella Gonçalves and Leonardo Péricles at the seminar *Dez anos de ocupações urbanas na RMBH: História, lutas e novos caminhos*, June 26-28, 2019. Organised by the *Cosmópolis* research group/UFMG.

[3] É, eu acho que o mais importante é mostrar pras pessoas que é possível você se organizar com poucas pessoas. Por exemplo [na Kasa Invisível], dez pessoas conseguiram ocupar e manter uma casa no centro de BH, tecnicamente na área mais nobre da cidade e tornar ela um espaço vivo, autogerido, que não é voltado para atividades que visam lucro [...]. Ela é aberta pra qualquer pessoa, independente de ter dinheiro ou não. E numa perspectiva educativa, de mostrar às pessoas que é possível fazer de um imóvel algo comum, fazer de um espaço algo comum e de tudo que circula nele ser comum. [...] Mostrar pra outras pessoas que é possível. Se em uma cidade de 3 milhões de pessoas, a gente conseguir inspirar mais 100 pessoas a fazer espaços como esse, a gente vai ter mais e mais e mais né?

lands or buildings), in their turn, it was usual that external actors supported and participated in organisational processes. These included different social movements, collectives, representatives of institutions –universities, left-wing political parties, progressive sectors of the catholic church – and many others.

It is possible, however, to make several general assertions. A first important characteristic among squats in the RMBH is that *self-management usually encompasses decision-making processes that include the conduction of general assemblies and other meetings*. Importantly, as some of the interviewees reported, such procedures constitute opportunities for knowledge exchange and politicisation. Secondly, self-management practices imply a *particular concern with horizontality* – that is, a general expectation that all participants have equal chances to have their points of view considered by the rest of the group and equal conditions of opinion and participation, without power imbalances. However, while horizontality may be seen as desirable, hierarchical relationships are quite common – whether tacitly existent or assumedly adopted. In this sense, while horizontality was referred to as an aspiration by several of the interviewees, it was also mentioned that some of the participants might enjoy greater influence. As an example, especially in the case of housing occupations organised by social movements, there is a significant presence and important participation of squatters considered as leadership figures or coordinators.

A third general feature refers to the *decisions and rules defined during assemblies*. Depending on the case, interviewees revealed that these might be mandatory even for those who did not participate in a particular decision; or, in other cases, what has been decided should ideally be followed by all, but the individual autonomy of each person is prioritised. Not following rules considered more relevant, essential, or imperative might also result in the expulsion of individuals from a squat. These included the perpetration of acts of violence against women; robbery; drug trafficking; people who keep empty plots in land occupations without living on them; and physical violence of any type.

As a fourth general aspect, self-management also meant *putting decisions and plans into practice, usually through task division*. These may include internal and/or quotidian tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, gardening, building and maintenance, communicating and managing social media, taking care of children, and others; external and/or eventual activities, including exchanging materials and information, visits to other occupations, meetings with governmental entities, etc.; or even urgent, unexpected, demand-oriented or mutual-support-related ones such as demonstrations and resisting evictions. In general, activities are organised by setting up workgroups of permanent or temporary character depending on the type of demand.

A fifth general feature, *raising funds and other resources for different activities* is necessary to pay for supplies and guarantee the maintenance of squats, support social movements and collectives, pay for electrical and water supply (when necessary), and many others. Finally, *different degrees of engagement or participation of people in self-managed processes* (depending on their different interests, time availability or other factors) are here considered our sixth and final general aspect. In general, though, it is possible to say that self-management is deeply imbricated in the lives of squatters, even compromising, as suggested by M. A. Martínez López (2015, p. 252), "the whole of everyday life for the people most involved in it."

4 Conclusion

Squatters in the RMBH seek to find solutions not only for immediate or urgent needs, especially housing, but also to promote broader changes in life, including social, cultural, and economic aspects, constituting a particular form of counter-hegemonic struggle. Importantly, they do so in an indissoluble and mutually compelling way to the appropriation, adaptation, and production of their own specific spaces. Consequently, the spaces appropriated and reshaped in the context of squatting correspond or reflect as much as possible the changes aimed by squatters, their collective practices, and their ideals for the future, while at the same time opposing the power imbalances against which they struggle.

Squatters engage in their daily practices in a context of constant oppression by hegemonic powers that have historically aimed at neutralizing or destroying their initiatives, supported by naturalised narratives that depict squatters as dangerous criminals. Nonetheless, squatters' practices consistently challenge such oppressive ideas by giving new meanings to the production and appropriation of space, constituting a form of counter-hegemonic architecture.

In fact, the changes in social relations aimed at and prefigured by squatters happen by means of, during the course of, and/or because of the production and use of their own spaces – in a reciprocal relation. The spaces they produce and adapt are

not *destined* to generate maximum profit or be commercialised as commodities but to the primacy of use. In their communal areas, during the open activities they promote, in their daily organisational and collective decision-making processes, squatters demonstrate that a different life, one that is not based on profit rates, private property and repressive social control is a tangible possibility. Squatting goes beyond denying imposed forms of social-economic relations or modes of production. There is, in fact, also a refusal of how space is controlled, distributed, organised, and owned.

Instead of representing a pre-conceived or immutable future or simply imagining new possibilities, this paper suggests that prefigurative practices include squatters' capacity to effectively change the here and now. They show that a different present is already possible and that changes in life can be broader, more inclusive, and more legitimate in the future.

Self-management, in its turn, presents squatters with the possibility of defining rules and making choices that respond to different realities and scales, including a significant plurality of participants. Ideally, self-management also implies horizontality-based processes as a way to promote true and broad participation of the actors involved. On the other hand, hierarchical relationships can exist and, in some cases, even be considered desirable. Nevertheless, as a process that gives space for collective change, for learning from past experiences and improving for future situations, for proposing and experimenting, and for creating spaces that adapt and respond to community demands – for all this, self-management is largely what makes squatting, in itself, a change.

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EDUCATION CO.: E-LEARNING HEGEMONY IN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM IN BRAZIL

EDUCAÇÃO S/A: HEGEMONIA DE EAD EM ARQUITETURA E URBANISMO NO BRASIL

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the current panorama of Architecture and Urbanism (AU) teaching in Brazil, focusing on the significant expansion of undergraduate courses offered in Distance Education (EaD) modality in recent years. This trend has been driven by factors such as: the state divestment in public Higher Education Institutions (IES), the influence of economic groups that control the private education sector, and the recent COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. The research is based on the quantitative and qualitative data interpellation — extracted from the e-MEC and discussions found in the literature — in order to criticize the given reality. The analyses demonstrate the private IES hegemony in this segment, in which the current market logic — maximum profit — results in lowering quality due to infrastructure and personnel costs reduction, the teaching-learning process weakening, and homogenization of places and subjects. Also noteworthy is the public IES infrastructure dismantling as an obstacle to in-person education, although this segment still shows more resistance to adhering to EaD modality. Finally, it is expected that the analysis will encourage us to think about counter-hegemonic ways to overcome this situation and reinforce the arguments in defense of the AU teaching quality and dimension of in-person teaching in Brazil.

Keywords: Distance Education, Expansion of EaD in Architecture and Urbanism, Architecture and Urbanism Teaching, Counter-hegemony in Architecture and Urbanism.

1 Introduction

Architecture and Urbanism (AU) teaching in Brazil has a history of struggles and achievements, in which the search for autonomy and quality is a constant in this trajectory. Currently, the main battles in this field take place against public policies of divestment in public Higher Education Institutions (IES) and the advancement of Distance Education (EaD) modality, endorsed by the experiences of Emergency Remote Teaching (ERE) during the COVID-19 pandemic. Since 2016, when the first AU undergraduate course in this modality began[1], the main category entities[2] have been standing against this situation. Even so, in the meantime — marked by legal imbroglios — the e-MEC platform data (Brasil, 2022) reveals a significant expansion of this segment in recent years. Facing this problem, this article aims to analyze the institutional panorama of AU undergraduate courses in the country. Particularly, it seeks to elaborate a chronological framework of the subject comprising normative acts, category entities and student organizations manifestations, and political and historical milestones; to qualify and quantify IES, undergraduate courses, facilities, and admissions vacancies; to map the data distribution over the territory; to investigate EaD modality expansion and constraints, as well as the actions of the main business conglomerates of the segment.

The term Education S/A, used in the title, is a reference to the large private economic groups, the so-called corporations, which operate in the higher education sector in Brazil and assert their common interests in a hegemonic way — in Gramsci's conception of the power relations analysis between the state[3] and civil society through the balance of force and consensus (Liguori; Voza, 2017). We, therefore, consider that the growth of AU undergraduate courses in EaD modality in recent years represents one of the most significant expressions of this hegemony. Thus, to think about counter-hegemony[4], it is necessary to characterize this hegemonic formation. Faced with this interest, the basic questions of this work arise, in short: how has

[1] University Center Vale do Rio Verde (UNINCOR), located in the city of Três Corações, State of Minas Gerais, in Brazilian southeast. Based on e-MEC data, Calil and Ribeiro (2021) point out that the first AU undergraduate course in EaD modality was created at the University Center Braz Cubas, in the city of Mogi das Cruzes, State of São Paulo, also in the Brazilian southeast, in December/2015. However, as we consider the year of the operation start as a basis, the latter was disregarded since it only started in August/2020.

[2] Brazilian Association for the Architecture and Urbanism Teaching (ABEA), Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB), National Federation of Architects (FNA), National Federation of Architecture and Urbanism Students of Brazil (FeNEA), and Council of Architecture and Urbanism of Brazil (CAU/BR).

[3] In the “Integral State” sense, the Marxist conception projection of the state, in which the dominant classes use not only coercion to guarantee their domain (state-force) but also new strategies that guarantee the “political direction to govern with the consent of the governed” (Dore and Souza, 2018, p. 245, our translation).

[4] It is noteworthy that the term “counter-hegemony” is used in this article from the capitalist hegemony overcoming perspective that currently affects AU teaching in Brazil.

this situation evolved in recent years? Which and how many companies predominate in this market? How are they distributed in Brazilian territory? What is the standing of category entities, student organizations, and public IES in this scenario? To direct the investigation, we consider the hypothesis that AU undergraduate courses in EaD modality in Brazil reproduce a restricted sense of reality, established by the hegemonic neoliberal project of power through the standardization and distribution of their curriculum on a national scale, in which diversity and differences of places and subjects may be disregarded and, thus, compromising the critical education of the architect and urban planner.

In order to investigate this hypothesis, the research[5] followed a qualitative-quantitative approach — of a historical, exploratory, and descriptive nature — and has the following concepts as the analyzes and research theoretical support: hegemony from Antonio Gramsci, capital educator from Olinda Evangelista, and banking conception of the education from Paulo Freire. Initially, the e-MEC detailed data quantitative analysis was carried out in June 2022. A total of 3,131 records[6] were found, which were subsequently treated in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. It is worth noting that some of them were excluded[7] after the following filtering: a) located outside Brazil; b) marked as in Extinction process or Extinct; c) located in IES categorized as Special[8]; d) courses that have not yet set dates to start operations. Finally, 2,611 records remained, corresponding to 719 different code courses — the total of this research. For the graphs and maps preparation[9], we considered the following fields: code and start date of the undergraduate course, IES (administration category and academic organization), state, municipality, number of undergraduate courses, admissions vacancies, and facilities. With these data, it was possible to quantitatively analyze the undergraduate courses expansion across the territory and the existing war of position[10] between public and private education. Thus, it is expected that the results produced can serve as a stimulus to think about strategies to overcome the current situation and strengthen arguments in defense of the AU teaching quality and the dimension of in-person teaching in Brazil.

2 Context of architecture and urbanism teaching in the post-1988

The scenario of higher education in Brazil in recent decades has been marked by a significant private education expansion in contrast to a modest one of the public system. Although it originated in the university counter-reform instituted by the civil-military dictatorship in 1968, it was in the context after the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil's promulgation, in 1988, amid the rise of neoliberal adjustment policies and the technocratic prescriptions of multilateral organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and The World Bank, that this dynamic gained new proportions and centrality in the education sector.

Along with this expansion, there was a profound change in the private IES profile, with the growing dominance of big private groups, to the detriment of private IES with philanthropic, confessional, community, and non-profit nature. This capital centralization movement and mercantile expansion started to advance even faster in the last two decades, driven by two main vectors. On the one hand, the initial public offering (IPO) of these private educational groups on the stock exchanges

5 This article is based on the doctoral research of Zander Filho, Vitor Halfen, and Maria Calil — financed by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) —, in progress at the Postgraduate Program in Urbanism (PROURB) of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), in addition to the transversal collaboration of Mayara Reis, a master's student in the Postgraduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism (PPGAU) at the Fluminense Federal Institute (IFF).

6 The records refer to the e-MEC platform's detailed data. In simplified data, they are restricted to the regulated undergraduate courses of each IES, based on a code course, without covering its reproduction (including admission vacancies) in multiple teaching hubs. Thus, in the detailed data, the number of admission vacancies is greater than the simplified one.

7 The following records were excluded: 18 courses located abroad; 284 courses extinct or in extinction process; 3 courses located in IES administratively categorized as "Special"; and 215 courses not yet started.

8 According to INEP, this category includes higher education institutions created by law, state or municipality, and existing on the enactment date of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil in 1988, which are not wholly or predominantly maintained with public resources, therefore, the admission is not free.

9 Produced in Microsoft Power BI software.

10 The proposed term by Gramsci corresponds to “the most current form of confrontation with the state, which personifies the 'civil hegemony' formula: the dominant social groups intellectual and moral direction, exercised by the force and consensus combination” (Dore and Souza, 2018, p. 257, our translation).

from 2007 onwards, subordinated the educational environment even more drastically to the private profit and financialization logic (Seki, 2020). On the other hand, the decisive role of the Brazilian State in inducing this expansion through private education financing policies through the University for All Program (Prouni) and the Higher Education Student Financing Fund (FIES), with special emphasis on the second one, which had its scope expanded as of 2010 by Federal Law 12202/2010.

This higher education big picture of the last three decades has direct repercussions on the more specific AU teaching expansion process in the same period. It is possible to identify the same trends when analyzing the historical AU undergraduate courses' evolution in the country, represented in figure 1. If, from their origins in 1820, until the mid-1970s, public courses predominated over private ones, it was only in the 1980s that this relationship was reversed. Especially from the mid-1990s onwards, with the deepening of the education neoliberal commodification, the number of private institutions began to grow at an accelerated rate. Between 2001 and 2002, 100 private AU undergraduate courses were opened in the country. In ten years, this number doubled, reaching 200 in 2011. This growth intensified even more in the following period, when the number of courses exploded, mainly driven by FIES public funds. In eight years, the number of courses almost tripled, reaching 588 in 2019.

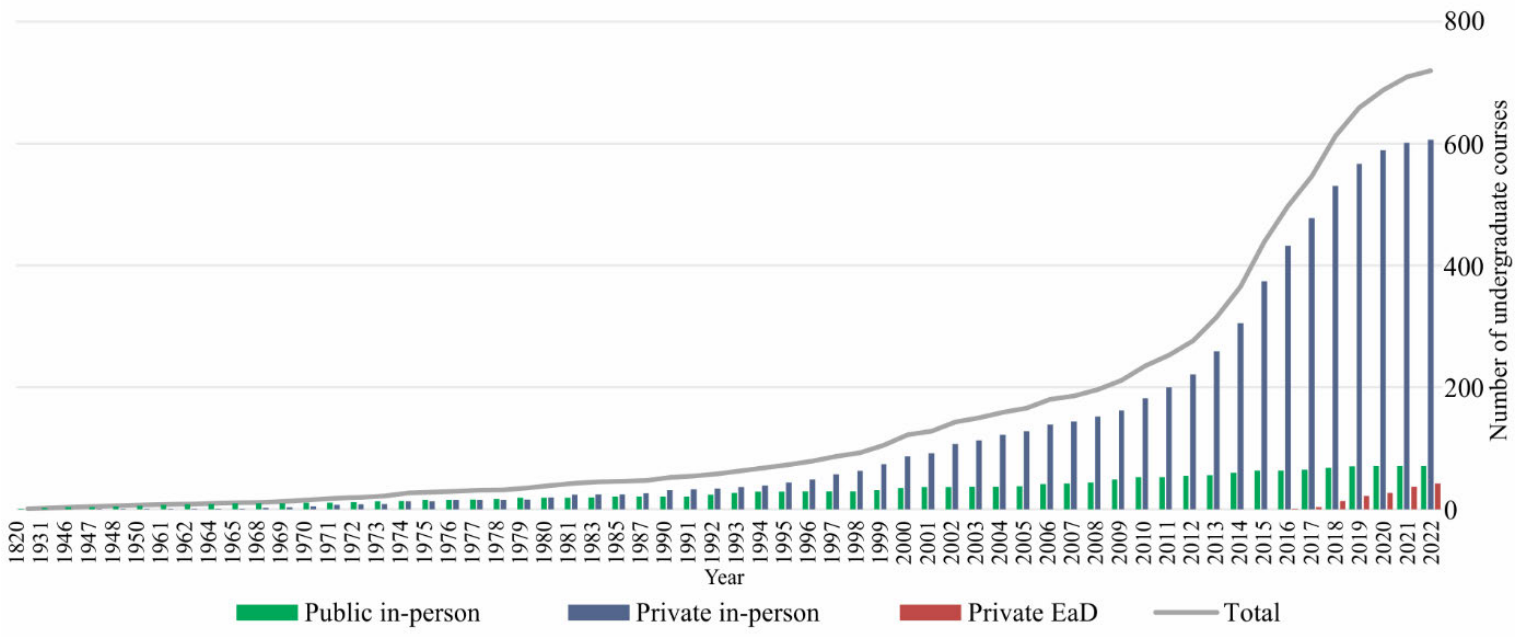


Fig. 1: Evolution of the number of AU undergraduate courses, from 1820 to 2022. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

This scenario began to change in the following years after the coup that deposed[11] President Dilma Rousseff. We align ourselves here with Fontes and Leher (2021), who affirm that the Brazilian State policy aimed at the education sector has changed – specially due to the FIES crisis caused as much by the volume of the public resources employed as by the high default rates. In addition, Constitutional Amendment No. 95/2016[12] froze, for 20 years, state spenditure on social policies and other public investments in basic rights, including education. Although it had more tragic consequences for public education, representing a deliberate policy of dismantling federal universities and institutes, the Expenditure Ceiling also had consequences for the private sector.

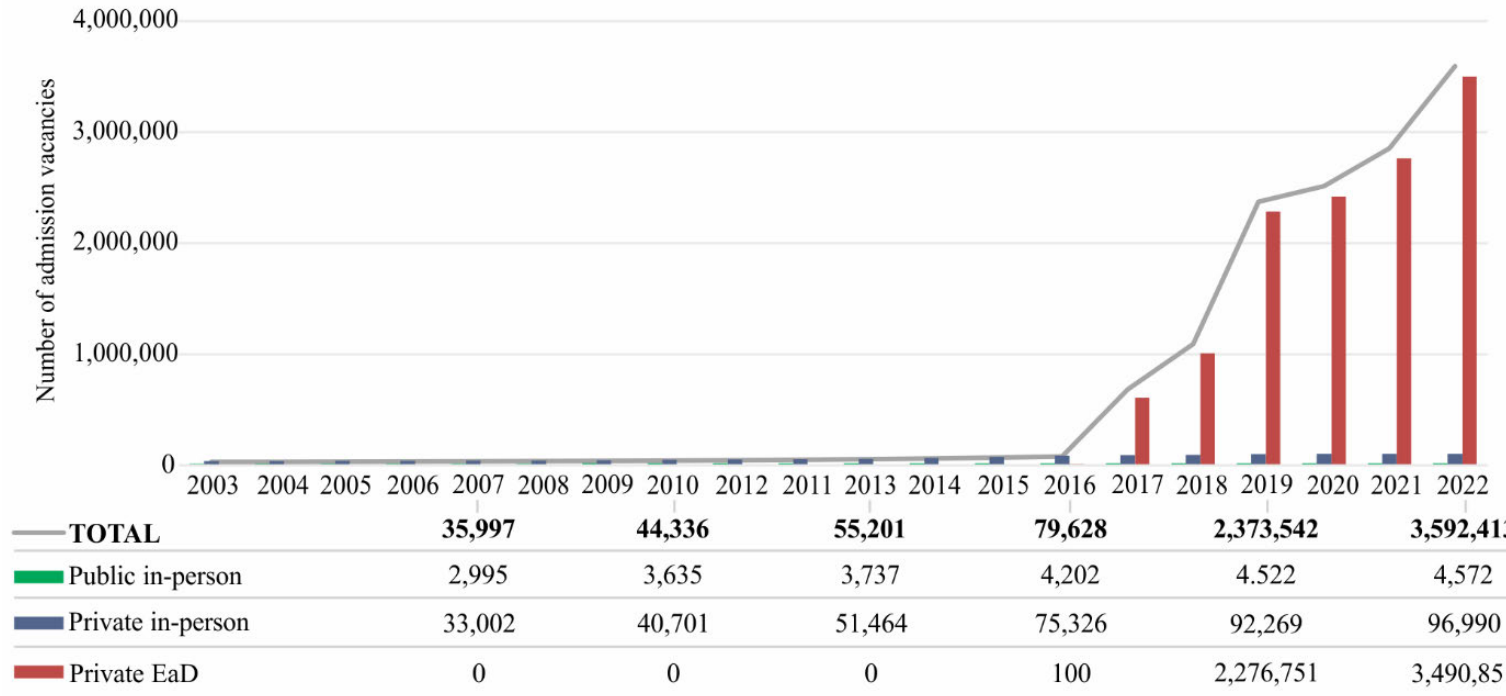
Still according to Fontes and Leher (2021), the FIES crisis and the consequent reduction in transfers of public resources to the private sector led to a change in the large educational private groups' strategy, which sought alternatives to reduce costs, among which the increase of undergraduate courses offered in EaD modality emerged as one of the main ones. We add that

[11] In this context, we highlight Felipe Demier's contribution (2017), for whom the process that culminated in the then republic president's dismissal was configured as a legal-parliamentary coup that altered the current regime and instituted a new democratic model more shielded from the conquest of social rights.

[12] Constitutional Amendment No. 95 of December 15th, 2016, which amends the Transitory Constitutional Provisions Act, to institute the New Tax Regime - Expenditure Ceiling and other measures.

already in the following year, Michel Temer's government issued Decree No. 9057 of 2017[13], which instituted new regulations for EaD modality, granting greater autonomy to private IES for courses creation, initiating a new stage in the private higher education modality. Therefore, we consider that this expansion follows the neoliberal hegemonic logic and is carried out in favor of the capital educator[14] mercantile interests that control the private education sector; and materializes itself from the reduction of the investment in structures and workforce involved, thus generating a consequent increase in business entrepreneur's profits (Fontes and Leher, 2021).

Until 2015, AU undergraduate courses were still among the most impervious to EaD modality. However, from this new stage of private IES expansion, the advance of the modality also affected the courses in the field. In 2016, 100 admission vacancies were offered in this modality. Between 2017 and July 2022, there was an increase of 7,706%, reaching 3,490,851 vacancies. In the same period, the in-person teaching modality registered increases of 16.1% and 7.2%[15], in private and public in-person admission vacancies, respectively. The evolution of the number of the admission vacancies is represented in figure 2.



	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
TOTAL	35,997	44,336	55,201	79,628	2,373,542	3,592,413
Public in-person	2,995	3,635	3,737	4,202	4.522	4,572
Private in-person	33,002	40,701	51,464	75,326	92,269	96,990
Private EaD	0	0	0	100	2,276,751	3,490,851

Fig. 2: Evolution of the number of admission vacancies of AU undergraduate courses, from 2016 to 2022. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

The significant admission vacancies increase in EaD teaching hubs was mainly due to the approval of Decree No. 9057 of May 25th, 2017, in which IES now has more autonomy to expand the undergraduate and postgraduate courses offered in EaD modality. Given this, it is also necessary to understand how field entities and organizations standing in the face of this process.

3 Standings of the category entities and student organizations

To contribute to the understanding of the scenario exposed above, we verified from Braida (2019), the standings of entities and organizations in the field that were carried out from 2017 to 2019 — all contrary to the EaD modality in AU undergraduate

[13] Decree No. 9057 of May 25th, 2017, regulates art. 80 of Law No. 9394 of December 20th, 1996, establishes the national education guidelines and bases.

[14] A concept from Evangelista (2021, p. 188, our translation), in which the author relies on the analytical hypothesis that "we are in the presence of the 'capital educator' presence, understanding that such an educator is not restricted to an individual, but is a historical subject, of class, the bourgeoisie, just as the educator refers to the working class or, more broadly, in Gramsci's perspective, to the subaltern classes".

[15] 15,559 and 330 new admission vacancies, respectively.

courses. According to the author, the charters from ABEA[16], the IAB to the Minister of Education, the FNA[17], and the FeNEA[18], in addition to the Plenary of CAU/BR manifestation on the situation, were published in 2017, one year after the beginning of the first AU undergraduate course offered in EaD modality. In 2018 and 2019, the CAU/BR, CAU/UFs, and FeNEA maintained their position on the subject. After the conclusion of the first AU undergraduate course in the EaD, in 2021, all CAU/UFs complied with the Federal Regional Court 1st Region (TRF-1) court decision — which ruled on the absence of impediments to the EaD course undergraduates' professional registration — thus contradicting all positions published so far. In 2022, CAU/RS filed a lawsuit against MEC and the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (Inep) which, by a court decision, suspended Anhanguera UNIDERP's AU undergraduate course in EaD modality recognition[19]. Among the allegations, attention was paid to the Course Pedagogical Plan with Resolution No. 2/10 of the National Council of Education; absence of hearing from CAU/BR in the course recognition process; absence of supervision and course evaluation, and absence of on-site external evaluation by the Ministry of Education's Secretariat for Regulation and Supervision of Higher Education.

Continuing the research by Braida (2019), Wilderom and Arantes (2020), Monteiro (2021), and Calil and Ribeiro (2021), figure 3 presents a non-exhaustive systematization for the understanding of this process. Thus, a fragmented and sometimes confusing vision of the process is offered, aligned with the state divestment in education in recent years. The list is structured in the following timeline, emphatically on normative acts; political and historical milestones; and category entities manifestations, related to the time frame proposed for the article and dealt with in this item[20]. It is worth noting that the information selection criteria for the composition of figure 3 were the scope and events' political and economic impact at the national level within the established time frame, in addition to their intertwining with the researched objects analysis.

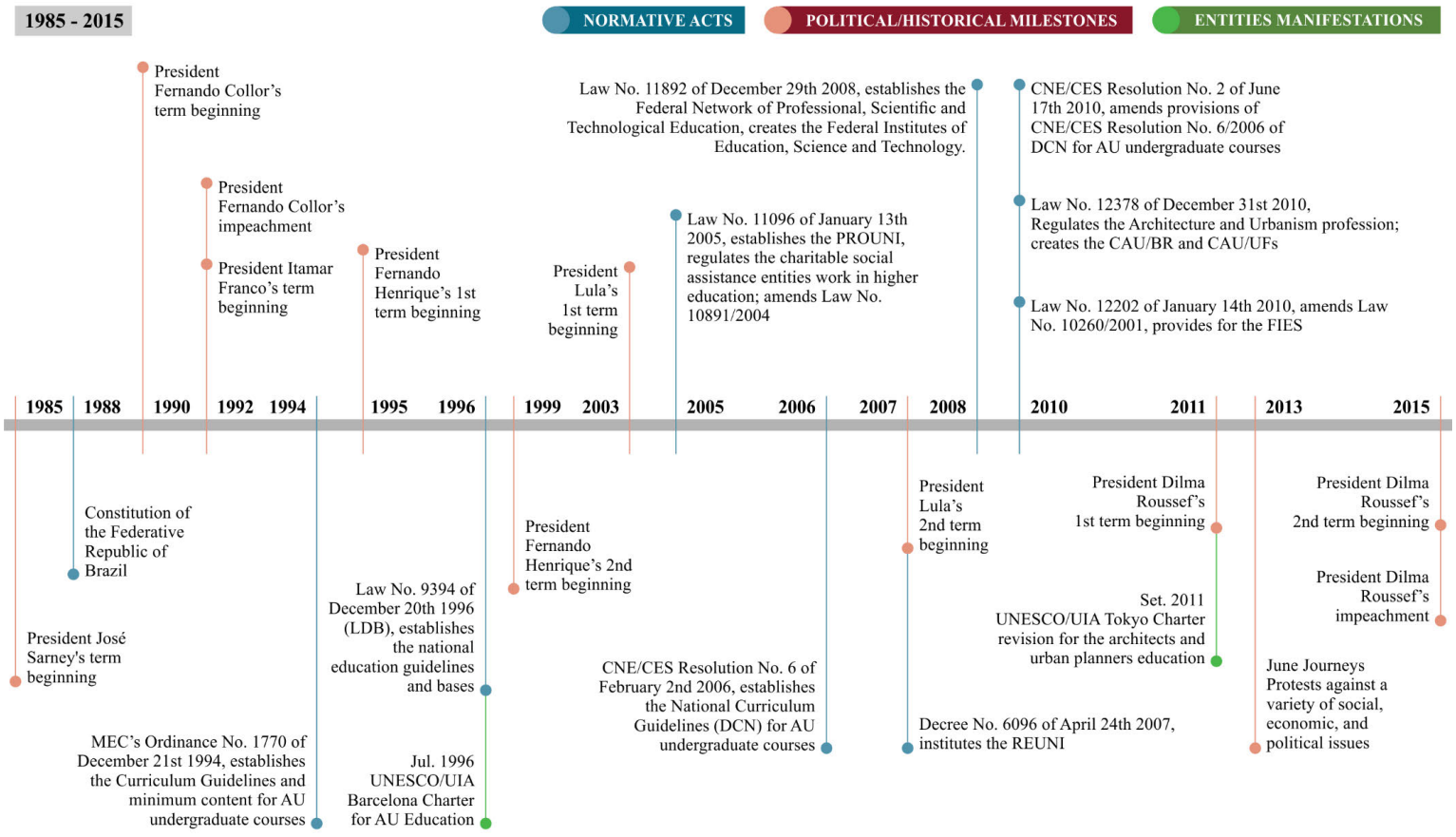
16 ABEA - Associação Brasileira de Ensino de Arquitetura e Urbanismo (2017).

17 FNA - Federação Nacional dos Arquitetos e Urbanistas (2017).

18 FeNEA - Federação Nacional dos e das Estudantes de Arquitetura e Urbanismo do Brasil (2017).

19 See: CAU/RS (Conselho de Arquitetura e Urbanismo do Rio Grande do Sul). Vitória em nome do ensino de qualidade!. [online] *CAU/RS*, 3 August 2022. Available at: <https://www.caurs.gov.br/vitoria-em-nome-do-ensino-de-qualidade/> [Accessed 5 November 2022].

20 The data categorization and representation were an adaptation, by the authors of this study, of the methodology developed by Ventura and Reis (2021).



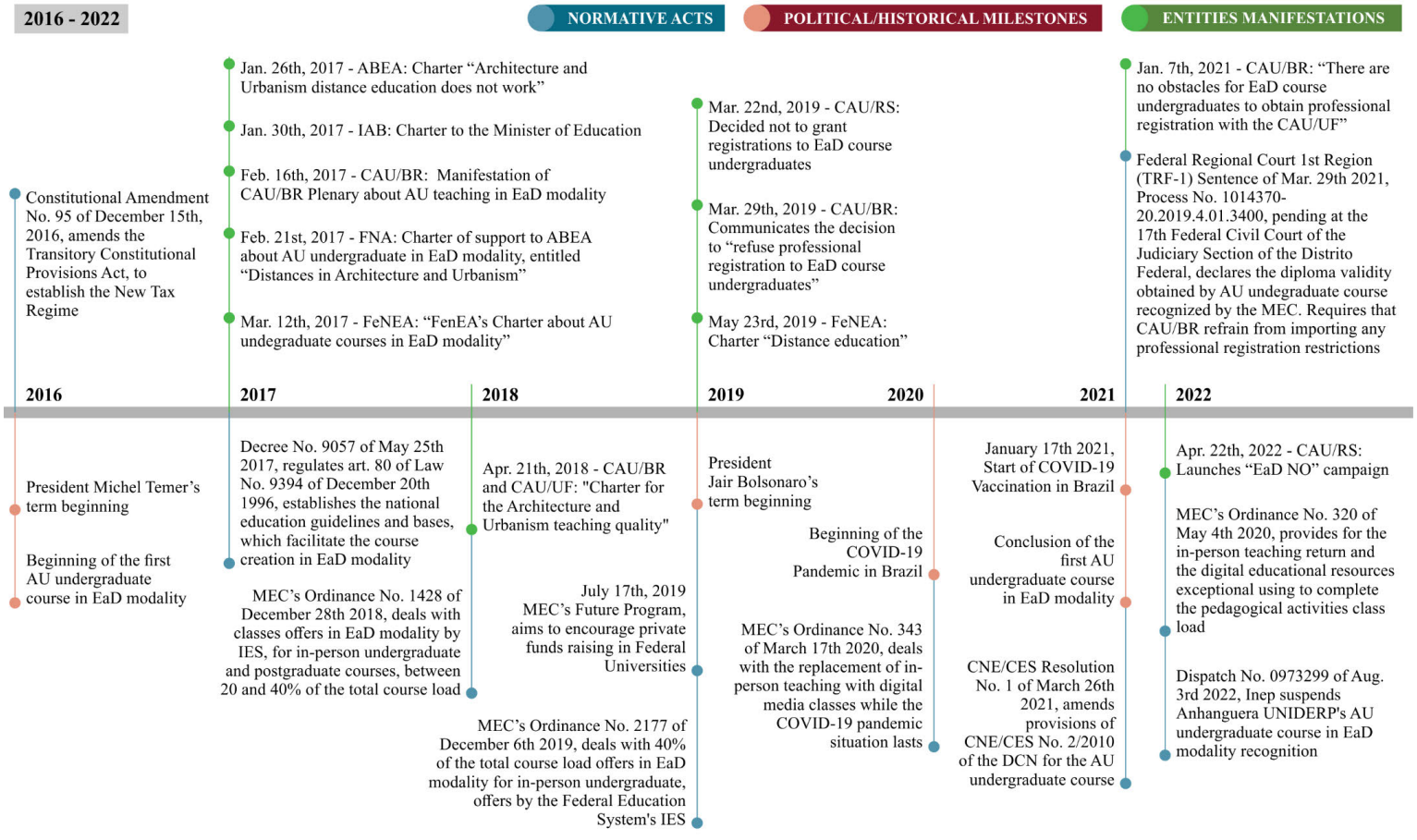


Fig. 3: Timeline with the main normative acts; political and historical milestones; and category entities manifestations, divided into two parts, each corresponding to periods 1985 to 2015 and 2016 to 2022. Source: Authors, 2022.

4 Overview of undergraduate courses in Architecture and Urbanism in Brazil

The current framework of AU undergraduate courses in Brazil is a reflection of the context previously presented. To broaden our understanding of this situation, we will analyze the education network's current structure in the area. Subsequently, we will present an institutional panorama with the spatialization of the numbers found in the territory, as well as an investigation of the main business conglomerates in this branch. Finally, we will complement the analyses discussing the EaD modality expansion, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

4.1 General framework

This research includes a total of 719 AU undergraduate courses in Brazil, 71 of which are public (all in-person) and 648 private (42 EaD and 606 in-person). These are offered in 559 different IES (63 public[21] and 496 private), settled in 2,607 facilities[22], 69 of which are public campuses, 604 private campuses, and 1,934 private EaD teaching hubs[23]. The network's conformation is represented in Figure 4.

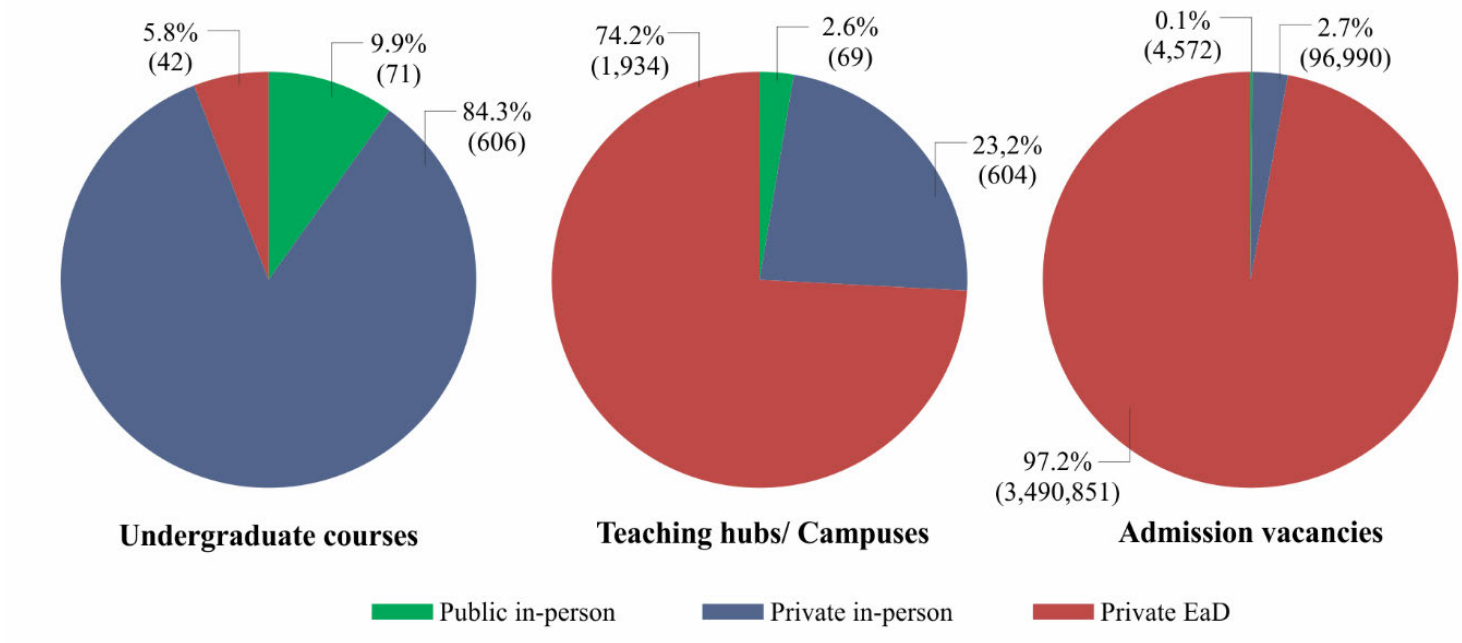


Fig. 4: Current percentage of AU undergraduate courses, teaching hubs/ campuses, and admission vacancies in Brazil. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

Based on the scenario presented in figure 4, we identify that the current number of undergraduate courses in EaD modality (42) is close to the total number of public ones (71). However, the distance between them turns out to be more significant when comparing the vacancies offered: EaD ones comprise almost the whole (97.2%) whereas the public ones respond to the minority (0.1%) of all admission vacancies offered in the country. Observing figure 5, it is noted that until 2016 the number of private in-person IES increased progressively. Since 2018, a smaller growth of them is observed accompanied by a significant increase in private EaD IES, especially in the last two years. In concert with the private EaD IES expansion, there is a consequent growth of their respective number of teaching hubs, represented in figure 6.

21 Public IES UnB and UFBA offer 2 undergraduate courses (with distinct codes) assigned to the same campus. The same happens with private IES University Center Methodist Izabela Hendrix and University Center Bráz Cubas. On the other hand, public IES UFG, UFAL, UNESP, USP, UFSM, and UFMS have 2 undergraduate courses each (with distinct codes) assigned to different campuses.

22 It depicts the places where AU undergraduate courses are offered, the term campus being related to in-person courses, and teaching hubs to EaD modality. We emphasize that this distinction was intended to organize and clarify the information in this research since the term campus is used in e-MEC platform for all modalities.

23 40 teaching hubs are located in the campuses of the same IES.

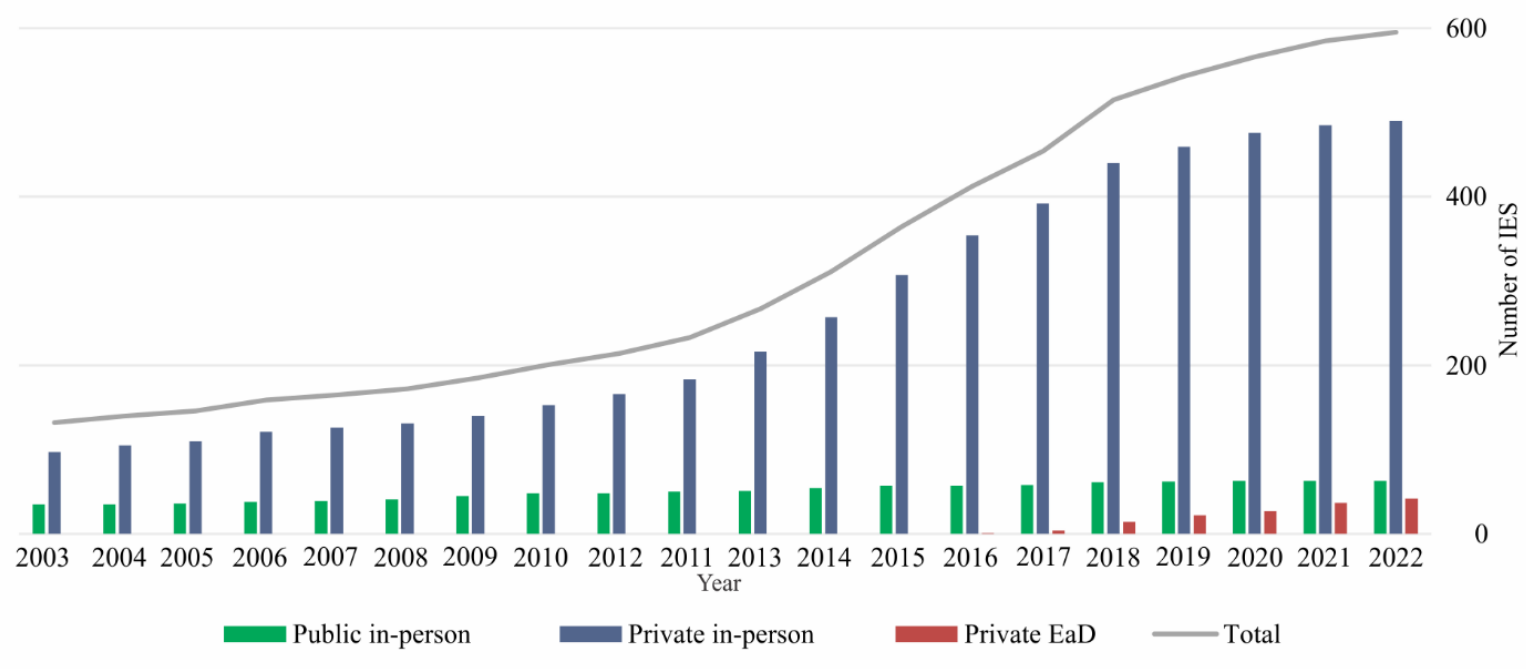


Fig. 5: Evolution of the number of IES offering AU undergraduate courses, from 2003 to 2022. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

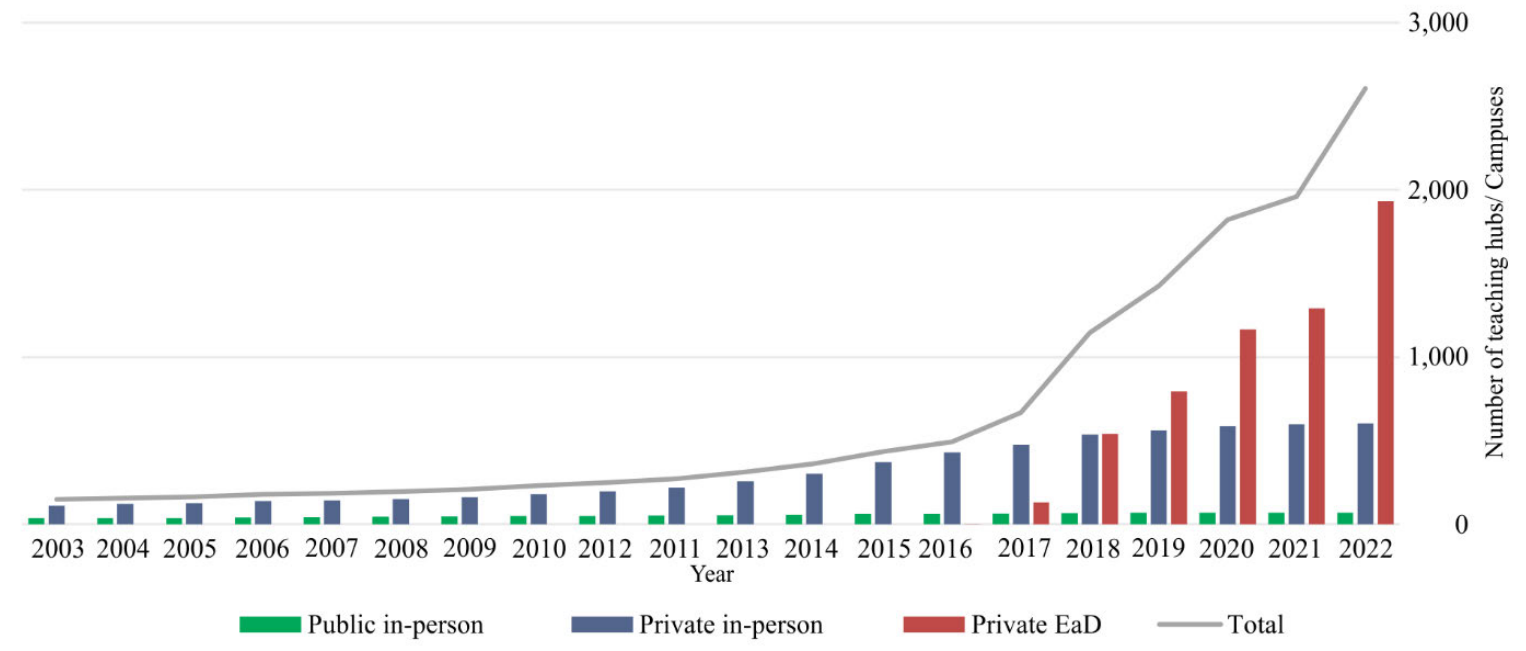


Fig. 6: Evolution of the number of the AU undergraduate courses facilities, from 2003 to 2022. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

In 2016, there was only 1 teaching hub. The following year, this number jumped to 130. From 2017 to 2022, the increase was 1,388%, that is to say, there are 1,934 EaD teaching hubs currently in operation. The analyses of figures 5 and 6 indicate a trend of changing strategies in the private IES expansion. The territorial distribution of EaD teaching hubs, both public and private campuses, and their respective admission vacancies, are shown in figure 7. The EaD teaching hubs (1,934) and the in-person private (604) and public (69) IES campuses are located in 965, 271, and 67 municipalities, respectively. We stand before a replacement movement of in-person teaching to EaD[24], which takes place alongside the reproduction of courses with the same code in different places of the Brazilian territory. It is noticeable that the IES operates mainly in the same regions of the country (south, southeast, and coastal strip), regardless of teaching modalities or administrative categories. Therefore, the argument for democratizing access to higher education through EaD modality does not hold, at least for the AU courses, since they are practically concentrated in the same territories as in-person ones.

[24] This is supported by the analysis of the “extinct” and “in extinction process”, in which 94% of them are of private IES.

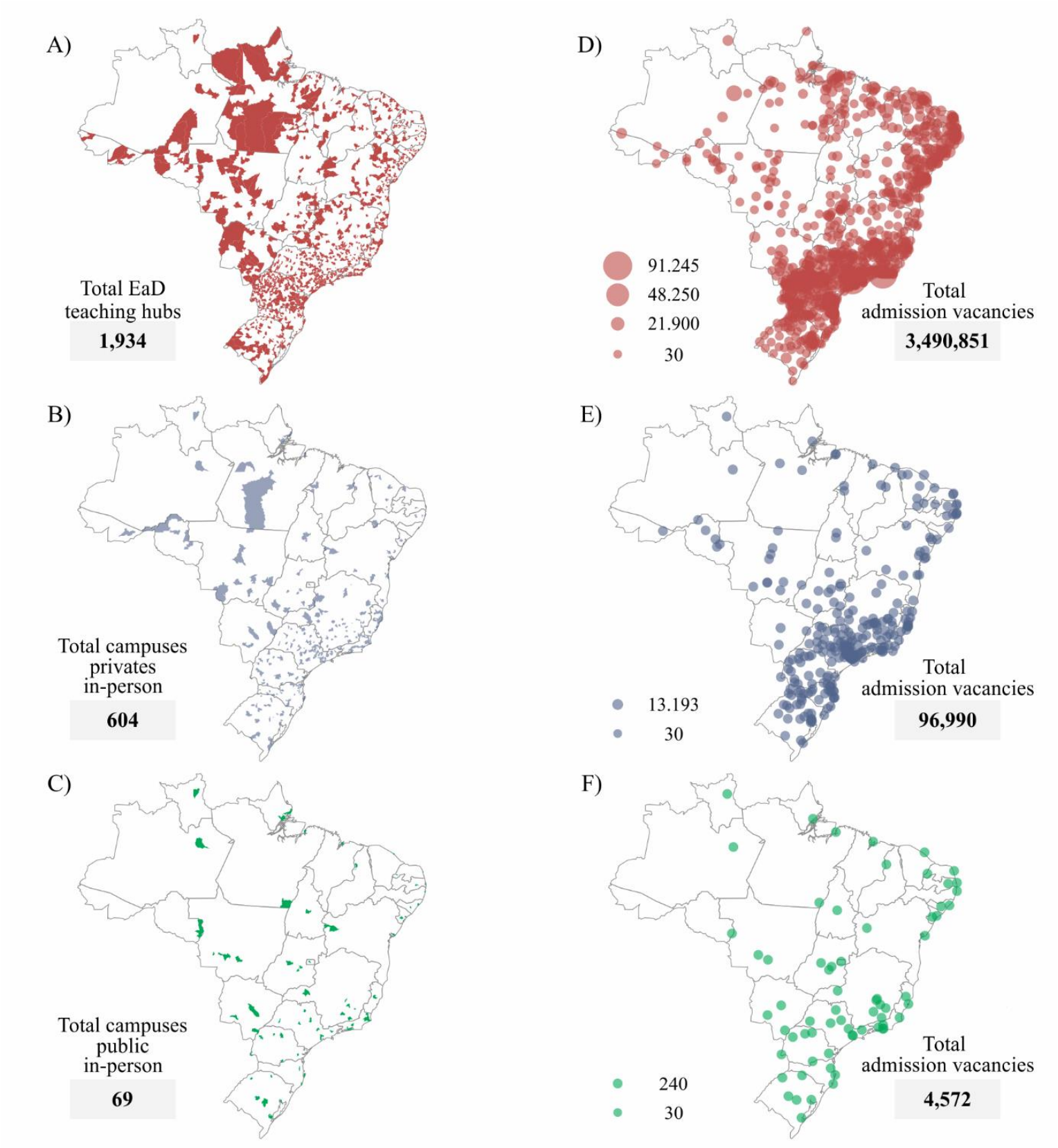


Fig. 7: Spatial and quantitative distribution of facilities and places of AU undergraduate courses. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

Public IES

As already mentioned, the data analyzed indicate that there are no public AU courses offered in EaD modality so far. On the one hand, if that indicates a stronger resistance of public IES to incorporate the Distance education logic — at least in the case of AU IES — on the other hand, the analysis must be deeper in order to consider other aspects that complexify this

picture. It is important to note that it is not merely a matter of ideological position from these IES against EaD. In fact, there are pragmatic issues involved, such as the high investments needed to put this new modality in place in contrast with the lack of public IES investment resources to do so, as well as teacher training issues and precarious work, resistance from agents and structures, reluctance about quality standards, among others. Figure 8 shows these IES' campuses and admission vacancies distribution, classified according to the following administrative categories: Federal Universities (UFs) and Institutes (IFs), State Universities and Municipal IES. It is worth mentioning that the state of Acre, in northern Brazil, is the only one with no public IES offering admission vacancies in AU undergraduate courses.

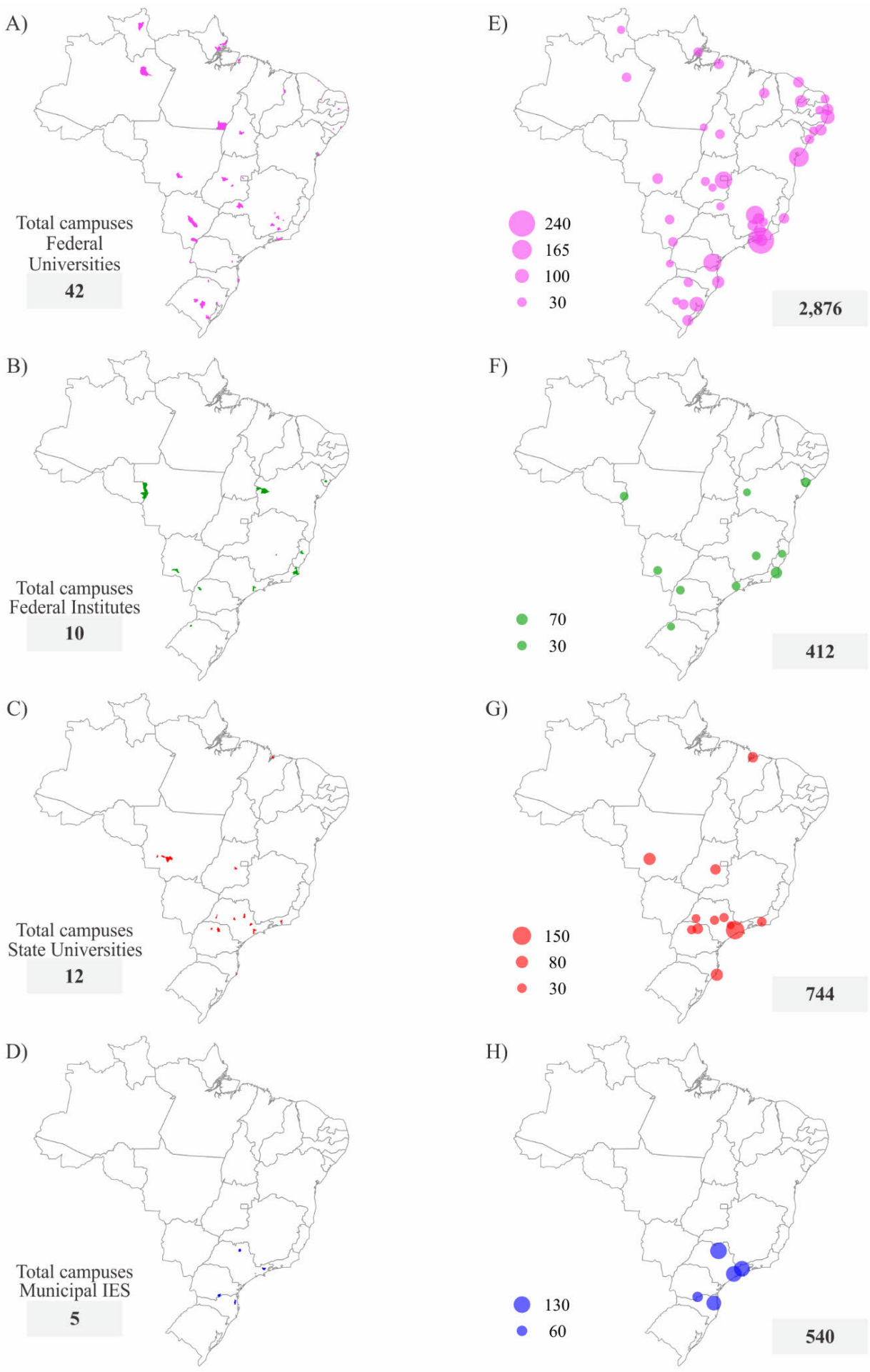


Fig. 8: Spatial and quantitative distribution of AU campuses and admission vacancies in public IES, sorted by administrative categories. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

Among public IES, the UFs have the widest distribution across the Brazilian states, being present in 26 of them, with 42 campuses and 2,876 admission vacancies. These numbers represent 57.5% and 62.9%, respectively, of the whole. UFRJ holds the AU course with the higher number of vacancies (240/year). The IFs are present in 10 states and are distributed mostly in interior cities with 412 vacancies. The AU undergraduate course of the IFF stands out as the first established in this category and the biggest in number of vacancies offered among them (70/year). The State Universities have 744 vacancies distributed in 12 campuses, of 62 vacancies/campus per year average. The University of São Paulo (USP) stands out with two campuses and 185 annual vacancies. The municipal IES have 540 vacancies distributed over 5 campuses in 3 states (Paraná; Santa Catarina; São Paulo), with 108 vacancies/campus per year on average. Based on the data collected, it can be seen that between 2014 and 2021, while public investments in funds for the UFs and IFs[25] were reduced by 94.6% and 98.6%, respectively, the number of admission vacancies and EaD teaching hubs went in the opposite direction, rising steeply, as can be seen in Figure 9.

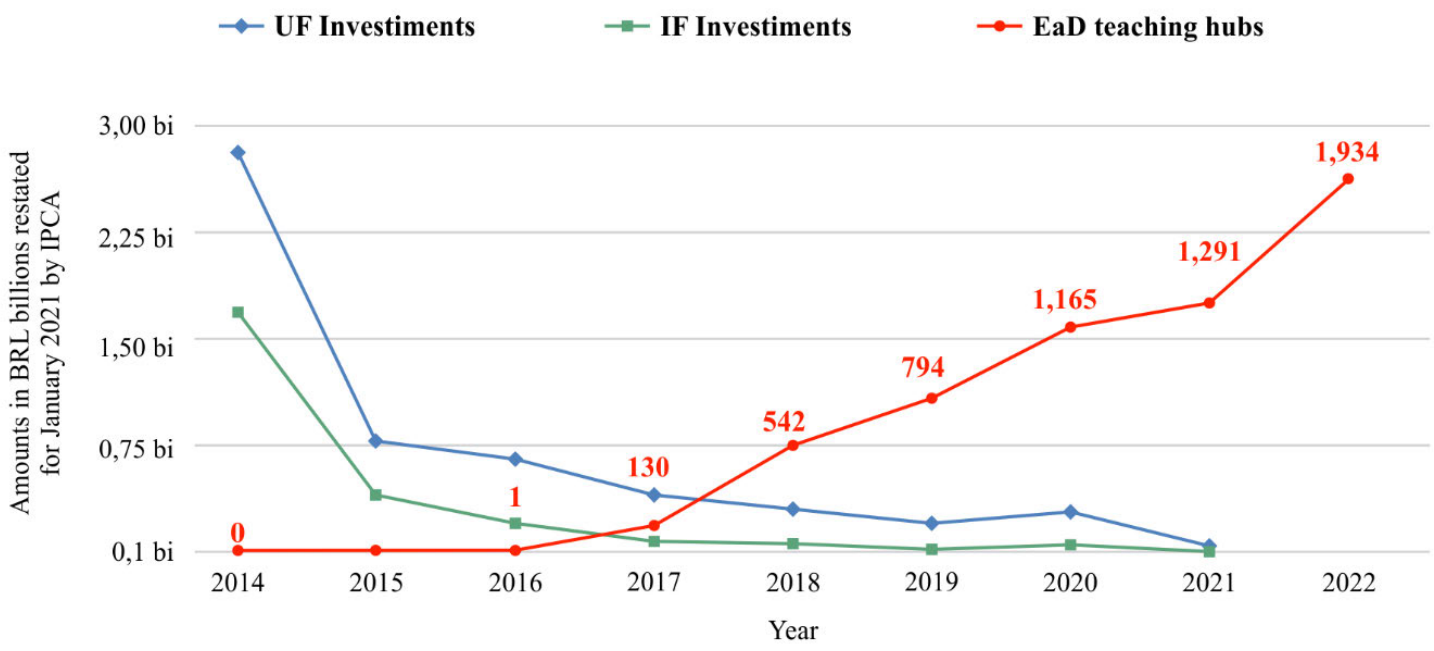


Fig. 9: Evolution of the number of EaD teaching hubs of Brazilian universities' AU undergraduate courses in the period between 2016-2022, and amounts invested in UFs and IFs in the period between 2014-2021. Source: Authors, 2022, adapted from Amaral (2021) and e-MEC data (Brasil, 2022).

These budget cutbacks compounded by the Constitution Amendment No. 95/2016, impacted directly on planning and management of public IES, making it infeasible to create, maintain and expand laboratories, classrooms, and other infrastructure (Amaral, 2021). These places, as well as those of conviviality, are inextricable parts of the teaching-learning process, which are impossible to reproduce in EaD modality, as pointed out by ABEA (2017), Wilderom and Arantes (2020) and Betoneira (2022) [26]. Therefore, it is possible to state that the crisis of public funding also represents a crisis in these institutions' physical space.

In almost all campuses it is remarkable the presence of unfinished educational buildings, whose constructions were started in the context of REUNI and abandoned in the following years due to resource withdrawal. It is also noted the multiplication of container buildings installed as a supposedly temporary solution to house university functions, conceiving the educational space as a precarious space. Another central issue is the deficit of student housing, which compromises student permanence and impacts the urban dynamics since the demand for housing pushes the increase of land value in areas around the campuses. Finally, there is the deterioration of existing university structures due to lack of maintenance, among which the fire at the National Museum of UFRJ in 2018 stands as an example. This destruction scenario of the public higher education space, associated with the recent proposals for privatization, alienation, and concession of universities and federal institutes

[25] The public IES budget is divided into: i) personnel expenses, which include the payment of working and retired public servants; ii) other ordinary expenses, such as electricity, water, telephone, outsourced services, consumable supplies, etc; and iii) investment budget, related to maintenance, renovation, and expansion of infrastructure, buildings and campuses (Amaral, 2021).

[26] Interview granted by the current ABEA president Ana Monteiro to Podcast Betoneira.

facilities which composes their patrimony (Halfen; Ribeiro, 2022), as well as the experience of the ERE during the COVID-19 pandemic, seems to point to a serious problem directly related to the devaluation of the physical dimension of the teaching space, undermining the basic conditions for in-person teaching and puts the debate on EaD at the center of the agenda also in public institutions today.

Private IES

In the first analyses focused on the private IES segment that offers AU undergraduate courses in EaD modality, it was identified that among the 42 existing ones, 6 (14.3%) offer admission vacancies exclusively in this modality; while the other 36 (85.7%) offer both modalities. These numbers reflect the flexibility allowed by Decree n. 9057/2017, since offering undergraduate courses in the in-person modality to have them qualified for the EaD modality is no longer required. We verified 29 IES in this total that offered EaD admission vacancies in more than one location. In this way, the courses are approved with a code that is replicated indiscriminately in different municipalities, as in the case of the International University Center (UNINTER), exemplified in Figure 10.

Fig. 10: AU undergraduate course in EaD modality offered by UNINTER. In highlight: The "IES name" (1); "course status: active" (2) with only one code number "1596031" offered in "EaD" modality (3) and assigned to "several municipalities" (4). Source: e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022, our highlight).

In these cases, it is implied that the same course model is reproduced by these institutions in several municipalities, in a franchising form, which disregards the places and subjects' diversity. From the Gramscian hegemony viewpoint, these educational institutions would be acting, with the consent of the state and civil society, as "hegemonic systems" to primarily serve the dominant groups' economic and ideological interests identified here (Liguori; Voza, 2017). The territorial distribution of the EaD teaching hubs relative to the 8 largest IES that offer AU undergraduate courses in this modality are structured as shown in figure 11. These IES concentrate 82.7% (1,599) of the total number of teaching hubs, distributed in 917 municipalities. These IES offer 70.6% (2,463,225) of the total number of admission vacancies. UNINTER has the largest number of teaching hubs (735) and is authorized to offer 1,000 admission vacancies in each one. The institution Universidade Pitágoras Unopar Anhanguera (PIT-UNO-ANH), on the other hand, has 79 locations and offers 3,200 admission vacancies/teaching hubs.

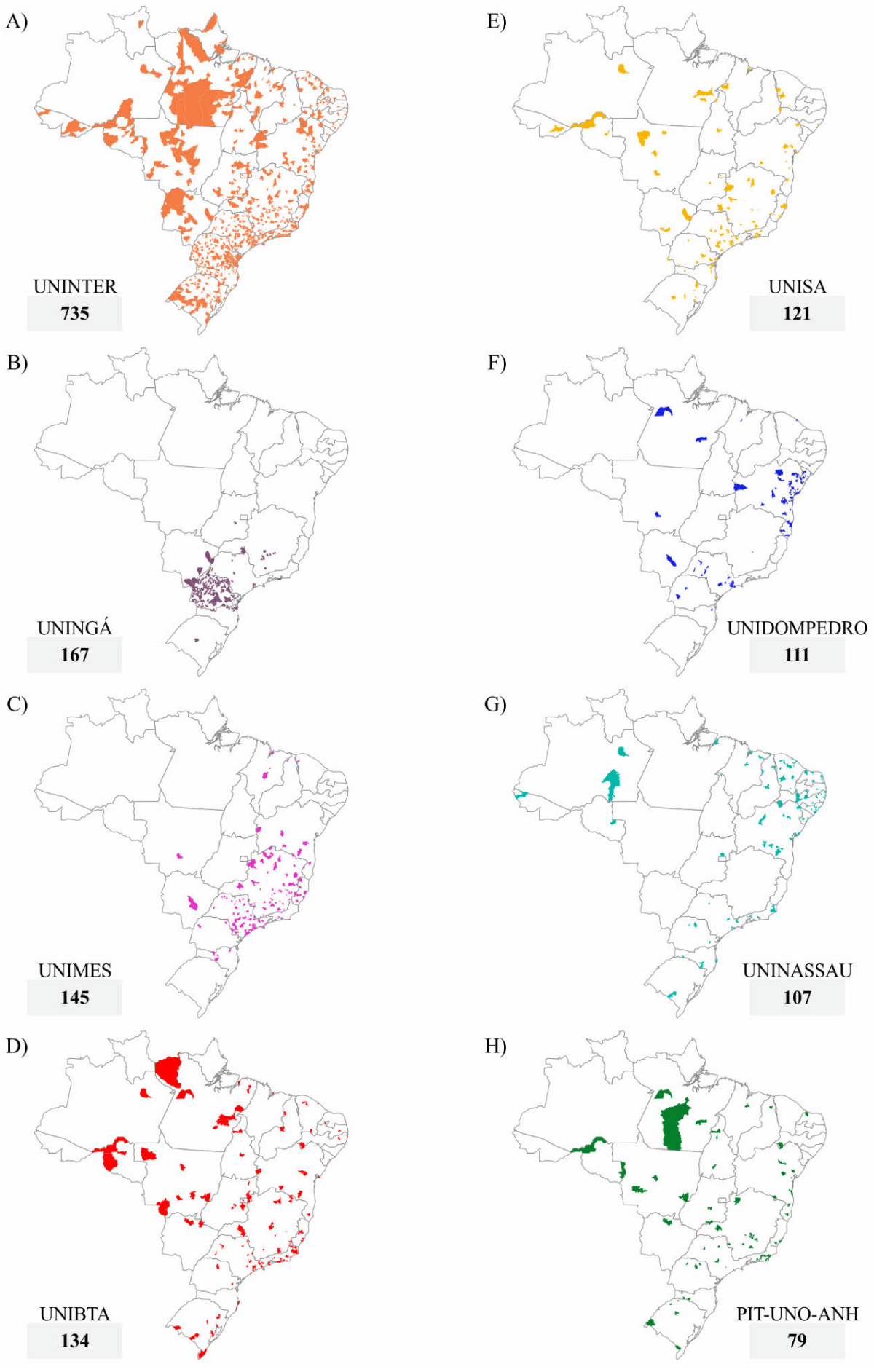


Fig. 11: Spatial and quantitative distribution of the 8 largest IES in Brazil, sorted by the number of EaD teaching hubs (The marks correspond to the municipalities' territorial limits). Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

The 8 private IES territorial distributions that offer the most EaD admission vacancies in country[27] is shown in figure 12. These cover 87% of the admission vacancies in this modality (3,038,566), distributed in 1,336 teaching hubs. UNINASSAU, the largest in number of admission vacancies, offers 946,950 and presents an 8,850 admission vacancies/teaching hubs average – the second largest UNIDERP[28] has the highest average with 9,999 admission vacancies/teaching hubs, a total of 339,966 vacancies. It's worth noting that several private IES are maintained by the same company. As an example, Editora e Distribuidora Educacional S/A maintains 59 IES. Among these, four[29] offer admission vacancies for AU undergraduate courses in EaD modality, when added together, which corresponds to a total of 592,766 admission vacancies in 113 teaching hubs, (16.5% and 4.8% of the total vacancies and facilities, respectively).

[27] It is noted the recurrence of six IES identified in the previous classification: UNINASSAU; PIT-UNO-ANH; UNINTER; UNIBTA; UNINGÁ; and UNISA.

[28] On July 21th 2022, the Inep, by a court decision, suspended Anhanguera UNIDERP's AU undergraduate course in EaD recognition after observing the CAU/RS irregularities pointed out.

[29] Anhanguera, Pitágoras, UNIDERP and Unopar.

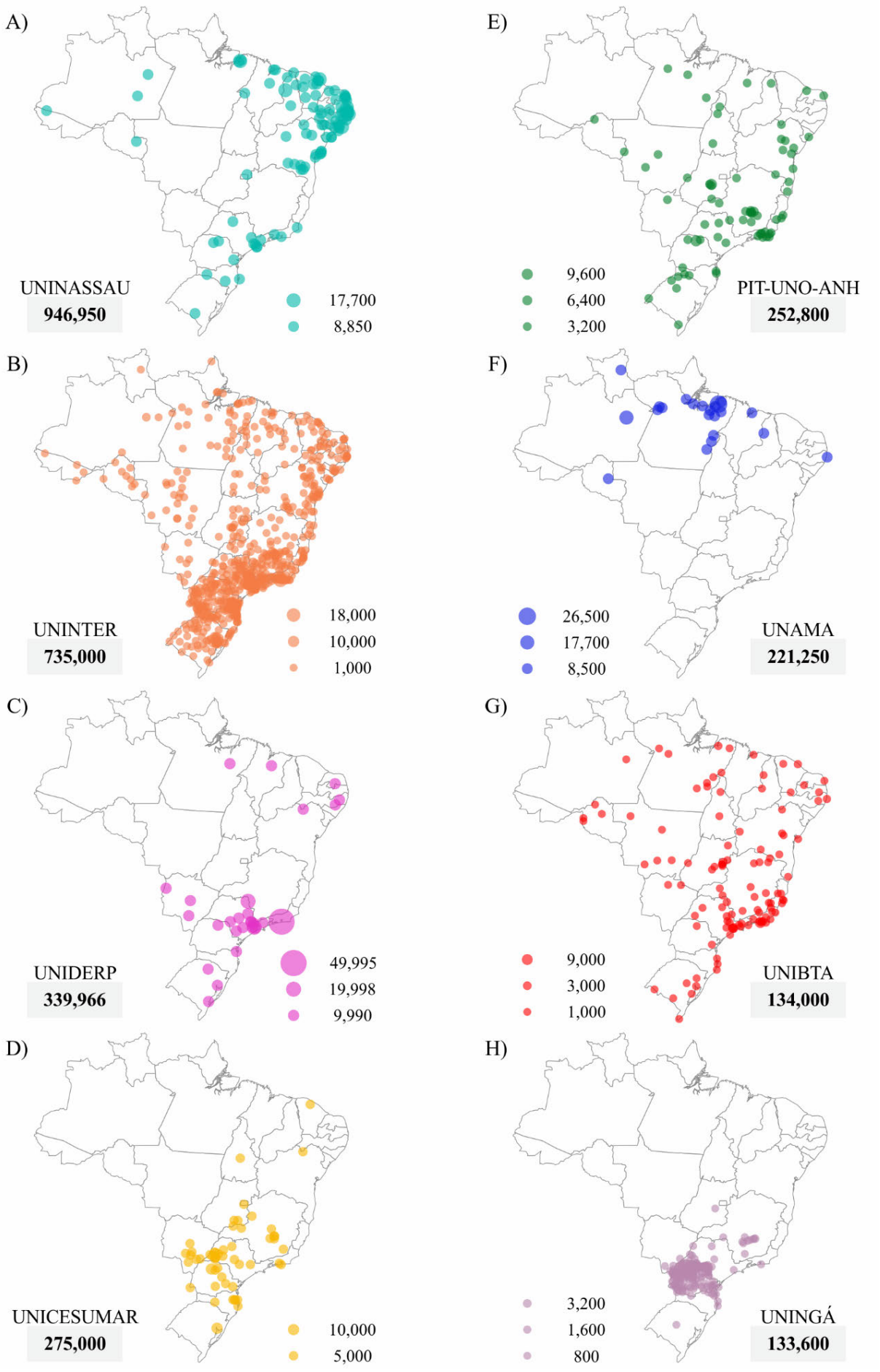


Fig. 12: Spatial and quantitative distribution of the 8 largest IES, sorted by the number of EaD admission vacancies in Brazil. Source: Authors, 2022, e-MEC adapted data (Brasil, 2022).

The significant parcel concentration of the admission vacancies offered in a few private IES and their sponsors is evidence that this EaD modality expansion stage is headed directly by the capital educator, in the figure of the large private educational groups and, therefore, represents the a deepening trend towards the capital centralization and the strengthening of the oligopolies in the sector. One of the consequences of these process has been the crisis' continuity in private non-profit IES, with difficulties in competing with the cheapening of EaD courses, besides the general decline in education quality, of which the postgraduate programs closure and the professors' dismissal in private IES[30] is a major indication. Aiming to situate the contemporary complexity of the theme, it can be noticed that this precarious conjuncture is revealed in a more accentuated way by the COVID-19 pandemic and the consequent spending cuts implemented by the Bolsonaro's government (Amaral, 2021), as well as the negationism escalation towards science (Ventura; Reis, 2021). We will focus here on the EaD modality network expansion in this context[31].

During the pandemic, in which in-person classes were suspended[32], there was a rise of 18 new AU undergraduate courses in the EaD modality, representing a 42.9% increase of the total regulated in this modality. However, the MEC approval of undergraduate courses in this modality represents an impact that can be hidden, in a way, then the teaching hub and the number of admission vacancies increase are more significant than the number of courses. In this scenario, it can be seen that the number of admission vacancies increase was 53.3%, going from 2,277,071 to 3,490,851[33]. As an example, the UNINTER EaD course was created in November 2021 and is already mentioned here as the largest in number of teaching hubs. Therefore, it's noted that the mercantile character is also revealed from these facilities' commercialization model, which can follow the logic of expansion through franchising[34]. However, even in the face of this expansion and the attempt to normalize the EaD modality in the pandemic context, the main category entities maintained their positions against this modality in AU teaching.

5 Final considerations

This article's presented analyses essentially reinforce the need for an education aimed at overcoming the social inequalities and injustices historically produced and perpetuated in Brazil. In particular, they highlight the spatial and in-person dimension importance in the teaching-learning relationship in AU undergraduate courses and the role of the AU's public IES, category entities, and student organizations in this context, which impose, at different levels, resistance in adhering to EaD modality until then. We can see that in a total of 719 AU undergraduate courses in Brazil, the EaD modality ones (42) are already close to that of the public ones (71). However, it can be verified that there is a significant EaD modality predominance when comparing the number of admission vacancies available: 3,490,851 against only 4,572. In other words, EaD represents 97.2%, while public IES, is 0.1% of the total.

When we analyze these courses' current panorama, we realize that there are countless setbacks and losses resulting from this EaD modality expansion process. As far as the formation of undergraduate courses dictated by this logic is concerned, it is essential to emphasize the tendency to reproduce them according to the same model (franchises), approved by the MEC under a single code; and that begins to incorporate standardized structuring elements, replicating in different regions of the country a restricted sense of a (supposedly) objective reality, at the service of the hegemonic neoliberal project of power.

30 See: Camargo (2022).

31 We emphasize that the ERE implemented by in-person undergraduate courses during the pandemic and the AU undergraduate courses in EaD modality have different characteristics, although both involve considerable quality loss in the teaching-learning relationship. The ERE was implemented in a provisional way during the social isolation, whereas the EaD results in an even more complex generalized precariousness process through professional training in the area.

32 Comprising March/2020 to April/2022.

33 We understand that the number of vacancies significant increase does not correspond directly to the number of enrollments, but reveals the attempt to expand course access by accentuating precariousness. However, until this study was conducted, the authors did not have access regarding the number of active enrollments in AU undergraduate courses data in Brazil.

34 See: Centro Universitário Internacional Uninter, 2022. Abra um polo UNINTER e inicie o seu negócio de sucesso. [online] Uninter. Available at: <https://www.uninter.com/seja-parceiro/>. [Accessed 05. November 2022].

From a Gramscian perspective, this would be an educational institution's hegemonic rigging to serve the dominant groups' economic and ideological interests.

In the scope of education, as Calil and Ribeiro (2021, p. 568, our translation) point out, the consequences fall on "a double and perverse consequence: the expropriation of professors' knowledge and, as a consequence, the professional training lightening and precariousness resulting from this category of teaching". The collectivity loss in pedagogical constructions occurs, above all, from the recorded class use. This direct transmission of content promoted by EaD modality is close to the banking conception of education, as discussed by Paulo Freire (2021), where the author deals with prescriptions based on the dominant minority interests — here tied to the groups that control the AU teaching network hegemony — and that operate in the scope of hindering the learner's authentic thinking.

All these facts lead to a more precarious, abstract, and uncritical education, increasingly disconnected from the realities of the professionals in formation, generating a successive distancing from the ideal of building a liberating and emancipatory education. Considering this teaching model that has been imposed in recent years, we should reflect on the place reserved for experimentation and what would be the effective possibility to build and propose counter-hegemonic practices in the field of architecture and urbanism based on teaching, research, and extension submitted to the logic of impoverishment of the educational process, that we intended to reveal through this panorama of courses and AU.

We understand that the questions addressed in this article open up possibilities for future research. In this way, we seek to follow a path that leads to reflections on overcoming the capitalist hegemony possibilities that currently affect training in our field; as well as on the critical character of the training and performance of these professionals, in face of their territories' realities. The arguments developed here are in dialogue with Freire's (2021) proposals in the sense that we need to think of alternatives to face this capital educator hegemony, through initiatives based on revolutionary praxis which leads to this structural transformation towards the counter-hegemonic, ideal conception of AU teaching.

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TECTONICS IN THE PERIPHERY: ALTERNATIVES FOR DESIGN TEACHING
TECTÔNICA NA PERIFERIA: ALTERNATIVAS PARA O ENSINO DE PROJETO

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Abstract

This paper addresses the pedagogical experience of the “Ateliê Aberto” at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (FAU-UFRJ) in recent years, which has been debating and building possibilities for an alternative design teaching to the hegemonic approaches of a colonial-modern matrix with a strong European reference, in the sense of repositioning the role of the architect, aiming at greater infiltration in contemporary urban territories. The Ateliê Aberto seeks to answer two issues identified as recurring problems in architectural design teaching: on the one hand, the devaluation of drawing and constructive thinking, understood as fundamental tools for contributing to society, and, on the other hand, the distancing from urban social reality and of its inhabitants in all its extension and complexity. The approach that has been tried at Ateliê Aberto for the architecture design studio is presented, as well as the repertoire used for an approach based on tectonics for the Brazilian peripheries. Recent Latin American architectural production is valued for bringing together examples capable of, from a small scale, to promote qualitative transformations in the spaces of everyday life and for the strong approximation between thought and construction. In this way, we seek to equip future architects for the expansion and revision of the professional field through the possibility of transforming territories from architecture.

Keywords: Tectonics, Urban Peripheries, Design Teaching, Latin American Architecture

1 Introduction

This paper treats a pedagogical experience of architectural design teaching, developed over the last three years at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (FAU-UFRJ), which has been debating and building possibilities for an alternative teaching of design to hegemonic practices, based on some main guidelines: the repositioning of architects in relation to urban peripheries; the construction of a relevant repertoire for this performance, which strengthens the affinities with contemporary production in Latin America; and the questioning of the separation between thinking and making, seeking to bring the design closer to the universe of self-construction. The main motivations that guided the proposal, its methodology and preliminary results will be addressed throughout the article.

Formulated by a group of four professors[1], in collaboration with a team of tutors and monitors, the “Ateliê Aberto”[2] began with the resumption of academic activities in remote mode, due to the Covid pandemic. The use of the term “open” was intended to materialize, in some way, aspects that seemed fundamental for the development of transversal and collaborative work that is always under construction. According to Sennett, (2019, p. 16), an open system is one in which simple operating rules give rise to complex, sophisticated and adaptable collective behavior.

Anchored in the themes of “Minimum Architectures” and “Poetic Structures”, it developed and took shape, adding new professors and students and presenting itself as an alternative for a project teaching engaged in the transformation of reality and in a critical review of the teaching of architecture design at the Brazilian public university. The interest of this pedagogical proposal is focused on the crossing of two main agendas (on the idea of agendas for design teaching see Lassance, 2015): tectonics, understood as “poetics of construction” (Frampton, 1995), as claim to value constructive thinking and the potential for constructive expression of architecture; and the issue of urban peripheries, which becomes both a central theme for reflection and a practical field of action in design studio.

This cross-agenda aims to develop pertinent design reflections, linked to the daily realities of students, and possible from a material, constructive and economic point of view. We seek, in this way, to equip future architects for other modes of action

[1] Namely: professors Diego Portas, Ana Slade, Andrés Passaro and Juliana Sicuro (assistant), tutors Ariane Pereira and Caio Carvalho and students (monitors) Gabriela Moussa and Larissa Monteiro. In subsequent semesters, the team has been joined by the teacher Rodrigo D'ávila (assistant), professors Luciana Andrade, Jorge Fleury and Jonas Delecave, and, among others, tutor David Morales and students (monitors) Renata Esteves, Angela Blanco, Moana Reis, Ana Carolina Nonato, and Isabelle Tiemi.

[2] The Ateliê is inaugurated in 2020, during the remote experimental semester, from open classes called "Conversations in Design". These classes proved to be an alternative for teaching design in remote mode and built a collective collection available on youtube https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCv4UDMLAIOLwfaJxKdcvRBA.

in the different territories with which they may operate in an alternative way to the “grand gesture” of the author-architect. We bet that small-scale interventions, combined and thought out in a systemic way in the existing city, can become true "infiltration tactics" in territories that are inaccessible to architecture and urbanism projects, as proposed by Fernando Diez (Diez, 2010).

2 Stem from the Small

We can currently observe, at FAU-UFRJ and from contacts with other Brazilian schools, a predominance of exercises at design studios that depart either from a “diagnosis” of a specific context or a “needs program” from which they are developed. medium to large scale projects. In addition to the evident – and questionable – functionalist heritage in the aforementioned approaches, the exercises presuppose reality scenarios in which the State or the market would be the motivators of hypothetical demands. However, the reality faced by architects who leave university is quite different and the demands for large-scale urban or architectural projects are increasingly rare.

Not discarding the potential of approaches aligned with the aforementioned hegemonic pedagogical practices, we claim the need to approach the social realities in which students are inserted. This reality presents social and environmental challenges, as well as limitations from an economic perspective. In addition to socio-environmental urgencies, we deal with the positive amplification of debates related to racial and gender issues, destabilizing the modern epistemological foundations that supported and still largely support the disciplinary field.

As Carranza and Lara point out, it is necessary to revise certain modern precepts and the repositioning of the field of architecture implies a change of scale. Converging with this look at the design problem, the theme of “Minimum Architectures” is proposed to guide the exercises in the studio. According to Carranza and Lara:

> At the same time, the idea of utopia held in the past has been abandoned, as we´ve become skeptical of any solution to the problems. Instead, we focus on the transformative power of smaller interventions and their potential for dissemination. For that reason, we now call social awareness what we called utopias before. It implies a change in scale (smaller projects) and also means that architecture no longer claims to have the power to change any given societal problem. (Carranza; Lara, 2015, p. 354).

The “minimum” is not a new theme for architecture and urbanism. The subject was widely promoted in the context of the modern movement in order to find efficient answers to the massive housing production. However, when associated with constructive rationality and the universality of the modern project, the ideal of the minimum often became a producer of generalizations and was, to some extent, responsible for distancing architecture from the diversity of individuals and ways of life that make up a democratic society. In the rereading proposed here, the minimum is understood as a possible catalyst for the aforementioned critical review, and can assume different manifestations: the minimum as infrastructural, the minimum as small-scale intervention, the minimum as an approximation to the constructive detail, the minimum as economy of resources.

3 Two Agendas

In this pedagogical proposal, the concept of tectonics is displaced from its original context – Frampton's recognition of works by renowned authors – and takes on political contours, presenting an alternative for future architects to actively participate in the production of the landscapes they inhabit. It is important to contextualize the interest in reflecting on our urban reality, cities and metropolises resulting from intense land subdivision and horizontal expansion processes, that form heterogeneous and complex urban fabrics, in which the plot of blocks developed from the subdivision of single-family houses lot is one of the most representative patterns.

We call “periphery” the territories resulting from a space production process identified by Teresa Caldeira as “peripheral urbanization” (Caldeira, 2017). These territories do not necessarily correspond to the “edges” of the city. The phenomenon of peripheral urbanization, according to the author, is present in several cities of the so-called Global South. It is characterized

by the presence of self-construction, at different levels, and by the use of “transversal logics” with regard to urban regulation and legality more broadly.

The low density characteristic of many of these peripheries means latent constructive potential and generator of new spatial configurations and economic arrangements. Although we are dealing with a portion of the city commonly understood as consolidated and where the presence of architects is extraordinary, it is a territory that is in constant change through self-construction inside the lots. We identified in the architectures produced in these contexts a specific repertoire of materials and solutions that arouse interest and a rich dynamic of uses and activities between the public and the private, both in the spaces of expansion of the house to the street and in the incorporation of other functions to the house beyond of housing (Slade, 2019).

Another component of the pedagogical approach presented here is the emphasis on the building issue, understood as a fundamental disciplinary aspect. It is important that the study and in-depth knowledge of the architectural project be recovered, hidden by the consumption and excessive reproduction of images that leads students to superficial apprehensions of “attractive” images that circulate freely on the internet (Passaro; Favero, 2006) and distance us from the concreteness of the constructed artifacts.

In opposition to the teaching of design that commonly prioritizes form and space unconnected to technical-constructive confrontation, the proposal of Ateliê Aberto is to value constructive thinking from the early stages of the design process, starting with the choice of materials, systems and methods in an imbricated manner with the formal and spatial proposition, in a sensitive relationship with the context. Just as claimed by Frampton in the 1990s, "we are not alluding here to mechanical revelation of construction but rather to a potentially poetic manifestation of structure in the original Greek sense of *poesis* as an act of making and revealing." (Frampton, 1990, p. 19).

The technical-constructive understanding allied to relational and expressive (aesthetic) issues can promote new architectural practices that take advantage of the power and specificities of the territories in their social, cultural and political dimensions. The approximation between thinking and making is also a way of dealing with structural disciplinary impasses pointed out by Sérgio Ferro in "O Desenho e o Canteiro" (Ferro, [1975] 2006), configuring new, less exploitative productive arrangements based on the exchange of knowledge and possibilities of other forms of production.

4 An Emerging Repertoire

Once this double agenda is established, it is necessary to build a repertoire that helps its application in the practice of project teaching. It is worth making a brief defense of the study of previous architectural works as a tool for design process. Although frequent in many pedagogical approaches, schools of architecture have not always used this method of teaching and learning. We know that in the *Beaux-Arts* tradition, students were encouraged to copy the works of the great masters. In the modern tradition disseminated by the Bauhaus, history is no longer of interest and the methodologies practiced in design studios are based on formal and compositional exercises, stimulating "creative genius" and innovative solutions - unprecedented - to the problems faced and having originality as a value (De Duve, 2003).

The problematization about which repertoire to mobilize - and its implications - is necessary. As Nilce Aravecchia (Aravecchia Botas, 2018) points out, the historiographical production in architecture and urbanism has been assimilating important aspects of decolonial thinking; however, the teaching environment has less adherence to this debate and has been restructured more slowly. The author calls for a radical critique and for the necessity of a deep rupture with the Eurocentric bases of colonial thought that guided modernity and still represent the hegemonic thought in the field of architecture and urbanism. It is worth emphasizing here, as Aravecchia Botas suggests, the importance of understanding Latin America as a cultural project of resistance and not only as a territory marked by European heritage. In this sense, a curatorship of emerging practices related to tectonics in countries with social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental characteristics closer to the Brazilian context is triggered. These practices seek an approach to the site, tensing the division between thinking and making that structures the disciplinary field since its origin, and that reinforces the dominant power structures.

We can cite examples such as the contemporary Paraguayan production that demonstrates inventiveness in constructive experimentation with handmade labor and traditional low-cost materials (Goma Oficina, 2019). An internationally recognized

example is the experimentation with bricks in Paraguay, in the built work of the Gabinete de Arquitectura by Solano Benitez and Gloria Cabral (Fig. 1). Other practices, such as those of the collectives Al Borde[3] in Ecuador and OCA (Oficina Comunitaria de Arquitectura)[4] in Paraguay (Fig. 2), are also in the selected repertoire, for starting from constructive techniques and local materials, combining low-cost construction with community articulations and educational practices.

Fig. 1: Children's Rehabilitation Center Teléton, *Gabinete de Arquitectura*, Assuncion, Paraguay, 2010). Source: Federico Cairoli, 2015. Available at: http://www.federicocairoli.com/works/-fundacion-teleton/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

[3] For further information, see: https://www.albordearq.com/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.
[4] For further information, see: https://oca.com.py/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Fig. 2: Community Development Center, OCA + Bonini Arquitectos, Luque, Paraguay, 2014. Source: Federico Cairoli, 2015. Available at: http://www.federicocairoli.com/works/-centro-de-desarrollo-comunitario/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

The proposal that has been experimented in the Ateliê Aberto is to study architecture through drawing and the identification of “architectural devices”[5] that are operative for the students’ design in development. Beyond design, we are interested in understanding alternative forms of insertion of the architectural project, beyond the hegemonic architect-client relationship, enabling more participative and collective processes or the provision of services for low-income social classes.

The Vila Matilde House, designed by the São Paulo studio Terra+Tuma (Fig. 3)[6], was one of the starting points in the construction of Ateliê Aberto's repertoire. It is a work that aroused interest for exemplifying the above mentioned scenario of a client who, at first, would not hire an architecture office. Moreover, from the tectonic perspective, for its constructive system, which explores the structural masonry planes of concrete blocks associated with precast slabs in balance, resulting in spatial, climatic and luminous quality in a narrow lot.

[5] We call “architectural devices” fragments or strategies extracted from the studied works to be transposed or to influence the students' design in process.

[6] For further information, see: https://terraetuma.com/portfolio/casa-vila-matilde/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Fig. 3: Vila Matilde House, Terra e Tuma Arquitetos, São Paulo, Brasil, 2015. Source: Pedro Kok, 2015. Available at: http://www.pedrokok.com/house-vila-matilde-sao-paulo-brazil/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

The recent Argentinean production also arouses great interest due to intervention strategies in the interiors of residential blocks in Buenos Aires. The small architecture works developed by firms such as Adamo Faiden, Alonso Crippa, FRAM architects, AToT, IR arquitectura and Florencia Risotti, among others, stand out for their constructive rationality and accurate detailing and experimentation with construction systems such as light metal frame and wood structures and other available materials. We can also mention the Brazilian experiences of young offices such as Terra e Tuma, Gru.a and Messina Rivas that have been working on small scale works and exploring the economy of resources. The works of the above mentioned architects include projects for different social classes and not always with low cost solutions. However, there is an interest in the way they conceive design, in the way they relate and explore materials and constructive systems, with a certain simplicity and inventiveness.

Despite the contextual specificities, and the diverse authorial poetics, we identify in common in these practices an attitude towards reality and the exercise of the project, precisely explained by Adamo and Faiden in the article "The Contemporary Constructor": a way of operating with what is within reach of hands, in a new constructive rationality. It is a practice attentive to the local culture, but not necessarily contained in its conditions, open to bring learnings from other contexts and knowledge. As Adamo and Faiden describe it:

> The contemporary builder understands the world as a collection (...) not a jigsaw puzzle whose pieces will reconstruct a whole by fitting into each other. He describes it as a mosaic without glue, with multiple loose, free pieces that have value in themselves and in relation to each other, forming different associations and changing connections (...) he constantly expands his relational network. He knows that if he only knows "people from the neighborhood" he will be stuck in the lexicon in which he was educated, so he tries to build knowledge with unknown builders, techniques and environments. (...) he stands on the shoulders of others. He goes much further on the achievements of those who preceded him (...) he often imitates. He gets as close to the original as he can because he knows that he will never fully succeed and that the difference will be frankly remarkable.[7] (Adamo; Faiden, 2009, p. 1-2, our translation).

The Martos House[8] (Fig. 4), like other projects by Adamo Faiden, is the result of an inventive association of catalog materials that form a system that is applied with variations in other projects. The light tubular metallic structure is the support for a

[7] From the original, in Spanish: “El constructor contemporáneo entiende el mundo como una colección (...) no un rompecabezas cuyas piezas reconstruirán un todo al encajar unas con otras. Lo describe como un mosaico sin pegamento, con múltiples piezas sueltas, libres, que tienen valor en sí mismas y en relación con las demás, formando diferentes asociaciones y conexiones cambiantes. (...) amplía constantemente su red relacional. Sabe que si solo conoce “gente del vecindario” quedará atascado en el léxico en el que fue educado, de manera que intenta trabar conocimientos con constructores, técnicas y entornos desconocidos. (...) se sube a los hombros de otros. Llega mucho más lejos aupado por los logros de los que lo precedieron (...) muchas veces imita. Se acerca al original tanto como puede porque sabe que nunca lo conseguirá del todo y que la diferencia será francamente notable.”

[8] For further information, see: https://Adamo-Faiden.com/index.php/projects/data/af-casa-martos. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

diversity of panels made up of industrialized elements such as the tile, the screen, the metallic grids, which with their gradations of opacity provide a variety of relationships between the interior and exterior and the quality of light. Vegetation is another important element in their lexicon, being present in patios, terraces and balconies or mediating the private and the urban environment in "thick facades" (Eskinazi, Engel, 2019).

Fig. 4: Martos House, Adamo Faiden, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2012. Source: Cristobal Palma, 2012. Available at: http://cristobalpalma.com/casa_martos. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Other annex buildings, such as the Palos House, designed by the AToT[9] (Fig. 5), provoke reflection on alternative ways of acting in residential neighborhoods in Brazilian peripheries. The use of a metallic structure over pre-existing building points to lighter solutions than the typical construction of drilled bricks with reinforced concrete structure.

[9] For further information, see: https://atotarq.com.ar/portfolio-2/casa-palos/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

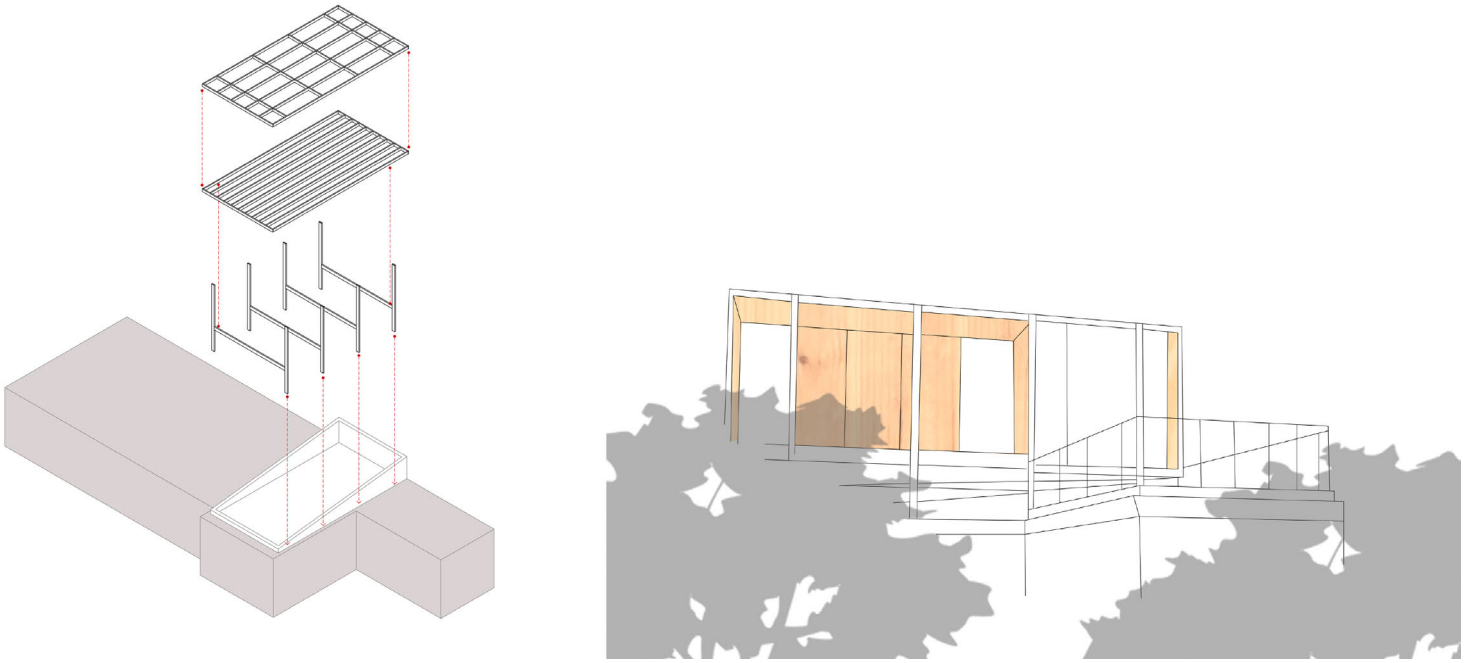


Fig. 5: Palos House, de AToT, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2015. Analysis drawings made by students. Source: Julia Reyes and Wallace Alvim, 2021.

In the Urban Refuge, by architects Agustin Berzero and Valeria Jaros[10] (Fig. 6), the intervention started with the demolition of small sections of slab that occupied almost the entire lot, forming backyards, large enough to ensure quality ventilation and light. A membrane built with common ceramic brick forms the border of the lot with the street. The brick is laid horizontally - a recurring technique in Brazilian self-built houses - becoming a hollow element that allows light and ventilation to the internal space, or in this case, also to the external one. The constructive solution adopted is different because it makes use of reinforced joints, which enables the adoption of a large volume constituted by the hollow elements. The result demonstrates the sophistication of the project in terms of tectonics that produces an environment of filtered light and preserves views of the landscape and the sky without giving up privacy in relation to the surrounding urban space.

[10] For further information, see: https://www.archdaily.com.br/br/911981/casa-estudio-refugio-urbano-estudio-berzero-jaros. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Fig. 6: Urban Refuge, Estudio Berzero Jaros, Cordoba, Argentina, 2016. Source: http://www.federicocairoli.com/cortometrajes/-refugio-urbano/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

In the Brazilian context, some practices of young offices can be presented as examples of Adamo Faiden's design posture. The Gru.A's Videiras Pavilion[11] (Fig. 7) is based on the choice of a wooden structural system associated with catalog materials (handmade and industrial) in an inventive process and care in the details and joints. In Messina Rivas' Ingá Mirim chapel (fig. 8), the expressive power of stone as an element that composes a hollowed wall acquires an unexpected lightness. The approach to the rural context - identifying available materials and topographical nuances - as well as the exchange of knowledge with local builders characterize the approach that could be practiced in other contexts.

[11] For further information, see: https://www.grua.arq.br/projetos/pavilhao-videiras. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Fig. 7: Videiras Pavilion, Gru.A arquitetos, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 2016. Source: Federico Cairoli, 2019. Available at: http://www.federicocairoli.com/encargos/brasil/-pavilhao-videiras/. Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

Fig. 8: Ingá Mirim Chapel, Messina Rivas, São Paulo, Brazil, 2018. Source: Federico Cairoli, 2019. Available at: http://www.federicocairoli.com/encargos/brasil/-capela-inga-mirim/Accessed 27 Oct 2022.

5 Active Transformation

Instigated by architectural works and practices such as those mentioned above, students are invited to the design challenging task called “Active Transformation”. In this exercise, an 'uncomfortable look' – as we call – at reality is stimulated, that is, from a critical and propositional posture towards the spaces they inhabit, the students define a place and problem for the project. The clipping can be in the domestic sphere or in the public space – a small community facility in a neighborhood square, an annex on a family member’s lot – as long as it can be visited for a physical and photographic survey and for recognition of daily life activities.

Pre-existence is treated as a central aspect. Recognize the potential of what exists, do not seek to “correct” what can be identified as imperfect landscapes of the cities we live in or produce “tabula rasa” in these contexts, but rather add or subtract elements to conquer new qualities. Problems related to ventilation and natural lighting, accessibility, privacy and user flows derived from additions that were built without planning are frequent. Although the additions – popularly called “puxadinho” – often meet user demands, the need to expand free space inside the lots is evident to guarantee essential values of habitability. In this sense, most of the proposed interventions expand the presence of natural light in domestic interiors and introduce new thermal-environmental control mechanisms (shade elements, recesses and eaves, light filters on facades, among others).

The works Casa Fundos, Casa Rabelo and Casa Araújo represent recurrent design operations in the studio's works that are dedicated to face the residential lot issues. In Casa Fundos (Fig. 9) an annex is proposed on the top of the existing house, which uses the brick as a construction element, exploring the structural masonry and variations of block laying in order to create hollow planes. A perforated façade detached from the volume of the house creates a kind of patio, which controls the entrance of light and privacy in the internal environments and balconies of all floors.

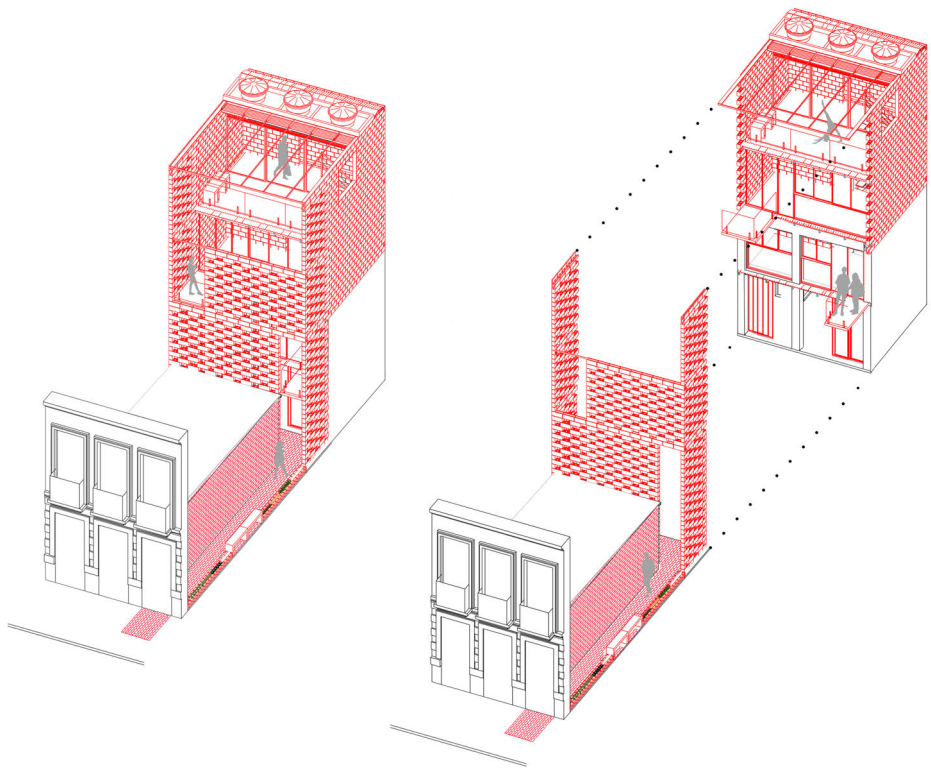
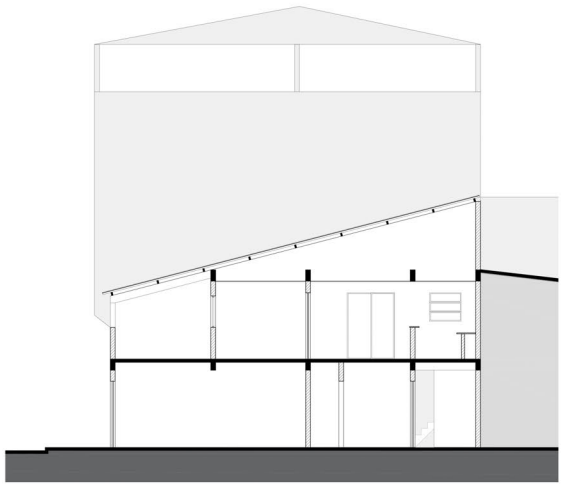


Fig. 9: Casa Fundos, Centro, RJ. Fonte: Ayumi Nakato e Letícia Hora, 2021.

In Rabelo House (Fig. 10) the "construction of voids" (patios and setbacks) is operated in order to provide ventilation and natural lighting for the first floor. The current roof of the house, which does not favor natural lighting, is replaced. The manipulation of the panels of the new roof provides variations in ceiling height and well-ventilated and illuminated internal spaces. In the third project, Araújo House (Fig. 11), the design operation consists in superimposing a new light structure over part of the existing construction and in removing the masonry that prevented the contact between the internal spaces of the house and the backyard, creating a large and airy space responsible for the intermediation between inside and outside.



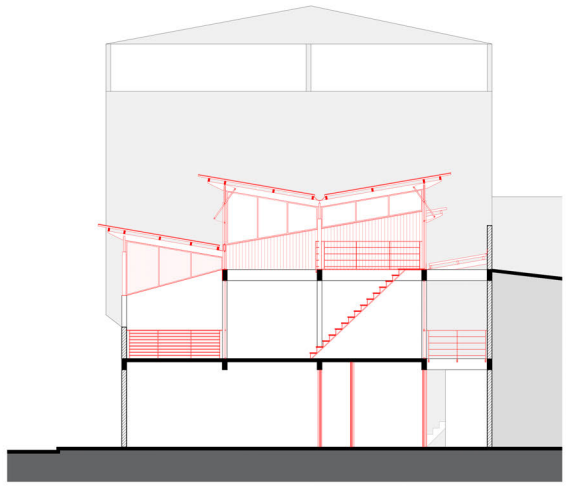


Fig. 10: Rabelo House, Japeri, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Lívia Borges e Vinicius Soares, 2021.

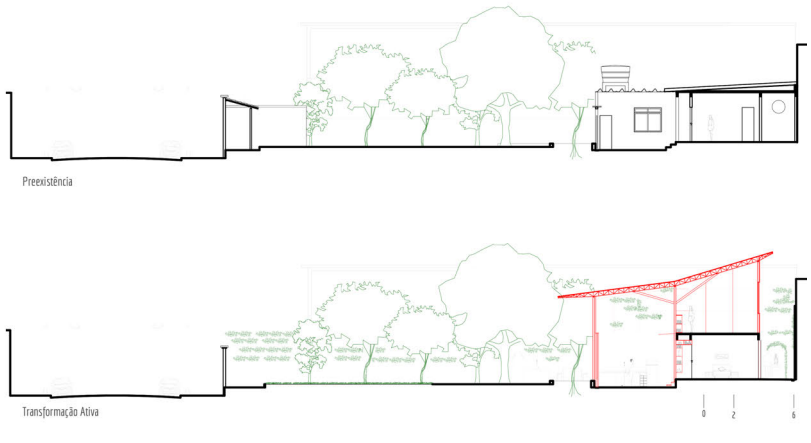


Fig. 11: Araújo House, Rocha Miranda, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.. Source: Cindy Raísa e Duana Araújo, 2022.

Beyond the issues related to the physical-material environment, the debate about "indeterminacy" (Maciel, 2015) and flexibility of spaces is addressed. It provokes the reflection on how to design spaces - domestic or public - to house the collective life in its complexity and constant transformation, allowing the re-signification by its dwellers, recognized as agents of production and invention of everyday life (De Certeau, [1984] 1996). In this sense, the backyard, the terrace, the balcony and the garage, places characterized by collective appropriation through multiple planned and unpredictable activities, present themselves as potent spaces. In the work Guca Terrace (Fig. 12), a wooden structure is proposed with a metallic mesh closure on the perimeter of the existing terrace, which functions as a visual filter for the space. The quality of the terrace

is preserved (and potentiated) as a support for diverse appropriations. In the work Aerial Squares (Fig. 13) a new external circulation tower allows independent access to the community space on the roof slab of a collective residential building.

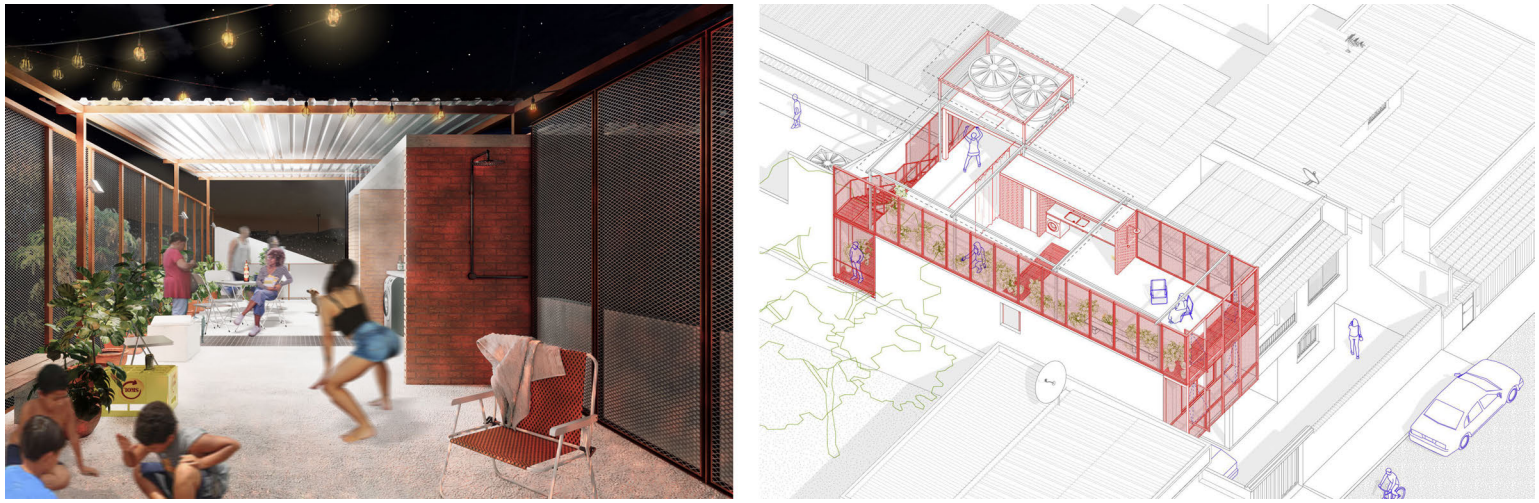
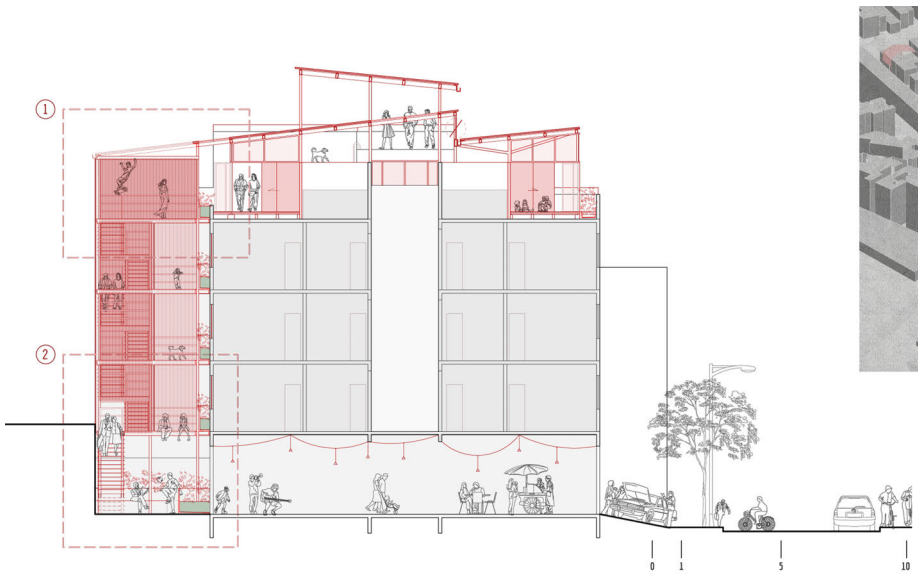


Fig. 12: Guca Terrace, São Gonçalo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Glaucia Cunha e Roger Costa, 2021.



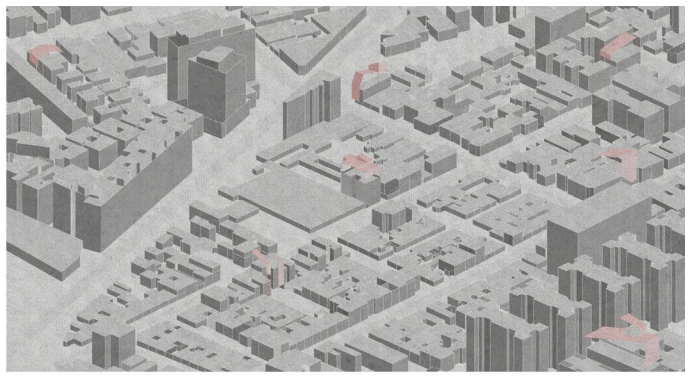


Fig. 13: Aerial Squares, Vila Isabel, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Joanna Ferreira e Thaina Bessa, 2021.

Another relevant aspect in peripheral contexts is the conjugation to the residential environment of spaces destined to paid work (hairdresser's, bar, sewing workshop, mechanic's workshop, among others). The façade on the ground level becomes more porous and the house expands to the street, denoting a cultural aspect of popular neighborhood life in Rio de Janeiro (Vogel, 1985) and other Brazilian cities. The project of the Bar-house (Fig. 14) deals with the coexistence between house and shop, between private and collective life. The challenge of managing circulation and access is the starting point for the project. From the constructive standpoint, it is started from a system that is usual in these peripheries in the construction of roofs over terraces and sidewalks, which consists of a metallic tubular structure of small section. The simple galvanized steel tile, also common in self-built landscapes, is explored not only as a roof but also as a vertical sealing material. These choices allow for the creation of large balconied and shaded circulations for collective appropriation, of the house or the bar, on different levels.

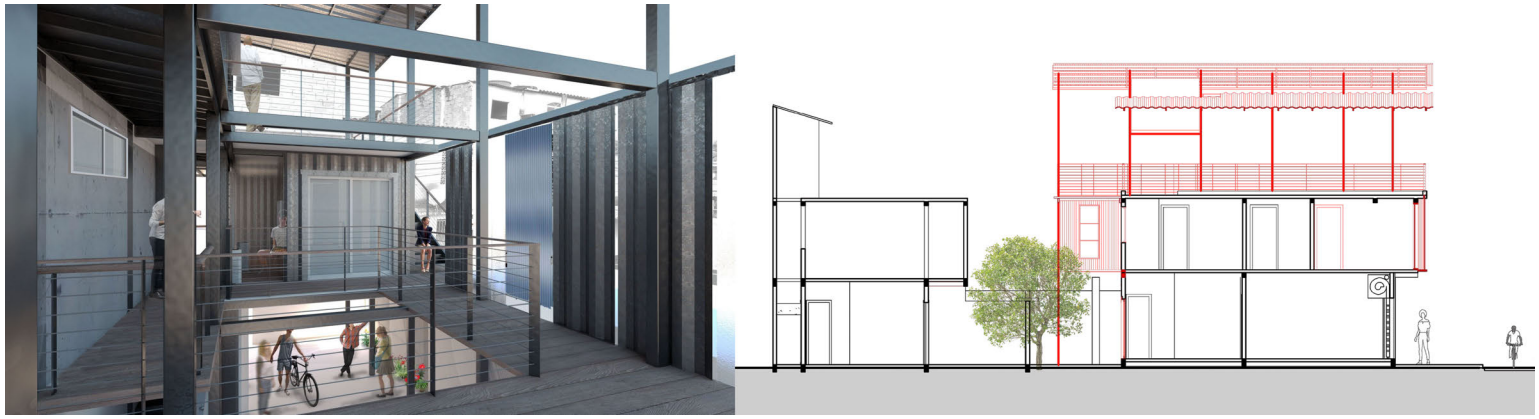


Fig. 14: Bar-house, Guaratiba, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Desirèe Vacques e Taís Vicente, 2020.

The collective dimension of the city is also addressed in the works Urban Yard (Fig. 15) and Aside from (Fig. 16), that are dedicated to small community equipment open to diverse publics. The former, an equipment in two corner lots, includes the street in the design space. Yards are usually spaces used for domestic activities (washing and drying clothes, cooking, etc.), for the cultivation of vegetable gardens, and for leisure and social activities. The proposal, however, displaces its original context (the interior of the domestic lot) adding the adjective "urban" and conferring a public dimension.

Fig. 15: Urban Yard, Belford Roxo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Carolina Rapozo e Isabela Martins, 2021.

Domestic work leaves the house and a collective laundry is proposed next to the kitchen and dining area. A kind of structural grid supports loose planes of metal roofing, giving these corners a character of openness and transparency. In the second example (Fig. 16), the proposal consists of a space for homeless people. The proposal starts from the modular structural system of scaffolding to build a covered shelter with open spaces for permanence and other closed spaces for storage. Coverage and closure acquire continuity from a sequence of translucent tile planes. Floor plans are also defined at several levels.

Fig. 16: Aside from, Madureira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Alexsander Moraes e Luccas Pereira, 2020.

The recognition of a set of common elements, materials and constructive solutions and their appropriation and creative reformulation is a recurrent procedure in Ateliê Aberto's works. To look at what is built without the presence of architects with design interest, "learning from" this commonplace architecture or the "ordinary", as proposed by Enrique Walker (Walker, 2010). This aspect is explicit in the work Clothesline House (Fig. 17), in which the clothesline itself, reinterpreted, gains scale and becomes an element of constitution of spatiality and ambience. And in the Chicken Coop work (Fig. 18), the ordinary also presents itself as an important creative key. The choice of an unusual program sheds light on the presence of other users of the space, non-human and usually neglected: the chickens. The project, however, goes beyond its initial function and becomes the gateway to the ranch. From the point of view of tectonics, the chicken coop metallic mesh and the ceramic brick, common materials, when used in an unusual way, gain poetic expressiveness.

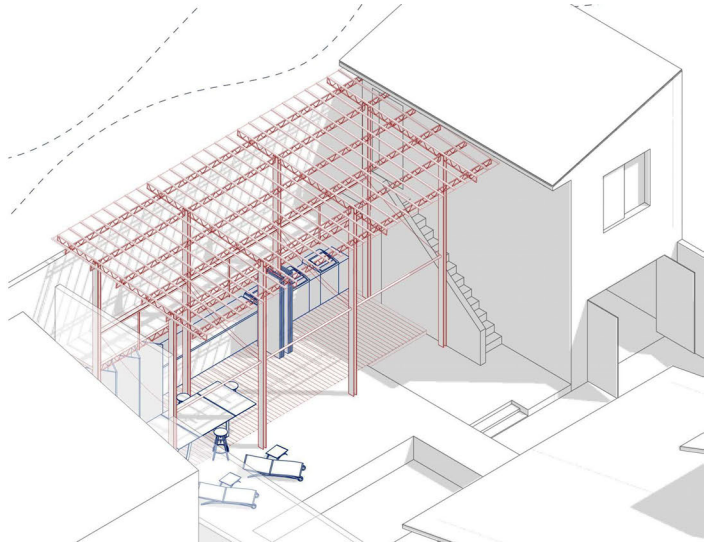
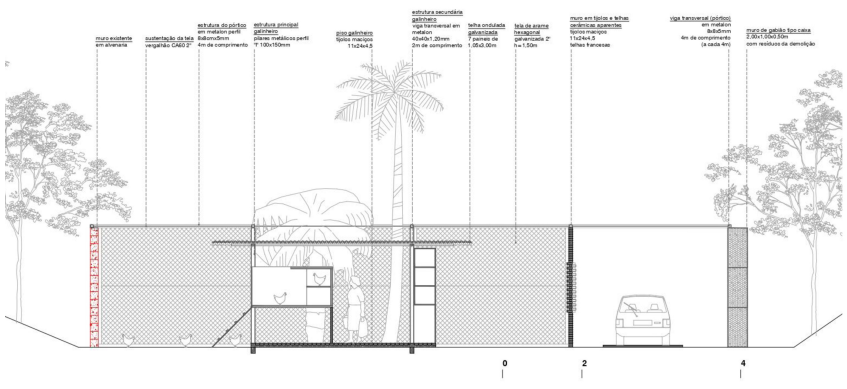


Fig. 17: Clothesline House, Ilha do Governador, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source:: Arthur Frensch e Ana Totti, 2020.



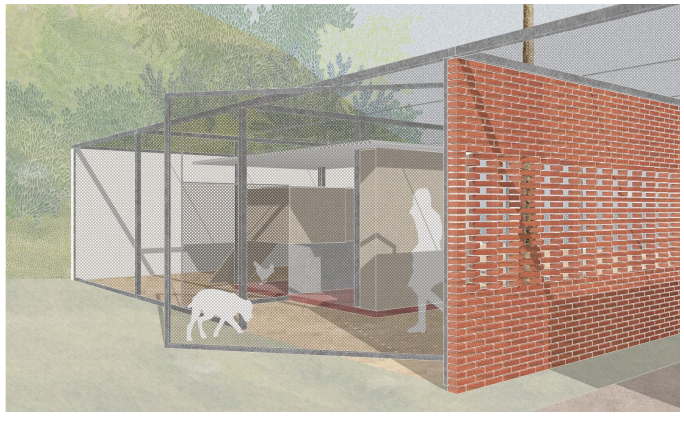


Fig. 18: Chicken Coop, Morro Azul do Tinguá, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Renata Esteves e Clara Ebert, 2020.

6 Final Considerations

The "Ateliê Aberto" at FAU-UFRJ is a space for reflection and experimentation with design practice for the peripheries, where most of its students live. It is believed to be essential that the teaching of architecture be dedicated to broaden the action of architects beyond the high-income groups. Working in these contexts has been challenging and stimulating for students and professors. We can notice the students' motivation to have the opportunity to dedicate themselves to work in the contexts where they live. Thus, they see the possibility of acting in their professional lives in projects of this nature and of being important agents of transformation of these territories. On the other hand, by practicing the conventional ways of design conception, as far as graphic products and means of representation are concerned, we become aware of the need to establish a wider debate about other ways of designing and acting from architecture. We understand that the tensioning of the "common place" of the design challenges both the technical drawing of architecture, which often fails to account for aspects of use and transformation of space in time; and the very conception of the design as an authorial intellectual product.

The counter-hegemonic perspective presented here is built on the approximation to a repertoire of contemporary Latin American projects and practices, as well as on the link between thinking and making, contradicting the structuring separation of disciplinary construction. These are bets that aim to reposition the role of the architect for a greater infiltration in contemporary urban territories. The small scale presents itself as an instrument of resistance so that we can glimpse this possibility.

The students' proposals for qualification of the built environment are based, in their great majority, on operations that take place "from the inside to the outside", or from the individual lot to the urban space. The quantity and diversity of works carried out in the studio over the course of three years gains another dimension when brought together and analyzed as a whole, demonstrating the potential for collective transformation of peripheral landscapes from the small.

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THE MEANING OF COUNTER-HEGEMONY POSSIBILITIES IN ARCHITECTURE
O SENTIDO DAS POSSIBILIDADES DE UMA CONTRA-HEGEMONIA NA ARQUITETURA

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Abstract

The article aims to propose a reflection on the critical – theoretical-practical – possibilities to formulate architecture and urbanism strategies that allow reacting at different levels to the impositions of destructive social logics in the contemporary world. To this end, it proposes an analytical path of some of the spatial results of the process of rationalization in modern architecture – in its Brazilian refraction – to name the conditions of a critical – counter-hegemonic – action; one that is possible in contemporary times. This reflection's main theoretical frameworks are the questions posed to modern architecture by the Italian critic Manfredo Tafuri, and the problematization of Fredric Jameson on the theoretical impasses attributed to it. These could be partially overcome by Lefebvre's critique of the production of space and everyday life, allowing the construction of a theoretical-methodological horizon of social transformation. The present possibilities indicate that critical practice must pursue spatial, cultural, and social contents as alternatives to the progressive abstraction of life, that is, imagine counter-hegemonic procedural actions – and achievements – to face the imposition of hegemonic capitalism (Jameson).

Keywords: Counter-hegemonic Architecture, Modern Brazilian Architecture, Modern Architecture, Architecture Criticism

1 Introduction

> Through and against hierarchy, could not occur, here and there, architecture or urbanistically, "something" that results from the existing mode of production, that is born from its contradictions unveiling them, and not covering them with a veil?
>
> Henri Lefebvre[1]

Among so many, a task is presented to those who insist on maintaining the transformative character of architecture and urbanism implied in its contradictory modern constitution: what are the critical – theoretical-practical – strategical possibilities that allow reacting at different levels to the impositions of the destructive social logics of the contemporary world? To contribute to this task, which sometimes seems unachievable to us, we propose, based on the recognition of the limits revealed by critical architectural thought, to identify the spatial results of the process of rationalization of life. To know them in order to materially find a negative character – which corresponds, in part, to the counter-hegemonic suggested term - to be explored by disciplinary strategies. Thus, it is imagined that the hegemony of abstract value realized in the spaces of life can correspond contradictorily to mechanisms and representations of negativity. These could be triggered by the disciplines of architecture and urbanism in the sense of building counter-hegemonies that, in their continuous movement, foreshadow concrete utopias (Lefebvre, 2014). This critical perspective was boosted by the recent weakening of the unwary and noisy bond between architectural images and the economic logics of financial abstraction. Such themes will be explored through topics that do not intend to exhaust them, but rather compress an argumentative unfolding that helps to clarify some action plans.

2 Methodology

The methodology of these observations is a critical reading escorted by three fundamental authors to face the proposed theme. The bond between them is established by Fredric Jameson: the aporetic and at the same time insurmountable radicality of Manfredo Tafuri, confronted by the open radicality of Henri Lefebvre. Both, each in their own way, problematize modern spatiality adopting distinct ideological perspectives. This article aims to update and operate this critical scheme applied to the Brazilian context, in which modernity was carried out exposing its fundamental contradictions.

3 Discussion

[1] Lefebvre (2013, p. 120, our translation).

Manfredo Tafuri's work is the most uncomfortable synthesis of the critical radicality resulting from the radicalization of architectural modernity. In Architecture and Utopia (1976) the author proceeds to a critique of modern and architectural ideology, identifying an unitary bourgeois cycle in which capitalist development and its liberal ideologies are linked with the constitution of the modern architectural discipline. This attachment begins in the theses of bourgeois liberalism and is concluded in the early movements of Fordism as a paroxysm of the industrial civilization. The author identifies contradictions on both poles: on one, the opposition between architectural unity and the city, in the passage from the aristocratic capital to the metropolis; and on the other the division between the call for homogenization and Fordist standardization and the principles of universality and utopia inherent to the liberal ideology – which is collapsing in the late 1920s. This ideological inflection marks the passage from architecturally prefigured social utopias to the marginal and constricted roles of formal replications resulting from the loss of their substance. The emancipatory and critical contents of radical architecture were suppressed by its functional and affirmative dimension when applied to capitalist development in the context of the Second World War. The "capital's direct management of land" leads to the "the uselessness of outworn instruments [of architecture and urbanism]" (Tafuri, 1976, p. 170-171). This radical criticism seemed to set an aesthetic and political impossibility, which led to the refusal of this inferred aporia extended to the secular profession. Kate Nesbitt (1996, p. 37), summarizes the reception of this criticism in the disciplinary field, concluding that Tafuri "seems to rule out change through architecture".

If Tarufi's criticism led to actual immobilism of architectural thought and a false self-styled post-criticism overcoming[2], it also allowed expansion and elucidation of the disciplinary impasses still at work, despite neoliberal euphoria. Interestingly, the Brazilian modern outbreak, understood through this ideological criticism, can help figure the spatialization of such impasses, as well as the construction of critical categories. They intend to seek conscious instruments moving through dialectics that do not abandon the negative dimension while seeking to tension the inexorable positivity of the discipline. In this sense, an excerpt is necessary.

In Brazil, the philosopher Otília Arantes broadened criticism of architectural ideology and sought to analyze the main works, trends and theories that intended to react to the consequences of this great Modern Project reversion. The postmodern explosion of the late 1970s, didactically exhibited at the Venice Biennale in 1980, allowed the author to capture the "problematic encounter between the aesthetic dimension and social impasse", in addition to the exposure of the evident facadism in the *Arsenale* (Arantes, 2015, p. 14, our translation). By reading these works and seeking coherence in the seemingly unclassifiable formal diversity, the author opened ways for understanding both the "integral formalism" of the modern movement (the positive dimension of the "dialectics of the *avant-garde*") (Arantes, 2015, p. 52–53, our translation) as well as historically formulated alternatives, more or less critical of modern principles. Some experiments, such as Aldo Rossi from *Teatro del Mondo* (1980) and Jean Nouvel from the Institute of the Arab World (1987), intended to extend the critical potential of modernity while opposing its formal schemes and destructive ideological impacts on the city. Although the bet on a certain critical contextualism –which the two architects cited were part of – was revised in the 1990s, the reading schemes that explained the relationship between form and social content were extended to a new radical criticism. Thus, it detected the subsuming of alternative strategies of context and situation to postmodern simulation and imagistic schemes. The formalist continuity of modernity settled as the society of spectacle and the cultural industry, meaning the end of the line for architecture and urbanism carried out in the golden years of neoliberalism.[3]

This interpretative key – which captures social contradictions in the architectural form – allowed broadening the understanding of how modern Brazilian architecture was formed. If capitalist industrial modernization was a global impulse – although unequal and combined – and the link between architecture and capitalist development had already been widely detected, it was time to shine the light of radical criticism over the singular Brazilian case. Ideology of plan and integral formalism needed to be solved in the complex equation of modern Brazilian architecture – which emerged as a miracle in the 1930s. This already partially performed analysis[4] helps the main objective of this reflection[5]. The local materialization of

[2] Michael Speaks' articles (2002, 2005) in Architectural Record summarize the main arguments of overcoming criticism by a projective practice aligned with "contemporary business management practices", as summarized by George Baird (2004).

[3] See Recaman (2001).

[4] See Arantes (1997) and Recaman (1996, 2002).

[5] This discussion follows and develops the script indicated by Wilderom's methodological chapter (2019).

such contradictions works as a metabolism that allows identifying particular spatial elements that can inform disciplinary practice in a more objective way. This, despite the denouncing precision of its original and persistent productive bonds, remains alive in public institutions and civil society, in the activism of social movements, and in other forms of action that could allow the introduction of our so-called counter-hegemonic possibilities. It is therefore necessary to understand as an outlined objective what are the hegemonic configurations, which are material and architectural basis to possible alternative configurations, in addition to the theoretical-critical formulations. The analysis of Brazilian architecture, following the critical tradition, allows the construction of generalized spatial categories that may be useful in this sense. After all, as stated by tradition, Brazilian modernization can better clarify the global process, to the extent that the original ideological illusions of European liberalism were not present in the local process.[6]

Incited by the Getulio Varga's government and its hesitant modernization model, Brazilian architecture erupted just as the ideologies of social emancipation collapsed in the European context, between the late 1930s and the Second World War. It inserted itself in the context of what Tafuri called "reality of the plan" (1976, p. 135), as a local version of the impositions of economic planning resulting from the impasses of liberalism and the international financial crisis of 1929. In our case, this planning imperative encompassed social structuring, following the national states' formation in Europe, which at the same time needed to build a nation – and therefore its identity – and the State itself. In a sudden and accurate way, it recurred to the creation of symbols that, instead being the result of formative social processes, sought to anticipate and activate. From the aesthetic point of view, that is, the configuration of sensitive material according to a possible or desired time spirit, the construction of such mass symbols, that incited a sense of nationality, had been anticipated by the modernist movement of the 1920s. However, in Varga's government and in this argument's context – reality of the plan – aesthetics was progressively disposed of critical dimension, culminating in the architectural configurations of palaces and symbol-buildings. This was the case of the Brazilian production of MESP (1936), as well as Pampulha, in the southwest of Brazil (1939-1942). Not withholding the analyses of these projects, carried out elsewhere, we now move on to some spatial and constructive synthesis – granted by these analyses – that enable the continuity of our argument.

The unaffected disconnection between the cell – in this case, the building – and an existing or desired urban context (*the plan*) is the first movement from an autonomy of this specific cultural system that allowed its full functioning in an adverse social environment if we consider the original contradictions of the bourgeois cycle. Although Le Corbusier brought along his admirable urban plans of the late 1930s, the role of the master was clear from the beginning in the official approach: to fix the intrinsic logic of his formal vocabulary directed at the building, even if it was, in principle – and mistakenly – inseparable from his totalizing conception of the general urban plan. This involuntary task was fully accomplished. The MESP building is an unmatched architectural prodigy, despite, or because of, the logical easing, at first unacceptable, of the Corbusian words. However, this formal system was consolidated in Pampulha's project. How does this architecture resolve the relationship with its surroundings without being allusive, modifying or annulling it? It is a matter of syntactic coherence whose existence and possibility are implicated, nevertheless, in a comprehensive social process that imposes spatiality and urbanization dynamics.

What was left to it was the role of identity simplification and formal sublimation of a social impossibility – harmonical forms instead of socio-spatial assertion. What is, then, it's alternative meaning, other than a beautiful building? The contradictions of this architectural system are related to a possible socio-formal extraversion inherited from the *avant-garde* of the 1920s, but that's not all. Or, more directly: to the universality of the cell as a vessel of an industrial and social rationality, which are based on the socializing expectations brought by homogenization. In the Brazilian case, the composition difficulties of the unit itself are evident in the internal articulation of *stylemas* that clash amongst each other by not reproducing the basic logics of modern architecture. The meaning of this clash is, among other virtuosities, the precarious social starting point and curve that sustains it: the irrational wooden formwork necessary to sustain this reversed purism[7]. However, the relationship between these objects and something that involves or juxtaposes them becomes a problem whose impact can be felt in the undoing of our great cities.

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[6] Cf. "As ideias fora do lugar" in Schwarz (1992).

[7] See Recamán (2010).

The Brazilian social landscape, seized by the gale of early twentieth century modernization, ideologically elides the decades in which a possible urban conformation had been carried out following the precepts of bourgeois urbanism in the nineteenth century. The modernist return to the colony faced an unlikely challenge: elaborating artistically what was socially consolidated by overcoming the same slavery that built this golden civilization. This social impasse of a very late modernization became a formal or aesthetic one. The ideological displacements made by Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer are well known. The allusion to Portuguese-Brazilian civil architecture, religious baroque, tropical landscapes, and bodies follows the path of social reference loss in a production that, conversely, only advanced. Thus, the first empty space to receive virtuous forms was an idealized landscape which the architectural forms explicitly mimicked. The natural space could only be maintained in specific circumstances, since the land that progressively welcomed this architecture developed explosively. This transition has been carefully rehearsed by Niemeyer's work since the 1940s.

The inherited formal extroversion forces, whose aesthetic-social synthesis had been elaborated by European *avant-garde* under the impulse of Fordism in the 1920s, would not simply disappear when crossing the ocean. They demanded an elaboration intending to discontinue them in the purest formalism. Such aim was met by Niemeyer's ensemble- form, elaborated throughout his extensive production. The alternative meaning – for which the bulldozer of modern architecture tended radically – was summing up locally to replication. The architectural "other" was a configuration that arranged similar units in a false enlarged unified ensemble. Its social dimension had dissipated; the form itself showcased this incompleteness. The social dimension can be understood as the urban, the city. The latter was gradually disappearing, as pointed out by Lefebvre. However, modern *avant-garde* had radicalized this evaporation by completely disregarding the city in its constructive project. The Brazilian case did not imagine this shallow emptiness, but rather made extraordinary forms fit inside urban precariousness, with the same figure-background scheme of the tropical landscape-architectural object experiences initially intended. This formal scheme imploded with the city ensemble-plan of Brasilia, in Brazil's middle-west, reaching unimaginable spatial limits. The urban precariousness of the surroundings does not take away its beauty, it rather emphasizes it; without confronting it or giving it a social example; a horizon of justice. On the contrary, it stabilizes Brazilian duality, which, superficially, sometimes moves and sometimes paralyzes.

Joining this dialectical climax came the inevitable confrontation between the architectural matrix and the Brazilian metropolitanization. From the point of view of a complex aesthetic elaboration of socio-spatial contradictions, the new creative explosion axis of Brazilian architecture moved to the country's largest city in the mid-1950s. It set a new spatial paradigm that sought to adapt the findings of Brazilian *avant-garde* to the dynamics of urbanization driven by wandering spaces resulted from economic and speculative logics that organized the southeast city of São Paulo. The spaces of this capitalist metropolis are scarred by the difficult coordination of constructed fragments, which result from the logic of an economic abstraction that rules them. Such fragmentation reaches unprecedented levels on the outskirts of capitalism. In addition to a great absence of previous minimum urban unity, these fragments are mostly built according to laws of necessity and precariousness. The meaning of the urban fragment, resulting from undesigned and unplanned land partition, differs drastically from the unified imposition of the authoritarian State architecture in Brazil. How to attribute a new impulse to it in an increasingly restricted social horizon subjected to the determinations of capitalist industrial expansion across the globe? Hyper late industrialization, precarious industrial labor, disappointments regarding social development in local modernization, and political weakening of the State were, along with spatial dynamics, new factors of the same equation.

The formal constriction movement of the architectural unit would allow its formal independence, even if subjected to abstract land division; this space becomes sufficient territory for intervention. The ensemble, generality, or latent expandability – impulses of a spatial extroversion intrinsic to modern European typologies – became an independent sum of self-centered units, performing another of the vicissitudes conditioned by aesthetic refraction in an underdevelopment context. The formal ground of this architectural fragment presumed a constructive continuity that would be imposed by unappealable exemplarity. The city would become a juxtaposition of continuum architectural gems, independent from each other, but with strong common expression guaranteed by a balance of displaced and anachronistic echoes of the liberal logic. Inside its walls, a freedom of intimacy; an embryo, in this political context, of an emancipated society. This scheme was contradictorily associated with a perception of Brazilian society's fragility in this period – whether it meant the working class, the economic elites, or the State – inhibiting broader social transformations. In the architect's second house (1949), Artigas defines another volume – the studio – in dialogue with the main construction. A sloping slab travels to cover both volumes giving it a paradoxical sense of unity. From the main room, only this attachment and the sky are visible. His architectural path indicated,

more vigorously than in his contemporaries, the constriction of the residential unit within the lot, as a solution for a city going through an unbridled allotment process in the 1950s.

In the context of the hyper late Brazilian industrialization carried out during the democratic interregnum – between the New State and the military coup – the Niemeyerian prospect was unfeasible in face of the imposition of underdevelopment destituted from inflows of national autonomy. For the absolutization of economic logic, which the city of São Paulo represented so much, the enclosure within the lot assured a space for socialization of the nearby circles. This microcosm frailly indicated a possible supra-individual meaning, conditioned by a radical process of spatial fragmentation. These political bets were only understandable within the context of aggravated social conflicts leading up to the closure of the political regime. Although the spatial trials were carried out in residency projects, the coherence of spatial arrangement introversion lingered within scales projects and different programs carried out by Artigas and his followers.

Although the architectural solutions of these two main historical moments – “getulism” and democratization – have resulted in very diverse spatial paradigms, some essential aspects bind them together. Modern deterritorialization resulting from the geometric abstraction that guided plan spatiality had an explicit motive in the context of underdevelopment. It survived, or rather, it was propelled forward, when it lost its original meaning – social change mediated by rational organization of an idealized territory. In Brazil, this deterritorialization followed the deideologized abstraction of a deregulated economic order, which has in the spatial ambit its operation mechanism. Thus, the apparent disorder resulting from intangible economical forces emerges to the urban surface, free from inertial forces or political obstacles; regulation which existed in the original ideological context. The singular fragments that punctuated São Paulo’s urban space, even while intending to spread, ended up concentrating all aesthetic efforts in architecture. This strategy ensured its existence and survival by settling a broad formal vocabulary which resulted in frozen morality. Both persevered even when set outside the conflicting social context, in which the possibilities of national development were at stake.

The meaning of this aesthetic and formal scheme determined by abstraction forces has a historic recurrence: the intrinsic antiurbanity from the modern design projects in architecture. Its underdeveloped refraction focused on a territoriality lacking urban organization, in a city’s historical sense. The colonial, imperial and republican period left us with spaces which were already built from decontextualized fragments. This fragile urban support was ravaged by the process of economic modernization in the first decades of the 1920s and radicalized in the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, the antiurbanity of our architectural modernity finds the destructive meaning of the vanguard operation, emptied from social utopias – the plan. A sufficient anti-urbanity that did not intend to institute a new rational order which was critical to the urban schemes of the past. Its segregalist social character implicates in a spatial organization freely commanded by economic forces which find nor physical or social barriers to confront them strongly enough. In the proposed argument, we highlight that this antiurbanity did not find counterpoints in the disciplinary field either. On the contrary, the aestheticization of this fragmented illogic was a determinant creative impulse trigger, with no enunciated social content intending to critically justify it.

4 Final Considerations

After this brief analysis of more visible concrete spatial phenomena in the Brazilian refraction of the *avant-garde*, we return, thus instructed, to the possibilities or gaps in the initial critical formulations disciplinarily perceived as aporetic. These questions guide this reflection: are counter-hegemonic spaces possible in the context of neoliberal hegemony? If so, do they have an emancipatory horizon, that is, even if they are not themselves the spaces of the liberated life, do they lead towards them in any way?

To the extent that Tafurian (1976, p. 170-182) aporia is almost a consensus, we should propose a reflection on some indications of this less mentioned author, present a chapter called Problems in the form of a conclusion . To this end, we must strive to maintain the original dialectical method, that is, not wanting to find peaceful and positive contradictions denials, for those, from the 1960s until now, have only increased. Moreover, according to the author, it is essential to understand the real processes that states a necessary link between architecture and the increasingly complex capitalist development. Not only from an ideological point of view, but also in the productive aspects in which it has progressively diluted itself.

In the 1960s, a context to which Tafuri's reflections are deeply associated, a decline in the professionalism of architecture, increasingly emptied from its ideological and intellectual character, was already announced. The rationalization of objective

processes while projecting cities and buildings increasingly undermined the once prevalent spiritual activity of the architect. If on the one hand this resulted from the deterioration of the bourgeois ideologies to which architecture owed its modern origin, it also undermined its critical consciousness, – and its utopias – a space of reactive social action to the paths of economic logic. We can only corroborate with the vaticinium of professional deterioration, greatly expanded by informational technologies that imply labor division, foreign to the logics of synthesis and totality brought by modernity in its peak. Perhaps the worst result of this deterioration of critical reflection today is the increasingly anti-intellectualism present in the academic world. Its effects are diverse, ranging from the abandonment of specific technical knowledge to the elimination of critical distance in relation to the immediate processes of reified everyday life.

The conditions and limits of professional practice are not an obstacle, and their recognition is fundamental for enabling resistance actions to the hegemonic forces of capitalist development. We cannot avoid facing the high complexity of both the construction sector and the urban structure. The complexity of contemporary planning is a result of the ideological anticipation of the plan, carried out by radical architecture. It is, therefore, a matter of facing the contemporary consequences of these partial and instrumental strategies of social control:

> Beyond the criticism of ideology there exists the "partisan" analysis of such a reality, in which it is always necessary to recognize the hidden tendencies, the real objectives of contradictory strategies, and the interests connecting apparently independent economic areas. It seems to me that, for an architectural culture that would accept such a terrain of operations, there exists a task yet to be initiated. (Tafuri, 1976, p. 172).

We must recognize this practice moves in the field of negativity, which problematizes utopic images of a liberated society, subjective wills, syntax updating, or even class architecture. This negative field reaches the heart of an essentially constructive aesthetic activity such as architecture and urbanism. A reflection by Fredric Jameson (1985) helps us undoing the so-called Tafurian aporia. If only a class critique is possible instead of a class architecture, the architect's role becomes resolutely negative in denouncing existing or historical ideologies. The aesthetic dimension of architecture is thus restrained, while the architect's revolutionary political practice becomes the only possibility. We could say that the Italian architect thus sentences an inflexible separation between them, eliminating residues of aesthetic autonomy. Jameson goes further by bringing this aporia closer to a textual genre whose internal coherence leads to a closure, an ideology. According to the American critic, this analysis is shrouded by the debates of Western Marxism and the revolutionary impasses of the 20th century.

In addition to the difficulties pointed out by Marxism in the second half of the 20th century, which involve a myriad of authors, it will be more appropriate here to advance towards the political and aesthetic alternative pointed out by Jameson, which would pave the way for counter-hegemonic practice. To confront Tafuri, Jameson turns to another celebrated Italian author, Antonio Gramsci. Hegemony imposition is based on several factors that dilute the separation between materialism and idealism; likewise, counter-hegemony includes possible resistance which implies a cultural struggle: in our case, "counter-hegemony means producing and keeping alive a certain alternate "idea" of space, of urban, daily life, and the like." (Jameson, 1985, p. 7).

The argument, here severely simplified, leads us to the Lefebvrian space exit and to a short excursion. The French author is known as a radical critic of modern architecture, especially of the *grands ensembles* produced in France after the 1950s. It was his sociological research in these abstract spaces that allowed the author to propose a reflection on everyday life and the centrality of space in contemporary capitalist production (second half of the 20th century). It is through spatial rationality, whether it refers to a unit, to the ensemble or to the city, that the capitalist and alienated social reproduction takes place. The abstractions of the economic order erode the cities – constructions – from any meaning, transforming them into products to be exchanged and consumed. To this ideological aspect of space, directly productive aspects can overlap, without being separated: "productive labor organization, transportation, raw materials and energy flow, product distribution network... space is inserted into production relationships and forces " (Lefebvre, 2013 [1985], p. 125, our translation). For us to be able to return to Jameson's criticism, it is worth emphasizing another quote about the space unity:

> The concept of space interwines mental, cultural, social and historical fields. Reconstructing a complex process: discovering (new, unknown continents or cosmos); production (of each society's

> own individual spatial organization); creation (constructions: the landscape, the city with its monumentality and the background).. (Lefebvre, 2013 [1985], p. 126, our translation)

For Jameson, both the closure of Tafurian thought and that of impassive and conformed postmodernity would lead to a stalemate of action. The possible openness is, as we have seen, in the political validity of the construction of counter-hegemonic spaces as cultural dispute and in the possibility of spatialities that seek an approximation with a revolutionized everyday life, maintaining aesthetic distance. Even if there are no greater indications regarding the architectures involved in these possibilities, Jameson, a literary critic, intends to build a theoretical framework that allows proper architectural reflection to unfold strategies for a discipline adrift. This mediation between theory and practice was carried out by the author of Urban Revolution, "the one great prophetic vision of these last years of discouragement and renunciation" (Jameson, 1985, p. 53). In conclusion, an observation in relation to Jamesonian expectations. This author emerged in the international debate on postmodernity by declaring that cultural logic began guiding contemporary capitalism, making economic and cultural dynamics become indifferent. Even so, he would point out the remain of certain relative autonomy that would allow betting on the critical possibilities of culture, art, and architecture. It remains to be seen whether this aesthetic residue would linger on today, resisting the narrowing that neoliberalism produces on the non-economic dimensions of life. As recently reaffirmed by Otília Arantes (2021, p. 42, our translation):

> To conclude: after what I have exposed there is no need to confirm - that's it, there is no more space in the contemporary world, whether for artistic creation, nor aesthetic experience in the terms of the past; specifically until modernisn in its peak. .

To which Tafuri (1983, p. 11, our translation) could add:

> That is why the architect's problem is not building such representations, if by representations we understand the collective way of understanding reality. Architects or not, voluntarily or not, we are built as soon as we arrive in this world, we are built and, at the same time, we build this reality images. There are, nevertheless, movements that can shift representation, but they are not subjective. Criticism, for instance. Criticism, which constantly strips representations as they are (notice I say criticism, not the critic), that is, intersubjective, social, international work. Criticism can bring so much doubt regarding present representation that it can push it forward; it can encourage the leap.

Although this is not the purpose of this reflection, it is useful, in this synthesis effort, to indicate how this critical equation can be fed by current architectural production. After all, every critical reflection proposed can only be based on the analysis of existing spatial phenomena, trying to avoid the ideology minefield. Similarly, the possibilities, or virtualities inscribed in reality must also be supported by concrete proposals understood as counter-hegemonic alternatives to the radical spatial abstraction of neoliberalism. In the Brazilian context, just as a possible response to the longings of practical action, we can say there have been critical impulses inserted in architectural achievements in the recent decades. Such impulses are less or more developed depending on each case. They face, with enormous difficulty, the production mechanisms of the current capitalist field, which completes the urban explosion and implosion, as stated by Lefebvre. However, such reactive and intuitive constructions lack theoretical and critical formulations that explore and give full meaning to what arises only as a formal reaction to the *status quo*. Especially in the Brazilian case, the positivity of counter-hegemonic power formulations appears daily with the appropriation of urban space by its residents. Amongst the basic needs that result in unprecedented precariousness, indications of creative free will appear at all times, especially in the poorest city areas. Such a dimension of life can be the priority social fabric for architectural space research in order to shape it and broaden its meaning, which can be, why not, concrete-utopian.

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ANOTHER URBAN: CONSIDERATIONS ACROSS SOLÀ-MORALES AND CARERI

UM OUTRO URBANO: CONSIDERAÇÕES ATRAVÉS DE SOLÀ-MORALES E CARERI

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Abstract

This article brings other ways of inhabiting the city based on Ignasi Solà-Morales' reflections about the contemporary urban phenomenon, aiming to put Francesco Careri's nomadic walkscapes as translations that incorporate and territorialize them as a counter-hegemonic spatial praxis. For this purpose, anchored in a literature review of Careri and Solà-Morales, and their critiques of contextualist urbanism and urban design, we seek to present the reflexive vocabulary power that both provoke and enable. More than delimiting structures, their placements open the horizons of the urban field in a rhizomatic way that does not find an end in itself: rather, they inscribe the urban exercise beyond a (neo)liberal production of the city spaces. Through the concepts of mutation and *terrain vague*, the Catalan researcher makes it possible to tension the thought about urbanism and architecture interpreted here through Careri's wandering walkscapes. The Italian architect began to experiment with Deleuzian smooth space, traversing through the peri-urban regions of Paris and Rome as a practice of displacing the material urban framework of the cities' urban fabric. Both Solà-Morales and Careri find in environments of indeterminacy –intellectual and materialized– that the uprooting of urbanism provides them with other ways of thinking and practicing spaces.

Keywords: Urban Phenomenon, Terrain Vague, Mutation, Walkscapes, Counter-hegemonic Urbanism.

1 Introduction

> If our proposal of cultural categories to understand the new relationships between architecture and today's great metropolises began with the notion of "mutation" as the most appropriate to understand the phenomena of sudden transformation, the last one we propose, *terrain vague*, is practically its counterpoint, the reverse side of the same metropolitan medal. Only equal attention to both values of innovation and values of memory and absence will be able to keep alive the confidence in a complex and plural urban life. The role of art, Deleuze has written, also of the art of architecture "is not to produce objects for themselves, self-referential, but to constitute itself as a revealing force of multiplicity and contingency" (Solà-Morales, 1996, p. 23, our translation)[1].

In the present article, we looked for using the reflections of Ignasi Solà-Morales regarding the contemporary urban phenomenon and Francesco Careri's *walkscapes* as provocations to other praxis, ways of thinking and acting, about the urban. To do so, it was necessary a quick path of how the discussions about cities ended up in their complex theoretical apprehensions, taking into account from some postmodernist criticisms to the consequent unfolding on urban theory and practice, consolidated in what became known as contextualist urbanism and represented through the construction of the Olympic Village in Barcelona and the reconstruction of Berlin after the end of the Cold War.

Ignasi has the characteristics of his contemporaries and also post-structuralist French influencers, such as Deleuze and Foucault, who blend an extensive referential and theoretical body with an enormous reflective vocabulary power and, therefore, are not closed in themselves. More than delimiting structures, his concepts open the horizons of our fields of study in a rhizomatic way. In this sense, understanding is not immediate, or is it taxative. The plastic and fruitful reflections on his statements that we find in this article help us to glimpse an expanded philosophical framework, placing us in a momentum of displacement and contingency.

Approximations found in our elaborations of the Catalan architect, historian and philosopher in combination of the wandering practices of the Italian architect Francesco Careri are brought here as a way of embodying and territorializing the

[1] From the original in Spanish: "Si nuestra propuesta de categorías culturales para entender las nuevas relaciones entre la arquitectura y las grandes metrópolis actuales empezaba por la noción de mutación" como la más adecuada para entender los fenómenos de transformación súbita, la última que planteamos, *terrain vague*, constituye prácticamente su contrapunto, el reverso de la misma medalla metropolitana. Sólo una igual atención tanto a los valores de la innovación como a los valores de la memoria y de la ausencia será capaz de mantener viva la confianza en una vida urbana compleja y plural. El papel del arte, ha escrito Deleuze, también del arte de la arquitectura 'no es el de producir objetos para sí mismos, autorreferentes, sino el de constituirse en fuerza reveladora de la multiplicidad y la contingencia'".

conceptualizations of Solà-Morales in a counter-hegemonic context of understanding architecture and urbanism. Understanding them as contesting epistemologies of a totalizing thought and practice put into practice on a large and uncritical scale currently in praxis on spaces. To this end, we anchored ourselves on a literature review by Careri, in his concept of nomadic wandering and walking as an aesthetic act, and by Solà-Morales, in his understandings about mutation and the *terrain vague*. Thus, both are understood here as Stalkers who find, in the Zone of indetermination, that the uprooting of urbanism provides them a different, alternative and borderline way of thinking and practicing architecture and urbanism.

2 The Contextualist Urbanism

The last century was a very busy time in the field of architectural and urban theory and practice. From the fruitful development of political ideologies and the emergence of new materials and technologies accumulated throughout the industrial and military revolutions, the modernist movement successfully managed, at the beginning of the last century, to create its own terrain, which broke with the treatadist models of architecture since the Italian Renaissance. The modernist agenda combined a paradigm of technical rationality with an ideology that expressed the desires and expectations of a period spirit (Solà-Morales, 2003). This *zeitgeist* was based on an instrumental use of history, on an inescapably teleological vision, which justified itself in its own ends: all the past led to a present that could not be any other. This philosophical heritage (Marxist and, consequently, also Hegelian) guided, in a totalizing way, all previous experiences, from the Baroque to the Vanguards, in the full development of the Modern Movement, the apex of a psychological expression and a technical refinement.

Beginning in the 1950s, the modernist model began to suffer hard criticism regarding its inability to deal with the complexity and diversity of the various territories of the world that its spread had managed to reach. The standardized model and the unidimensional answer to subjective and urban issues began to be questioned by regional movements that used other fields of knowledge of the human sciences (such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, etc.) to break with an ideal of a “happy ending”, as Colin Rowe points out in 1958 (Solà-Morales, 2003), that had no basis in lived experience. From this intense contact with other areas of human knowledge, the *tabula rasa* on which modernist architecture and urbanism were developed begins to understand history not as a legitimizing and teleological argument of a luminous present, but as pre-existences that needed to be considered in the reflections and interventions on space.

The instrumentalized use of history makes place for a history that claims to be the cornerstone of a theoretical foundation, as a critical history. At this point, the development of structuralist issues, especially semiotic and linguistic ones, gained ground not only in architecture but in a good part of the human sciences. This recent understanding sought to build alternative epistemologies to the single modernist narrative, incorporating structuralist discourses in order to formulate its own, self-centered and autonomous rhetoric. Faced with a certain preponderance of urban issues from the mid-twentieth century on, an intrinsic correlation between urbanism and architecture emerges in theoretical constructions. The works of Aldo Rossi (1984), for example, place urban morphology and constructive typology in a binary relationship that, together, present a dialectical urban logic. According to him: “Urban morphology is the study of city forms. Building typology is the study of building types. Both disciplines study two orders of homogeneous facts; in addition, the constructive types that are materialized in the buildings are what physically constitutes the city” (Rossi cited in Pereira, 2012, our translation)[2].

Equipped with this imbricated understanding that architecture and urbanism get in a postmodern moment, this intrinsic correlation between form and superstructure no longer allows a detached understanding of any of these fields without somehow spilling over to the other. Moreover, taking into account that this correlation is also based on a critique of the cultural and identity reductionism of the Modern Movement, Contextualist Urbanism is materialized in the construction of the Olympic Village in Barcelona and in the reconstruction of Berlin. Much of the contextualist urban reforms in Barcelona consist of the intervention carried out to host the 1992 Olympic Games.

The Olympic Village of New Icaria, a place built to host the athletes during the event, sought to integrate with the pre-existing Cerdarian urban fabric at the time while the city's waterfront was being rebuilt, occupied until then by port and railway facilities.

[2] From the original in Portuguese: “A morfologia urbana é o estudo das formas da cidade. A tipologia construtiva é o estudo dos tipos de construção. Ambas as disciplinas estudam duas ordens de fatos homogêneos; além disso, os tipos construtivos que se concretizam nos edifícios são o que constitui fisicamente a cidade”.

Bohigas (1992), an architect who participated in the Barcelona project, points out that the city was understood as a collage of juxtaposed smaller systems (neighborhoods) hierarchically coordinated by a larger morphological system that takes into account a question of Catalan identity. Besides regarding the characteristics of Cerdá's plan, also takes care of the actual everyday uses of these devices, capable of spreading a positive “metastasis” of urban vitality. Predominantly with a residential use blended with a waterfront with an eminent tourist appeal, New Icaria combined this concern with the identity and specific characteristics of Barcelona, and Catalan architects were directly involved in the residential portion of the project. The remodeling of the waterfront attracted foreign investment in a more cosmopolitan city, with buildings designed by renowned architects, such as Frank Gehry and Álvaro Siza (Bronstein, 2012). The reconstruction of Berlin took place in the 1990s, based on political issues that were very specific to the context of the city. Until 1989, the year The Wall was demolished, Berlin had been divided by that physical barrier that separated very different ways of living.

Therefore, the intended reconversion of the city into the Germany's capital, now reunified, posed challenges for an urban reconstruction that was also eminently political and economic. After the end of the Cold War, both East and West Berlin were in crisis. So, the reestablishment of the capital was a way to stimulate the country's industrial sectors and also attract investment to the city (Bronstein, 2012). The reconstruction of Berlin was a path to defuse the economic and political crisis the city was in, attempting to create jobs and open places, such as *Friedrichstraße*, for private lease (Harvey, 2005). Using critical history as argumentative support, Stimmannn establishes very restrictive urban norms for a unique reconstruction of a city that was, at least, bipartite. These attempts to homogenize and erase the wars as a recent and evocative past in the city resulted in both aesthetic criticism, concerning the lack of architectural and urbanistic experimentation and expressiveness; as well as political, concerning authoritarian attitudes and, to a large part, the historical obliteration of East Berlin. The inability to translate the complexity and fractal traumas experienced by the city resulted in a superficial identity harmony that did not match recent Berlin.

3 Another urban praxis suggested by Solà-Morales

Despite the plurality of criticisms of architecture, especially of modernist urbanism, Solà-Morales, in his understanding of the different historiographical practices in architecture in the last century, identifies a certain common point in these two contextualist approaches. From an inability to build a single methodological approach that could account for the totality of cities. In this model of local claims and regionalisms, this particular focus found its way by fragmenting and dismembering the urban into several entities that are recomposed in a “reassembly” grounded through a process of critical historicization (Solà-Morales 2003). This point is well illustrated in architecture by Venturi who, even in his criticism of a certain moral puritanism of modernism in architecture, insists in his “Gentle Manifesto” to a complexity and a contradiction, in an instance of totalizing inclusion:

> I am for richness of meaning rather than clarity of meaning; for the implicit function as well as the explicit function. I prefer “both-and” to “either-or,” black and white, and sometimes gray, to black or white. A valid architecture evokes many levels of meaning and combinations of focus: its space and its elements become readable and workable in several ways at once. But an architecture of complexity and contradiction has a special obligation toward the whole: its truth must be in its totality or its implications of totality. It must embody the difficult unity of inclusion rather than the easy unity of exclusion. More is not less. (Venturi, 2002, p. 23)

This structuring necessity also appears in the considerations of Rem Koolhaas (2014) in his elaboration of a theory of Greatness. In his theoretical call for the incorporation of the category of Greatness into architecture and urbanism, he states that in a contemporary context, "architects stand in the position of the creators of Frankenstein: instigators of a partially successful experiment whose results have been seized with unbridled madness, therefore, discredited" (2014, p. 47, our translation)[3].

[3] From the original in Portuguese: “os arquitetos ficam na posição dos criadores de Frankenstein: instigadores de uma experiência parcialmente bem-sucedida cujos resultados foram tomados de uma loucura desenfreada portanto desacreditados”.

That is, even for postmodern theorists, this process of "reassembling" referred to by Solà-Morales is only allowed within a kind of arboreal spreading (Deleuze; Guattari, 1995) that recognizes a regional and identity multiplicity (and, therefore, distinguishes itself from a modernist totalizing unidimensionality). And it also maintains a unique point of contact from which to carry out a historical genealogy and thus justify its praxis based critically. Deleuze and Guattari (1995) elucidate this possibility of genealogy, with a common root, of arboreal knowledge when they conceptualize, in contrast, their renowned philosophical figure of the rhizome:

> A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance. The tree imposes the verb "to be," but the fabric of the rhizome is a conjunction, "and . . . and . . . and" This conjunction carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb "to be". Between things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one and the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle. (Deleuze; Guattari, 1995, p. 36, our translation)[4]

This affiliation and a kind of essentialism (imposition of the verb "to be") that Deleuze and Guattari counterpose to the rhizome can be understood as anchors of structuralist thinking. As Koolhaas himself (2014) exemplifies a little later, in his elaboration on Greatness, there is still, in this Contextualist Urbanism, a need to organize itself from an arboreal thought: "the attraction of Greatness lies in its potential to rebuild the Whole, resurrect the Real, reinvent the collective and claim maximum power" (2014, p. 22, our translation[5]). Not coincidentally, categories of thought such as the Whole and the Real are issues discussed by Hegel (Hegel, 2008). In contrast, according to Solà-Morales, this Hegelian heritage found in Marx and Freud reaches a conceptual exhaustion from the moment Foucault (Solà-Morales, 2003), and later retaken up by Deleuze and Guattari (1995), points out the danger of a certain positivist and hegemonic formulation in this field. In addition to proposing the archeology of knowledge as a less coercive and universalist approach to the sciences, a way of "distrusting this desire for essentiality" (Foucault, 2012, p. 248, our translation[6]).

This new way of approaching can be understood within the thinking about the contemporary city in Solà-Morales' effort to situate it from disorder, multiplicity and differences as points of departure and no longer points of arrival. Concepts such as *terrain vague* and mutation are used to understand territories and landscapes as fragmentary and changeable processes of an urban category emancipated, from the centralizing *logos* of urbanism: a possibility to resist and escape the idea of architecture and urbanism only as a representation of power.

4 Mutation and *terrain vague*

To understand this "rhizomatic urban" it is necessary to atomize the readings about the city as its own epistemology, "as Ignasi de Solà-Morales correctly detected, the existence of a geography, an anthropology and an urban economy that confers total credibility to the hypothesis that the urban constitutes a specific cultural category" (Bronstein, 2012, our translation[7]). This understanding leaves the urban capable of displacement without the burden of referring to critical history or urban anthropology as guidelines (failing to represent its contents as a form) since all this multiplicity of understandings crosses and constitutes it. This removes a theoretical immobility and allows us to face the contemporary urban experience as such.

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[4] From the original in Portuguese: "Um rizoma não começa nem conclui, ele se encontra sempre no meio, entre as coisas, inter-ser, intermezzo. A árvore é filiação, mas o rizoma é aliança, unicamente aliança. A árvore impõe o verbo 'ser', mas o rizoma tem como tecido a conjunção 'e... e... e…' Há nesta conjunção força suficiente para sacudir e desenraizar o verbo 'ser'. Entre as coisas não designa uma correlação localizável que vai de uma para outra e reciprocamente, mas uma direção perpendicular, um movimento transversal que as carrega uma e outra, riacho sem início nem fim, que rói suas duas margens e adquire velocidade no meio".

[5] From the original in Portuguese: "a atracção da Grandeza está no seu potencial de reconstruir o Todo, ressuscitar o Real, reinventar o colectivo e reivindicar a potência máxima".

[6] From the original in Portuguese: "desconfiar dessa vontade de essencialidade".

[7] From the original in Portuguese: "como bem detectou Ignasi de Solà-Morales, a existência de uma geografia, de uma antropologia e de uma economia urbana confere total credibilidade à hipótese que o urbano constitui uma categoria cultural específica".

It is thus detached from a certain historical-structuralist slowness process that decodes the environment into an a priori of the past that the concept of place and critical regionalism constructs.

> (...) behind the abusive claim that architecture was the instrument with which to manufacture and control the totality of the environment, there was hidden the need to refer to urban models from the past and the inability to literally imagine, to have a global image of what is really happening in our surroundings. (Solà-Morales, 1996, p. 10, our translation)[8]

To talk about this incapacity for imagination in contemporary urbanism, Solà-Morales brings the concept of mutation. According to him, this "rupture on the natural mechanisms of growth" (Bronstein, 2012, p. 174, our translation[9]) provokes in contextualist urbanists a call for order, harmony, and coherence, making them seek references of meaning in an anachronistic past that does not hold the visions of contemporary becoming. Mutation, on the other hand, allows urban planners to think from the atypical and strengthen this creative force for the "adoption of open and interactive morphologies" (Bronstein, 2012, p. 174, our translation[10]). Mutation would come from the biological sense, from a transformation that is not only morphological but also physiological (Solà-Morales, 1996). This transmutation is brought by Solà-Morales as an explosion of original creation close to chaos, an absence of the model orderliness of a life form: rather a life that sprouts without following preconceived parameters, sudden and uprooted from a sequential evolutionary process. In this sense, a mutation would be a form of non-arboreal, rhizomatic, spontaneous conception. It is an epistemology and ontology of non-teleological creation.

Meanwhile, the concept of *terrain vague* appears to highlight the importance of absence in the contemporary urban experience. The idea of absence was opposed throughout the historiography of architecture and structuralist urbanism, understood primarily as the construction of matter, of substance. According to Solà-Morales (1996), the word *terrain*, in French, has a more urban character than land, in English, that is, it presents a certain constructive limitation to the territory. While this *terrain* has a somewhat determined meaning, it also concerns larger and less precise sizes, linked to the physicality of the portion, to the virtualized potential of the territory. The term *vague* has different genealogies, in German it has to do with the movement of water and waves, fluctuation and instability. In Latin, its origin comes from emptiness, vacancy and inoccupation. Solà-Morales anchors the absence present in *terrain vagues* as a promise of still undetermined possibilities. In this second sense, *vague* meets vacant (both from the Latin, vagus) which means something indeterminate. Bringing together both etymologies of *vague*, Ignasi poses as this oceanic indeterminacy of possibilities, the emptiness that moves. For Solà-Morales (1995), to comprehend the urban gap as urban potency is to reinterpret the fissures left by the ordered city of structuralist urbanisms, finding evocative values in obsolete residues. To talk about these *terrain(s) vague(s)*, Ignasi speaks about the imagetic construction of the city through photography in the architectural and urban imaginary and how, over the last century, photography has been used to make explicit the experience of the big city.

> Through photographs we are not seeing the cities. Even less through photomontages. We only see the images, in their static and framed impression. But through the photographic image we are capable of receiving clues, physical impulses that lead in a certain direction the construction of an imaginary that we establish as that of a certain place or city. Because we have already seen or because we are going to see some of these places, the semiological mechanism of communication through clues is consummated, and the memory that we accumulate by direct experience, by narrations or by simple accumulation of new indications is that which, indefinitely, produces our imagination of the city, of one or of many cities. (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 124, our translation).[11]

8 Originally in spanish: "(...) tras la pretensión abusiva de que la arquitectura era el instrumento con el que fabricar y controlar la totalidad del ambiente, se escondía la necesidad de referirse a modelos urbanos del pasado y la incapacidad de, literalmente, imaginar, tener una imagen global de lo que realmente está ocurriendo a nuestro alrededor."

9 Originally: "ruptura nos mecanismos naturais de crescimento".

10 From the original in Portuguese: "adoção de morfologias abertas e interativas".

11 From the original in Spanish: "A través de las fotografías no estamos viendo las ciudades. Menos aún a través de los fotomontajes. Sólo vemos las imágenes, en su estática y encuadrada impresión. Pero a través de la imagen fotográfica somos capaces de recibir indicios, impulsos

In this quotation, the author registers the importance of the photographic image not as a compositional abstraction but, above all, as a provocative trigger of the imaginary that will effectively be produced as an imagery set of the city in the experimentation of signs and lived experiences. And it is in this sense of the photographic image that the *terrain vague* presents itself to the contemporary urban "empty, therefore, as absence, but also as a promise, as an encounter, as a space of the possible" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 126, our translation[12]), and that by bringing this power of multiple possibilities is configured as "a message that contains expectations of mobility, wandering, free time, freedom" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 126, our translation[13]).

Barron and Mariani (2013) read these *terrains vagues* as residual and ambiguous existences, common to all cities: "where the landscape has gone to seed and been left to its own devices, is in suspended redevelopment. or is being furtively inhabited or otherwise used, under the radar of local authorities" (Barron; Mariani, 2013, p. 1). The author reinforces the memorial issue of the concept, of the absence of the landscape as a process that illustrates the "gapness" reconstruction of memory, especially the everyday, collective and shared memory of the city. A place that holds the contradiction and insubordination of emptiness as a form of construction, since that lies in memory a dialectical exercise of remembering and forgetting. And this is how Solà-Morales (1995) understands an epistemic possibility to shelter the contemporary phenomenon, through the *terrain vague* as an urban remainder that allows a dialectic of the negative, of the virtual (Lévy, 2011).

To illustrate this *terrain vague* in its imaginative image power, the film Stalker (1979) by Russian director Andrei Tarkovski is a good example. The film, based on the book "Roadside Picnic" (1971), evokes a territory that, after contact with extraterrestrials, becomes a foreign landscape for those who experience it. The images of the Zone (as the territory influenced by this event is called in the film) show the remains, the vestiges, of this passage of the Other in a territory that evokes in the Stalker (those who pass through it), memories, affections and actions as well the otherness in themselves. The Zone can be understood as a territory that, being incapable of being understood by human knowledge, in the film, scientists and the military spend several years trying to understand and determine it without success: it constitutes itself as a foreigner, resistant to the submission of the city control.

In the movie, attempts by the science and the military to delimit the Zone are always frustrated, as if itself refused and remained unapproachable in its permanent expansion. The efforts of these two forces to submit the Zone to control is an illustration of what Deleuze and Guattari proposed as a distinction between smooth and striated space: "It is the difference between a smooth space (vector, projective or topological) and a striated space (metric):in the first case, 'one occupies space without measuring it, in the other, 'one measures space in order to occupy it" (Jacques, 2012, our translation[14]). In Stalker, the Zone is a *terrain vague* that resists numerous attempts at cooptation, transforming itself into a landscape that can only be experienced or somehow understood from the displacement in it.

5 Careri and the walkscapes as a praxis of the *terrain vague*

Despite the difficult task of fitting practices into this theoretical framework that rejects the strict delimitation of boxes, some dislocations in this attempt to understand the contemporary urban phenomenon are close to the proposals that Solà-Morales outlines. In this regard, the walkscapes and the reinterpretation of New Babylon, developed by Francesco Careri, can be understood as a catalyst for these non-coopted imaginaries of a contemporary urban. Patrick Barron and Manuela Mariani

físicos que dirigen en una determinada dirección la construcción de un imaginario que establecemos como el de un lugar o una de ciudad determinada. Porque ya hemos visto o porque vamos a ver algunos de estos lugares, el mecanismo semiológico de la comunicación a través de indicios se consuma, y la memoria que acumulamos por experiencia directa, por narraciones o por simple acumulación de nuevos indicios es la que, indefinidamente, produce nuestra imaginación de la ciudad, de una o de muchas ciudades."

[12] Originally: "Vacío, por tanto, como ausencia, pero también como promesa, como encuentro, como espacio de lo posible, expectación".

[13] From the original in Spanish: "es precisamente el mensaje que contiene expectativas de movilidad, vagabundeo, tiempo libre, libertad".

[14] From the original in Portuguese: "É a diferença entre um espaço liso (vetorial, projetivo ou topológico) e um espaço estriado (métrico): num caso, 'ocupa-se o espaço sem medi-lo, no outro, 'mede-se o espaço a fim de ocupá-lo".

(2013) approximate the *terrain vagues* presented by Solà-Morales (1996) to Careri through the manifesto of their collective Stalker (named after Tarkovsky's film), its states:

> *Terrains vagues* are what the architect-and-artist collective Stalker (1996) calls, in its manifesto, 'spaces of confrontation and contamination between the organic and the inorganic, between nature and artifice' that 'constitute the built city's negative, the interstitial and the marginal, spaces abandoned or in the process of transformation. (Barron; Mariani, 2013, p. 2)

Francesco Careri and the Stalkers carried out peri-urban deambulatory walkscapes. This means that they walked on the limits of what was considered urban, to experience the emptiness, the gaps in the territory, and the landscape between the striated spaces par excellence of cities (Deleuze cited in Jacques, 2012). Much of his walkscapes activities took place in the surroundings of Paris and Rome — cities that carry a historical heritage and, in the case of Rome, is still the birthplace of Aldo Rossi's neo-rationalist linguistic methodology, in addition to also presenting the "marks of distinction" and the spectacular tourist character that Harvey (2005) and Debord (1997) comment on, respectively. So, these incursions into the territory "in-between", enabled Stalker to shift from the substantial structuralist referential to a *terrain vague*, engaging the group in a resistant, non-codified praxis of place.

> Spatial boundaries become less rigid. Between interior and exterior, between inside and outside, between private and public, between here and there. Again the "between" space. Between two. Being "between" does not mean being one thing or another, it means being temporarily one thing and another. To be in the middle of (*en train de*)... In trans-formation. It is not just being in the middle or in a medium, but being the means itself." (...) "The vacant land (*terrain vague*) is always in between, they are in suspension, in a provisional, intermediate, unfinished state. (Jacques, 2013, our translation[15])

In Solà-Morales' concept, the *terrain vague*, due to its obsolescence in the face of the effectiveness of urbanism, provokes a sort of magical oddness capable of awakening the radical transformations that Careri also proposes. Ignasi illustrates his proposal for a contemporary urban praxis with the power of the emptiness that can substantially transform urbanism. Because, in opposition to structuralist urbanism, it is capable of evoking "forces instead of forms, the incorporated instead of the distant, the tactile instead of the optical, the rhizomatic instead of the figurative" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 131, our translation[16]). The emancipation of the contemporary urban, distancing itself from its Hegelian conception of "form towards a certain content", be it from any field of knowledge, also appears as fundamental for Debord. The New Babylon was an attempt to outline situationist concepts into a practical reflection of the urban. However, the intent to materialize this proposal, encapsulating it in a defined design form, caused Constant's break with Debord within the situationist movement (Jacques, 2013). For Debord, fixing it in the form of a project would fall back on the structuralist ties that tried to immobilize the changing understanding of the city onto a model. Constant, on the other hand, researched gypsy settlements in Rome and proposed his model as a "global nomadic village".

According to Jacques (2013), the best way to understand this village is as a utopian model that, before being propositional of the future, presented itself as a critique of the present, "not capable of being built: a non-place or nowhere". Careri, recalling this situationist idea, resignifies it by saying that New Babylon was not dreamed of or an abstraction, but that it always existed. According to Francesco, this city can be found on the margins, in the peripheries, in the urban unfinished, in the fissures, and in the vacant lands of spectacularized cities. It would be the nomadic component, Deleuze and Guattari's smooth space of deterritorialization, within the striated sedentary space of the city, the "Nomos within the Polis" (Jacques, 2013). In his way

15 From the original in Portuguese: "Os limites espaciais se mostram menos rígidos. Entre interior e exterior, entre dentro e fora, entre privado e público, entre aqui e lá. Novamente o espaço do "entre". Entre dois. Estar "entre" não quer dizer ser uma coisa ou outra, quer dizer ser temporariamente uma coisa e outra. Estar no meio de (en train de)... Em trans-formação. É não somente estar no meio ou em um meio, mas ser o próprio meio." (...) "Os terrenos baldios (terrain vague) são sempre no meio, eles são em suspensão, em um estado provisório, intermediário, inacabado."

16 In spanish: "las fuerza en lugar de las formas, lo incorporado en lugar de lo distante, lo háptico en lugar de lo óptico, lo rizomático en lugar de lo figurativo".

of seeing, the playful game that Debord referred to in the experience of the city is the movement to find these spaces of amnesia within the contemporary urban, because these amnesias are also amniotic and contain the germ of the creation of the urban.

> New Babylon is not an urban planning project. Neither is it a work of art in the traditional sense of the term, nor an example of an architectural structure. It can be understood in its current form, as a proposal, an attempt to materialize the theory of unitary urbanism in order to play creatively with an imaginary environment that is there to replace the insufficient, unsatisfactory environment of life today. The modern city is dead, a victim of utility. New Babylon is a project for a city where you can live. And to live means to create. (Jacques, 2013)

6 Final Considerations

In this paper, we consider Solà-Morales' epistemological criticisms of modern and “counter-modern” thinking together with Careri's deviant wandering practices as counter-hegemonic reflections on thinking and acting in the contemporary urban phenomenon. The encounter between these researchers takes place here in their attempts to propose different paths to guide, through other references for the construction of an ideal of the city. In fact, it is rather a consciously desired abandonment of a projective proposal of tight ideals and predetermined places to be achieved. Both architects seek to employ their critical and constructive energy in a praxis that exercises the urban detachment from an idea of production (above all, in its neoliberal capitalist developments).

To introduce this approach, small exemplary clippings of the theories and practices of urbanism in the last fifty years were conducted, which served as a basilar support to anchor the powerful criticisms that Ignasi provokes. His reading of how historical practices have argumentatively supported and ratified architectural practices up to the present day. From a tautological understanding of modernist urbanism, which justified its actions in the present based on a technical-psychological legacy, moving on to the claims of critical regionalism and a linguistic-structural interpretation of architectural and urban morphologies. Solà-Morales situates us in the complexity of the contemporary urban phenomenon, bringing to architecture and urbanism a marginal (Barron, Mariani, 2013) and emerging possibility to constitute a range of critique and practice of space.

Subsequently, we present that the engendering of urban morphology and constructive typology, headed mainly by Aldo Rossi’s (1984) formulations, created a symbiotic relationship between the propositions about architecture and city, put into practice by what became known as contextualist urbanism. Focusing quickly on the cases of the interventions of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona and the reconstruction of Berlin after the fall of The Wall, it can be observed how the transformations of these two urban territories were guided, to a greater or lesser degree, on an attempt to balance a multifaceted range of economic, political and historical arguments, which would be illustrated by a harmonious architectural-urbanistic set. Montaner, Koolhaas, Harvey and Debord's criticisms of the choices and achievements of these two projects, though elucidative. Whether in the issue of preservation, in the erasure of industrial heritage on the seafront of Barcelona. Whether in the criticism of the proposed plastering in the reconstruction of Berlin. Or in Harvey's (2014) consistent criticism of a co-option of urban reformulations by late capitalism. Or yet, in Debord's questioning (1997) about a spectacularization of a stillborn city, they are still restricted to a collateral reaction in the urban.

Taking from this context, Solà-Morales' criticisms confront us with the problem of this attempt to “reassemble” the urban as a only response to the plurality of different fields that cross it, while still being concentrated in an arboreal dispositions of knowledge. Solà-Morales invites an epistemological rupture in the structuralist way that Contextualist Urbanism had placed itself in these two exemplary cases and proposes a contemporary and rhizomatic urban praxis. To understand this rhizomatic urban phenomenon, Solà-Morales suggests looking at mutation and *terrain vague* as devices that trigger other forms of reflection and action in the urban field. Instead of trying to fix; harmonize, balance, repair them from a historical-structuralist perspective, we could try to understand them as contemporary urban phenomena and use them as a creative becoming of other forms of intervention in metropolitan landscapes. Fractals, dislodged from a set.

To understand the urban mutation that occurred after the fall of the Berlin’s Wall, better saying, understanding this unsolicited or planned urban development, would be based on the idea that the frictions that the Second War and the Cold War should

not be appeased in an attempt to reconcile the two sides of The Wall, but incorporating this traumas passed by the city as a guideline for reflection and action over the Berlin landscape. On this case, Solà-Morales (1995) is incisive and states that the ruination of *Alexanderplatz* after the bombing in 1945 is a conversion of it into a *terrain vague* that brings out to the surface of the territory the strangeness and uninhabitability that this landscape contains. The intention to give a photographic image, in the rich sense that Ignasi proposes, to this *terrain vague* remains in filling it with possibilities for mutations, that evokes the Stalker's Zone as a landscape.

In this regard of emptying utilitarian use, we consider Francesco Careri's peri-urban transurban practices in the void between city striations as incorporations of a reflexive practice in the urban phenomenon brought by Ignasi. This insurgent praxis in an unsubmissive landscape appears as a repowering of the contemporary urban, through an strangeness capable of catalyzing transformations, able to rebuild a New Babylon in the obsolete emptiness of marginal territories and of creating a new urban life. The strange territory not co-opted by urbanism that configures itself as a possibility of other existences: where the Teacher, the Writer and the vagabond (characters in Stalker film) are able to make reflections and life performances that do not fit within their professional personas.

In this way, both Ignasi and Careri constitute themselves as stalkers in the routes they propose in the city gaps. Courageous and creative walkers of the Tarkovsky's Zone, they, in their nomadic walkscapes through the zone of the contemporary urban phenomenon, are capable of signaling other possibilities of non-appropriable and colonized apprehension of space. They are configured themselves as undisciplined beings in a neoliberal urban thinking that pretends to be about the city and outline in its marginal borders, a stubborn and counter-hegemonic attempt to exercise the city.

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THE COUNTER-HEGEMONIC SMART CITY: FROM THE SDGS TO THE RIGHT TO THE CITY
CIDADE INTELIGENTE CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICA: DOS ODS AO DIREITO À CIDADE

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Abstract

The discourse of smart cities, based on information and communication technologies, is fully inserted in the neoliberal urbanism model, by pursuing gains in efficiency and competitiveness and by advocating the central role of the private sector in the management of urban systems and in the production of urban space, to the detriment of public interest and the expansion of the right to the city. In parallel, planning and management proposals and practices that oppose this now hegemonic model have been adopted by several cities around the world. The paper aims to demonstrate the plausibility and relevance of narratives and practices of counter-hegemonic smart and sustainable cities, based on territorial intelligence and democratic governance, in which the production of urban space is guided by the pursuit of the SDGs and the expansion of the right to the city. For this, the methodology consisted of a recent literature review and the identification, recognition and establishment of theoretical-conceptual relationships in the discourses, narratives and hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices of smart cities. As a main result, there is the development of the hypothesis that the expansion of the right to the city can materialize to the extent that the SDGs and their goals are partially or fully achieved.

Keywords: Smart Cities, Urban Space Production, Democratic Governance, Right to the City, Sustainable Development Goals

1 Introduction

Cities are made as a result of complex and intricate relationships between the communities that inhabit them, their built environments, natural ecosystems that surround them and the territories in which they are inserted. Even though the emergence of cities precedes the advent of modernity and the establishment of capitalism as the hegemonic economic system by millennia, it is after these episodes that cities begin to develop certain forms, functions and capabilities more quickly. As a result, we have been witnessing an increasingly urbanized world, characterized by stark socio-spatial inequalities, the widespread use of technological devices and climate changes caused by the rise in global temperature, in turn, a direct result of the models of production and consumption.

If, on the one hand, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN 2030 Agenda support that cities have to be transformed into more inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable environments, on the other hand, the technical-scientific and economic-business means suggest that they become more intelligent and connected through the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The discourses, narratives and practices of smart cities emerged with the fourth industrial revolution, in the midst of neoliberal policies, in which new technologies and large electronic and cybernetic structures became instruments capable of providing greater efficiency in the management of urban mobility, energy and security, for instance. New concepts — even if they seek to insert new themes related to economic, social and environmental issues, among others — do little to advance in terms of expanding the right to the city and changing the production patterns of urban space.

However, simultaneously with the hegemony of neoliberal policies adopted at the local level, planning and management proposals and practices understood as counter-hegemonic (insofar as they emphasize the need for more democracy, social justice and environmental responsibility, opposing current models) have been adopted by cities under the most diverse conditions. In any case, the different realities of cities around the world must be considered, whether due to geopolitical and economic characteristics, or due to scale and administrative and institutional capacities. Brazilian cities — small, medium and large, for example and in general — coexist with deficits in sanitation and housing, transport and mobility, green areas and public spaces, but also with deficits in business, work and employment, health and education. On the other hand, they possess various resources and capabilities, represented by physical-financial, social, human and institutional capital, which are rarely used to solve or reduce such deficits.

Over the last thirty years, Brazil has been substantially improving its legal and political-institutional framework related to cities, originated in the urban policy chapter present in its Federal Constitution of 1988. As part of this process, there must be mentioned the approval of the Statute of the City (Brasil, 2001), several sectoral policies (national policies on housing,

basic sanitation, urban mobility, solid waste, etc.) and the creation of the Ministry of Cities (2003), which, together, provided important instruments for the planning and management of Brazilian cities. However, despite the development of this complex framework, a significant gap between legality and reality still endures. Urban policy does not materialize in the urban planning and management practices of the vast majority of Brazilian municipalities: the master plans are utopian pieces without regulation and, equally or more discrepant, the right to the city remains a concept quite distant from citizen demands.

Faced with this panorama, it is important to confront the discourse and practices of smart cities with the reality of Brazilian cities — from small towns to metropolitan regions. It is not possible to achieve significant results in reducing urban violence, for instance, if investments in new monitoring technologies are not articulated with efforts aimed at reducing poverty, socio-spatial inequalities, lack of adequate housing or expanding opportunities for work, educational and cultural structures, etc. The paper intends to present a research agenda seeking to demonstrate the plausibility and relevance of narratives and practices of counter-hegemonic smart and sustainable cities that are based on territorial intelligence and democratic governance — in addition to the use of ICT — and that aim to expand the right to the city by inserting the SDGs in urban planning and management processes.

2 Neoliberal Urbanism and Smart Cities

The production of urban space has always been an arena of conflicts between public and private interests that are even more intensified in the current stage of capitalist development as the relationship between real estate and financial markets deepens and urban land becomes one of the main means of capital accumulation and reproduction (Harvey, 2014). With the crisis of the welfare states (and of the national-developmentalist states) followed by the rise of neoliberal governments, first in central capitalist countries and later on a global level, models and projects for the management and redevelopment of urban areas will be conducted under new ideological orientations. Such models will privilege policies in which the role and interests of the private sector will grow in importance, modifying the objectives and decisions regarding land use and occupation, as well as the dynamics of the production of urban space. There will therefore be a whole new context given by the exacerbation or overcoming of modernity that will be reflected in the mode of production and management of urban space and in the very conception of space, making the urban fabric more fragmented, discontinuous and unregulated.

Under this separation between urban space and social processes, a new school of urban planning will emerge based on entrepreneurship and strategic city planning, city marketing and spectacle urbanism. In general, and this is also valid for administrations of socialist and social democratic parties both in Europe and in Brazil, the “entrepreneurialism” of public administration will be present in an environment of economic-financial liberalization and globalization. In this context, urban planning and management will be strongly characterized by efforts towards attractiveness, competitiveness and inclusion of cities in the global economic system, obviously, to the detriment of a focus on managing urban services, improving the quality of life and the right to the city for the general population.

This new model of urbanism characterized as neoliberal must be understood as a representation of neoliberal policies in the planning and management of urban public policies. Such policies, as causes and consequences of a new phase of contemporary capitalism, by praising the practices of the private sector and making it difficult or even unfeasible for public planning and management processes in urban systems, will end up shaping new models of urban intervention in which private economic entities have great influence in the planning and production of urban space (Theodore et al., 2009). Most smart city projects are part of this process.

The term “smart city” arises as a result of the application of innovations brought by the fourth industrial revolution of intelligent automation, artificial intelligence, such as physical-cybernetic systems, big data, block chain, internet of things, cloud storage and a wide range of devices such as smartphones, cameras, sensors, routers, etc. Despite the need for local administrations to make use of computerization for efficiency gains and cost reduction in the management of urban systems, smart city projects have established themselves (and still do so) as marketing strategies in search of competitiveness. As an example, there is the increasing number of rankings of smart cities created and widely publicized in economic media and forums.

Over the last two decades, smart city concepts have evolved and become increasingly popular, as cities and climate change have become the main elements of discussion regarding the challenges of “sustainable” economic and social development. During this period, there has also been a hybridization of meanings and the inclusion of new agendas with different links and

variations, creating terms such as digital, connected, future, sustainable, resilient, liveable, inclusive cities, etc. Let us take two concepts relatively distant in time to understand this evolution. Hall (2000) emphasizes the gains in efficiency and management capacity that digitization adds:

> A city that monitors and integrates conditions of all of its critical infrastructures, including roads, bridges, tunnels, rail/subways, airports, seaports, communications, water, power, even major buildings, can better optimize its resources, plan its preventive maintenance activities, and monitor security aspects while maximizing services to its citizens (Hall, 2000, p. 1).

In turn, Bouskela, Casseb, Bassi, De Luca and Facchina (2016) — in a document from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) entitled “Path to Smart Cities” — present the following definition:

> A Smart and Sustainable City is an innovative city that uses Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and other means to improve the quality of life, the efficiency of urban operations and services and its competitiveness, while ensuring that the needs of current and future generations are met regarding economic, social and environmental aspects (Bouskela et al., 2016, p. 1, our translation).

As can be seen, the idea of sustainability is used to insert a new feature, but even so, the focus is on gains in competitiveness and attractiveness. In general, this perspective has been widely disseminated and shared by technology companies, local governments and private consultancy firms. Obviously, the use of ICT is essential for improving the planning and management of urban systems, but it is also essential that innovation efforts are contextualized and articulated with the development and implementation of broader urban public policies which are committed to the public interest and with urban populations. In this sense, according to Angelidou (2014), a fallacy of innovative technological instrumentalization was created as a characteristic that transformed the term “smart city” into a very unclear buzzword.

3 The Right to The City in the Midst of the Production of Urban Space and the Smart City

Cities — as already mentioned, since the advent of modernity and capitalism as the hegemonic economic system based on private property and free market — have been going through successive phases and revolutions (Ascher, 2010) having arrived at the present time laden with the most profound and diverse contradictions depending on their scale, position in urban networks and on the map of world geopolitics. As a result of this process, a dialectical relationship between the city and the society that inhabits it, between the built space and the culture that gives it concreteness, ends up creating a whole new imaginary with new meanings and new ways of existing, thinking and living in urban areas. This new imaginary — supported by post-Fordist economic restructuring, the intensification of globalization and financial capitalism, the new ICT, the deterritorialization of identities and cultures, the renewal of urban forms and the emergence of new social structures — places us before an increasingly complex reality. This imposes an urgency on urban planners and managers to respond to social, economic and environmental cHallenges, intervene and regulate the production and reproduction of urban space (Soja, 2000).

In other words, the current stage of development of the world economic system — characterized by the intensification of capital mobility resulting from deregulation and financial innovations and by the reduction of barriers to investment in real estate assets — will provide a deepening of the relationship between financial and real estate capital. Cities, therefore, will be transformed into one of the main means for capital accumulation and reproduction and into a concrete space of class struggle, clash and political action (Harvey, 2014). However, even if the production of urban space is severely influenced by this movement of capital, at any time, it will be characterized as a result of the actions of various socioeconomic actors, groups and sectors in addition to the private sector. The State is also active in this process (through its various public entities) with a whole set of practices and procedures related to the elaboration and implementation of urban public policies and a diversity of social actors and groups that formally and informally affect the urban space, whether through dwelling, work activities and/or living in public spaces.

Nevertheless, how can we envision the materialization and instrumentalization of the right to the city and relate it to public interests? Even if implicitly, the right to the city is represented in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 and in other legal

statutes both by civil and political rights, by the right to democratic management of cities, by human, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights. In practice and conceptually, the right to the city has been built over the last fifty years, politically manifesting the positioning and claims of various social actors in the urban space and in the public sphere. This right refers to issues such as the spatial dimension of life, the experience of human habitat in the urban environment, the globalization-localization process and political decentralization, the demands of vast populations to enjoy the benefits of the city, as well as the search for a fairer, democratic and politically more participatory society (Jaramillo et al., 2008).

In other words, it is a concept that eminently manifests a political character that is under construction as an object of positioning and mobilization by various social actors in the public sphere and space. It is done as a synthesis, as a complete right in a spatial and societal way. As an ideal, complaint and demand (Lefebvre, 2001; Harvey, 2014), the right to the city is, in a sense, more of a claim than a legally enforceable right. From another angle, the right to the city can be understood as the quest to guarantee the effective fulfillment of human rights to all citizens in the urban space — to their respect, protection and promotion. It is clear, however, that the concept of the right to the city needs to be better developed, mainly with regard to its design and legal application. The materialization of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights over urban space still leaves the term very vague in relation to the right to private ownership of space, which is already a very common object in the legal field.

A possible way of materializing the right to the city will be the internalization of the principles and guidelines of the development agendas (not disregarding the use of new technologies) in the processes of urban planning and management. In this sense, the concept of a smart city cannot be an end in itself, but must include systems, instruments and indicators (linked to the New Urban Agenda and the SDGs, for example) to achieve the goals proposed by the different plans. New technologies, in turn, can and must become an inseparable part of public policies for security, mobility, sanitation, housing, economic development, education, health, but they cannot only occasionally affect a given urban system.

Faced with the need for joint solutions to complex urban problems, the discourse and debate on smart cities cannot be based on the notion of “solutionism” (Morosov; Bria, 2019) but on the use of such technologies to improve the processes of urban planning and management built politically and institutionally by various social actors over time. On the other hand, the insertion of such technologies, their management and ownership, as well as the data they generate, need to occur in a regulated manner and as part of a sustainable, multisectoral and multidimensional development strategy. In Barcelona (Spain), according to the aforementioned authors, a plan was launched in 2017 with citizen participation (and an articulation between several multisectoral actors) based on the ideas and processes of a democratic digital city, open data and common goods built from the bottom up. With the aim of generating very well-defined social benefits and public returns, the city encourages the involvement of micro and small companies, in addition to innovation agents, with a view to developing “digital services and solutions that meet the needs of citizens” (Morosov; Bria; 2019, p. 99, our translation).

Several other cities have been developing projects and programs based on the use of ICT (such as applications and digital platforms) seeking to provide greater civic engagement and popular participation in urban planning and management processes, as is the case of Belém (in northern Brazil), Bogotá (Colombia) and Nanterre (France). In these terms, multisectoriality should manifest itself through efforts that presuppose technical-political arrangements between governments, population (communities and organized civil society), academia and the private sector to diagnose, design and implement better and more intelligent public policies. Hence, the concept of sustainable development — built over the last few decades and expressed in the commitments and action plans of the 2030 Agenda, in the New Urban Agenda and in the Paris Agreement — must be translated, at the local level, into public policies for human, social, economic, urban and regional development.

Quite different ideas, although not competing, from the proposals to incorporate artificial intelligence, automation, internet of things and a set of electronic devices to optimize the municipal management of urban systems. Or rather, not competing insofar as intelligent systems do not perform functions and roles proper to the political-democratic apparatus and do not use the data generated for non-public purposes. Therefore, an accurate analysis of the set of discourses, narratives and practices of smart cities, their intentions and results in relation to the improvement of the quality of life of urban populations, the appropriation of technologies and the benefits generated is needed. At the same time, it also urges the consolidation of

counter-hegemonic positions that propose new objectives and new indicators for smart cities, such as expanding the right to the city, strengthening territorial intelligence and democratic governance, and using the SDG tools as indicators of process.

4 Collective Territorial Intelligence and Democratic Governance as Assumptions of the Smart City and Sustainable Development

Territorial intelligence and democratic governance are two complementary processes that tend to feed back and that are established as *sine qua non* conditions for the structuring of a smart city and its sustainable development project. Territorial intelligence refers to the management of the knowledge necessary to understand the dynamics and territorial structures to guarantee and boost the development of such territory (Ortoll, 2012). Democratic governance, in turn, presents itself as a process and as a capacity for articulation and organization of the territory, leveraging internal resources and taking advantage of external opportunities in favor of the development of the city and its territory. For Esteve (2009):

> Democratic governance is the art of governing the territories of the new relational government, typical of the knowledge society, whose object is the organization and action capacity of a society; its main means is relational or interdependence management and its purpose is human development (Esteve, 2009, p. 60, our translation).

Territory is understood as a section of the earth's surface that presents at least three attributes: i) as a natural territory represented by the primary elements of nature; ii) as an equipped territory, the result of human intervention, characterized by productive and infrastructure systems; and iii) as an organized territory in which a community recognizes itself as such and regulates itself through legal-institutional and political-administrative frameworks (Boisier, 1999). In turn, intelligence (in its multiple meanings in the fields of cognitive, psychological, biological, sociological, economic, geopolitical and scientific) — as a set of information, knowledge, protocols and procedures specific to a given territory — can express diverse and even contrasting notions. González Arellano (2014) suggests the idea of collective intelligence as a set of cognitive attributes shared by a group and that is strengthened as its skills are mobilized, which, for us, refers to different conceptions of social capital.

Miedes Ugarte (2009) understands that the concept of territorial intelligence emerges in parallel with the changes that have occurred in the capabilities of territorial governance resulting from the processes of globalization and political decentralization and the transition to the knowledge society. With the knowledge society and the development of ICT, the idea of “hybrid territories” arises as a result of the fusion of a physical-geographical dimension and a digital dimension (Bertacchini; Depréz; Rasse; 2014) that greatly expands the possibilities of communication and collective collaboration now remotely. Such an idea allows us to imagine “a new territorial paradigm based on knowledge, learning and new technologies” (Fernandes, Gama, 2009/10, p. 1, our translation). For these last researchers, it is urgent to create an organization model for local and regional knowledge systems that explore the concept of “intelligent territory”.

In another way, Girardot (2009) states that territorial intelligence expands the scope of economic intelligence by covering all dimensions of sustainable development (social, cultural, economic, environmental, among others) aimed at promoting objectives of “democratic territorial governance”. This, according to Gonzáles Arellano (2014), can be defined by three basic components: i) a cognitive component, as a way of understanding the territory; ii) a sociopolitical component, which encompasses negotiations in the political arena; and iii) a technological-organizational one, composed of networks of actors and tools that operate in the territory. We could also explore other related concepts of public governance and collaborative governance very close to the sociopolitical aspect, but we would extend beyond the objectives of the paper, meaning that collective territorial intelligence and democratic governance, for the wide range of studies, are placed as assumptions for the organization of an intelligent territory — and as a consequence of an intelligent city — that seeks sustainable development.

5 The Paradigm of Sustainable Development and the Smart Cities

The “sustainable development paradigm”, in its broadest meaning, emerges as a reaction and criticism of the consequences of environmental degradation, unregulated urbanization and the increase in socio-spatial inequalities and is made as a result of a series of conferences, declarations, protocols, letters and agendas carried out over the last fifty years. As a response to the worsening of the negative effects of human actions on the environment and the maintenance of poverty at a global level,

from the 1970s onwards, the international community — led by the UN and some of its subsidiaries — would carry out a series of debates and studies criticizing the current development model. Since 1972, with the publication of the report “The Limits to Growth” and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the international community has been improving its commitments and establishing objectives, targets and indicators with a view to modifying and/or adapting the standards from production and consumption to a new matrix that is socially fairer, culturally more diverse and has less impact on ecosystems and the global climate.

As a result of the improvement of principles, guidelines, analysis and management instruments, the economic, social, environmental and urban agendas have been embodied, in recent years, in the 2030 Agenda with its Sustainable Development Goals (2015), in the Paris Agreement (2015) and in the New Urban Agenda (2016). The 2030 Agenda is an action plan that aims to: i) eradicate poverty and hunger; ii) protect the planet from environmental degradation and restrain climate change; iii) ensure prosperity through economic, social and technological progress; iv) promote peaceful, just and inclusive societies; and v) mobilize the necessary means to establish global partnerships for sustainable development. Its seventeen SDGs with targets and indicators have the function of specifying and instrumentalizing public policies and private actions seeking to improve current conditions by 2030.

The Paris Agreement was established as a commitment of one hundred and ninety-five countries at COP21 (Conference of the Parties on Climate Change) to retain the temperature increase by a maximum of two degrees Celsius (compared to pre-industrial levels) by reducing the generation of greenhouse gases through public actions and policies. In turn, the New Urban Agenda proposes adapting cities to be more livable, healthy, safe, inclusive, sustainable and resilient to natural phenomena through planning processes, legislation and local economic policies. It is important to note that the New Urban Agenda, being subsequent to the two other commitments, incorporates its principles and considerations, in particular those relating to SDG 11 of making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. The same happens with the preparation of the Brazilian National Urban Development Policy, now in progress, which led to the establishment of a national agenda for the formulation of the Sustainable Urban Development Goals as a way of creating a political agenda in search of a Brazilian model for sustainable urban development (GIZ, 2021).

So, we question the plausibility and relevance of using the SDGs with their goals and indicators by cities that intend to be smart as a subsidy to planning and management instruments in search of expanding the right to the city. This is because the SDGs and the set of development agendas cover a variety of topics related to the fulfillment of this right, as well as internalize the guidelines and principles of sustainable development beyond SDG 11. Although such agendas and commitments work with defined goals and deadlines, it is highly likely that they will be renewed or improved when opportunities arise to insert demands that are little considered and to strengthen territorial capabilities — intelligence and governance —, as stated by González Arellano (2014).

6 Final Considerations

Cities — municipal governments, communities, structures, systems and territories — are produced and reproduced as a result of private interests, public policies and planning and management processes that, in turn, are guided by discursive-ideological constructs and development paradigms. It is essential, then, that the hegemonic discourse, narratives and practices of smart and sustainable cities now in vogue are critically analyzed as well as encouraging the elaboration of alternative proposals.

Based on the assumptions presented throughout the paper, it is possible to develop the hypothesis that the expansion of the right to the city can take place to the extent that the SDGs are partially or fully achieved. It is also worth considering that the adjective “intelligent” for the city puts it under the responsibility of solving urban problems and/or problems that occur in the city and its surroundings. Therefore, territorial intelligence as a concept and as a set of knowledge accumulated in the territory and about the territory is immanent to the intelligence, sustainability and democratic governance of the city. The intelligence accumulated and practiced in the city, in addition to the use of ICT, will manifest itself in its social and economic practices that are increasingly aligned with sustainability, and the management and monitoring of the SDGs become fundamental in this process.

In these terms, it is necessary to establish narratives and practices of counter-hegemonic smart and sustainable cities based on territorial intelligence and democratic governance in which the production of urban space is guided by the expansion of the right to the city and the pursuit of the SDGs to the detriment of the reproduction of capital and the efficiency of the real estate, financial, technology products and services markets. More than the attribute *per se*, counter-hegemonic smart cities — as shown in Barcelona and other cities that accompany it — have sought to advance in the democratization of information, goods and services, questioning the neoliberal logic and reversing priorities and benefits produced by urban public policies.

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NON-HEGEMONIC GLOBALIZATION AND CHANGES IN THE HISTORIC CENTER OF BELÉM

GLOBALIZAÇÃO NÃO-HEGEMÔNICA E MUDANÇAS NO CENTRO HISTÓRICO DE BELÉM

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Abstract

Since the last century, non-hegemonic globalization has been seen as a business opportunity by Asian countries, which started to produce and export low-cost products, through the establishment of networks structured as pyramids and composed by suppliers, manufacturers, distributors, and sellers. At the end of these networks, there are the buying-selling relations, normally established between Asians and local consumers, who have been changing traditional tertiary urban spaces, considering that the counter-hegemony emerges as a reaction to globalization (hegemonic and non-hegemonic), through actions and/or fights for the democratic distribution of wealth. The present article will analyze how this process appropriates spaces and how the global-local dialectic results in changes in the use and occupation of the land of historic centers. Based on bibliographical research, the role of Asian transmigrants in the recent socio-spatial processes, observed in historic centers, will be discussed. Then, from the field survey, the spatial distribution of buildings used for commercializing popular merchandise, of Asian origin, in the Historic Center of Belém (CHB), will be measured, characterized and analyzed. Thus, the study will show: (i) the expressive number and spatial concentration of buildings in the CHB that commercialize merchandise of Asian origin from the non-hegemonic globalization circuit; (ii) that, in addition to establishments managed by transmigrants, there is a great number of stores commercializing, predominantly, products of Asian origin; (iii) that the popular commerce of products from Asian countries is redefining the social division of space in the CHB.

Keywords: Non-hegemonic Globalization, Cultural Patrimony, Popular Commerce, Asian Merchants, Historic Center of Belém

1 Introduction

Globalization is a process characterized by the increase of interdependence among countries and by the compression of space-time, provided by increasingly fast means of transportation and communication (Harvey, 1992, 2005, 2013). More recently, a deepening of the so called non-hegemonic globalization or popular globalization, which articulates powerful capitalist agents to the unfavored layers of society through the flow of popular merchandise, is observed (Ribeiro, 2006; 2009; 2010; 2011). In this sense, Santos (2017) suggests that the counter-hegemonic movement of dissatisfaction at a global level, with the hegemonic reproduction of the capital, causes a transformation of how to face capitalism, through the globalization of the fight for the democratic distribution of wealth, influenced by the principle that: “We have the right to be equal when the difference makes us inferior and to be different when being equal decharacterizes us.” (Santos, 2002a, p. 75, our translation).

Therefore, the counter-hegemonic globalization refers to a process of local reactions to the global forces (hegemonic and non-hegemonic) that, on the other hand, promote translocal connections through transnational operations and networks that share a same purpose (Santos, 2002a). In the present study, we understand non-hegemonic globalization or popular globalization as a movement parallel to hegemonic globalization, in which fractions of dominant groups ally or not with local groups articulated to the wide network organized at a global scale, even from the coalition established between capitals and transmigrant Asians, to produce and/or commercialize low-cost goods and services, usually with quality standards similar to those offered by the productive chains linked to the hegemonic globalization circuits. This type of globalization increasingly gains strength and has manifested especially by the occupation of a great number of buildings by Asian-product stores, usually controlled by transmigrants of the same origin.

The globalization processes seek to promote sociocultural, economic and spatial homogenization, as they spread uniform processes in terms of social relations of production; the massification of consumption and they are directly and indirectly tied to the chains aimed at the magnified reproduction of the capital. However, this homogenization does not occur in the same way in the several socio-spatial segments, not only because globalization is selective in its allocations throughout the globe, but also because it must adjust and, not rarely, re-elaborate political, economic, cultural processes and the constructed local environments, which must be inserted in the transnational perspective and also in concrete places and fights (Haesbaert; Limonad, 2007; Santos, 2002a, 2002b). Thus, we note the relevance of

identifying and understanding the spatial manifestations and configurations, notably concerning the impacts on historical centers, socially produced spaces of great cultural and symbolic value.

Developed in the scope of urban studies of the Urban Development and Environment Post-graduation Program at the Amazônia University and inserted in the research and study group on the real estate market in historic centers of Brazilian cities (MICH), the present article aims to investigate how this globalization process is operating in the Historic Center of Belém (CHB), located in the state of Pará, northern Brazil. Regarding this center, we highlight that, since the colonial period, it supplies not only the local population, but also neighboring cities and rural communities connected by roads and/or river. Due to being a research with explicative and exploratory purposes, we allied the set of methodological procedures of bibliographic research (conceptualization about hegemonic, non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic globalization); documental research (for comparison regarding the type of use of the land before and after the intensification of Asian occupation) and the case study of the CHB (observations and *in loco* visits, for the systematization of the commercial establishments that are tied to this logic).

Besides the introduction, the article is composed of three parts. After presenting a general overview on how the urban centers and, above all, the historic centers have been transformed by the globalization processes, we will discuss the role of the transmigrant in the establishment of networks that articulate and connect international frontiers. Then, we will analyze how the CHB behaves in light of the referred changes, quantifying, characterizing and spatializing the properties where there is commercialization of popular Asian-origin products, with or without the presence of Asian transmigrants in control of the cash registers of the commerce and service establishments. Lastly, the possible paths to be taken will be pondered, considering the results observed in the CHB.

2 Globalization and the Historic Center

The urban space is the set of uses of fragmented lands articulated by meeting points, destined for social actions, capital circulation and information sharing. The location with maximum accessibility in the urban space is called the main center and, usually, is the best serviced area by transport systems, infrastructure and urban equipment. Furthermore, it is where the portion called the city's historic center is defined through time, being a place of convergence of people, ideas, goods and services and references and elements that provide the identity that best characterizes the urban (Corrêa, 1989; Villaça, 2012; Tourinho, 2007).

When studying the general transformation processes experienced by traditional centers and the historic centers of Brazilian cities, it becomes possible to identify three distinct moments: the first moment is marked by the installation of railway stations and/or ports that are converted into points of inter-regional transport. Thus, to reduce costs of product outflow, several activities are clustered in the transshipment stations, turning them into the focus of interurban transports and, with the formation of the city, in points of maximum accessibility. The economy of agglomeration, thus generated, originated the main centrality of the city, usually called downtown (Villaça, 2012). The area called historic center is usually formed in the first phase. Therefore, it is responsible for polarizing a great part of the social, administrative, economic and religious functions of the city, acquiring historic and symbolic value through several generations.

The second moment is characterized by the decentralization of the economic activities and shift of higher-income residences to other parts of the city. This process, whose spatial manifestation is the formation of subcenters, is caused by endogenous and exogenous factors to the traditional center, such as: the populational and spatial growth of the city, which increased the distances at the time and cost levels (house-purchases); the development of the transport system and the use of automobiles; the need for extended capital accumulation, especially real estate capital, and the increase in the price of land and real estate situated downtown, which dispersed the activities that could not pay for the offered benefits, while other parts of the city offered land in abundance for a low cost (Corrêa, 1989; Villaça, 2012). With the departure of activities and residences aimed at the higher-income classes, there is a change in the role of historic centers, which start to be occupied by goods and services activities aimed at the popular class. In addition, several

properties were vacated, underused, and suffered processes of total or partial degradation, compromising the architectural historic patrimony (Capel, 2013).

The third moment refers to the scenario of the last decades and, above all, comes from the intensification of the globalization processes. The increase of the interdependence of global economies, regarding the circulation of information, money, people and goods beyond national frontiers, redefines the “here” and “now” and promotes the “shortening of distances” between countries and places, through increasingly agile means of transportation and communication (Harvey, 1992). This ease of articulation between countries was seen as a business opportunity by transnational companies that wanted to incorporate new consumer markets.

In light of the intensification of the capitalist accumulation process, the historic centers have been inserting themselves more and more in the international networks through two chains connected to globalization. One is that articulated the historic center with the hegemonic globalization, incorporating it into the international competition through urban reconfiguration by the implementation of building and economic projects, especially those related to tourism and/or multiuse complexes (Smith, 2002; Wyly and Hammel, 2005; Rufino, 2017). This solution, when undertaken by the state, seeks to attract capital to invest in the centers directly or indirectly, using the rehabilitation of these areas and the concession of fiscal incentives, among others, as strategies. The second chain is connected to non-hegemonic globalization, which permeates and organizes several networks, functioning as a pyramid, in which the powerful transnational agents are at the top, but need the participation of the poorer layers of society to move the system. Therefore, they offer them access to the flow of wealth, producing and commercializing products with low production cost, similar to the ones offered by the holders of the production means situated in wealthy and advanced countries (Ribeiro, 2006, 2011).

It is worth noting that the transnational companies use globalization to install productive chains in nations with cheap labor and consumer markets with potential for expansion. Asian countries that presented significant extreme poverty rates, in 1990, according to the UN’s criteria (UN, 2015), such as Vietnam, Malaysia, and the main one, China, incorporated and explored this logic of merchandise production and circulation. Thus, they constitute a relation with the historic center of other countries through complex and transcultural webs that tie manufacturers, distributors and consumers (Massey; Alarcon; Durand; Gonzáles, 1990; Appadurai, 2006).

The present study has a focus directed to the spatial configuration of the non-hegemonic globalization process in the CHB, from the presupposition that, even if it is almost impossible to completely visualize the network, at its end, there is a relation between consumer and merchant, in which the Asian transmigrant can perform the role of manager or seller. Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995) define the transmigrant as non-institutional figure or group, which permeates a country and depends on multiple connections through international frontiers. Despite being situated “here”, they are committed to the network “there”, creating contacts, institutions, transactions, influencing and being influenced by the events of the country they emigrated to, at the national and regional level. Furthermore, they can transform the urban landscape of the places they occupy, imprinting marks of their culture in the urban space of the society they integrate now, making the agents and the space adapt to their presence.

The Asian merchants who go to other countries enlist fellow countrymen workers and maintain closer contact with manufacturers and suppliers of Asian products, establishing direct relations between the consumer country and their origin country. It is worth highlighting that the historic centers always received ethnic groups of merchants at an international level, for example, Italians, Portuguese, Germans, Dutch, Japanese and others. The difference is that, currently, the migration is closely tied to a global system of non-hegemonic globalization, since it enlists a large number of individuals to structure paths and networks for production and circulation of merchandise and global capital.

3 Non-hegemonic Globalization and CHB Occupation

The city of Belém, as shown below in Figure 1, is located in northern Brazil at the shore of the Guarujá Bay and is an important Amazon metropolis. Its historic center, composed by the Campina neighborhoods, part of the Cidade Velha

neighborhood and the port area of the Reduto and Umarizal neighborhoods, was created by Municipal Law Nº 7.401/1988, preserved by the Organic Law of the City of Belém from 1990 and outlined by Municipal Law Nº 7.709/1994, which established parameters for the use and occupation of the land. The Historic Center of Belém has, in its totality, 3,079 lots and 7,339 buildings, 1,708 being of historical value (Lima, 2015).

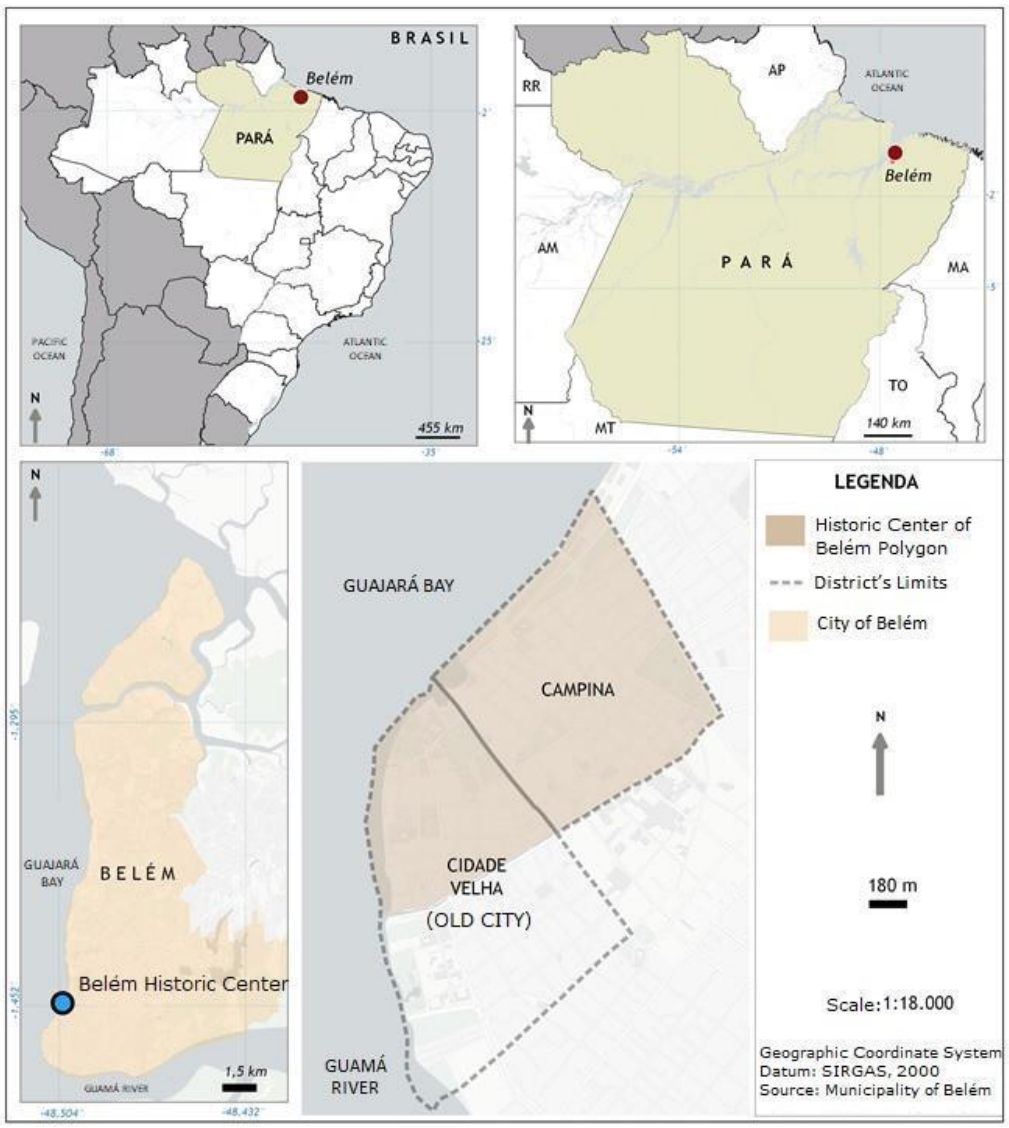

Fig. 1: Location of Belém and its Historic Center. Source: Gusmão, 2021.

The non-indigenous occupation of the CHB began in the 17th century, in a site considered by the Portuguese colonizers as strategic for the defense of the territory and control of the Amazon River bay. With the capital flow coming from the exploration of rubber, in the second half of the 19th century, the regional economy was strengthened, consolidating the CHB as the main centrality of Belém and in the whole Amazon region. The urban growth, and the decentralization process that followed, caused the CHB to already show signs of physical decline in the 1960/70. In the Campina neighborhood, the horizontal, single-family habitational use gave space to verticalized multifamily and buildings with commerce, services and more sophisticated establishments were substituted or reformed (Lima, 2015; Lacerda, Tourinho, Lôbo and Venâncio, 2018) or were displaced to nearby neighborhoods. In the 1980s, the appearance of shopping centers and closed residential condominiums in other areas of the city accelerated the move of the wealthier layers of society to surrounding areas or far from the CHB (Mercês; Tourinho; Lobo, 2014; Lacerda, Tourinho, Lôbo and Venâncio, 2018).

The expansion of the urban fabric, the decentralization of activities and the shift of wealthier families to other neighborhoods caused transformations in the functions of the CHB. Buildings of the referred historic center were

abandoned or under-occupied and many protected buildings, or of interest for protection, went through processes of deterioration. To revert this dynamic and foment touristic activity, the public power, especially from 1990s on, invested in urbanistic interventions, for example, the requalification of the port area, as shown below in figure 2 (Mercês; Tourinho; Lobo, 2014; Lima, 2015; Lacerda, Tourinho, Lôbo; Venâncio, 2018). However, such actions were not enough to promote the classic gentrification[1], nor to contain the degradation process, although some authors identify the beginning of consumption gentrification (Trindade Júnior; Amaral, 2006; Trindade Júnior, 2018).

Fig. 2: Intervention in the Docks Station. Source: Pará Turismo, 2000. Available at http://www.paraturismo.pa.gov.br/vejamais_negocios_eventos/belem/estacao. Accessed 4 Nov. 2022.

Progressively, the profile of the goods and services installed in the CHB changed. In the first moment, between the 1970s and the beginning of the 1990s, the establishments aimed to serve the middle and wealthy classes were vacated or substituted by establishments aimed to serve the popular segments in general. Then, several buildings started to house activities of selling products of Asian origin, managed or not by Asian transmigrants (Lacerda; Tourinho; Lôbo; Venâncio, 2018).

To measure and spatialize the real estate occupation by Asians in the CHB, the research group Real Estate Market in Historic Centers (MICH) carried out, between October of 2018 and February of 2019, a field survey in all buildings that commercialized popular products imported from Asia and classified them in two groups: the ones that had their cash registers controlled by Brazilians and those that were managed by Asians. The location of the buildings, for mapping purposes, was obtained with the aid of *Google Street View*. Furthermore, through *in loco* visitations, the researchers, in the condition of buyers, collected business cards and ad print-outs tied to the establishments that sell popular Asian products, which aided in the categorization of the commercialized products, since the Asian merchants refused to participate in the research. Part of these cards and ads can be seen below, in Figure 3 (Tourinho; Lôbo; Froes; Cabral, 2019):

[1] About the concept of gentrification, see: Gottdiener, Budd and Lehtovuori (2016).

Fig. 3: Business Cards and Ad Print-outs of the surveyed stores. Source: Tourinho, Lôbo, Froes and Cabral, 2019. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354842884_os_asiaticos_e_a_ocupacao_dos_imoveis_do_centro_historico_de_belem_chb_cultura_e_memoria. Accessed 4 Nov. 2022.

Figure 4, below, shows that the present research identified 394 buildings in the CHB that commercialized, almost exclusively, Asian products. Of these, 392 were located in the Campina neighborhood and 77 units (19.5%) were managed by Asians, compared to 317 stores (80.5%) that were administered by Brazilians. These results reveal the extension and capillarity of the Asian network in adjusting and integrating, even in the local merchant elite (Tourinho; Lôbo; Froes; Cabral, 2019).

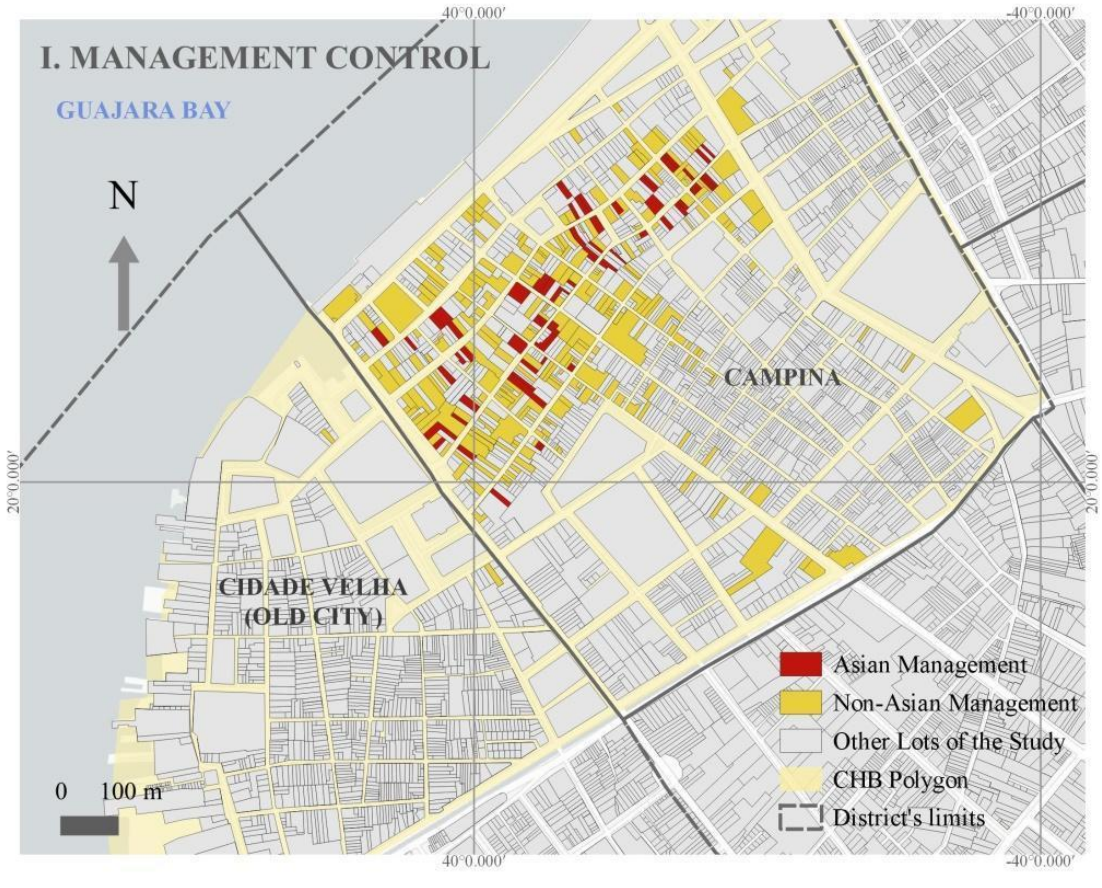

Fig. 4: Real estate units tied to Asian occupation and commercialization of Asian products. Source: MICH Research Database, 2019.

Analyzing figure 4, we noted that the location of the real estates managed by Asians formed a corridor, around which the establishments managed by non-Asians gravitated. Regarding the number of floors of the buildings occupied by establishments managed by Asians, of the 77 occupied buildings, 69 units have up to three floors, which represents 89.61%. Then, figure 5 shows the preference for the occupation of buildings with up to three floors, as the ground floor is used for retail commerce, while the other floors can be used for storage. Thus, the presence of these storages is fundamental, not only to supply the stores themselves, but also the street vendors, as we will discuss (Tourinho; Lôbo; Froes; Cabral, 2019).

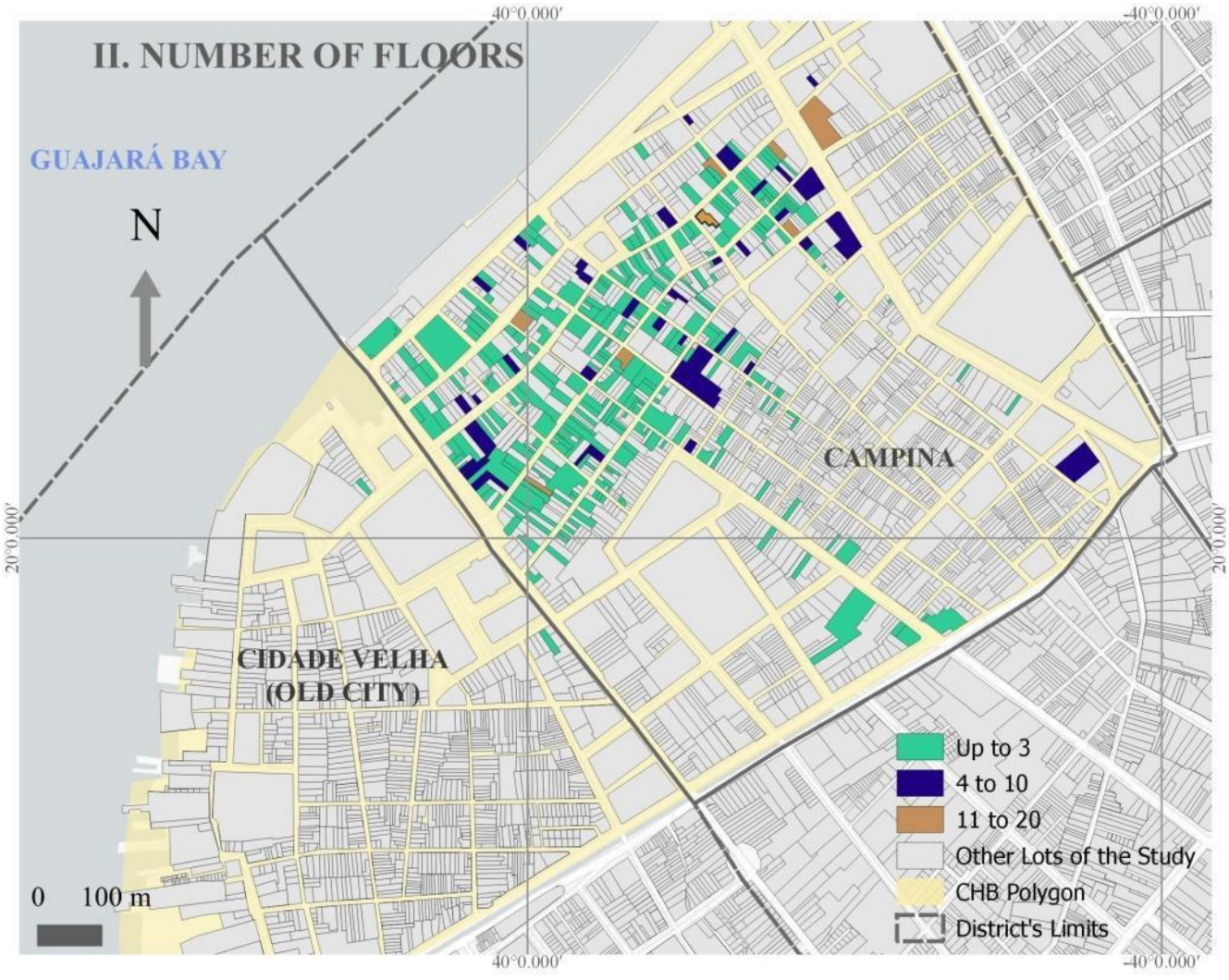

Fig. 5: Number of floors in the buildings occupied by Asian businesses. Source: MICH Research Database, 2019.

The establishments were categorized regarding merchandise class, based on the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE), developed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2002. This classification considers that the establishment is specialized in a specific product if 50% of sales refer to this product, while establishments with more than four classes of products are considered mixed. When analyzing the spatial distribution of the establishments in the CHB regarding the class of the commercialized products, based on the CNAE classification (IBGE, 2002), it is noted, as shown in figure 6[2], the occurrence of sequential tracks and street specialization. On the internal streets, the commerce of clothes, accessories, shoes, travel items, jewelry and watches prevails (Class D). On the intermediate streets, the sales of perfumery, cosmetics and optical items (Class C) and miscellaneous merchandise (Class M) prevails. On the borders, there are stores with computer equipment, communication, audio, video, lighting,

[2] Legend: A – Retail commerce of computer and communication equipment; domestic utility items and equipment; B – Retail commerce of cultural, recreational and sport items; C – Retail commerce of pharmaceutical, perfumery and cosmetic products and medical, optical and orthopedic items; D – Retail commerce of clothes and accessories, shoes, travel items, jewelry and watches (new and used products); M – Mixed.

musical instruments and domestic utility items (Class A), in addition to the stationary stores and recreational items (Class B) (Tourinho; Lôbo; Froes; Cabral, 2019).

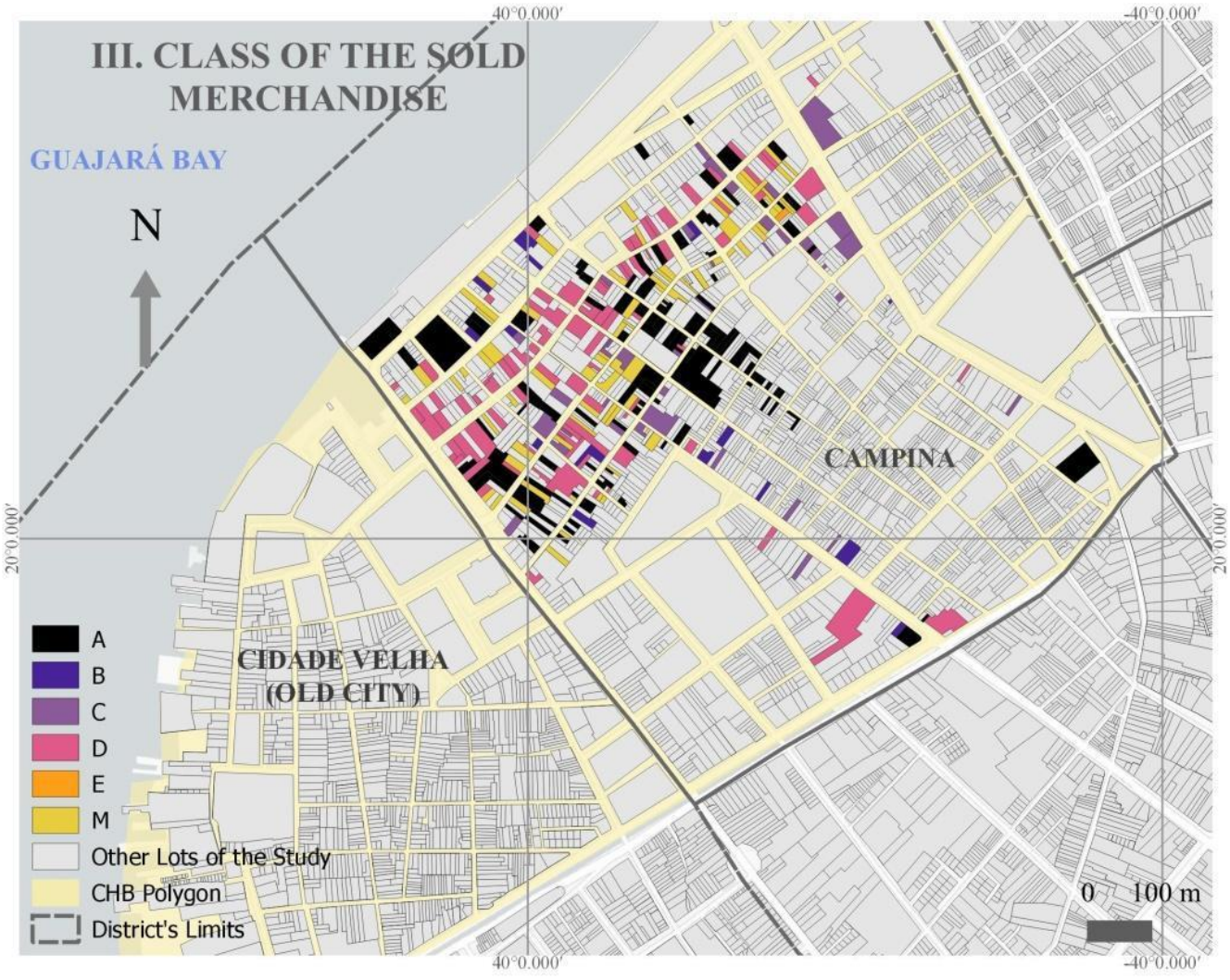

Fig. 6: Building occupation regarding the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE). Source: MICH Research Database, 2019.

Regarding the use and occupation of the CHB land and Asian commerce, Macedo (2020) compared the map of land use and occupation from the Multipurpose Technical Registry CTM (1998), provided by the City Hall organ called CODEM – Belém Metropolitan Area Development and Administration Company (CODEM), with the map of real estate units tied to Asian occupation and commercialization of Asian products, produced by the MICH Research Group. As will be shown in figure 7, of the 77 establishments managed by Asians, 59 (76.62%) were already of commercial use. In five cases (6.49%), they were associated with services; four buildings (5.20%) were residential; seven stores (9.09%) performed other functions and one building (1.30%) was of religious use. It was not possible to obtain data on one building occupied by Asians (1.30%).

As we can also observe in figure 7, of the buildings which commercialized Asian products, but were managed by Brazilians, 230 establishments (73.02%) were situated in buildings that were already used for commerce; 20 stores (6.34%) were in buildings previously used for services; 44 establishments (13.97%) in buildings previously used as residences and the remaining 16 establishments (5.08%) were aimed at other uses. No data was obtained on five of the analyzed establishments.

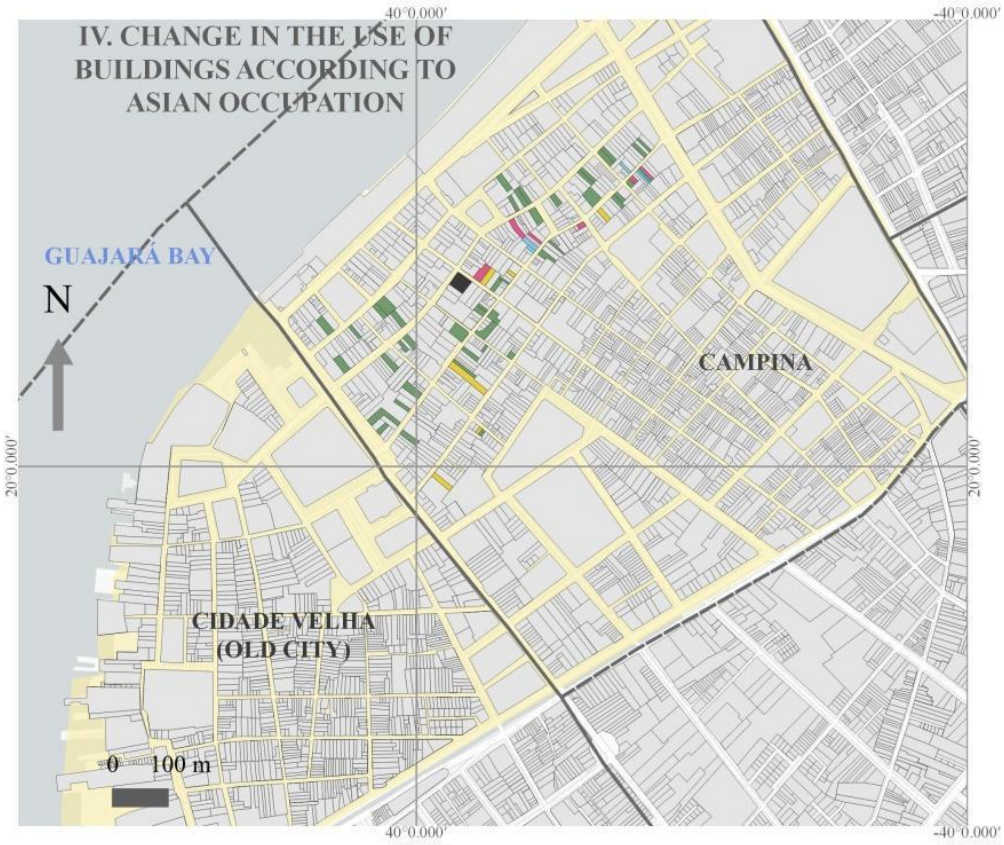

Fig. 7: Change in the use of buildings according to Asian occupation and commercialization of Asian products. Source: MICH Research Database, 2020.

When studying the composition of the buildings' façade, Macedo (2020) observes that the occupation of Asian commerce manifests through the ostensive installation of parasite elements, such as: signs, storefronts and advertisements that prevent the visualization of the buildings' upper floor and hinder the reading of the façade plan.

As reported below in figure 8, the storefronts, usually lettered with vibrant colors, reveal the name of the establishment that refers to the connection between Brazil and the Asian culture and reveal the competition among the establishments for the attention of the passerby consumer. In the figures below, awnings are installed in the storefronts, which covers the sidewalk up to the curb, appropriating public space and, sometimes, incorporating the street as a private merchandise exposition area (Macedo, 2020).

Fig. 8: Façades of the buildings occupied by the logic of Asian commercialization. Source: authors, 2019, adapted from *Google Street View* and Tourinho, Lôbo, Froes and Cabral, 2019. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354842884_os_asiaticos_e_a_ocupacao_dos_imoveis_do_centro_historico_de_belem_chb_cultura_e_memoria. Accessed 4 Nov. 2022.

In the internal part of the building, the layout introduced by the Asian logic is also configured differently. In the interior, in addition to the ring displays, we observe a very peculiar furniture, as shown below in figure 9, being a type of high stool for the monitoring and total control of the store, a local version of the panopticon studied by Michel Foucault, in his work Discipline and Punish: the birth of prison, from 1987 (Tourinho; Lôbo; Froes; Cabral, 2019).

Fig. 9: Buildings occupation regarding the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE). Source: Tourinho, Lobo, Froes, Cabral, 2019. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354842884_os_asiaticos_e_a_ocupacao_dos_imoveis_do_centro_historico_de_belem_chb_cultura_e_memoria. Accessed 4 Nov. 2022.

At the counters, where the cash registers are, small items with higher aggregated value are exposed and, next to those, the watches, glasses and other medium-sized items. The lateral walls serve to expose backpacks, purses, belts and accessories. In the center, there are the larger items, such as: toys, umbrellas, adornments and domestic utility items and, at the back of the store, the access to storage. Figure 10 shows the three types of layout found, evidencing the attention to protection against shoplifting and robbery (Tourinho, et al., 2019).

Fig. 10: Types of layout of the establishments that commercialize popular products of Asian origin and are controlled by immigrants. Source: Tourinho, Lôbo, Froes and Cabral, 2019. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354842884_os_asiaticos_e_a_ocupacao_dos_imoveis_do_centro_historico_de_belem_chb_cultura_e_memoria. Accessed 4 Nov.2022.

We also highlight the intensification of informal commerce in the roadway, through the presence of street vendors, who also commercialize low-cost Asian products, some being supplied by the merchants who work in the buildings tied to commercial activity in the CHB. In 2020, the number of street vendor stalls had tripled in relation to 2006, going from 147 to 422. Figure 11 shows that this concentration occurred mainly on Conselheiro João Alfredo Street, with accentuated spots near the crossroads with the other adjacent streets. This due to the three focuses identified on 7 de Setembro, Campos Salles Crossings and Barão do Guarujá Street, in which the later presents a ‘formalized’ area with street vendors space, with fixed cover and structure, differently from the other mapped stalls (Macedo, 2020).

These maps denote that, beyond the private spaces, the non-hegemonic globalization pattern studied in this research has reconfigured the form and content of the occupation of public spaces in the Historic Center of Belém.

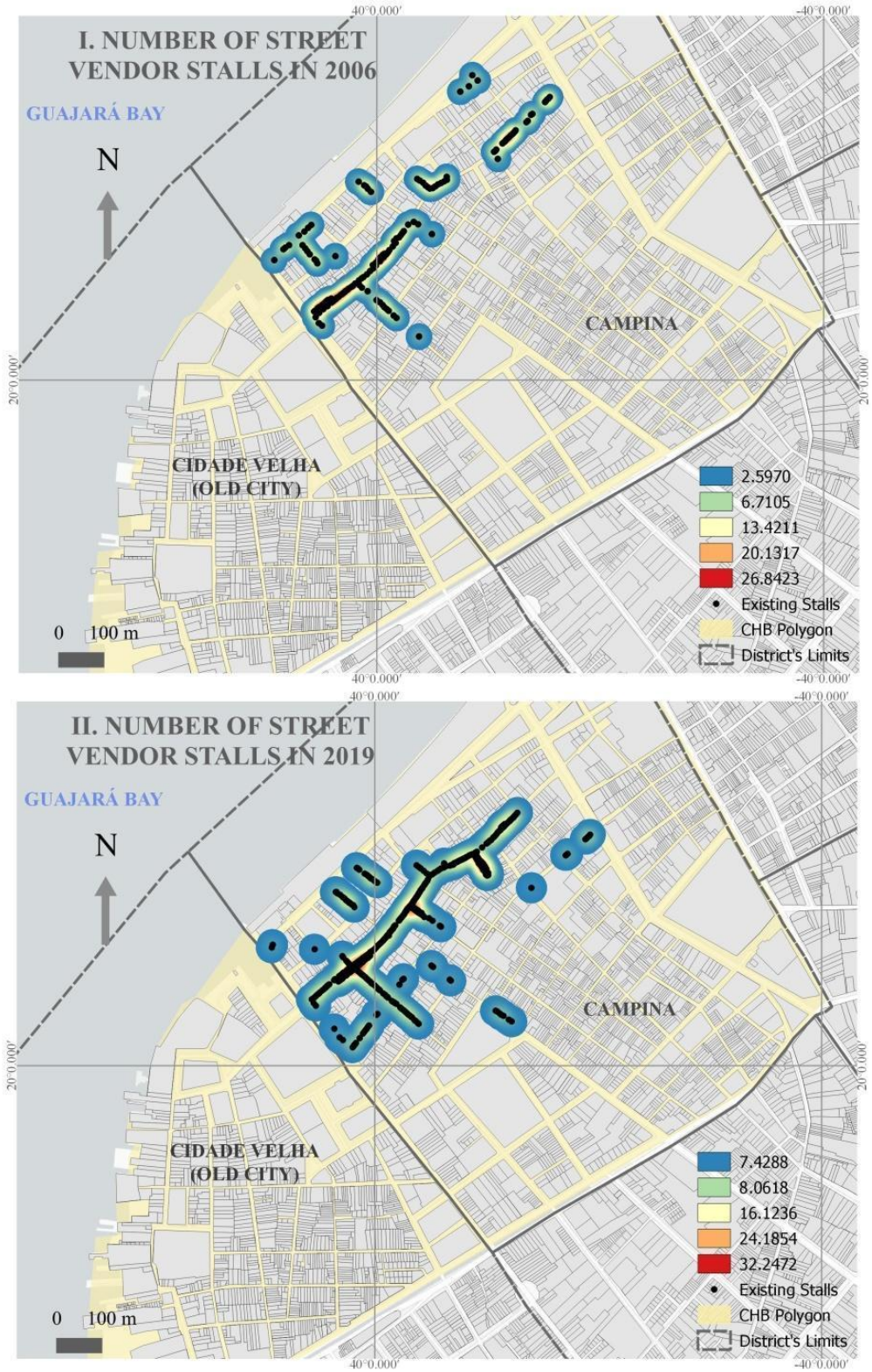

Fig. 11: Street use by informal commerce in 2006 and 2019. Source: MICH Research Database, 2020.

4 Final Considerations

The non-hegemonic globalization, moved by the insertion of the Asian capital with their transmigrants and commercial establishments, is a notable phenomenon in many Brazilian cities, especially in their historic centers. However, their configuration and socio-spatial consequences are still little studied by academia. The data presented on the occupation of the Historic Center of Belém by establishments that commercialize products and services of Asian origin reveal the

speed and intensity of this process. In the CHB, the process was selective and chose the Campina neighborhood, where the main urban Belém centrality was constituted historically.

The present study showed that the insertion of the CHB in this type of non-hegemonic globalization does not occur only through the direct presence of Asian transmigrants, but also articulates the local merchant networks aimed at the popular classes, acting inside the buildings, as well as in the public streets, in the street vendor stalls. According to the surveys, we verified that the portion of local commercial establishments with no condition of competing with the prices practiced by the Asians is significant, and that many have surrendered to their practices and logic and started to commercialize products negotiated by them, inserting themselves in the network.

Thus, the local resistance is sustained: i. by the demands of local popular consumers in acquiring products with low aggregated prices, but similar to those consumed by the elite; ii. by movements of the local merchants to ascend to a capital flow similar to the one developed by hegemonic globalization; and iii. by the maintenance of the CHB as a place that commercializes goods and services aimed to meet the needs of middle- and lower-income classes. Therefore, we understand that these strategies oppose popular exclusion, of the local consumer and merchant, as well as the enjoyment of sophisticated goods and services associated with the capital originated from hegemonic globalization.

By disseminating in the CHB space, the popular commerce of merchandise from Asian countries is redefining the social division of space in this center. Despite not promoting expressive change in the type of building use, it changes the nature of use, including the CHB non-hegemonic globalization circuit and changing the internal organization.

Regarding the spatial organization and distribution of activities, we verify the conformation of a corridor structure, where, in the main street, the establishments managed by Asians are located, around which the establishments managed by non-Asians gravitate. Furthermore, changes were observed in the form and content of the public space use of these streets, which became spaces for selling popular Asian products, commercialized in street vendor stalls, which expand linearly, especially on João Alfredo Street, one of the streets with the largest agglomeration of Asian establishments in the CHB.

In terms of the architectonic form, this study showed that the more expressive transformations have been happening in the internal space of the buildings, through the opening of gaps and/or addition of walls and in the storefronts, through the addition of elements that obscure the physical degradation of the building and prevent the reading of the façade plan and the urban landscape. The timid physical intervention on the buildings can also be explained by the fact that the agents tied to the commercial activities of non-hegemonic globalization seek to avoid facing inspection and patrimony preservation organs.

The fear regarding the demands concerning lawfulness and the legality of the practiced activities and the commercialized products, which can be raised by the building inspection processes, and the need for large investments for building reforms, which can reduce profit margins, can aid in better understanding this behavior.

Therefore, we understand that a counter-hegemonic architecture is configured, jettisoned of the principles of conservation, in which the buildings, by housing commercial uses structured on the logic of non-hegemonic globalization commerce, move away from at the same time as move closer to the popular interests. It is worth emphasizing that, without these uses, the CHB buildings, especially on Campina, could be empty, underused and/or subjected to even higher pressures from real estate speculators who, historically, seek to overturn laws that guarantee the prohibition of the integral destruction of fixed capital from the past, in order to enable the production of new real estate.

Lastly, it is worth noting that, for there being few modifications in the urban form and in the land uses, it does not mean that the spatial contents and the immaterial aspects that are a part of the ambiance of the CHB are not substantially altered. This change can be contributing, on one hand, to the reduction of real estate idleness in the CHB, but, on the other hand, to the decharacterization of the material patrimony or loss of immaterial patrimony of the center, where,

until then, a large part of the history of the Amazon urban occupation could be found. These questions, however, still need to be discussed in-depth.

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ÁGORA
AGORA

URBAN MOBILITY, PARTICIPATORY AND INSURGENT PLANNING
MOBILIDADE URBANA, PLANEJAMENTO PARTICIPATIVO E INSURGENTE

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Abstract

The article seeks to analyze spaces of counter-hegemonic struggle and actions in the field of urban mobility: the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL [Movement for Free Fare of Public Transport] and the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito de São Paulo — CMTT [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Transit of São Paulo]. Starting from the deductive method, the article is based on the literature on collaborative, communicative and participatory planning, which indicates that social participation is not always able to oppose hegemonic power. In many cases, participatory processes reinforced social injustice, as they promoted the legitimacy of neoliberal decisions. The cases of the CMTT and the MPL demonstrate that the State's participatory institutions (invited spaces) have limitations and insufficiencies to contain the hegemonic power and there is also a need for actions outside the institutional field (invented spaces).

Keywords: Participation, Free Fare, Social Movements, Urban Mobility, Urban Planning

1 Introduction

Events in recent years have given emphasis to the field of urban mobility. The demonstrations in June 2013 across Brazil began with a demand: the revocation of the increase in public transport fares, readjusted every beginning of the year. Such protests highlighted the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL [movement for free fare of public transport]. In the same year, the Municipality of São Paulo established the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito — CMTT [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Transit of São Paulo], a participatory council. Based on deductive method, the article inserts these cases of the field of urban mobility in the theoretical debate of urban and regional planning. In section 2, we discuss communicative, collaborative and participatory planning, as well as their criticisms and advances. In section 3, we contextualize the MPL and the demonstrations of June 2013, trying to answer if these actions materialize the discussions about insurgent or subversive planning. In section 4, we present some of the CMTT guidelines and the repercussions of the council on the networks of activism for urban mobility. Finally, we return to the literature and the cases presented for final considerations.

2 Communicative and collaborative planning and its criticisms

In the field of Urban and Regional Planning, the theory of communicative and collaborative planning stood out in the 1990s and was widely applied in the world with different interpretations, including being recommended by UN-Habitat (Pieterse, 2008)

Healey (2003) developed the idea throughout the 1990s, based on Giddens' Theory of Structuring, although communicative planning is more associated with Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action. According to the author, communicative planning was a path that emerged from her experience as a planner and researcher, from the reference to the quality of interactions by Giddens, in addition to authors such as Forester, Innes, Hoch and Baum – who also developed the theory of communicative planning. The central argument was that all planning involves some interaction relationship and a governance process, and therefore, discussion processes and their translations into institutionalized processes should be considered. This theory, which later became collaborative planning, was inspired, according to Healey, by the perception that planning is an interactive process that takes place in complex and dynamic institutional environments, formed by broader economic and social forces, which structure — but do not determine — these interactions. In addition, communicative and collaborative planning are premised on social justice, cultural diversity and values that exist in local environments. For the author, there are multiple forces and struggles interacting with creativity in local power and she cites Latin America as an example of innovation in these struggles (Healey, 2003)

The proposal brought several criticisms, especially for not opposing neoliberalism. On the contrary, communicative and collaborative planning reinforced the neoliberal context and social inequalities (Miraftab, 2009, Pieterse, 2008, Purcell, 2009,

Randolph, 2007, among others). Miraftab (2009) argues that citizen participation processes in neoliberal governments ended up legitimizing decisions of the hegemonic power through the perception of inclusion, especially in cities of the Global South. As neoliberalism is an ideological project, it does not act through coercion or force, but with a set of values, policies and rationalities to achieve hegemonic power. In this way, governments prefer to stabilize relations with movements rather than using force against counter-hegemonic actions. As an example of seeking to stabilize, there are international development organizations, such as the World Bank, which have placed citizen participation as part of their institutional mandates and partnerships with NGOs (Miraftab, 2009).

> A large body of literature has documented how such routinization of Community participation depolicizes communities' struggles and extends state control within the Society. Drawing grassroots movements into NGOs maintains the status quo by stabilizing state-society relations. (Miraftab, 2009, p. 34)

Pieterse (2008) demonstrates that while the UN-Habitat focused its discourse on combating poverty for social justice, equity and urban citizenship, advocating the involvement of civil society, the World Bank raised issues of strategic urban planning — of the competitiveness of cities, based on industrial, commercial and financial interests, bankability of projects. Strategic urban planning is a line of argument in territorial planning that considers globalization as a decisive factor for cities and focuses investments of scarce resources on critical points, prioritizing urban mega projects. However, it is also based on the formation of consensus through the participation of public and private agents, from the diagnosis to the elaboration of the plan (Borja; Castells, 1997). That became the participation of a small group, in Pieterse's View (2008). Cities in the Global South that adopted the World Bank guide ended up adopting this type of participation. So, communicative planning was widely adopted, however, under strategic planning and under a neoliberal state. Between choosing an infrastructure project that would increase local competitiveness and a project that would meet the most basic infrastructure in the city, the first was chosen. Therefore, despite the argument that communication would be enough to decide in contexts of multiplicity of groups, what Pieterse (2008) observed is that the choice was not combating poverty in cities.

Purcell (2009) also criticized communicative planning for supporting the neoliberal agenda. The author showed how inequalities already exist from the beginning and, then, the process itself becomes unequal. Furthermore, neoliberalism actively seeks to co-opt and incorporate democratic resistances, even if they are not favorable to business, but this action is intended to legitimize the process and create stability. For the author, there is no intention on the part of Habermas or the planners who follow him to reinforce neoliberalism, but this in fact happens. Rarely, business sectors are excluded from a decision process, but there are groups excluded from collaborative processes. As there is an appearance of inclusion, no one questions that groups have been excluded. Purcell (2009) also criticizes the group of planners who move away from Habermas to act in communicative planning. Take, for example, author Judith Innes, who argues that "though deliberation participants inventing new solutions they could not have imagined before engaging each other" and "in order to come to a shared solution, all participants mest be satisfied with the outcome". For Purcell, there is the possibility of legitimizing the dominant. Furthermore, the very idea of "stakeholders" instead of "citizens" is already a neoliberalization, insofar as it places stakeholders with more force than a mere citizen in the process. Against this, Purcell (2009) defends an alternative with radical elements of participatory democracy based on Henri Lefebvre's ideas of the right to the city, and, supported by Laclau and Mouffle, defends a counter-hegemonic mobilization for the emancipation of marginalized groups.

Randolph (2007) also criticizes communicative and collaborative planning based on Brazilian experiences, resulting from popular participation in public policies, especially in master plans. With the Constitution of 1988 and the Statute of the City of 2001, the perspective of more participation of the population rises. However, like the other authors, he observes that the participatory process is a way of giving legitimacy to decisions favorable to the hegemonic sectors. For the author:

> [...] the real problem is that most conceptions and realizations of participatory planning remain attached to the traditional instrumental, technical and, sometimes, bureaucratic logic of State (public) planning. It does not significantly and more radically redefine the relationship between State and society (and thus contributes to the perpetuation of the status quo) (Randolph, 2007, p. 4).

However, Randolph (2007) considers that collaborative and communicative planning had achievements, such as opening mediation paths and bringing ways for the accumulation of experiences of “communicative power” to have some influence on some decisions. Even though insufficient, Habermas' communicative model is essential for planning to fulfill its “subversive function”. It should be noted that, although Randolph related his criticism to communicative and collaborative planning based on Brazilian experiences with master plans, these are conceived based on the notion of participatory democracy, in which the participation of citizens in the decision-making process is considered in democratic States. The Orçamento Participativo (Participatory Budget) was a paradigmatic example, among several initiatives in the redemocratization period, which influenced urban policy to be based on participatory processes. Participatory urban planning and communicative and collaborative planning dialogue themselves and are based on the same literature, but they differ in origin and in the paths they followed until their practice in territorial planning. While Healey (2003) formulated communicative planning based on her urban planning experience, the formulation of participatory urban planning that occurred in Brazilian experiences adopted the broader concept of participatory democracy, in the context of redemocratization of the country.

The experience of the participatory process of preparing the Strategic Master Plan of São Paulo, Brazil in 2002 was also analyzed by Villaça (2005), who observed that despite all the effort for participation, only hegemonic groups managed to influence the plan. Either because they attended public hearings called by the government or because they had access and knowledge of the technical content, or because they had access to other forms of pressure such as the media and the City Council. In the same way that Purcell (2009) noted in collaborative and communicative planning, Villaça (2005) observes that from the beginning dominant groups are better able to impose their ideas and thus, the participatory process that had the objective of fighting for social justice fails to promote this due to the inequality in the process itself.

In Brazil, PT governors (Workers’ Party governs) increased participation in various public policies at the federal level, especially by the creation of national councils and conferences. Although there are criticisms of how this participation took place (Abers; Serafim; Tatagiba, 2014, Romão, 2021, Tatagiba; Teixeira, 2021), Maricato (2017) emphasizes the importance of participatory instances for urban policy:

> Some social control over the State constitutes a fundamental experience for learning by the social movements, as well as it is also important to expand the conquests by social demands. Contrary to what many intellectuals think, who see this as despicable reformism, the conquests of immediate concrete demands are essential feed for any mass demand movement. But it is necessary to understand the State in its complexity, especially in a society like ours, patrimonialist and unequal. Its power of co-option, and even of corruption, seems immense (Maricato, 2017, p. 70-71).

In addition, the author also highlights the achievements for urban policy resulting from participatory processes in Brazil: the City Statute, the Ministry of Cities, the National Conferences of Cities, the Council of Cities, the National Land Regularization Program, the regulatory framework for Environmental Sanitation (2005), the Public Consortia Law, the National Fund for Social Housing, the National Urban Mobility Policy and the Program for Accelerating the Growth of Housing and Sanitation. However, she recognizes that access to land, the application of the most important instruments of the City Statute and the environmental issue remains without any progress. Thus, it is considered that, following the example of what the researchers concluded regarding collaborative and communicative planning, the Brazilian experience of participation in national institutions also encountered limits of action facing hegemonic power.

3 Would the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL be a step towards insurgent or subversive urban mobility planning?

The Passe Livre Movement (MPL) emerged in 2005 at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, city in the south of Brazil, inspired by the experiences of the *Buzu* Revolt (2003) in Salvador, city in the northeastern Brazil, and the *Catraca* Revolt (2005) in Florianópolis, city in the South Brazil. The Buzu Revolt was a protest against the increase of the public transport fare, which brought together 40,000 high school students in a decentralized and horizontal struggle process. At the time, the movement was appropriated by other groups, as the movement reports:

> [...] student organizations co-opted by party groups positioned themselves as leaders and began to negotiate with public authorities on behalf of the demonstrators. After bargaining for few concessions with the governors, without reaching the revocation of the increase, all possible means were used to demobilize the population" (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p. 14).

In this context, the movement that emerges tends to oppose the approximation of the State:

> Then, a social movement of autonomous, horizontal and non-partisan transport emerges, whose local and federated groups do not submit to any central organization. Its policy is deliberated from below, by all, in spaces that do not have leaders, nor respond to any higher external body (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p. 15).

Any group of activists can become the MPL, as long as they submit to the movement's charter of principles, which basically says about the independence of the State, parties, even NGOs, religious and financial institutions. The movement then differentiates itself from previous formed social movements:

> It is in the direct action of the population on its own life – and not behind closed doors, in the municipal councils ingeniously instituted by the city halls or in any of the other institutional tricks -, that the true popular management takes place. (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p.16).

However, according to Medeiros (2014), the position of distancing from the State and other organizations is not radical. The movement is related to trade unions, with the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto — MTST [Movement of Homeless Workers] (which has relations with the Partido dos Trabalhadores — PT [Workers Party] and President Lula's government), they also rely on parliamentarians who defend their flags or who help free militants from arbitrary prisons. In addition, the movement itself states to be based on the policy formulated by Erundina, mayor of São Paulo, Brazil (1989–1992) (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013). The MPL also differs from traditional movements due to its internal organization:

> While in traditional movements the action of the militant is subject to the collective will, represented by the entity and/or by the leadership, in the MPL direct action is the dominant vector, which will structure the belonging and identity of the militant through the free pass. (Medeiros, 2014, p. 115).

Although the MPL has been active in the Brazilian cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Recife, Porto Alegre and the Federal District since 2006 with demonstrations every year, it was only in 2013 that the movement gained national prominence. For Medeiros (2014), the movement gained momentum due to a combination of the occasion when the city halls decided to increase the public transport fare with the viralized images of police violence in the protests. According to the author, every year the readjustment of public transport fare was given between December and January since students are on vacation at this time and demobilized because they are not in the same space. That year, as a request of the federal government, city halls postponed the readjustment of public transport fare until the end of May and beginning of June, which created the ideal scenario for the growth of demonstrations. In addition, explains Medeiros (2014), images of gratuitous police violence suffered by young people were widely disseminated on social medias, which generated commotion and solidarity.

The first demonstrations of 2013 started on May 27th and 28th, but the first protest that gained a larger dimension was on June 6th. On June 17th, the movement gained national dimension, with protests in at least twelve states. On June 19th, the mayors of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro revoked the readjustments. On June 20th, the biggest demonstrations took place. From June 21st, the demonstrations continued, however, with different agendas (Medeiros, 2014).

In addition to the repeal of the readjustment of public transport fare, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and another forty municipalities established participatory transport councils. It was the peak of creation of these councils in Brazil, as we can see in Figure 1 below.

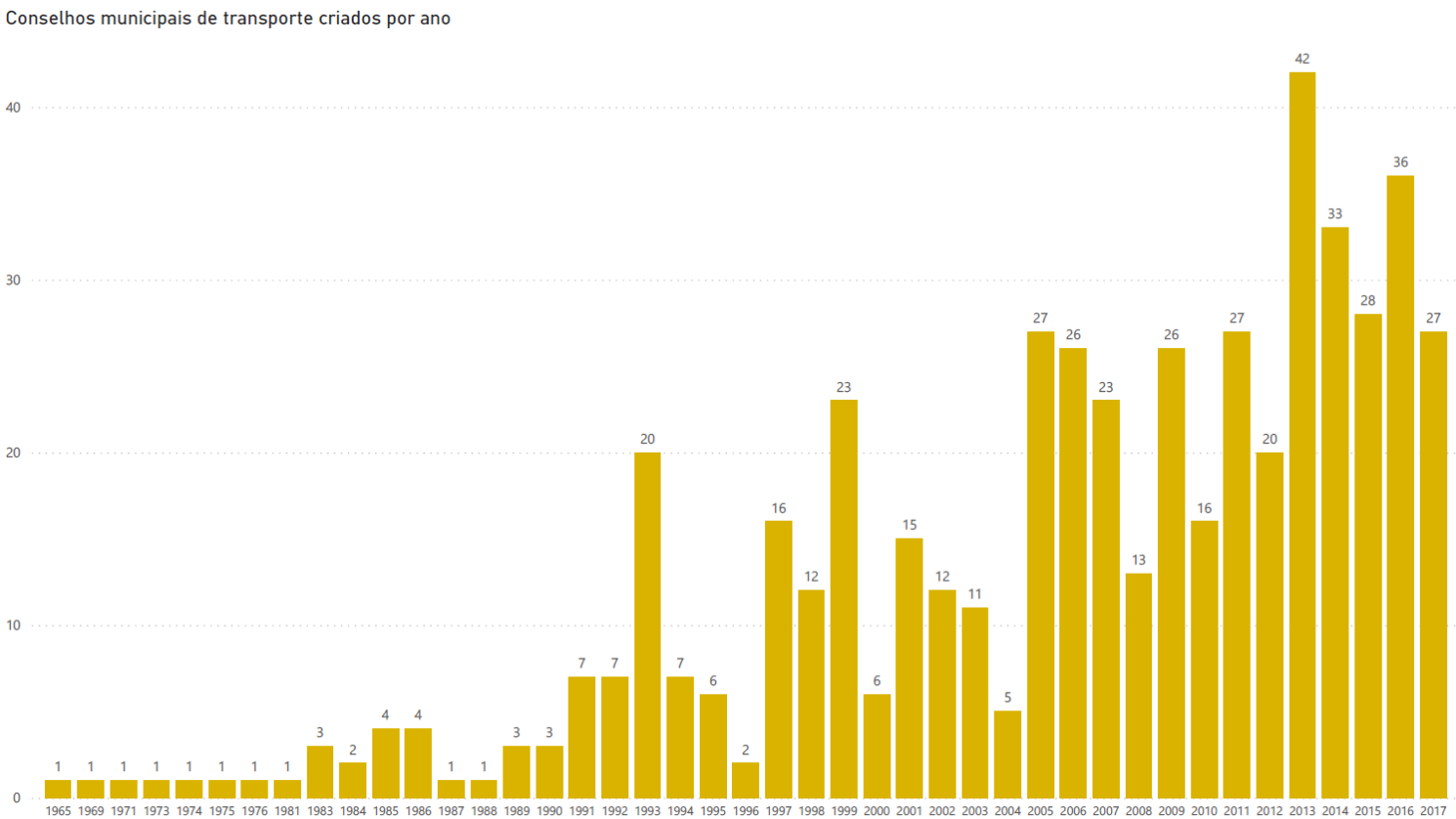

Fig. 1: Municipal transport councils created per year. Source: own elaboration with data from IBGE (2017). Available at: https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/protecao-social/10586-pesquisa-de-informacoes-basicas-municipais.html?edicao=18195&t=downloads. Access 12/11/2021.

However, the MPL refused to be part of these councils. For more traditional social movements this would be an opportunity, for the MPL the councils represented the antithesis of popular management and of the possibility of mobilization.

Indeed, the MPL had reason to doubt it. The first readjustment after the creation of the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito (CMTT) [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Traffic] was decided without consulting the councilors (Gomes, 2015).

These events corroborate with Romão (2021) and Tatagiba and Teixeira (2021). Presidents Lula's and Dilma's governments had in their structure openness to social movements, promoting national conferences and receiving in the government's technical staff to participate of the formulation of public policies. However, this greater openness was not enough to expand rights and reverse the neoliberal logic. On the contrary, it gave legitimacy to what the government proposed, while serving social movements on a sectoral basis. This reading was also done by the MPL already at the same time of the events.

The answer given by the forty-two city halls, with the creation of participatory councils, came to stabilize the neoliberal hegemonic power. Action that did not work to guarantee control over future protests, since the MPL refused the discussion in the institutional field and since the demonstrations of June 2013 gave voice to conservatism, which started to lead protests in the following years.

Romão (2021) states that the openness to social movements promoted by the Lula's and Dilma's governments would have generated an "over democratization", not controlled by the pact of lulism. Lulism is the political phenomenon of the left government of Brazil, which sought transformations without confronting capital, running a government of class reconciliation. New movements, which originated because of the maintenance of precariousness, were no longer in this pact. Among these new movements are the MPL, the World Cup Popular Committees [popular movements against forced removals of communities by World Cup works] and the movements against the construction of the Belo Monte and Santo Antônio hydroelectric plants. From 2013, the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL continued its activities at each announcement of fare adjustments in São Paulo, without ever having participated in the CMTT.

These events also corroborate the arguments of Miraftab (2009), Pieterse (2008), Purcell (2009), Randolph (2007) and Villaça (2005). However, unlike the MPL, it is not possible to say that the authors refute the participation of civil society. The authors atempt to the limits of participation facing social injustices within a neoliberal State. Miraftab (2009) makes clear the importance of institutionalized spaces. The author coined the concepts of invited spaces and invented spaces, based on experiences in the Global South, to advance in the fight for social justice:

> 'Invited' spaces are defined as those grassroots actions and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions and aim to cope with systems of hardship. 'Invented' spaces are defined as those collective actions by the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo. The two sorts of spaces stand in a mutually constituted, interacting relationship, not a binary one. They are not mutually exclusive, nor is either necessarily affiliated with a fixed set of individuals or groups or with a particular kind of civil society. (Miraftab, 2009, p. 38-39)

Miraftab's formulation (2009) differs from the MPL's proposal, as the author recognizes that formal instances are also tools of struggle for social movements. For the author, the insurgent practices are fluid between the invited spaces and the invented spaces of participation, being able to carry out combined actions between them.

If the MPL diverges from the insurgent planning of Miraftab (2009), we find convergences within the subversive planning of Randolph (2007). In recent activities, the MPL developed another direct action: the provision of free buses from São Paulo downtown to Cidade Tiradentes (São Paulo's urban fringe neighborhood) for about fifty people, with the same route as a free bus that existed in the 1990s. As presented in Figure 2, the action was taken on October 26th, 2021, National Day of Fight for the Free Fare of Public Transport in Brazil, a day that recalls the Catraca Revolt that happened in Florianópolis, city in the south of Brazil (LINS; LINS, 2021).

Passe Livre São Paulo
27 de outubro de 2021 ·

::: UM GOSTINHO DA VIDA SEM CATRACAS - O BUSÃO TARIFA ZERO PRA CIDADE TIRADENTES

Ontem, no dia 26 de outubro, dia de luta pela Tarifa Zero, a volta pra casa depois do trabalho foi diferente. Pelo menos pras 50 pessoas que pegaram o Busão Tarifa Zero que saiu do Terminal Parque Dom Pedro e foi até a Cidade Tiradentes.

Foram dois mini-ônibus, em que todas as pessoas puderam ir sentadas com conforto e sem superlotação. Quem precisava, recebeu máscaras de proteção, quem queria descansar, teve espaço pra isso. E entre quem se animou mais, ficamos conversando sobre porque o transporte não funciona desse jeito todos os dias e como é com luta que a gente pode conquistar mudanças concretas!!

Foi um gostinho da vida sem catracas que queremos construir, uma prova de que outro transporte é sim possível. E ficou na cara que os governantes só não assumem isso porque preferem agradar os seus amigos empresários do que atender às nossas necessidades e desejos.

Foi pelo nóis por nóis que a Tarifa Zero voltou à Cidade Tiradentes 30 anos depois. Foi só um gostinho, mas saímos dessa experiência com mais ânimo e mais vontade pra seguir lutando até o fim de todas as catracas!

#TarifaZeroJá!
#26Outubro
#CidadeTiradentes
#BusãoTarifaZero

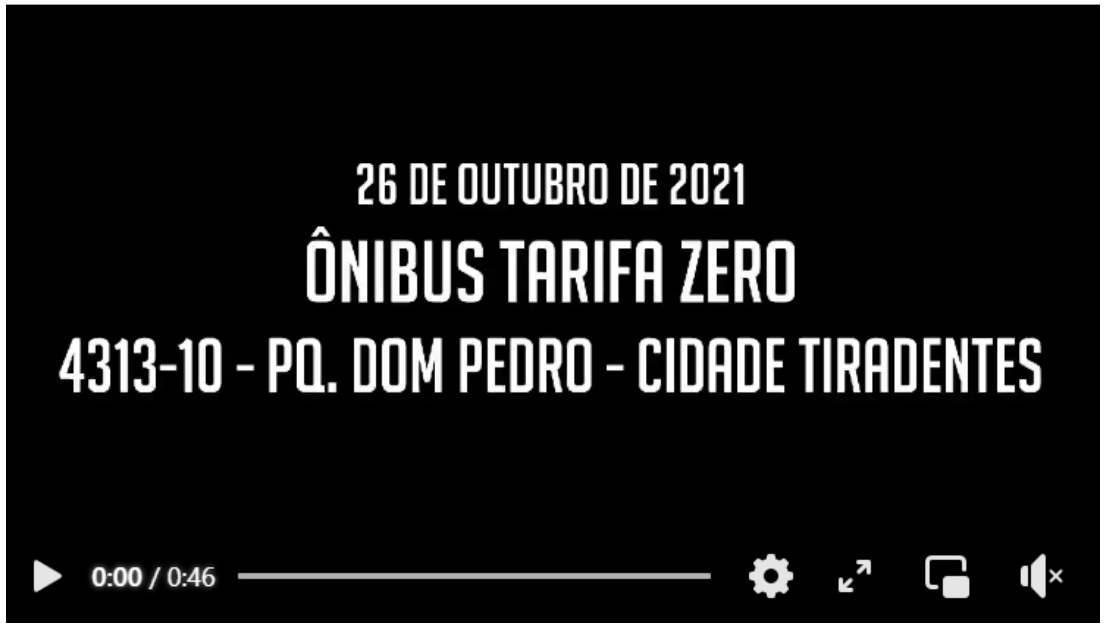

Fig. 2: Post from Movimento Passe Livre São Paulo about the action. Source: MPL, 2021. Available at: https://fb.watch/gxZeGeeeNc/. Accessed on: 01/30/2022.

The process of subversive planning needs to be understood as one of the ways to achieve, in practice, the expansion of the domain both of social experiences already available (through the sociology of absences, increasing the present), and of possible social experiences (through the sociology of emergences, retraction of the future). (Randolph, 2007, p. 10)

The movement put into practice the possibility of Free Fare to show through its own experience what is intended (possible social experiences) to overcome a current issue – the high fare of public transport (social experiences already available). Randolph (2008) also argues that there is a possibility of carrying out the proposal of subversive planning through:

> [...] the search, from part of the inhabitants of the big cities, for the use value of their lived spaces and their defense against the effects of abstraction that (financial) capitalism tries to progressively impose as it advances in the production of the social space (Lefebvre) (Randolph, 2008, p. 11).

As the movement defends the right to transport as a right to the city, it is fighting the abstraction effects of financial capitalism. It questions the rationality of transport planning, which places fares as essential for its viability, questions the logic of cities, which are structured on inequality to promote accessible and non-accessible spaces, barred by turnstiles, and it questions the logic of the increasingly intense financialization of the transport sector, which is currently moving towards privatization (between public-private partnerships and concessions).

On the other hand, this action was carried out with a limited scope, on only one bus line against millions of daily trips made in São Paulo. To transform it into a public policy, it is necessary to debate budget and planning, do its monitoring — a debate that should have taken place in participatory forums, but the MPL refused to participate. In this sense, there is also a limit to this counter-hegemonic action, which does not take place beyond questioning social injustice.

The Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Traffic]

The Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito de São Paulo (CMTT) was established in 2013, as one of the answers to the demonstrations of the so-called June Days, during the Haddad administration of São Paulo, Brazil, from the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) [Workers' Party]. This is a council made up of civil society (including associations, NGOs and trade unions), public authorities (direct and indirect public administration) and transport operators (companies' and workers' unions). From 2013 to 2021, fifty-seven ordinary meetings and five extraordinary meetings were held, of which minutes of meetings are available on the council's website (CMTT, [s.d.]).

Some topics call attention due to the rarity of the debate. The budget, an essential issue for carrying out public policies, was only discussed at the November 2017 meeting (CMTT, 2017), mentioned at the August 2019 meeting as a demand for a municipal mobility fund (CMTT, 2019a), in July 2020, when subsidies to the SPTrans system [public company of public buses of São Paulo] were discussed (CMTT, 2020a), in December 2020 in an extraordinary meeting about public transport fare (CMTT, 2020b), in October 2021 in the presentation of the execution of FUNDURB [Urban Development Fund] resources (CMTT, 2021) . The "zero tariff" or "free fare" is only registered in the minutes of the meeting of December 2019 (CMTT, 2019b). It draws attention, because Barbosa (2018) had already detected that although the MPL did not participate in the CMTT, there were supporters among the councilors who could put the topic on the agenda.

Despite these problems and all the issues presented in the literature about participation problems, there are advances promoted by the CMTT. Themes of sustainable urban mobility, such as road safety, walking, cycling, universal accessibility and public transport by bus were highlighted in the meetings of the period.

For Barbosa (2018), the demonstrations of 2013 and the creation of the National Urban Mobility Policy (in Brazil) in 2012 brought out many collective groups in defense of sustainable urban mobility, since most councilors had participated in the demonstrations of 2013. The author also showed that the council encouraged the creation of an association for walking, called Cidadeapé, formed from councilors who was participating individually. Thus, the Council "created representation and organization experiences, producing leaderships that recognize the groups and demands they represent in the institution"

(Barbosa, 2018, p. 210), since the councilors had participated in the demonstrations of June 2013 without ties to social movements or entities, but within the Council they started to represent collectives.

The events that follow confirm the observation. Walking and cycling (active mobility) won a Thematic Chamber at the request of the councilors, where the groups' possibilities for political advocacy on these issues were expanded, with regional representatives and specific meetings. Within these Thematic Chambers, networks were strengthened and the formation of new activist groups was further encouraged, such as regional cycle activists: Bike Zona Oeste [Bike West Zone of Sao Paulo] and Bike Zona Leste [Bike East Zone of São Paulo] — created in 2015 — and Bike Zona Norte [Bike North Zone of São Paulo] — created in 2019. The Bike Zona Sul [Bike South Zone of São Paulo] group has existed since 2010. It is also possible to say that the existence of the CMTT fostered the organization of a network of entities, which began to act together, as in the Active Mobility Campaign in the 2018 Elections. The campaign aimed to promote urban mobility in the state elections of São Paulo with a letter of commitment that could be adhered to by the candidates for the Government of the State of São Paulo. Some of the entities that participate in the CMTT made up the network: Association of Urban Cyclists of São Paulo (Ciclocidade), Association for Mobility on Foot in São Paulo (Cidadeapé), Institute of Consumer Defense (IDEC) and SampaPé! (Rede Paulista de Entidades e Associações de Mobilidade Urbana, n.d.).

Also in 2018, the Association of Urban Cyclists of São Paulo (Ciclocidade) and the Association for Mobility on Foot in São Paulo (Cidadeapé), held the Active Mobility Panel, which brought data on injuries and deaths in traffic. Public data were disclosed to support the articulation of civil society for public hearings on traffic safety (Associação de Ciclistas Urbanos de São Paulo and Associação pela Mobilidade a Pé em São Paulo, 2018).

As Maricato (2017) had observed for national urban policies, there are social achievements in participation. Otherwise, the Council would not suffer from emptying, as Barbosa (2018, p. 208) stated: “If it were not for the persistence of the councilors and their entities, committed to fighting for improvements in public policies for urban mobility, the Council would not have meetings in 2017”. These emptying follow the events in the country of crisis of democracy and dismantling of institutionalized spaces of participation. With the departure of President Dilma Rousseff from Workers’ Party in 2016, national council meetings decreased, and national conferences did not take place, until in 2019, the National Policy for Social Participation was revoked by the president Jair Bolsonaro. The resistance of the councilors to the continuity of the CMTT meetings was, therefore, a counter-hegemonic action, because it did not allow its dismantling, despite all the context favorable to it. In this sense, it is possible to state that, despite their lack, participatory processes can oppose some of the hegemonic actions.

4 Final Considerations

Criticisms of collaborative and communicative planning, as well as the thoughts on the participatory process, bring a set of arguments that could deny participatory practices. The construction of direct actions outside the State can be an overcoming of the limits of participatory practices, as demonstrated by the Movimento Passe Livre in its activities. The availability of a free bus to demonstrate that “Free fare is possible” promotes the experience of a different policy from what is defended by the hegemonic power, of increasingly privatization of transport. We can consider these actions as practices of subversive planning, in the conception of Randolph (2007). However, the MPL invalidates participation in institutionalized spaces because they do not believe that institutionalized spaces are, in fact, counter-hegemonic spaces.

But it is important to emphasize all the social achievements that institutionalized participatory processes have brought, as highlighted by Maricato (2017). The Municipal Transport and Traffic Council of São Paulo encouraged the organization of groups and entities for sustainable urban mobility and created networks of political advocacy. In this sense, participatory practices may not be enough to combat social injustice, but there are achievements even in a neoliberal context. Therefore, theories of collaborative, communicative and participatory planning should not be invalidated, but rather recognize that there are limitations and avoid “illusions” – as Villaça (2005) argued about the participatory process of the 2002 Master Plan. In the same way, there are limitations on counter-hegemonic actions that deny institutionalized processes like MPL action. Future research should stress these limitations, also mobilizing literature on repertoires and action tools of social movements.

When moving between the “invited spaces” and the “invented spaces” of insurgent planning, we recognize the limitations of institutionalized spaces, while we recognize the actions created by social movements as a way of planning. We agree with Miraftab (2009), counter-hegemonic struggles take place in both spaces.

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THE (UN)SUSTAINABLE PUBLIC HOUSING POLICIES OF BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA

LA POLÍTICA PÚBLICA DE VIVIENDA (IN)SUSTENTABLE DE BRASIL Y VENEZUELA

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Abstract

Economic viability and social justice through state intervention and resource delimitation are aspects commonly associated with the sustainability of public housing policies in Latin America. Presently, due to climate changes, the prioritization of these aspects over the resultant environmental impact is inadmissible sustainability-wise, demanding reorientation towards an environmental dimension, translated to the field of public housing policies as an openness to a counter-hegemonic, regenerative view, focused on energy management and human integration with nature. This article promotes a critical analysis of the recent public housing policies of Brazil and Venezuela, about their interactions with sustainable strategies in the Anthropocene, based upon the following methodological procedures: theoretical research; referential research on case study; and a reflective analysis between theory and gathered references. Results suggest that the normative conceptualization of the public housing policies studied doesn't meet current major regenerative requirements, essential to achieve established goals meant to tackle climate change.

Keywords: Sustainability, Anthropocene, Public Housing, Gran Misión Vivienda, Venezuela, Programa Casa Verde e Amarela, Brazil

1 Introduction

Life's affirmation, through access to basic needs such as food, water, shelter and habitat to the most vulnerable, historically, has been a transverse ethical principle for humanity's major cultures (Dussel, 2019), and, even with temporary variations in its practices, its relevance remains palpable on Latin American culture, in the form of public policies. Public housing as a state matter presents itself as a hard to characterize terminology, given that it operates in integration with all the conceptualizations of housing, such as: the need of basic historical background, framed as demand, sold as merchandise, computed as deficit, reclaimed as right, and simultaneously acknowledged as social and economic public policy (Buonfiglio, 2018). In practical terms, it led to a plethora of state interventions in hopes of achieving such policies, and also its inevitable association with different nomenclatures (Shimbo, 2012). Nevertheless, the presence of the state as a facilitator has been a common feature in all of those variations, serving as a general concept of housing as a public policy.

In Latin America, housing, as a matter of social interest, was the focal point for the first works about energy consumption rationalization trough bioclimatic zoning, serving as basis to present-day thermic performance standards in Argentina (1981), Chile (1982), Mexico (2004) and Brazil (2005) (Walsh; Labaki; Cóstola, 2014). As such, they have been materialized as the early regional practical references of sustainable development under the concept of *Triple Bottom Line,* aiming to satisfy contemporary interests without compromising potential expanse due to future needs, abiding by three basic pillars linked to sustainability: economic viability, social justice and environmental integrity (Elkington, 2012). However, in a context of heavy industrialization and capitalist supremacy, a system in place since the advent of the modern era, the application of this concept of sustainability has prioritized its economical and social aspects over its environmental counterpart, in an attempt to produce more with less resources. Cultural hegemony, which, as seen on well-known papers like *Factor Four* (Weizsäcker; B Lovins; Lovins, 1998), perceives social justice as unlimited production, with economic viability through resources rationalization, and environmental integration, if present, via reduction of resulting impact.

In terms of public housing production, we venture in the 21th Century without substantial progress in converting past decades' technological advancements into solutions consonant to the environmental and local cultural standards, especially in Latin America, which leads to questioning if, in truth, we are building cities or simply producing housing, as ascertain Ferreira (2012) and many others architectural and contemporary urbanism scholars like Montaner and Muxí (2014), and Rolnik (2015).

Nowadays, in the Anthropocene, changes to Earth's ecosystems became evident, as a byproduct of unchecked human intervention (Crutzen, 2002), and life sustainability now relies on the successful implementation of efficient actions to reduce global emissions of CO2 by half until 2030, and to zero until 2050 according to Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (Eyring et al., 2021), providing a new context to sustainable development's environmental dimension, directly linked to energy management, and a much needed scope amplitude, approaching the concept of sustainability related to

homeostasis (Brügger, 1994; Guimarães, 2003) and resilience (Acosta, 2020). In other words, a system capable of absorbing and/or adapting to adverse situations, and recovering itself while also producing positive effects. In addition, according to the environmentally responsible theory postulated by Reed (2007), the extension of this resilience represents the trajectory's apex, labeled as regenerative.

Although distant in time and space, it's observable that these three conceptualizations hegemonically converge to the idea of regeneration as an integral part of sustainability. Consequently, given the necessity of reassuring social justice, especially in Latin America, its insertion in the regenerative approach requires urgency. Hence, this article proposes a critical-reflexive analysis of the most recent public housing policies in Brazil (Programa Casa Verde e Amarela) and Venezuela (La Gran Misión Vivienda Venezuela) and its directives, Anthropocenic sustainability strategies, underlining a few public housing funding considerations by Rolnik (2015), as well as other advocates of a human-environment relation which respects preexistent ambiance characteristics, patrimony, heritage and social bonding, as appointed by Montaner and Muxí (2014).

2 Methodology

Critical analysis was the chosen research method for this paper, divided and executed in three phases, starting with theoretical research about sustainability in the Anthropocene, its characterization, scope and courses of action, establishing the basis to dispute the hegemonic concept of nature as a mere resource provider. Next, comes referential research of "Programa *Casa Verde* e *Amarela* (Brazil)" and "Gran Misión Vivienda Venezuela (Venezuela)", focused on specifying the public housing policies' urban-architectural and energetic normative directives, outlining the hegemonic layout of housing as a public policy, allowing, at last, discussion and reflexive analysis of public housing policies, and its consonance/dissonance with Anthropocenic sustainability strategies.

3 Results

Given its condition of underdeveloped concept, the characterization of sustainability remains encircled in divergency, be it related to terminology (Sousa and Abdala, 2020), or even extent, despite being most commonly defined as the group of actions and procedures directed to satisfy contemporary interests without reducing the capability of attending posterior needs (Sartori; Latrônico; Campos, 2014). That would be achieved by finding balance between three basic pillars: economic viability, social justice and environmental integrity (Elkington, 2012). In spite of this, authors like Iaquinto (2018) and Souza and Abdala (2020), argue that sustainability, as a term derived from biology and ecology, possesses an inclusive, circular logic, with a much broader range of action, leaning towards interdependence and dynamic balance with Earth's ecosystems.

3.1 Sustainability in the Anthropocene

The hypothesis of the Anthropocene as a new geological era (Crutzen, 2002) puts the environmental dimension of sustainability in the spotlight. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's latest report (IPCC, 2021), the indiscriminate usage of fossil fuels has already provoked irreversible changes on Earth's ecosystems, and the maintenance of this practice, as it is, would soon compromise life on the planet. Nonetheless, hope remains, as the same report indicates that a successful global effort in reducing CO2 emissions by half until 2030, and to zero until 2050, could halt global warming to a still controllable rate of + 1,5 ºC per year. These directives would push anthropocenic sustainability towards the necessity of an energetical reconfiguration, as appointed on the works of Brügger (1994) and Guimarães (2003), converging to homeostasis, in other words, to the ability to absorb or recover ecosystems from human aggression (Sousa; Abdala, 2020).

Recently, Acosta's (2020) investigations on anthropocenic architecture pointed to a similar line of thought, characterizing sustainability as resilient, that is, as something able to sustain some level of disturbance and, once it ceases, track back to a previous, balanced state (RAE, 2021). As shown in figure 1, the extent of the homeostasis/resilient capacity corresponds to the trajectory of an environmentally responsible project towards the apex, labelled regenerative, as postulated by Reed (2007).

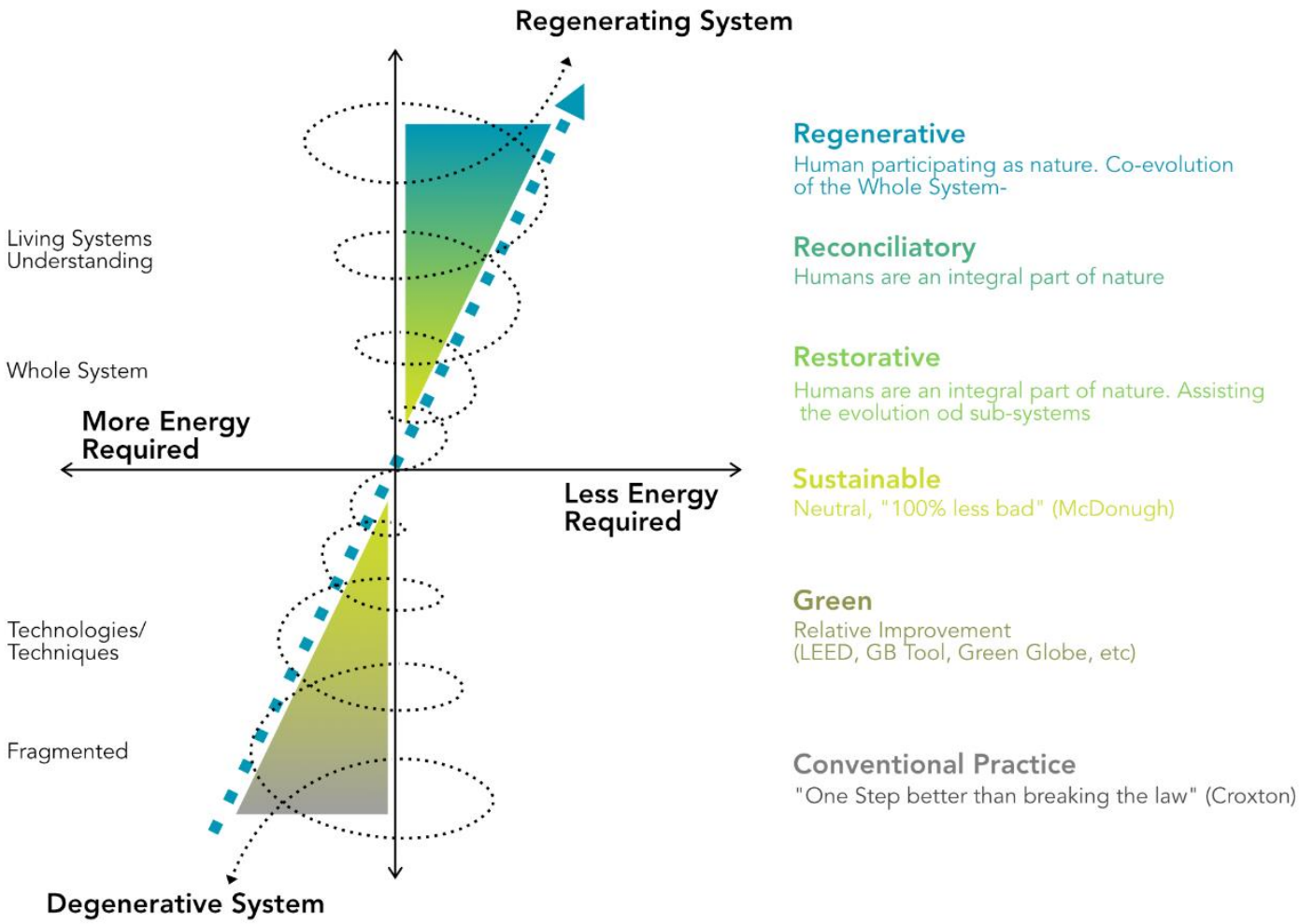

Fig. 1: Environmentally responsible project's trajectory. Source: Authors, 2021, adapted from "Trajetória Gráfica do Design Ambientalmente Responsável" (Reed, 2007).

The author thus defines that a desirable environmental design would show a process traversing from a degenerative system (present economic model) to a regenerative one (goal), with sustainability as a central, neutral point. This neutrality is established through a balance bias, like so, for example, in the case of construction energy, it means that the amount consumed by a building would be quantitatively proportional to its production, nullifying any potential environmental harm. The next step, sustainability to regenerative (production surpassing consumption), would then be divided in three levels of improvement (Reed, 2007): first, emphasizing efficiency, "perfectioning processes instead of perfectioning things", with direct human participation on subsystems evolution; second, a deeper layer focused on "observing things differently", perceiving human beings as part of nature; and third, development of effective projects towards coevolution of ecosystem and life integration.

Energetically-wise, Sachs (2007) summarizes this idea through a triple action approach, encapsulating, simultaneously, drastic reduction on the present energy consumption profile, substantial replacement of fossil fuels for renewable, non-pollutant alternatives, and effective control over gases related to the greenhouse effect. Thus, to achieve sustainability today, it's imperative to review the approach given to avant-garde sustainable development principles about adaptation and reutilization of pre-existing buildings and mitigation of greenhouse effect gases emissions, and also the present-day economic model of development and consumption towards regeneration. These are the main strategies proposed to guide the execution of any coexistence projects (Acosta, 2020).

3.2 Public Housing Policies Normative Context

3.2.1 Programa Casa Verde e Amarela (Brazil)

The "*Programa Casa Verde e Amarela (*PCVA)" was instated in 2021 by Brazil's Federal Government to provide public housing for families from rural and urban areas, associated with economic development, increase of workstations and per capita income, as well as improve habitability and general quality of life standards (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Regional, 2021a). The PCVA succeeds the "*Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (PMCMV*)", implemented in 2009, having produced 5,2 million houses until 2020, which provoked significant national economic growth thanks to subsidies both public (financially and tributary) and private (FGTS[1] financing at low tax rates), reaching a total investment superior to R$ 223,2 billion, as of 2019's quotation (Ministério da Economia, 2020). However, PMCMV's projects were severely criticized for a "peripheral/marginalized approach to urban insertion, usage of low-quality materials and subpar technical standards" (Bortoli; Villa, 2020, p. 394, our translation). As such, it now befalls to the PCVA to improve Brazilian public housing policy, by establishing the tools needed to treat its predecessor's flaws, and provide quality housing for its beneficiaries.

In relation to the previous program, PCVA introduced beneficiary attendance service, providing, among other things, agrarian regularization, superior production quality and lower tax rates, accordingly adjusted to monthly income and property location (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Regional, 2021a). Among PCVA's directives, it's worth mentioning a new approach to housing production quality, better aligned with a sustainability bias. As described on Ordinance nº 959, dated May 18th 2021, its four requirements are: urban insertion, project design, execution and socio-territorial development (BRASIL, 2021). About the first, the building site must be located either on a consolidated urban area or a growing region[2], previously defined on local legislation. Infrastructure-wise, mandatory regulations were also implemented both for land access and construction, regarding: electric network and public lighting; drinkable water supply; sanitation and garbage disposal; paved roadways; rainwater drainage system.

Public mobility would be achieved by the presence of at least one major road connecting the housing complex to necessary services, be it of daily (market, drugstore) or occasional need (bank, postal service), and also basic sanitary items, all of which no farther than 1,5 kilometers, thus preventing additional short-term spendings on public infrastructure (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Regional, 2021a). The referred ordinance also establishes that the total housing complex and individual property areas must not exceed, respectively, 25.000m² and 200m²; the quantity of houses and habitants must be proportional; and, if topographically viable, promote free limits integration and bike lanes. Afforestation must also observe the number of buildings, with trees being mandatorily set on at least one side of the roadways, no farther than 15m between them.

For construction projects, Ordinance nº 959 directly abides by major Brazilian normative references, such as the NBR 15,575 (ABNT, 2021). Initially published in 2013, the NBR 15,575 introduced a habitational performance concept much more oriented towards satisfying the dweller's needs, such as public safety, habitability and sustainability, substantially changing building design approach (Nunes; Hippert; Carvalho; Rubim, 2021). Further, mandatory parameters were also set for: minimal furniture specification on each living space; preservation of reasonable inner circulating areas; construction material's thermophysical standards, in abidance to Brazilian Bioclimatic Zoning (ABNT, 2005), emphasizing adaptation to local climatic features, providing comfort and low energy consumption.

Still on the energetic aspect, projects must contain consumption reduction strategies, resorting to renewable sources whenever possible. Thus, the existence of legislation pertinent to distributed generation[3] and a national directives plan, "Programa Nacional de Eficiência Energética em Edificações – PROCEL EDIFICA[4]", provide technical parameters to subside the consolidation of these construction directives. Even further, the enterprise must favor efficient water management

[1] *Fundo de Garantia do Tempo de Serviço - FGTS,* is a social aid provided by Brazil's Social Security Agency to its workers, in which the employer regularly pays a contribution for each employee, composing a security fund that can be withdraw on special occasions, such as unemployment.

[2] Mandatory abidance to article 42-B from Law nº 10.257, dated July 10th 2001, Estatuto da Cidade (Casa Civil, 2001).

[3] Resolução ANEEL nº 482, Abril 17th 2012. Available on: http://www2.aneel.gov.br/cedoc/ren2012482.pdf. Access on: August 14th 2022

[4] Further information on http://www.pbeedifica.com.br/sobre.

(drinkable and rainwater), mitigating the negative effects of occasional shortages and encouraging responsible usage, as per NBR 15,527 specifications (ABNT, 2019).

Construction phase now includes sustainability practices towards reducing construction environmental impact. As per Ministério do Desenvolvimento Regional (2021b), execution must keep an eye on decreasing waste through precise resource estimation; reusing water and, if possible, materials salvaged from previous demolitions; favor eco-friendly products, durable resources and materials which dismiss on-site processing.

3.2.2. La Gran Misión Vivienda Venezuela (Venezuela)

The “Gran Misión Vivienda Venezuela” (GMVV) is the current public housing policy conducted by Venezuelan State since 2011, as part of a broader package of governmental policies called "Misiones". It’s legally structured as a “Major Mission” (Gran Misión) due to its massive intersectoral range, which led to the creation of its own governing body, the “Órgano Superior de Vivienda”, with national jurisdiction spread between the nation’s President alongside 24 regional agencies (one for each federate state). Its goal is to provide dignified dwellings capable of attending basic needs of Venezuelan families living on precarious conditions, with no access to formal sheltering (Soonets Paulucci, 2018), as a response to a historical high habitational deficit, worsened by a heavy and destructive rainy season in 2010, leading to enormous increase on the homeless population, especially among society’s most vulnerable and precarious areas, locally known as *barrios*[5]. For that reason, in major cities, like the capital Caracas, in northern Venezuela (and its metropolitan areas), the program implemented actions such as the insertion of new buildings on already urbanized regions with direct access to all infraestructure regarding pre existing services in the area, a practice that not only became one of its most distinctive characteristics, but also one of the most controversial, in comparison to previous housing policies (Cariola; Fernandez; Jungemann, 2015).

The general guidelines for each specific program group are engraved on the “Resolución Normativa Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela n° 40.215”, dated July 23th 2013, highlighting urbanistic and architectural aspects, promoting a template for city compactness, with high density-low height buildings, sharing common areas, promoting public transport and pedestrian mobility. As for land usage, regulations instate that, from the total complex area, at least 6% must be reserved for collective equipment; 10% for continuously green areas; ground floor and terrace with mixed usefulness; three variations of habitation layouts, according to size and number of rooms/bathrooms, preserving, however, good ventilation and natural lighting, and also incorporating living room, dining room, kitchen and laundry. It also encourages housing projects that contain rainwater recycling systems and solid waste disposal, and set energy efficiency criteria for climatization and lighting purposes, as well as the use of alternative sources for complementary needs, however, lacking methodological specifications and execution parameters for the aforementioned directives, hindering its application (Guerra, 2017; Soonets Paulucci, 2018).

Energetic-wise, even though Venezuelan legislation possesses regulatory dispositions about rational and efficient energy consumption (Gobierno de Venezuela, 2011), construction’s current level of practical quality is deemed incipient in terms of its capacity to implement sustainability-oriented actions. In fact, the program’s directives tend to prioritize issues related to equipment certification and educational campaigns about energy consumption rather than proper construction guidance. As said by Acosta (2020), Venezuelan condition led to formulation of concepts commonly associated to energy saving, for instance, Bioclimatic Architecture, worldly popularized after the 1970’s energy crisis, conversely, locally, its capacity to improve inner thermic performance became more prominent than its energy efficiency potential, slowly dissociating itself from the constructive praxis.

Consequently, during the 2010’s energy shortage, regulatory strategies implemented by the “Misión Eléctrica Venezuela”, with the campaign “Soy consciente, consumo eficiente”, focused on introducing sanctions and fines for high consumption and electronic equipment usage, rather than develop technical means to improve construction energetic efficiency. It promoted, in its first stage, the replacement of incandescent lightbulbs to fluorescent ones for street lights, and consumption levels considering location and activity, with the state subsiding 80% of operation total cost, based on national average consumption, mostly inefficient, established at 500 kWh per month for the residential areas of the Capital and Andina region,

[5] Venezuelan term for slums, shantytowns.

and 1300 kWh for the Zulia Region, in northwest Venezuela. (Mippci, 2014). That was the context in which the GMVV was developed, lacking regulatory depth for constructive parameters and strategies capable of generating an energy grid practical diversification and efficient consumption beyond the initial directives set by the "Misión Eléctrica Venezuela", and basic electrical equipment given by its parallel policy, "Mi casa bien equipada", focused on encouraging the replacement of old electrical equipment by easing access to newer models at lower rates.

Nevertheless, academically, research conducted by Rosales (2013), Rodriguez Borges, Sarmiento Sera and Rodriguez Gamez (2015) and Marrero (2014), refer to the already developed theoretical basis of normative instrumentation for practical sustainable construction in the country. The first paper proposes a bioclimatic classification for Venezuela, associated with recommendations for passive designs and efficiency-oriented strategies for equipment usage based on local consumption features. Alternatively, the other two articles refer to the development of alternative energy sources, highlining the incidence of solar radiation over most of its territory, especially the northern coast; the Eolic potential of the Insular and Zuliana regions; geothermal potential on the countryside, from the Andina region throughout the Northern region, emphasizing the capability of mitigating the country's dependency on fossil fuels.

4 Results Discussion

The comparison between Brazilian and Venezuelan public housing policies brings forward interesting similarities and contrasts. About the first, generally speaking, it's possible to affirm that both policies share the common objective to provide housing for its populace, with a special focus towards its most vulnerable layers. This premise reveals, on both policies' political approach, aligned with a hegemonic application of sustainability, a prioritization of its social and economic dimensions, with the environmental aspect relegated to a lower degree of importance. However, it's also easy to identify some differences, regarding financing and necessity scale. On Venezuela's case, financing is inherently state dependent, and, as of 2015 data, the 1 million houses built (MINVIH, 2015) correspond to 3,32% of its 30,08 million population (Datosmacro, 2021a); while in Brazil, financing comes from mixed sources (public and private), and the 5,2 million houses-built equals just 2,44% of a total populace of 212,6 million, as of 2020 (Datosmacro, 2021b).

Another convergence point of those policies it's their effort towards agrarian regularization, with emphasis to consolidated urban areas and expansion zones, with mandatory access to basic services, public transport, commercial areas and urban equipment, which, in Venezuela's case, that reserves only 6% of the total complex area to collective spaces, it mostly corresponds to the ground floor section of the buildings. Opposingly, in Brazil, the project must be aligned with local urban construction legislation, a requirement dismissed by the GMVV, this being one of its major points of criticism (Guerra, 2017; Soonets Paulucci, 2018). In relation to urban insertion, and with direct impact on anthropocenic sustainability strategies, there is also the matter of afforestation, set by the PCVA as proportional to the number of houses, instead of a common percentage like in GMVV. Although it's a clear improvement sustainably-wise, neither policy dispose of any course of action towards taking advantage of plants' capability to absorb greenhouse effect gases, an essential practice if one would hope to achieve sustainability in the Anthropocene.

Moving to energetical aspects, it's perceivable that both cases are unstable when it comes to the service vulnerability against climatic conditions, for example, sparse raining that would reduce hydroelectric plants' energy output, directly impacting both nations main source of energy production. This condition, even though it has turned into a major factor in Brazil's development and energetic efficiency procedures and constructive regulations, produced consequences still very much present, and directly impacted prices of electricity bills. In Venezuela, this issue is even worse, since the government response to the service instability was consumption limitation and taxation over high usage, with no action towards better regulation for consumption optimization and the use of alternative and complementary sources of energy in construction.

Figure 2 consists of a comparative graph between normative criteria adopted for the case studies and their correlation with anthropocenic sustainability strategies, encapsulated by the works of Reed (2007), Sachs (2007) and contextualized in the field of Architecture by Acosta (2020). The graph is set up as a three-leveled scale, being the first level a point of total disconnection between these criteria, and the third being a point of great connection. In general, it shows that PCVA came closer to anthropocenic sustainability goals than its GMVV counterpart, evidenced by levels 1 and 2 of the environmentally responsible project's trajectories envisioned by Reed (2007), which aims, energetically wise, at demand reduction and

replacement of fossil fuels. Mostly, that's due to progress on the construction regulatory field, substantially more advanced in Brazil than in Venezuela.

On the other hand, regarding the regenerative aspect and absorption of greenhouse effect gases, both programs remain highly disconnected from the sustainability strategies discussed, failing to reach the upper level on any criteria. Nonetheless, PCVA achieved a superior evaluation based on the promotion of water reuse measures, increasing the community's resilience towards extreme climatic events, and for its afforestation formula, linked to the number of habitants, a much better parameter than the traditional one, based on land percentage, which is outdated and further away from the notion of energy directed to comfort and functionality of living spaces. Even so, neither policies' directives touch the topic of plants as tools of control of CO2 pollutants, neglecting their regenerative potential, and eventual review of the projects in course.

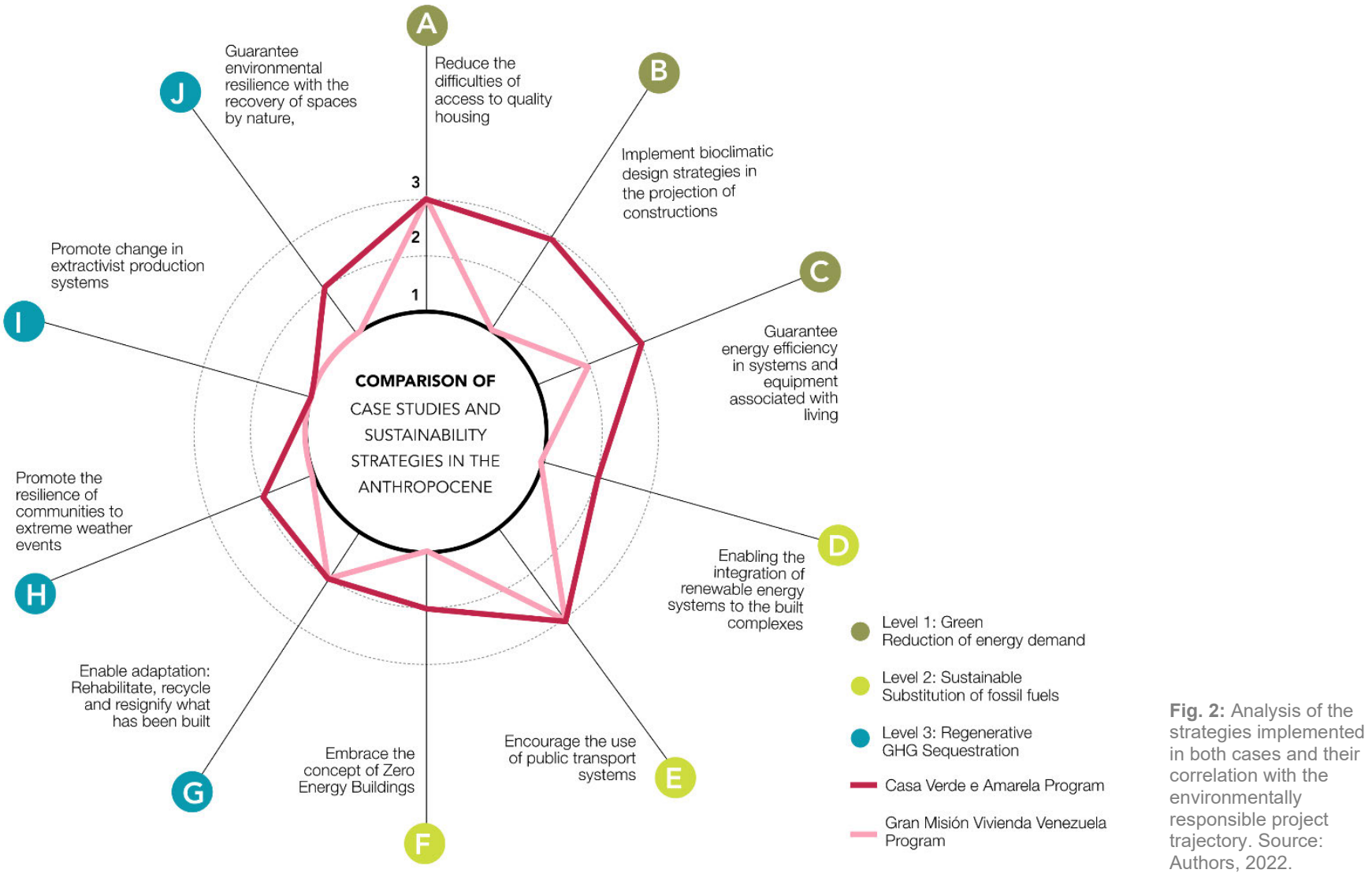

Fig. 2: Analysis of the strategies implemented in both cases and their correlation with the environmentally responsible project trajectory. Source: Authors, 2022.

Both programs, similarly, achieved maximum rating for parameters A and E, corresponding to housing accessibility and encouragement of public transport usage, respectively, showing a conceptual tendency for sustainability's social and economic dimensions over the environmental one. In relation to parameter G, which proposes adaptation and resignification of the current construction profile, they achieve the same rating, although for different reasons. In GMVV's case, for its openness towards space adaptability regarding the ground floor and terrace, while PCVA, for the constructive orientation towards debris reutilization, actions that could, and should, be treated as complementary in a sustainable environment.

5 Final Considerations

The analysis of Brazilian and Venezuelan public housing policies regulations shows a considerable bias towards sustainability's social and economic dimension over its environmental aspect. This inclination has already produced practical liabilities against the objectives initially set, hence, as of 2018, approx. 110 million people still live in shantytowns, deprived of their right to formal habitation (UN-HABITAT, 2020). However, in the Anthropocene, beckons the need for a reconfiguration, a collective appropriation of a counter-hegemonic culture that, while still keeping track of pre existing socio economic debts, shifts the environmental dimension and its regenerative capability to an avant-garde status, directly impacting the other aspects of sustainability, favoring strategies capable of drastic reduction of the current energetic demand profile, significant replacement of fossil fuels for renewable non-polluting energy sources, decrease of greenhouse effect gases emissions, while also removing part of those gases from our atmosphere, all for a integrated coevolution of the ecosystem.

From a sustainable point of view, normative perception of the public housing policies hereby studied is deemed insufficient, due to presenting normative strategies mostly focused on rationing of resources, an approach placed in a lower level in the environmentally responsible project trajectory, since its degenerative nature (Reed, 2007). This practice leads to a sub utilization of the buildings' sustainability potential, neglecting the implementation of regenerative strategies towards fossil fuels replacement and CO2 emissions control, sustainability's major threats.

Humanity's disposition as part of nature and Earth's ecosystems, and towards its capability of coevolution, presents itself as the essential counter-hegemonic principle for redefinition of long-term sustainable public policies in the Anthropocene.

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CONTRAVENTION IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL RUINS
CONTRAVENÇÃO EM RUÍNAS ARQUITETÔNICAS CONTEMPORÂNEAS

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Abstract

The article discusses ruins as concept and substance: a construction that marks a time that no longer exists, by losing its substance and function, provokes unease with its incompleteness or abandonment, which repositions it in time, requiring a new comprehension. Understanding that their relationship with society is established in a plural manner — through nostalgia or trauma —, the article has the objective to understand the values that lead to their preservation or destruction, as well as the ways they are reinserted in the present. As such, the research is based on previously established concepts and theories (such as the concept of value developed by Alois Riegl) as well as contemporary ones (expressed here in Andreas Huyssen's approach to nostalgia and memory). Some highlighted examples - artistic and architectural works - contribute to this view: they are actions that are able to break with traditional readings, insofar as they intensify our experience and awaken critical capacity. The hypothesis introduced here is that the restoration of ruins, as discourse or as space for updated use, can be understood as a transgression of the natural course of time or the actual value attributed to them.

Keywords: Ruins, Memory, Architecture, Art

1 Introduction

Ruins span the history of art and architecture as records of a time that has vanished: the setting of human activities that portray eras, cultures and economies. This kind of construction loses the meaning of its material and historical existence until it is abandoned and possibly transformed into a second nature, without the commitment of the society that generated it. It is by this path that we can understand the possibility of transgression from its natural course - from construction to demise - which we will refer to as contravention. The idea of contravention also can be understood in terms of a possible anti-hegemonic vision, if we admit that there is a consolidated view of the matter. What we will attempt to develop in this article is that actions taken on ruins depend on the context in which they are placed and the value attributed to them, such that there will always be transgression to a hegemonic vision.

To think of ruins is to understand their incompleteness: vestiges of something which can be reconstituted from some blurry remembrance, that the collective imagination comes to construct. But it is there, like an inextricable part of a present that we need to reconstruct every day and which remains alive like a body in a state of agony that refuses to die. This is perhaps the central issue that this text proposes to analyze: The unease of the unfinished image that displaces us in time and causes us to reflect. Thinking about the work of art, French philosopher Georges Didi-Huberman would say that, when we are in front of it, we are faced with a dilemma: we can adhere simply to what we see or we can look beyond the visible, opening up the field of meanings and senses, therefore, an image that criticizes our ways of looking at it, to the extent that it compels us to truly see it (Didi-Huberman, 1997). Displacing ourselves to the ruins based on their construction, we suggest that this compels us to view them critically as being necessary for us to position ourselves in terms of time, establishing an awareness of where we are and what we are.

It is probable - and we do so here freely - that this opening to reflection and unease to which we are subjected is only possible due to their negative condition, associated with death, the capacity for seduction and critical depth. Byung-Chul Han is the one who suggests this key in his short essay *Saving Beauty* (2017) and he does so by distinguishing the ideal perception of beauty from the smooth aesthetic that prevails in our time. According to the author, smoothness does not just allude to the surface material, but also refers to purity, the absence of resistance and the lack of capacity for reflection - in contemporary society, we are anesthetized; nothing impacts us anymore. Salvation, as expressed in the title, lies in positioning oneself before the beautiful in an active way: to the extent that we see it, we take it upon ourselves and the truth is revealed, capable of awakening creative action — so thus, in this key, we will establish connections with the work.

In the case of ruins, the negative condition is associated with the problem of time and what its actions insinuate about the material and function. Time marks the transition between creation and destruction — a movement that can only be measured based on the perception of the subject who, by situating his or her body in space, sees the transformation around them and the displacement of objects. In this sense, ruins have a dual role: They are a marker of a time that has vanished, like a

temporal reference, and a meeting point between the past and the present, close to the eyes and the culture. They are vestiges, at times identified and analyzed by archaeologists, who uncover ancient traces and reveal moments of existence. Simultaneously, ruins also make themselves present as part of everyday life, reconstructing values and identities, and developing new narratives for what has remained.

The aging gives them a patina. It marks the material with symbolic value, which, as it is defaced, broken, fragmented, shattered, acquires a new tone and texture until it is remade with a new present. According to Robert Ginsberg, the ruined state of a construction “liberates matter from its subservience to form” (Ginsberg, 2004, p. 1): the material crumbles, changing the original form, as if time had imposed a creative action that seduces us, since imagining it in its entirety also produces enchantment.

It is also essential to understand the loss of the original function in terms of the changes in the social, cultural, political and economic dynamics of a certain society. The perception of the work or its use is generally bound to a context, and our preferences are connected to a certain subjectivity. Architects and artists think of their works for the future, but they produce them according to a present context. Still, constructed works, at least works of architecture, last for decades. Depending on their artistic or historical value, they may be maintained, oftentimes adapting to current dynamic and modifying their functions. Otherwise, their only fate is to be forgotten and ultimately collapse.

Paulo Mendes da Rocha, on a visit with Jo Coenen and Luigi Snozzi to a 16th century fort located at Cartagena Bay in Colombia, recounts the impact that the magnificently beautiful architecture had, quoting Snozzi, who summarized it as such: “The architecture emerges when the function ceases” (Artigas, 2000, p. 173). Mendes da Rocha used this story as part of a speech about a work of architecture's power, with the intention to tell us that it doesn't matter when it begins or ends, but rather the extent to which we experience it. The ruins as a monument, in which we can understand this power, in a sense, is part of this recognition. It survives the transformations of the world and the action of man, as an indication of a previous architectural culture — of an artistic manifestation or technical knowledge — because it is still a physical spatial construction subject to perception and interpretation, even when it is no longer understood in its original mode.

2 Perceptions by Culture

Considering that ruins can recount the history of a civilization and are threatened by the actions of people who, in principle, should preserve them, we have a conflict there, as noted by art historian Alois Riegl. In his classic essay, *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, he affirms that the preservation of our patrimony is established by the value given to them in our time. In other words, we preserve a work when it makes sense to our culture. However, the culture of our time is subject to changing interests and it depends on the education of our gaze, historical value and the utility of the spaces, among other factors.

It is known that the cultural relationship with ruins gained momentum in the 18th century with the consolidation of archaeology as a field of scientific knowledge and, particularly, in architecture, for the relationship that it sought with the constructions of Greco-Roman antiquity. However, previously to this, there were registers and studies of ruins in manuscripts from the 11th century, as Miguel Egaña and Olivier Schefer (2015, p. 8) relate in the introduction to the book *Esthétique des ruines: poïétique de la destruction*, which features images of the ruins of Babylon. The emergence of this new sensibility, for science as well as nostalgia, made ruins part of the modern conscience, whether in literature or painting, and they began to capture the collective imagination.

During the Romantic Period, with the discovery of ruins in Italy and Greece, art began cultivating the presence of the past more and more (Macauley, 1953, p. 151-152). From the 18th century on, many paintings started depicting buildings and cities that had succumbed to time with enthusiasm and fervor, seeking to portray beauty, as exemplified by the paintings of French artist Hubert Robert (1733-1808) that illustrate picturesque Greek and Roman ruins populated by women and men at work or walking among the constructions. Or Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) in the documentation of the Roman ruins or in his series *Carceri d'invenzione* - as illustrated in Figure 1, *Le Carceri d' Invenzione* (1761) - which, in certain way, combines the representation of the construction of the architectural space with the images of the documented ruins. In this understanding, the beauty of ruins is established by their relation to antiquity.

Fig. 1: *Le Carceri d' Invenzione* (1761) by Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Source: Princeton University Art Museum. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3ARtCYM>. [Accessed: 3 November 2022].

We can say that this perception changes with the Industrial Revolution and the transformation of cities, not only in terms of urban planning - with the introduction of rational outlines for public thoroughfares -, but also regarding the new constructions that emerged in the wake of modern necessities. This is an era in which the idea of progress was assimilated. People had faith in the future. The reconfiguration of cities brought an erasure of the experience of life in the past and, as such, its vision is indivisible from melancholy. We can cite, as an example, the poems of Charles Baudelaire on the Parisian landscape reformulated by the Baron Haussmann during the Second Empire, in the mid 19th century: “Paris has changed but in my grief no change. New palaces and scaffoldings and blocks, To me, are allegories, nothing strange. My memories are heavier than rocks[1].” Seeing the city he had known in ruins, Baudelaire had no faith in the future. He did not believe that the world was moving toward a better state. On the contrary, in his view, if everything continued this way, it was doomed to catastrophe.

This is a new relationship between ruins and modernity, no longer connected to antiquity, to times past, but one that comes to recognize that a city in continuous transformation also produces its own ruins - in other words, these themes are not antagonistic or exclusive; they are themes of coexistence. Both relationships - to ancient ruins and to those that are the fruit of modernization -- contain an image of nostalgia related to the perception of the action of time and the natural transformation of constructions in way that provokes our admiration. Andreas Huyssen (2006, p. 9-14) would call them “authentic ruins.” However, the possibility of understanding the past or supplanting it after the era of progress was gradually deflated by the

[1] Baudelaire, Charles, “The Swan,” published January 22, 1860, English translation by Roy Campbell In: Baudelaire, 1952, p. 117.

abrupt destruction that occurs in war. After the two World Wars, the very notion of ruins begins to be viewed as a portrait of humanity's capacity for violence, of its atrocities, more than nature simply running its course. It's a third category, one no longer connected to nostalgia, but instead to violence and trauma.

So the question is: how do we evaluate, from the perspective of culture, what should we value as legacy and preserve? Preservation itself is a controversial concept, since the idea goes beyond the idea of keeping the work intact from the effects of time, conserving its original state: it seeks to establish the value of the “patina” in recognition of its own time. According to conservation-restoration theorist Cesare Brandi, the objective of restoration should be to reestablish the unity of the work, without incurring the loss of its artistic value or the disengagement of the work with its historical time (Brandi, 2005). In this sense, ruins can never absolutely be reconstituted to the original without becoming a falsification of itself.

3 The Present Manifesto

It interests us here to analyze the second category: ruins that result from the historical transformation of cities, that is, works that, starting with a certain process in time, had become obsolete, losing their original function until being abandoned - a dynamic that has appeared to run its course ever faster in recent decades. There are several reasons, but we can list the two main ones. The first is the transformation of the system of production, when the change of the economic profile of the city, or parts of it, makes it so these designated spaces lose their utility, like the industrial areas of consolidated neighborhoods. The second reason is the alteration of the social and political structure, determining the profiles of management and investment and, consequently, the pockets of poverty and abandonment of urban sections, like, for instance, the central areas of cities. These are issues present in virtually all cities, of any size - from small towns to large metropolises - and in any place, from the most distant outlying areas to the central nucleus. In Brazil, professor Beatriz Mugayar Kühl has stood out with her research on industrial heritage and its forms of preservation and thematic reinvention[2], as previously mentioned, which renders us equal to the world at the time of obsolescence in this age of capital.

In fact, this is a lens of how poorly we treat our past, even the recent past, to the point that we leave consolidated structures abandoned, like factories, warehouses, mansions and movie theaters, viaducts and run-down bridges, in a state of ruin. We build structures and infrastructures in hopes of making use of them for a long time, but the opposite occurs: the economic and social dynamics change, interests shift, initiating a process of neglect and disregard for that which was supposed to be considered patrimony. In the most extreme scenario, they become a kind of rip in the urban fabric, ever more embedded in its everyday life and less and less configured as a exceptional territory, causing a dual sensation of regularity and oddness.

It is a two-pronged feeling, an apparent paradox, that conceals a relationship with the process of obsolescence in contemporaneity. In a world that places priority on what is new and original, sustained by hyper-consumerism, everything loses value and meaning quickly and, as if in a sort of neutralization, we become accustomed to living without confrontation: we come to see ruins, for example, as an everyday value. On the other hand, the capacity for questioning the problems of cities and their constructed space consists precisely in the sight for their ruins and empty spaces. They are images that rattle and sensitize us precisely for being in opposition to what we understand as the ideal city.

In the contemporary context, where the present appears rarefied and we lose “focus on the image or the object,” the rapture for ruins is recovered through a “puzzling mixture of destruction and creation” (Huyssen, 2007), in the hypothesis of that a reading of the past is capable of guarding against the sensation of loss or lack of perspective on the future. Close to this meaning, David Harvey (1990, p. 259) points to the contemporary reverence for museums, memorials and ruins, which he called “reversion to images of a lost past” at a moment marked by “time-space compression,” in other words, by the acceleration caused by the implementation of new technologies that created other, more productive forms of social organization (Harvey, 1990, p. 296). As a counterpoint to the intense, superficial experimentation, we scour the past in search of a meaning that is an alternative to the perpetual present.

This contemporary obsession with ruins hides a nostalgia for an earlier age that had not yet lost its power to imagine other futures. At stake is a nostalgia for modernity that dare not speak its name after acknowledging the catastrophes of the 20th

[2] See: Arquitetura do ferro e arquitetura ferroviária em São Paulo. Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 1998. Preservação do Patrimônio Arquitetônico da Industrialização. Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2018.

century and the lingering injuries of inner and outer colonization. Yet this nostalgia persists, straining for something lostwith the ending of an earlier form of modernity. The cipher for this nostalgia is the ruin. (Huyssen, 2006, p. 7)

But beyond the subjective perception of the person who observes them, between the unease and the nostalgia, is the artistic and architectural action in these works that has the capacity to multiply the experience upon the ruins, by way of artistic installations or projects to recover their social function, contributing to the neutral, seamless vision that the contemporary world offers us. It does not seem like a simple task to the extent that these actual works can be absorbed by the system of production by way of the hyper-realism and aesthetic influence of life. What it is intended, beyond the survival of matters fundamental to the fields of art and architecture - such as spatiality and inter-subjectivity -, is the deconstruction of the idea of nostalgia, creating a reflection of existing reality and reacting to the paralysis and conservatism of the world.

4 Interlocution with Art

In *A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic*, Robert Smithson presents the constructions seen in the landscape: a bridge between Bergen and Passaic Counties, a water tower, open-air pipes gushing water, a parking lot, a construction site - in other words, pieces of infrastructures and the like that allow the city to function. With the work's publication in the magazine *Artforum* in December of 1967, with a tone of irony - at certain moments channeling Walter Benjamin in his depiction of Haussmann's Paris -, he calls these vestiges of modernization ruins, though they differ from the original idea, since they do not need the action of time, being that they are already born as ruins.

That panorama seemed to contain ruins in reverse, that is—all the new construction that would eventually be built. This is the opposite of the “romantic ruin” because the buildings don’t fall into ruin after they are built but rather rise as ruins before they are built. (Smithson, 1967)

These constructions, deprived of a past or historical significance, form a portrait of urban bankruptcy, since they come out of a fragmented vision of the city that only foments its destructuring. The abandonment is the result of this vice. Smithson examines Passaic, an ordinary, unattractive city, in the 1960s. Still, we can talk about many other ruins from the present day in similar situations: Structures that emerged in response to urgent matters, in other words, from the population's needs, such as infrastructure, but presenting solutions unconcerned with the future and which are, consequently, relegated to abandonment with the passage of time.

Similarly, Gordon Matta-Clark's so-called *Building Cuts* serve as a criticism of the urban transformation imposed by capitalism - and, as a consequence, by the real estate market -, which was ever quicker in generating obsolete buildings. With architecture as a means of artistic communication, as well as criticism, it led to a reflection on the nature of the space itself, the appropriation of these buildings, in their re-elaboration, through the cuts and extractions effected by Matta-Clark. *Bronx Floors* (1972-73), for example, was the first artistic intervention in which he cut holes in abandoned buildings, the fruit of a reading of the urban transformation process in rundown areas of New York City, in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Harlem, Queens and the port regions. With the high unemployment in the industrial sector in the 1970s, many apartments had been abandoned, ransacked or burned down for the insurance money. Using a simple hand saw, Matta-Clark made sections in the floors and walls, photographing the spaces and taking these pieces of the building to art galleries – actions displayed in his retrospective at the Brooklyn Museum in 1988, as seen in Figure 2.

Following this work, the artist developed *WallsPaper* (1972), a large panel with images of these same ruined places, *Splitting* (1974), an intervention in a house in suburban New Jersey that was to be demolished, and *Niagara Falls/Bingo* (1974), also in a condemned house, to mention but his first productions. They are works in buildings that suffered from obsolescence and had become urban ruins and which the artist later defined as *Non.u.mental* - a reflection on the poetics of ruins and the impermanence of architecture that, from his critical point of view, accompanies many of his works.

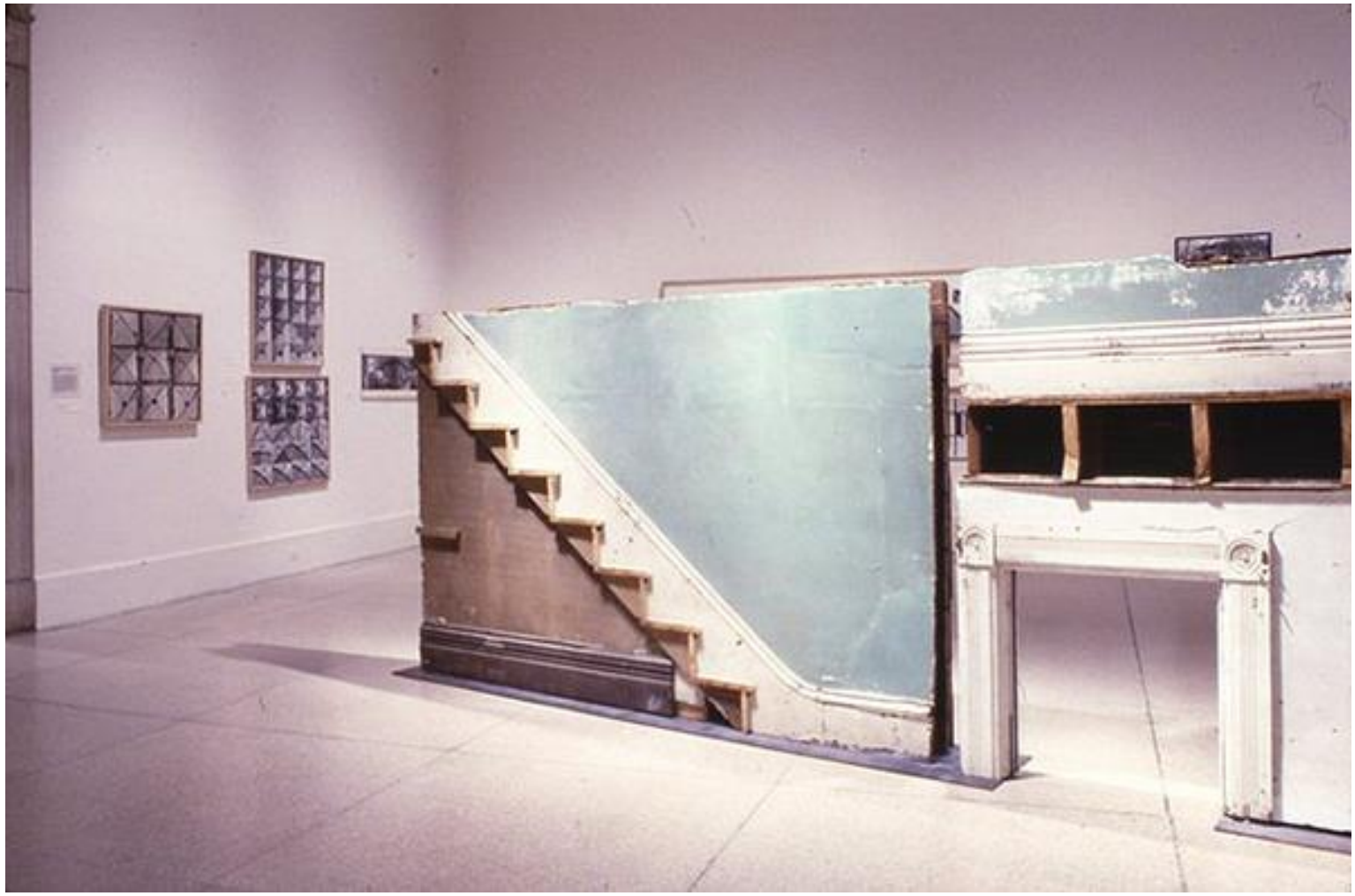

Fig. 2: Photo of the exhibition Gordon Matta-Clark: A Retrospective at the Brooklyn Museum. Source: The Brooklyn Museum, 1988. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3FacG2g>. [Accessed: 3 November 2022].

The comprehension of the real problems of the city, as a social, economic and political construction, led to a precise view of its effects on architecture, its spatial relationship, its dimension, in the structures, in the materials and in its fragments, ultimately resulting in interventions that emitted all the symbolic cargo that underlies these elements. The holes cut demonstrate the process of collapse to which the constructions were subjected. They sought to deconstruct the form and consequently the meaning of these constructions. They exposed the materiality and constructive fragility. They proposed new relationships of perception of the space by reconfiguring it, among so many other interpretations. But, above all, they stressed the “destruction/creative action” dichotomy, showing that, in truth, constructions in their final decline could be re-imagined and reconfigured, transcending the notion of the end.

In São Paulo, in the 1990s and 2000s, the project *Arte/Cidade* sought to discuss the dynamics of the city and the reordering of the urban space. Curated by Nelson Brissac Peixoto, it brought artists, architects and thinkers together to consider specific problems and generate actions of intervention that established a different vision and awakened a new sensibility among the population toward the city. In the book *Intervenções Urbanas: Arte/Cidade*, which presents the first three editions of the project, the ruins and abandoned constructions are mentioned as the keys of intervention (Peixoto, 2002). The third project, executed in 1997, is perhaps the one that comes closest to the theme, as it investigated old buildings along a railway line: the Estação da Luz train station, the ruins of the Moinho Central and the old Matarazzo factories. The latter two settings of the action were abandoned and the idea was to reconnect them to the city by way of the railroad line and the creation of access stairways and footbridges.

This third *Arte/Cidade* project, in a manner that is distinct from the previous examples, confirms the concern with reinserting these constructions into the population's everyday life by way of walking, in the experience of pedestrians, and to rediscover places that had been part of the memory of the city. In the old Matarazzo factory - now the Casa das Caldeiras, protected by the Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage - the intervention aimed to rediscover

these spaces, surveying them almost archaeologically: The rubble from the ruins were taken away and platforms were created for circulation with guardrails, inducing a look at the building. There was a mixture of artistic and architectural intervention, but perhaps the difference is that, in the architectural intervention, beyond the critical eye, we seek to reintegrate the space with everyday life, oftentimes giving it a new use, so that it survives longer.

There is, in fact, an almost inordinate concern with the reinsertion or demolition of these ruined buildings, at a moment in which we are questioning the actual idea of the architectural program. If we are going to reintegrate them into the life of cities, will we need to define a specific program for them? The idea of the program, as well as function, was, for a long time, decisive in the architectural design. However, it is likely that this determinism will be less and less evident, in light of the prevailing transformation of spaces and uses and the actual meaning of material duration that impacts the construction of cities.

5 In Search of Architectural Paradigms

Going beyond the subjects of restoration and heritage — about which we are not going to digress here -, it is worth reflecting on the role of architecture in terms of ruins. Though this is the probable end of all buildings, we tend to propose a reflection very little on how the works age, at least in the Brazilian experience. Perhaps the discussion of new materials and high-performance construction systems stretches beyond maintenance and involves the meaning of their longevity. But, for those who are already in a state of ruin, what can we do for them to retake their social and cultural role in cities?

We have some good examples that attempted to reutilize these structures giving them a new use, returning the space in the form of public facilities: an old drum factory transformed into a center for culture, sports and leisure (SESC Pompéia, Lina Bo Bardi, 1982), a railway station transformed into a concert hall (Sala São Paulo, Nelson Dupré, 1999), a power plant transformed into a museum (Tate Modern, Herzog & De Meuron, 2000), an elevated railway line transformed into a linear park (The High Line in New York City, Diller Scofidio and Renfro + Piet Oudolf, 2009), a monastery transformed into housing (Convento das Bernardas, Eduardo Souto de Moura, 2012). We view in a very peculiar way each project that attempts to return historical consciousness to the place, through a poetic language, but altering the way the space is experienced — which Alois Riegl described as use-value, a central concept for sustaining these buildings in the present.

A recent case to be considered is the perspective offered by the French firm Lacaton & Vassal, which states that we should never demolish or replace, but always transform and add on to. This implies defining strategies that strive for constructive rationality, economic viability and flexibility in the use of spaces, causing the minimum impact in the consumption of natural resources - for this reason, they opt for the reutilization of built structures. As an example, let us look at two projects concluded in 2013: the transformation of 530 housing units in the city of Bordeaux and the FRAC Dunkerque cultural center.

In the first case, three modernist buildings in a state of decay and deterioration were remodeled with the purpose of improving the quality of life of their residents and reinserting them in the urban landscape. The central idea was the creation of a new structure along with the facade, expanding the useful area of the apartments, in the form of winter gardens and verandas integrated with the existing space from a new system of frames. The juxtaposition of a transparent, light and subtle layer establishes a new relationship between interior and exterior and with the urban landscape. Few interventions were realized in the existing structure, except for certain installations and finishings, but almost nothing of it is perceived - it became something else.

The case of the old boat warehouse converted into a cultural center - FRAC Dunkerque, illustrated in Figure 3 - is distinct: The strategy consists in maintaining the building in disuse so that it presents and duplicates its form, with a new structure that houses the entire institutional program. There is no envelope or any renovation in the old building, or, in other words, in it, everything is kept almost untouched, conserving its factory atmosphere and the proximity between the vestige and the visual memory. This relationship is established both in its formal aspect and in its interior, where the empty space is dominated by high ceilings and natural light shines in creating an austere aura. Additionally, this same building is released from the determination of the program, serving as a venue for events, exhibitions or any other activity - closer to the uncertainty of contemporary life.

On the other hand, the institutions carry the conservatism and usual bureaucracy of public life and, as such, the strategy was for it to be duplicated, not through copying, but by way of a double, formally identical to the previous one, built with efficient,

prefabricated materials and construction systems, within the concepts of constructive and bio-climatic rationality, to serve as venue for these functions. The transparent box, which concentrates in its interior all of the compartmentalized spaces of the cultural center, does not compete with the old warehouse. On the contrary, they maintain a relationship of discretion, with a rarefied atmosphere, due to the translucent enclosure. There is not the same ambiguity here as in the first project - of the uncertainty between the new and the old - on the contrary, there is a clarity as to what the ruins is (as it will continue to be) and what the recent, innovative building is.

Fig. 3: FRAC Dunkerque. Source: Claus Ableiter, 2014. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3Ug2E3Z>. [Accessed: 3 November 2022].

These relations between ambiguity and clarity recall another intervention, developed in Brazilian modernity by Lúcio Costa when he was director of SPHAN[3]: the Museum of the Missions in São Miguel das Missões, Rio Grande do Sul (1940), illustrated in Figure 4. The stateliness of the ruins of the archaeological site, where the church is located, led the architect to design a shelter to exhibit the objects found there, such as sculptures and construction scraps. In a certain cense, the solution of the pavilion treats the ruins as a sacred value, since it constructs a new space inspired by the old indigenous homes in an attempt to establish a narrative between past and present, almost anachronistically, were it not for the enclosure of glass inside the main volume - a transparent element that frames the view of the ruins and establishes a connection between interior and exterior. As such, the action of Lúcio Costa concerns a work of value embedded in history, a classical ruins so

[3] National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage.

to speak, whose respect consists in the subtlety of contact with the new, like an artificial overlapping of layers, which we find almost organically in the historical cities.

Fig. 4: Museum of the Missions with the ruins of the church to the background. Source: Carin Kunde, 2011. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3ElfulH>. [Accessed: 3 November 2022].

6 Final Considerations

Ruins are the most likely final stage of constructions that resist time. An idea of contravention, as an act of transgressing a natural law, is to resuscitate it through a new use, which all reappropriations of old structures are in one way or another. The contravention knocks us off balance. It surprises and sensitizes us, as much for the incursion in - suspended - time as for the freshness - so dear to the masses, using the concept of value of newness, developed by Riegl (1982). However, we can speak of another contravention, that of attributing value to that which no longer has social esteem, as in the case of a factory structure forgotten by the collective memory. The contravention, in this case, consists in subverting the social conscience, attributing to it another connection, not necessarily linked to function, but to empathy and appreciation.

In his book *Ruin and Redemption in Architecture*, Dan Barasch defines four circumstances for ruins in contemporaneity: the lost (structures that have been demolished, despite their importance, and which remain only in our imagination), the forgotten (really abandoned), the reimagined (proposals not executed) and the transformed (concluded projects). Considering the categories proposed by the author, it strikes us as impossible to imagine a dominant vision of ruins in contemporary society, since their destiny depends on the context in which they are located and the circumstances of their appropriation. Still, another view comes to us from Andreas Huyssen (2006, p. 10), who summarizes them in just two alternatives: they are either demolished or restored, based on the idea that the “chance for things to age and become ruin has diminished in the age of

turbo capitalism.” And perhaps here we can talk about hegemony, which surpasses Barasch's near taxonomy: the possibility of the existence of ruins in our time is only made possible by the support of capital.

Accepting Huyssen's hypothesis, we would thus face a problem which we have not touched on previously: the destructive dimension of this system. The development of science, as allied with economic interests and relations of power, shows its dark side, especially in the destruction of nature, as expressed, for example, by the predatory growth of the mining industry or the technological insistence of oil prospecting, which devastates everything that opposes their own logic. We are speaking, then, of another type of ruins, not of the artifice created by the hands of man and turned to ruins by its own inaction, but of another kind, also provoked by man, but, in this case, which causes nature to succumb. The reconstruction of one or the other-- in other words, of artificial material or natural material-- will always be a contravention: never at any time were any of them able to be reconstituted as they once existed.

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FROM RUINOLOGY TO RUINOPHILIA: PERSPECTIVES ON RUINED ARCHITECTURE
DA RUINOLOGIA À RUINOPHILIA: PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE A ARQUITETURA EM RUÍNA

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Abstract

The culture of ruined architectures has been going through a rupture of meanings in recent decades. If initially its nostalgic character, tied to idyllic visual representations, played a fundamental role in its diffusion, mainly from the Romanticism movement in Europe, during the 20th and 21st centuries, the drastic changes in the architectural conformation of cities brought about a new scale of ruination and the way of representing and deciphering the meaning of ruins. Composed of three sections, namely ruinology, ruinophilia and counter-hegemonic action within ruins, this article seeks to broaden understanding of the field of study of the culture or ruins in architecture. Its purpose is to raise discussions that consider not only the historiographical aspect, but which can also advance into a wider sphere, one of phenomenological method, proposing perspectives different from the historically hegemonic narratives about ruins, in order to dethrone the predominant bucolic conception in theoretical-historical approaches, and to shift de discussion in the field of architecture and urbanism. This intention is based on the specificities of contemporary cities and their new engendering, such as the counter-hegemonic action of the urbex (urban exploration) movements in ruined spaces. Finally, the work draws into debate an understanding of ruins in a wider temporal arc, which in turn shifts the thinking, imagination and meanings of conceptual paradigms, making it possible for the culture of contemporary ruins to meld its intrinsic and multifaceted characteristics.

Keywords: Architecture, Ruin, City

1 Introduction

This study proposes to analyze the culture of ruined architectures in order to contribute to studies in architecture theory which look at architectural debris. This effort intends to expand the perspective of the debate that unfolds in this field of studies of architecture and which is often reduced to the dualism epitomized in the concepts of John Ruskin (1849) and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (2000), which restricts the dialogue to the restoration and conservation themes that have dominated the discussion on the subject of ruins. However, if we restrict this subject to such themes, the culture of ruined architectures would be stifled in a cognitive apparatus tied to historiography and bidimensional symbolic representation, particularly in the analyses of the nostalgic paintings that dominated the period of English romanticism, a fertile time for ruined architecture representation.

In the present work, however, an attempt is made to raise this debate on a broader field of understanding of ruins, one that shifts the thinking and imaginary contained in the previous model, tying studies to a critical reflection in which new conceptual paradigms make it possible to understand more assertively the culture of contemporary ruins. Such culture is thrust in the characteristics of contemporary cities, with their disruptive, multifaceted spaces which are the *locus* of urban explorations in the 21st century, an action carried out by the movement known as *Urbex*. This work is also meant to contribute to the debate by going beyond explanations that emphasize architectural phenomena contained in themselves, in buildings or their surroundings, bringing the dimension of contemporary social, cultural and aesthetic transformations to a spatial debate, as pointed out by Gottdiener (1994) in 1985.

The counter-hegemonic character of these interpretations and actions takes on a prominent role of relevance in the culture of ruins, as it unveils a hidden layer of the city, concealed under a preponderant image and narrative, which fails to consider the ruined spaces that are ubiquitous in the architectural conformation of urban space. Thus, by proposing perspectives unlike the historically hegemonic narratives about ruins, this article seeks to embed the city dweller and their lived experience into the city, as a method with a phenomenological character. Such phenomenology is indicated as the stepping stone to an epistemological turn that would effectively allow us to dethrone the bucolic conception predominant in theoretical-historic approaches to ruins, thus drawing contemporary field actions in ruined spaces closer to the ideological construct which was developed over time in the comprehension and representation of ruined architectures.

2 Ruinology

The ruins' appreciation culture began historically in periods far from 21st century-contemporary society. The historiography that sought to address and record the ruined architectural space developed *pari passu* with the archeological expeditions undertaken to areas surrounding ancient Rome and were linked to the growing fascination with objects from distant societies,

which increasingly filled antique rooms. The archeological excavations of layers of dead cities seemed to develop concomitantly with the Renaissance period, between the mid 14th and late 16th centuries, which valued classical antiquity and science (Knack, 2017). All this context was extremely important for the creation of institutions that would later emerge in the French society of the 17th and 18th centuries with architectural heritage themes and which, in the same fashion, sought to aggregate critical thoughts and discussions about ruins (Choay, 2006). Various paintings from those days depicted ruined architectures in their art, mixing the idyllic representation of a past time and the taste for architectural debris.

During that time, fascination with the symbolism of ruins reached its height in the Romanticism movement, which valued subjectivity and took place mainly in18th- and 19th-century England. In those days, the bedazzlement at ruined architectures was quite significant, and brought about aberrations like the commissioning of paintings which depicted the ruins of buildings not yet abandoned or deformed by the action of time (Dillon, 2011). The narratives of ruined architectures conveyed mystery and a peculiar imaginative field which enabled multivocal impressions and descriptions of the architecture of times past. English writer Rose Macaulay's (1966) texts are proficuous in their details, as they catapulted the allegory of ruins into an imaginative world, capable of tracing and crossing historical times, besides alluding to the particulars of ruined spaces in a unique manner. Each word seems to open clusters, address nuances and expand insight of the cities' architectures as they were described.

Of historiographical character, Yi-Fu Tuan texts in his book *Landscapes of Fear* (2013) also sharply describes the presence of haunted and abandoned houses in rural 19th-century England. The author draws an indissoluble connection between decay and architecture, through short stories and narratives that sought to describe the somber ambiances which the ruins carried in their core. Thus, ruins grew prominent in arts and literature, and therefore played an important role against the hegemonic narratives of dominating groups of the period. That role seemed to apply to the direct intent of transmuting architecture's very historiography, thus expanding the understanding and the importance of finitude itself in the architectural narratives of the epoch.

Within this context, ruinology, i.e., the field of studies of ruins, seemed to be restricted to the bidimensional and symbolical representation of paintings; the public debate on it emerged and gained force particularly in the 19th century, emanating from the clash between the ideas of the British art critic John Ruskin and the French architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. Ruskin (1849) upheld the aura of ruins, the immanent and peculiar condition of the architecture that had been modified by time and which should be respected in the form in which it found itself. In turn, Viollet-le-Duc (2000) argued for the conservation and restoration of ruins, in view of his theoretical postulates of historical heritage preservation. In this scenario, the preservation of historical architectural heritage had gained higher standing in the public interest (Choay, 2006), and the questions raised by these emblematic authors engulfed the discussion around ruins for many years. Their theories gave rise to schools of thought, but considering the research perspective adopted in this article, this dualism ended up petrifying the critical thought and reflection of the culture of ruins, particularly in architecture.

With the arrival of the 20th century and the Industrial Revolution which spread from England to the world, however, city spaces began to suffer drastic ruptures. The new design scales and the spatial rearrangement of cities directly impacted the relationship of city dwellers and their experience in the urban environment, which also affected the meaning and understanding of the culture of ruins that developed until that period. Works like Tanizaki's book, *In Praise of Shadows* (2001), published in 1933 but not widely publicized until the late 20th century, demonstrated that, in contexts well beyond the Western theoretical supremacy, the appreciation of the aesthetic of shadows, of concealed objects, or even the appreciation of the experience through slits, ditches, unfinished or hidden things, was already part of a repertoire which escaped the conventional idea of clarity and the building's maintenance found in European and American heritage charters: "Every time I am shown to an old, dimly lit, and, I would add, impeccably clean toilet in a Nara or Kyoto temple, I am impressed with the singular virtues of Japanese architecture" (Tanizaki, 2001, p. 9).

3 Ruinophilia

The change in the architectural conformation and the spaces of 20th- and 21st-century cities, with their new circulation and communication flows (Ascher, 2010), irreversibly impacted the way city dwellers apprehend the city. This new scenario, initially thrusted in society's industrial development, shaped a new *modus vivendi* where the scale of the architectural designs of sheds, factories (Hilbersemeier, 2012) and transport hubs brought along a new vivid architectural experience. However,

with the advent of the 21st century, the characteristics of metropolises and industrial cities, in little more than a century, made way to post-industrial, decentralized, sprawling, multinuclear cities, driving city dwellers to a post-urban experience (Felice, 2009), which increasingly develops and builds strength intertwined with electronic devices and the whole media apparatus (Santaella, 2003), questioning and anesthetizing the individual from direct contact with the city. This liquid modernity (Bauman, 2001) empties spaces and leads to the abandonment of different places, which directly affects the urban landscape, with newer and bigger ruins arising from the changes in the activities of the global economy.

Contemporary ruins burst out in this distinct urban panorama, since the cogs that feed the unstoppable production of cities finds, on their edges, places of severe environmental and urban degradation. The outflow from contemporary society's quick acceleration and from this hyperbolic mode of production discharges in another part of the city – on its edges – the waste and detritus from that production, thus creating another category in the taxonomy that pervades abandonment: ruins in reverse (Smithson, 1967). If Detroit, USA, has become one of the icons of contemporary ruin, its image not only conveys the fallacy of much-vaunted "progress", but it also tears apart, in a similar way, the intent to perpetuate the debate of ruins in a bidimensional, static field of the representations of past centuries. In this city, the brutal image of derelict sheds and ruins of industrial plants, such as the old Packard plant, which occupied eight consecutive blocks, causes a dense concussion in the city dweller and casts the bucolic nostalgia of the ruin of times past to a place far from the comprehension of contemporaneity's ruined spaces (Millington, 2010).

In this current context, the study of ruins seems to require a new methodological apparatus, one that possesses the tools to encompass the polysemy of meanings and ambiances enclosed in the ghostly apparatus of the dystopia of post-industrial cities. Thus, it is sound to say that the contribution of the phenomenological method has found, in the realm of architectural theory, reverberation among architects willing to widen their spectrums with the sounding board of philosophy (Otero-Pailos, 2010). This path can shift the historiography of ruins to an analysis imbricated in its ontological meanings, where ambiances seem to clarify a route for understanding this new range of contemporary ruined spaces. Therefore, multisensory perception and intersubjectivity set up a new link for understanding this indissoluble intertwining between physical and cognitive spaces (Merleau-Ponty, 1999), just like the value of ambiance/atmosphere soars from the value of the built object (Böme, 2020).

If previously the paintings and chronicles of travelers who recorded ruins brought a nostalgic air to the reading of that architecture, this was an aspect intrinsic also to the detachment and narrowing of city dwellers in the representation and apprehension of ruins, understood as "remains", distant scraps; in contemporary society, increasingly cybernetic and informatized, the development of digital images brought about a new equivalence in the impact of the semiotics of ruins (Kushinski, 2016). In addition to post-war documentaries filled with ruins, exposed in their contents, cinema would also enter the varied spectrum of representation of ruins, as in the emblematic film *Stalker*, by the Russian filmmaker Andrei Tarkovsky (1979). Thus, fascination with contemporary ruins was boosted by the exorbitant growth in the images of ruins. Interconnected networks of media devices (Santaella, 2003) produced, in the last two decades, an aesthetic myriad of ruins, collected and disseminated by urban explorers who try to situate somber images, previously buried by the narratives imposed by media conglomerates and power institutions.

These explorers, also called *urbexers*, are the producers of a sort of multitemporal archeology, and have come from a global movement denominated *urbex*; they act in a counter-hegemonic manner, confronting the aestheticized narratives of enjoyment of cities. This action in the field operates in a threshold, an indefinite, ever-changing mental and physical space. Such explorers, as they infiltrate abandoned spaces – ghostly areas – in search of a more real experience of the city, away from the fanciful inductions of sterile consumption and tourism spaces (Garret, 2011; 2014), confirm the deceit of the much-vaunted democratic space, as presented in figure 1.

Fig. 1: Urbexer in action in the ghost locality of Lagoinha in Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil. Source: Souza, 2019.

Urbex's urban explorations of contemporary ruins, disseminated through social media, demonstrate clearly the fascination that the various textures and ambiances of ruins exert upon city dwellers. From Berlin, Germany, with its symbolic ruined buildings, such as the old Teufelsberg spy tower, to Homs, Syria, with its dystopian scenes of whole neighborhoods obliterated by the bombing havoc of civil war, any type of ruin gains notability in this group's media repertoire[1]. The difference between slow ruin – the type shaped by neglect and the action of time – and fast ruin – as war and disaster ruins are termed – points to the tragedies that pervade and swarm the lexicon of digital media. These are shocking images that expose in a brutal manner the paradox of contemporary society. And they are, most of all, inconsistent with the sterile, monolithic image that is publicized about contemporary cities, since these are formed by landscapes both hybrid and fragmented, a condition intrinsic to today's urban-architectural spaces, as presented in figure 2.

[1] At this point, it is worth mentioning the preponderant role of Henri Cartier-Bresson, who, by photographing life in post-war Soviet Union in a free manner, as well as desolate settings and ruins in the second half of the 20th century (with the experience he acquired in the French army during World War II), brought into the phenomenological field an appreciation of all these settings.

Fig. 2: Hybrid landscapes in the conformation of the city of Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil. Source: Souza, 2019.

This experience of infiltrating ruins also carries a ludic aspect of major importance for the phenomenological method of approach to ruins. In this experience, city dwellers' bodies blend with the architecture, deconstructing paths and materialities, immaterialities, reversing the hegemonic order of materials and sharpening the exploration by and through bent ceilings, shattered windows, corroded drainage and ventilation systems, thus transforming the lived experience of architecture into a profuse multisensory ethnography (Desilvey; Edensor, 2012), as presented in figure 3, "Body, architecture and nature in the studies of Lagoinha in Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil".

Fig. 3: Body, architecture and nature in the studies of Lagoinha in Petrópolis/RJ. Source: Souza, 2019.

Therefore, ruinology and its field of studies are raised to a new paradigm, one in which time and history merge and blend with images from the past, present and future. The imagetic character of attraction of this architecture in debris generates a sort of “hysteria of ruins”. Now dethroned from its romantic and nostalgic prominence of centuries past, the ruin is vulgarized, leaving a position of immanence, of enshrinement, to take on an obscene quality of voracious consumption. This current attribute, which rests on the obsessive act of consumption of ruins, would be the meaning attributed to the term *ruin porn* – pornography of ruins; a *sine qua non* condition of all and any contemporary ruins, which, by exerting this compulsive fascination upon city dwellers, capture and shape the current paths for understanding and representing ruined architectures, bringing about an epistemological leap from ruinology to ruinophilia (Boym, 2011).

4 Counter-Hegemonic Action Within Ruins

As mentioned, the culture of contemporary ruins owes its wide profusion to the urban exploration movement internationally denominated *urbex*. *Urbexers* are unofficial groups of various city dwellers, like architects, geographers, historians and photographers, who have been systematically infiltrating abandoned places, exploring and recording hidden city spaces on videos, photographs and texts about the ambiances of ruined architectures. Such field action, even if devoid of an objective method, is of major importance in the arduous task of deconstructing myths and fallacies diffused by dominant groups and power institutions which insist on spreading a homogeneous, sterile image of cities. The recording and later dissemination of the images unveils the real, plural city, constituted by diverse, fragmented spaces, among which are ruined spaces, as presented in figure 4.

Fig. 4: Exploration in the ruined space of the old ski trail, Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil. Source: Souza, 2019.

The attempt of dominant groups to obliterate the plurality of cities is accompanied by speculative forces that turn urban landscapes into commodity-landscapes (Ronai, 2015) and which therefore conceal the nuances contained in urban space. In this context, urbexers' action, which is not linked to any power or institution, develops a profound rupture with the way we understand the spaces of a city and its hybrid landscapes. This counter-hegemonic action brings up and challenges the monolithic narratives which are made about cities, besides exposing a hidden city, which emerges in our mental apprehension of the city (Jeudy, 2005), as presented in Figure 5, "'Ajar' city in the abandoned Petrópolis Paper Factory, Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil".

Fig. 5: "Ajar" city in the abandoned Petrópolis Paper Factory, Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil. Source: Souza, 2019.

Just like Mike Davis (2007) pointed out the camouflaged woes of Las Vegas, deconstructing the hegemonic narratives of the neon images that circulate worldwide to promote that city, urbexers' actions plays a similar role. And yet it indicates an active stance in the way these city dwellers act within city spaces. Therefore, the apathetic attitude that increasingly afflicts individuals in a society, who find themselves far from real spaces, dissimulated by the hyperconnectivity of media (Santaella, 2003), suffers a setback. In exploring abandoned places and their ruined architectures, urbexers affirm their intent of rights to the city (Lefebvre, 2001), perhaps of another, imagined and probable city. Thus, this practice indicates a city exercise of escapism from city norms, a search for an alternative space of multivocal possibilities, a detour from the unpleasant perspectives and views on everyday life, thus evoking the imagination of other possible worlds, of alternative landscapes.

Such action upon the city in an emancipatory manner strengthens the city dwellers' self-assertiveness (De Certeau, 1974), which induces an attitude of combating the simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1991), which has become the lived experience in the contemporary city; a city dissimulated by a spectacular architecture, a publicity-architecture of fugacious values and tenacious control. This society of the spectacle (Debord, 2007), which conceals city dwellers' real participation, anesthetizes the urban experience, as Massimo di Felice (2009) points out in his writings about today's post-urban life. Thus, the counter-hegemonic action of urban ruin explorers, in its challenge of the hegemonic narratives, reveals a hidden side of the city. It emerges casually as a significant contribution to understanding the complex contemporary city, perhaps an embryo of resistance to the imperative, oppressive way in which the use of urban-architectural space is conditioned in the environments of the city.

5 Final Considerations

The research presented in this article has been developed ultimately with the intent of bringing to the academic debate nuances and specificities about the field of studies of ruins, which are often made invisible by the themes of conservation and restoration – themes that capture the thoughts in this domain of architecture theory. If the preservationist debate deserves attention and relevance in research of historical heritage, still, its cultural aspects remain, in our view, virtually unaltered in studies published lately. However, the drastic changes that assailed cities' spaces in the last century brought along a need for new critical reflections about the architecture that conforms this contemporary city and its representation. This city is constituted by multifaceted landscapes, even if dominant groups and power institutions insist on monolithic narratives with images of sterile spaces, totally detached from the plural and concrete reality of city spaces, ruined architectures assume, in this context, a critical role in apprehending and understanding the complexity of the contemporary city. Its scars, which are ubiquitous and mark the urban space, expose clearly the antagonism and the fallacy contained in the homogeneous, speculative and restraining narratives of the images that are made about cities.

Thus, understanding the temporal arc that drives reflections about the culture of ruins and attempting to indicate paths for the vital need for a new epistemology would be the cornerstone to making the leap from ruinology to ruinophilia. The purpose is to thus understand the *locus* and the various layers of not only physical city spaces, but also layers that consider alternative narratives and which allow the constitution of the real landscapes, fragmented and conflicted, which compose the repertoire of the complex contemporary city. Thus, the counter-hegemonic action of the *urbex* urban exploration group could prepare a variety of city dwellers to address and confront the *status quo* that imposes itself on the way of making and using a city's urban-architectural spaces. By infiltrating ruined spaces and producing accounts and records of that architecture in debris, *urbexers* catapult the imaginary and the meaning of ruins into the panorama of current times, which in turn depart from the traditional historiography to take on an ontological characteristic, more consistent with the intricate spaces that comprehend contemporary ruins.

This field action, which considers the lived experience of architecture as a phenomenological method of analysis (Otero-Pailos, 2010) of ruined spaces enables a new understanding of ruins, where the theoretical-historical approaches are conditioned to a tactile, aesthetic and sensory reality, which corroborates the premises for an epistemological and historical turn in the way of researching and investigating and, therefore, delineating subjectivities in the realm of architectural theory. And it thus dethrones, in a cordial manner, the detached and romantic stance on understanding the role of ruined architectures in the architectural composition and, notwithstanding, in the hegemonic narratives and the mental image engendered in the multivocal spaces contained in the urban landscapes of the present city.

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FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MARKS OF DISTRESS
PELA CONSERVAÇÃO DAS MARCAS DA DOR

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Abstract

The current article addresses the topic 'interventions in architectural heritage damaged by disasters caused by human action'. We have observed, in recent cases, the hegemonic thought towards significant appreciation of these constructions' aesthetic-material aspects, which resulted in the reconstruction of buildings to a state prior to the incidents they were affected by and enabled removing the marks left by these events. Our aim is to re-address this conservation mode from a counter-hegemonic perspective, i.e., to advocate for an interventional approach capable of preserving these marks. Therefore, the herein adopted methodology focused on investigating two recent cases of intervention in buildings damaged by calamities – namely: the Portuguese Language Museum, in São Paulo City, Southeastern Brazil; and Notre-Dame Cathedral, in Paris, France – and on a systematic and transdisciplinary literature review on the concept of memory. Based on the current study, we have concluded that signs of disasters are marks of distress capable of reviving the memory of distress caused by misfortunes. Without them, we lose the source of remembrance about what happened. Absence of memory results in forgetfulness, which, in its turn, leads to the likelihood of repeating the forgotten fact. Therefore, we see marks embedded in architectural heritage as a way for us not to forget these misfortunes and, consequently, to find the means to prevent them from happening again. Therefore, we advocate that interventions of this nature preserve these marks.

Keywords: Architectural Heritage, Disasters, Intervention, Memory, Forgetfulness

1 Introduction

The current article addresses the topic 'conservation in architectural heritage', from the perspective of interventions in architectural structures damaged by disasters caused by human action. Based on the analysis of recurrent recent events, we observed cases driven by the hegemonic thought towards significant appreciation of buildings' aesthetic-material aspects, to the detriment of other meanings that can be associated with the property itself. This attitude resulted in the reconstruction of buildings to a state prior to the incidents they were affected by and enabled removing the marks left by these events in their material structure. Our aim was to re-address this conservation mode, although from an opposing perspective, by emphasizing how erasing signs of misfortunes can lead to recurrent tragedies. Considering the foregoing, and from a counter-hegemonic perspective, we herein defended an antagonistic interventional approach, i.e., an approach capable of preserving these marks.

To do so, part of the herein adopted methodology focused on investigating two recent cases of intervention in buildings that were severely affected by fire events, namely: *Museu da Língua Portuguesa* [Portuguese Language Museum], in São Paulo City, Southeastern Brazil, which was destroyed on December 21st, 2015; and Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, France, which was damaged on April 15th, 2019. Based on bibliographical references, as well as on publications in electronic newspapers and journals, we have evidenced how the interventionist proposal resulted in the intentional erasure of signs of the tragedy. Subsequently, we conducted a systematic literature review on the concept of memory. Based on a transdisciplinary approach, we explored theoretical Sociology, Anthropology, Philosophy and History texts to help better understanding how built space and memory (mainly the memory of distress) are associated with each other, as well as understanding the causal relationship between forgetfulness and repetition.

Furthermore, we have identified cases of buildings that were damaged by tragedies, and whose interventionist proposal somehow preserved signs of the experienced disaster. Finally, we have compared the herein collected information to build a theoretical-critical reflection about the effects of erasing the marks of tragedy on memory and about its consequences for architectural heritage conservation. We have organized these considerations in four different sections. The first section correlates the material evidence of tragedies to memory; the second section analyzes how interventions conducted at Portuguese Language Museum and at Notre-Dame Cathedral have suppressed these signs; the third section analyzes likely imbroglios of these obliterations; and the fourth section presents our arguments in defense of the preservation of these marks.

2 Architectural Heritage and Memory (of Distress)

Memory, space and place are concepts recurrently correlated to each other. Halbwachs (1990), for example, advocates that memory only exists if it is developed within a spatial framework. According to the aforementioned author, this association is necessary because our impressions are volatile and do not remain in our mind, whereas space, which is a durable reality, enables us to recover memories from the past, since they reemerge when we turn our attention towards the material environment surrounding us. According to Halbwachs (1990), these reminiscences take place because we are always inserted in a given space, which is transformed in our own way; at the same time, we subject ourselves and adapt to material objects capable of resisting us. Thus, when we establish our marks in space, they evoke our recollections and form a framework where we can locate our memories.

Similar association is observed in the study by Nora (1993, p. 21, our translation), who introduced the term “realms of memory”, which comprises real or imaginary, material or immaterial places loaded with the desire to remember. According to Neves (2007), these places have three different meanings, namely: material places where memory is supported, and can be assimilated, by our senses; functional places that have or acquire the task of supporting memories; and symbolic places where collective memory is expressed and revealed. Based on Pollak (1989, p. 03, our translation), among the places of memory analyzed by Nora, “one obviously finds monuments, [...] the architectural heritage and its style, which follow us throughout our lives”.

We do not aim at approaching critical judgments about the formation of these concepts. We just take the discussion promoted by these authors as a starting point to emphasize that one of the purposes of architectural heritage lies on acting as mnemonic support to mobilize memory values. Santiago Júnior (2015) has highlighted some of the most common values, such as the ones described by Alois Riegl in his *Denkmalkultus*, from 1903, namely: the age value, according to which, the building shows marks of the passage of time; the commemorative value, according to which, the building enables elaborating the sense of continuity with a finalized past; and the historical value, according to which, the building enables constructing the narrative of the past (Riegl, [1903] 1982).

However, we herein address a different memory type that remains poorly addressed in the heritage context, although it has been finding its space of connection to heritage assets. It is the “memory of tragedies”, which is referenced by Candau (2021, p. 151, our translation) as the one associated with suffering, distress and misfortune, which is seen by him as a strong memory that “leaves traces that are shared by those who have suffered, or whose relatives or friends have suffered, for a long period-of-time”, and which we herein refer to as memory of distress.

During a webinar organized by the *Comitê de Patrimônio e Museus da Associação Brasileira de Antropologia* [the Heritage and Museums’ Committee of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology], in 2021, Rubino (2021) reported an emblematic case of such a connection between architectural heritage and memory of distress, namely: the listing of the complex of buildings that had housed the DOI-CODI[1], in São Paulo City. The aforementioned author addressed the lawsuit that led to the guardianship of this property by CONDEPHAAT[2], in 2014, and she emphasized that these buildings were acknowledged for acting as material support for hard memories of violence, torture and repression, rather than for their plastic-architectural importance. After surviving time and the national re-democratization process, this complex of buildings became a place of remembrance and homage to victims who disappeared during the Brazilian Military Regime, i.e., a place to recollect the memory of distress. Therefore, this example shows how architectural heritage enables evoking a given memory associated with suffering (pain) caused by human violence.

The current article addresses architectural heritage’s ability to revive another essence of distress, i.e., distress of losing symbolic buildings that were destroyed by calamitous events. We herein allude to two cases of buildings that were severely damaged by fire events within a time interval shorter than five years, namely: Portuguese Language Museum and Notre-Dame Cathedral. According to Mendes (2020), these fire events have caused immeasurable material damage. The wooden ceiling of the Portuguese Language Museum collapsed and the building’s second and third floors were completely destroyed. With respect to the Notre-Dame Cathedral, in addition to the suppression of multicentennial elements, such as two thirds of the oak-structure roof and three rosettes from the 12th century, the pinnacle designed by Eugène Viollet-Le-Duc, which was

[1] An intelligence and repression organization, subordinated to the Brazilian Army, which existed during the Brazilian Military Regime.

[2] São Paulo State Council for the defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage.

more than 45-m tall and one of the most symbolic elements of this construction, has collapsed. At the same time, several correlated values deriving from the immateriality behind the meanings attributed to these estates, were weakened and are at risk of being overlooked.

Such damages left their marks embedded in the matter of these buildings, namely: signs of the flames in masonry, charred objects, exposure of constructive substrates and gaps of several types and dimensions. Based on Halbwachs (1990) and Nora (1993), we understand that these marks - herein called marks of distress – will enable us and the next generations to evoke memories of these events, either at individual or community level, and, therefore, to bring back the memory of distress – i.e., to reactivate the memory of tragedies, as well as of sufferings associated with them. We herein refer to the pain of losing our past, affective and symbolic heritages, and objects capable of connecting us as community, as well as to feelings triggered by this pain, such as impotence and resentment towards the neglect of cultural heritage[3].

The natural trend of heritage agencies, political authorities and society after these disaster types lies on crying out for interventions in the damaged good. The aim is to “resurrect” the perished object - regardless of the interest type assumingly associated with this claim (cultural, personal, economic, or political, among others). However, based on the two herein reported cases, we can see the trend to adopt the total reconstruction of the damaged good to its state prior to the fire event and, consequently, to erase the marks of distress resulting from the experienced incident, as an intervention measure.

3 Erasing the Marks of Distress

There have been several debates about what to do after an architectural heritage is hit by a major accident. Antagonisms emerge among those who defend the total reconstruction of the good, those who advocate that it should remain at ruined state, and the ones focused on making contemporary insertions in the remaining spaces, for example. We herein analyzed the intervention in the Portuguese Language Museum, which has already finished, and the one in the Notre-Dame Cathedral, which is still in progress. We addressed how - in these two cases - the hegemonic thought towards significant appreciation of these buildings’ aesthetic-material aspects resulted in their reconstruction to the very same state they were at, before the damaging events took place and how this solution erased the marks of distress embedded in these heritages.

The first case – i.e., the Portuguese Language Museum – was installed in the former managerial wing of *Estação da Luz*, a railway station in São Paulo City, which was officially launched in 1901. According to Kühl (2018), these facilities had already been damaged by a fire event in 1946 and the recovery services implemented at that time had considerably changed them. Decades later, Paulo and Pedro Mendes da Rocha, two prominent Brazilian architects, developed the project for the Museum, which opened in 2006. According to Kühl (2018), the project designed by them comprised quite incisive interventions in internal areas of the historical building, such as extensive demolitions in its compartments, changes in its finishing, and reorganization of both horizontal and vertical circulations. On the other hand, the external area of the building received the opposite treatment, which conserved its composition. Regardless of the undeniable aesthetic, functional and museological qualities of this proposal, and from the heritage perspective, the aforementioned author has assimilated this intervention as facadism, i.e., as an intervention that only aims at preserving the external part of the building and that disregards the internal part of it.

Thirty days after the 2015 fire event that destroyed the composition launched in 2006, São Paulo State’s government signed a partnership agreement with Roberto Marinho Foundation to rehabilitate the Museum. The proposal for the space, from that moment on, was already outlined, namely: rebuilding its facilities, based on the architectural design that guided the 2006 intervention, by carrying out the necessary updates (Museu da Língua Portuguesa, 2016). That was exactly the place reopened on July 31st, 2021: a new version of the 2006 project that, this time, was exclusively designed by Pedro Mendes

[3] There are differences in the scale of impacts caused by each tragic event. There was global commotion around the fire event that took place at Notre-Dame Cathedral, since it is an icon of Gothic architecture, as well as a French symbol described and mentioned in different books and films. On the other hand, the impact caused by the fire event at the Portuguese Language Museum had local scope; it was likely stronger among São Paulo City dwellers and individuals involved in heritage conservation processes. Thus, both events have caused the same type of distress, although at different intensities and in different audiences.

da Rocha, with specific changes to improve the Museum's deficiencies that had been reported during its ten-year operation (UIA2021RIO, 2021).

The third intervention (2016-2021) was very close to the Italian concept *com'era, dov'era* [how it was, where it was]. According to Lagunes (2011), this expression derives from the reconstruction of the bell tower in Venice (Italy), which collapsed in 1902 and was rebuilt at the same location, with the same formal features it presented before it collapsed. In other words, except for some occasional functional updates, nowadays, the Portuguese Language Museum presents the same physical and material features it had before the 2015 fire event[4]. According to Delaqua (2019), although pieces of wood that survived the disaster were reused, the treatment they were subjected to has eliminated any sign of combustion. This process erased all marks left by the fire - i.e., all marks of distress resulting from the tragedy - and the building looked like it was brand new, as if nothing had happened.

The intervention in progress at Notre-Dame Cathedral heads towards a similar outcome. According to Singh-Kurtz (2020), a few days after the 2019 fire event, former French Prime Minister, Édouard Philippe, has announced that Paris would hold an international competition to define the solution for the destroyed roof. According to him, the French government was looking for a proposal capable of adapting to contemporary techniques and challenges; this concept was taken by President Emmanuel Macron as a contemporary architectural gesture to make Notre-Dame Cathedral "even more beautiful". Several ideas for the place have emerged within a short period-of-time; many of them inserted contemporary elements to the nearly millenary Gothic construction. Voien (2019) has listed some of these ideas, namely: the suggestion by Spanish group "POA Studio" of a translucent glass structure that would recreate, through an ethereal materiality, the volume previously occupied by the pinnacle; as well as the proposal by Swedish team "ULF Mejergren Architects" to take advantage of the space that had emerged on the roof of the church to install a public-use swimming pool.

However, according to Singh-Kurtz (2020), around July 2020, Macron has withdrawn his support for a contemporary insertion in the reconstruction process. Given the pressure coming from architects, scholars, and Parisians themselves, the proposal for the Cathedral has changed towards restoring it, as consistently as possible, to its last-known full state. Even the French Senate has passed a bill requiring the faithful reconstruction of Notre-Dame Cathedral to its last visual state before the fire event. Thus, the Christian temple has been rebuilt with the same shapes, materials, and techniques, as it was before the disaster. Soon, these interventions in Notre-Dame Cathedral will lead to the same outcomes observed in the Portuguese Language Museum, namely: the total erasure of signs left by the fire in the Cathedral's material, as well as the absolute elimination of the marks of distress left by that fateful April 15th, 2019, to consolidate, in its place, a "*com'era-dov'era"* church.

In both cases, we can infer that, despite the numerous debates about these heritages' immaterial and transcendent aspects[5], a hegemonic thought towards significant appreciation of the buildings' aesthetic-material aspects, to the detriment of others, remains. In other words, the desire to restore the stylistic unity of the building was naturalized in the social body, to the detriment of other meanings, such as the memory of distress, which could emanate from these damaged architectural structures. Thus, the following actions were taken based on this prevalent position: cleaning and recomposing surfaces, as well as filling gaps and redoing lost elements, among others; in other words, rebuilding the damaged assets to the identical state prior to their respective fire events.

4 Forgetting the Distress

The present section explores the likely consequences of these positions on architectural heritage conservation. As we previously emphasized, Halbwachs (1990) advocated that marks left in the matter are valuable elements that help us to build our memory. Therefore, if the space no longer shows marks capable of triggering memories, they will be at risk of disappearing. This is what we saw in the intervention proposals focused on both the Museum and the Cathedral. As the

[4] We inquire about what this intervention aimed at conserving: was it the old railway station in the urban imaginary of São Paulo City's dwellers, through its facade? Was it the contemporary intervention and the Museum's functioning? In other words, what did one try to conserve: the past or contemporaneity?

[5] For example, the 32nd session of Unesco's General Conference held in Paris, in 2003, where the 'Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage' was envisioned.

signs to be erased are the ones we herein define as the marks of distress, those that would be most likely to enable the framework based on which we could locate the memories of what happened will no longer exist in these buildings. Consequently, the memory of distress may fade away.

Accordingly, when memory fades away, an opposite phenomenon emerges in its place, namely: forgetting. According to Ricœur (2004, pp. 412-413), “forgetting indeed remains the disturbing threat that lurks in the background of the phenomenology of memory”; thus, “memory defines it-self, at least in the first instance, as a struggle against forgetting”. Candau (2021, p. 125, our translation) adds by stating that “failing to satisfy the memory means exposing oneself to the risk of disappearance”, since forgetting, which is the enemy of memory, always imposes itself on recollections. Therefore, based on this reasoning, one of the likely effects of the memory dilution process deriving from the erasure of the herein addressed marks of distress by interventions carried out in both the Museum and the Cathedral would lie on forgetting the distress caused by the aforementioned losses, which resulted from these tragic events.

Consequently, by obliterating these misfortunes, we will also forget how they mirror the fragility of our architectural heritage: it took a few hours to destroy parts of buildings that took years to be built and that remained intact for decades. In addition, we will forget that the causes of these misfortunes are insignificant. According to the report issued by the Forensic Science Institute of São Paulo State’s Police Department the fire at the Portuguese Language Museum was caused by malfunction in a floodlight installed in the building (Tomaz, 2019). Although the definitive cause of the fire at Notre-Dame Cathedral is yet to be clarified, there are also suspicions that electrical failures may have happened in the collapsed pinnacle (Thompson, 2021). In other words, we will forget how something as small as a short circuit can cause such a destruction.

Furthermore, suppressing the memory of the vulnerability these ancient monuments are exposed to, can likely lead to negligence in both the care and maintenance of historic buildings. Based on an anthropomorphic analogy, architecture also becomes senile and requires further preventive examinations to be performed, as days go by, to identify and fix different problems. However, if we forget that insignificant phenomena can lead to such a devastation level, we can also forget about the importance of performing scheduled maintenance services in buildings to fix these failures before tragedy takes place. Scenes of neglect towards our heritage, such as the growing dismantling of public initiatives aimed at protecting these assets, is what we witness the most - at least in our political and social context -, a fact that makes periodic monitoring procedures even more essential for their conservation.

Thus, we herein digress and wonder whether these strongly incisive interventions are not adopted as measure to erase from our memory the human error of not having identified and solved - in due time - the accessible causes of these destructions that have caused so much grievances. Could these interventions be a variant of “commanded forgetting”, which was the term created by Ricœur (2004, p. 452) to feature operations that tend “to erase the psychical or social traces, as if nothing had happened”? In other words, would the return of assets to a state prior to the fire event be a sort of “commanded amnesia” to forget our lapses that have caused these misfortunes?

Moving away from speculative inquiries and returning to the central axis of this argument, we get to the main point of our reflection: forgetting can lead to the emergence of an alarming threat, namely: recurrence. According to Gagnebin (2006, p. 47, our translation), “fighting against forgetting [...] is also fighting against the repetition of horror”. In other words, when we forget the facts, mainly the unfavorable ones, opportunities for them to be repeated emerge. We are not saying that the forgotten fact will happen again as it happened before. We are just pointing out that, as Gagnebin (2006, p. 75, our translation) has put it, although there are no identical repetitions in history, there are “retakes and variations that can be just as cruel as, although different from, the original event”. One of the reasons for the recurrence of painful phenomena, even if in a form different from the original one, lies exactly on forgetting that something similar has already happened. It is so, because, when we forget, we lose the traces that could remind us about our past mistakes and the setbacks deriving from them. When we lack these traces to stop the recurrence of these very same failures, we are prone to repeat them.

Based on the herein presented considerations, the aforementioned forgetting types are worrisome because they represent a threat to architectural heritage conservation, due to the likelihood of having a given tragic event happening again. It is so, because, as we have previously mentioned, repressing the memory of distress sets the stage for its recurrence. Without the mnemonic evidence of these assets’ vulnerability, their periodic monitoring procedure may be neglected. Without the proper care, new faulty floodlights and dubious installations can emerge, among other issues of the same nature that were once the

cause of accidents and could be again the origin of new tragic events. Thus, we understand that, by adopting intervening measures that lead to forgetfulness, we give our consent to expose other architectural heritages to the risk of experiencing losses similar to those experienced by the Portuguese Language Museum and the Notre-Dame Cathedral. We risk seeing the history, actions, values, meanings, feelings, and sense of belonging that connect us as collectivity, crumble once again.

5 For the Preservation of Marks of Distress

We advocate that interventions focused on erasing the marks embedded in the material of a given heritage object after a calamitous event, such as the ones that took place at the Portuguese Language Museum and at the Notre-Dame Cathedral, threaten to deprive our memory of the incidence of these tragedies. Thus, the current article speaks on behalf of the preservation of these marks of distress, as well as triggers a critical reflection to help defining the intervention strategies to be adopted in assets damaged by disastrous events. We understand that preserving these marks of distress perpetuates the memory of these events in the community and acts as mnemonic mechanism to help preventing tragedies like these from happening again, by enabling greater social awareness about the vulnerability of these assets.

We are not proposing anything new. Interventions that have preserved marks of grief are nothing new. The Peace Memorial in Hiroshima (Japan), for example, is the only surviving structure close to the hypocenter of the atomic bomb that exploded on August 6th, 1945. It shows the same material condition it presented right after the explosion; it has only undergone occasional interventions for structural consolidation purposes. The Memorial became a strong and powerful symbol of the tremendous destructive power held by humankind[6]. Another similar case lies on the memorial built at the site of the former World Trade Center, New York (USA), which was destroyed by the terrorist attack held on September 11th, 2001, leaving a gap in the heart of Manhattan. The proposal for the space - which was developed by the Handel Architects group - has maintained this urban gap by setting two water mirrors to outline the location of the fallen towers; these water mirrors act as voids that make the absence of these towers present and visible[7]. In other words, they are there to not let us forget that there used to be two skyscrapers in that exact point that were taken down in a terrorist attack.

Thus, instead of rebuilding these objects back to their identical state prior to the catastrophic events, or of erecting other buildings in their places, these two proposals preserved the void left by them after those tragic events and turned them into memorials of pain. They are categorical solutions, whose use is virtually restricted to monuments, such as Riegl's ([1903] 1982, p. 21) "intentional monuments"; in other words, monuments intentionally created with the purpose of "keeping single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations". However, less radical alternatives focused on the partial or specific preservation of these marks enable associating their memorial function with other uses. It was the case of *Igreja Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Rosário* [Mother Church of Our Lady of the Rosary] in Pirenópolis City, central Brazilian plateau region, which was finished in 2006. This Christian temple from the 17th century was hit by a fire event on September 5th, 2002 and had both its roof and its internal part (including all its integrated artistic elements) destroyed by the flames.

Much has been discussed about the solution to be adopted for this monument, which was destroyed by the flames; however, according to Cavalcante (2018, p. 67, our translation), "the decisive spark to restore the monument came from the collective manifestation of Pirenópolis community, which sees the Mother Church as the greatest symbol of its culture". Therefore, the size of the church was restored back to its state before the fire, and it was reinserted in the landscape as local cultural symbol. On the other hand, with respect to the internal part of it, its artistic assets (altars, ceilings, arches) were not redone; it was made the option for using compositions that sometimes revealed the rammed earth substrates of the self-supporting masonry, such as those housing the side altars, and sometimes introduced new contemporary features, such as the new crossing arch. Thus, part of the building was rebuilt *com'era, dov'era*, whereas the other part of it preserved the signs of fire, either by maintaining the gaps or by introducing elements holding a new aesthetic language. Furthermore, although the church resumed its function as religious temple, nowadays, it also plays the role of recalling the dramatic events that took place decades ago, through the marks embedded in its structure.

6 For more information: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775/ (Accessed: 09 May 2022).

7 For more information: https://handelarchitects.com/project/national-september-11-memorial (Accessed: 09 May 2022).

Another case is that of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro City, Southeastern Brazil, which was devastated by a fire event on September 02nd, 2018. After the incident, a technical cooperation between Brazilian and international institutions engaged in rebuilding the Museum was established and called *Projeto Museu Nacional Vive* [National Museum Lives Project]. The aforementioned group carried out a tender to define the company in charge of the architectural and restoration project; the consortium formed by H+F Architects and Atelier of Architecture and Urban Design has presented the winning proposal (Museu Nacional Vive, 2021). So far, the available images of the interventional proposal - which is still under development - have indicated that the external elements of the building will be restored back to their state prior to the fire. However, it is possible seeing a mix of approaches to its internal part: some environments will be restored, others will receive contemporary additions, but there are also indications that environments will have the marks left by the disaster in the masonry preserved. Thus, the winning proposal will return the National Museum back to its museological functions and, at the time, it will preserve some of the scars left by the flames on the masonry, by including them in the new formal composition of the building. This strategy will provide the means for us to rescue the memory of distress associated with this tragic event.

At some point, we may be criticized by those who, like Nora (1993), believe that contemporary society shows excessive desire for memory; that everything turned into artifact of reminiscence with an excessive set of institutions to preserve it, but without hierarchy to decide what should, or should not, be remembered. However, this is not our purpose. We do not deny our right and need of forgetting, as defended by Candau (2021, p. 128, our translation), who understands that “this forgetting process can be long-lasting and beneficial in everyday life, except for some incident”.

The U-House experience, in Japan - a residence from the 1970s designed by Japanese architect Toyo Ito for family members who were going through the distress of mourning the loss of a loved one, after a battle with cancer - is an example of this demand for forgetting. According to Cairns and Jacobs (2017), the elaborated proposal reflected this context of sadness and introspection. Years later, in 1997, when the family’s mourning time was over, the house was demolished upon request by the dwellers themselves, who had moved on, whereas the residence maintained its funeral symbolism, which was hard to change. Thus, it was dismantled because its dwellers agreed that it was time to overcome their sadness and the house made this process difficult, since it kept the memory of distress alive.

However, we do not see it as a valid justification to erase the marks of the fire events at the Portuguese Language Museum and at Notre-Dame Cathedral. Despite the distress caused by them, the memory of these events is unlikely to prevent us from moving on with our lives. The grief arising from these events was not caused by an irremediable phenomenon; on the contrary, it could have been easily avoided by performing regular inspections in the electrical installations of these buildings. Thus, we defend the remembrance of these tragedies through the preservation of their marks of distress, based on two different intervention premises. The signs of fire in the internal masonry of the Portuguese Language Museum, for example, could have been kept, occasionally, as long as they were structurally stable, as it was done in the Mother Church of Pirenópolis and at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. The contrast between new and deteriorated surfaces in the aforementioned buildings enables seeing an instigating creative exercise of aesthetic-formal composition.

For the Notre-Dame Cathedral, we suggest a different strategy, since the marks of flames did not reach the gables of the building with the same intensity; they mostly affected the external faces of the vaults, which are lesser visible spaces. On the other hand, we could preserve the gaps in the roof, although we believe that this measure is more harmful than beneficial for the conservation of the building. Therefore, we agree with the demand for the reconstruction of the Cathedral’s covering elements, although through a process with the potential to emphasize the consequences of the disaster. Instead of rebuilding the damaged parts based on using the same materials, shapes and construction techniques used before, we would propose an analogical contrast approach for this case. In other words, we would make the option to perform a sensitive re-reading of the lost elements, by reverting them into new shapes, materials and construction techniques, so they could harmoniously interact with the remaining parts and, at the same time, reveal their nuances[8]. This method would be extended to both the vaults and the roofs, as well as to the lost pinnacle, which we would also rebuild due to its categorical symbolism.

[8] Strategy addressed in debates about conservation held since the 19th century, with the so-called archaeological restoration; later on, it was revisited by Camilo Boito and Gustavo Giovannoni, in the early 1900s, and reinterpreted by Antón Capitel and Ignasi de Solà-Morales, at late 20th century

Thus, the operationalization of visits to the buildings could be maintained in both scenarios, along with the preservation of signs of the disaster. The marks in the Portuguese Language Museum would be internally concentrated, given the effect of the fire on the building's materiality, whereas the manifestations of the fire at Notre-Dame Cathedral would take place externally, based on a new composition that would contrast with the remaining one. These are two, among countless, alternatives to the proposals that have been, or are still in the process to be, applied to these buildings. These proposals could be accepted upon a meticulous and sensitive historical, aesthetic, technical and socio-cultural study, which is not part of the scope of the current article. Nevertheless, from a counter-hegemonic perspective, they are assumptions based on which we can re-examine a given mode of action.

6 Final remarks

The aim of the current article was to readdress the intent of rebuilding heritage buildings damaged by disasters to their identical state prior to these incidents, by erasing the marks of these events. This strategy has proved to be the result from hegemonic thoughts towards greater appreciation of buildings' aesthetic-material aspects in two recent cases. Thus, our intention was to defend an antagonistic interventional approach, i.e., one that preserves these marks. In order to do so, we have analyzed different cases of interventions performed in buildings damaged by disasters and confronted them with concepts such as memory, forgetting and repetition. Based on this analysis, we have concluded that the signs of disasters are marks of distress capable of reviving the memory of distress caused by misfortunes. Without them, we lose the source to remember what happened. Absence of memory leads to forgetting, which, in its turn, raises the threat of having the forgotten fact repeated. Therefore, we see the marks embedded in architectural heritages as a way not to forget these misfortunes and, consequently, to find the means to prevent them from happening again.

Therefore, we herein emphatically advocate for a counter-hegemonic interventionist strategy focused on preserving the marks of distress left by fire events, such as the ones left at the Portuguese Language Museum and at Notre-Dame Cathedral. This preservation should be addressed on a case-by-case basis to enable assessing the limits of what to be preserved and how to preserve it. It is possible adopting an extreme measure focused on maintaining all marks of the tragedy, even if it limits the building to a monumental function, as well as a moderate solution focused on preserving fragments of these marks, which would enable associating the memorial function with other uses. We advocate that tragedies like these imply certain duty of memory "because only the symbolic transmission assumed despite, and due to, unspeakable suffering, only this reflective resumption of the past can help us not to repeat it forever". (Gagnebin, 2006, p. 57, our translation).

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BRAZILIAN DESIGN IN THE DECOLONIAL GYRE
DESIGN BRASILEIRO NO GIRO DECOLONIAL

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Abstract

This study uses a decolonial perspective to examine the influence of colonialism on the design field in Brazil. Decolonial thinking can be a useful tool, providing a critical perspective that can challenge dominant narratives and encourage more inclusive forms of knowledge production. Through an analysis of design curricula and syllabi in Brazilian universities, the study reveals the dominance of European and American authors, who are mostly white cisgender men. Furthermore, the research has shown that many designers see themselves as neutral agents, detached from the social and political contexts in which they operate. However, design is a field of knowledge and practice that is not exempt from responsibility for the events of today's society. As such, designers must be more aware of the power structures surrounding them and strive to liberate and adapt their practice to the needs of marginalized communities. The research presented in this article has provided valuable insights into the influence of coloniality on design education in Brazil. It has highlighted the need for more diverse and inclusive curricula that reflect the country's cultural heritage and the perspectives of marginalized groups. Overall, the research highlights the need for further investigation into the influence of coloniality on design education and the importance of adopting a decolonial perspective in the field. This will not only help to transform design education in Brazil, but also contribute to the broader effort to challenge oppressive hegemonies and create more inclusive and equitable forms of knowledge production. By bringing attention to the role of colonialism in design, this research can contribute to a more critical and counter-hegemonic understanding of the field.

Keywords: Design, Epistemology, Decoloniality, Curriculum, Coloniality

1 Introduction

This research seeks to understand the epistemology and organization of the Brazilian design field from a decolonial perspective. We want to investigate design knowledge in undergraduate design education and see how hegemonic dominance shapes and influences its construction from a non-existence production logic. According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002), the production of non-existence in knowledge involves the transformation of modern science and high culture into unique criteria of truth and aesthetic quality, resulting in the exclusion of anything outside of this canon. Dijon de Moraes (2006) argues that the relationship between local references and imported design models, particularly from German, Italian, and Swiss schools, have played a significant role in the development of the Brazilian design field.

Utilizing decolonial theories, this research aims to examine the relationship between design, production, and the colonial power matrix in the Brazilian design field. By adopting a decolonial perspective, we aim to investigate the gaps and limitations created by the Eurocentric influence in design. Our research will focus on the impact of external influences on the formation of the Brazilian design field, and how these have shaped its epistemology and organization. We will also consider how prioritizing external parameters and universalizing them in the fields of knowledge production has led to the exclusion of non-dominant perspectives and contexts.

To gather data for this study, we will use a multi-step approach that includes analyzing the Bachelor of Design curricula and syllabi in Brazilian federal universities, and conducting interviews with course coordinators. The first step involves analyzing the curricula and syllabi to identify key themes, such as the main center of knowledge production in design and the gender identity of the most recurrent authors in the field. The second step involves conducting interviews with course coordinators to gain insights into their perspectives on these topics. The data collected on these two steps will be examined through a decolonial lens to determine the impact of the colonial power matrix on design education in Brazil. This analysis will allow us to understand the trajectory of design in Brazil and its construction as an area of knowledge and expertise.

2 Colonial, Post-colonial, and Decolonial

The transformation of understanding specific locations in universal terms can be traced back to the European maritime expansion and colonization of the Americas starting in 1492. This period led to the genocide of the local population and the replacement of their native knowledge with European knowledge. As European and Euro-American colonies spread around

the world, a hierarchy of knowledge development, with the suppression of native languages in favor of colonizer languages, as noted by Walter Mignolo (2007). Anibal Quijano (2000) argues that the elimination of customs incompatible with Christianity transformed Christianity into the only true religion and established a hierarchy of people. With each new step toward global dominance, Europe reinforced the superiority of its knowledge and used its economic and technological power to maintain its dominance.

The Modernity/Coloniality group, with its decolonial thinking, encourages radical changes in the ways of producing knowledge and emphasizes the need for a new epistemology emerging from the global south. This counter-hegemonic perspective serves as the fundamental theoretical reference for this study. According to Walter Mignolo (2003), this approach represents the manifestation of political, theoretical, and epistemological self-determination of places that have not yet been inscribed among knowledge producers.

Decolonial thought is unique in that it does not simply list issues or propose solutions, but rather provides the right questions from a counter-hegemonic perspective. Through this research, we can observe the influence of the colonial power matrix on several structural dimensions of contemporary society, particularly in how it prevents many fields of knowledge, including design, from being open to diverse collectivities. This is the significance of this work, as the awareness of coloniality as a component of the design is already a counter-hegemonic thought process in motion.

3 Design Trajectories in Brazil

To understand the development of design in Brazil, it is important to consider the country's political and social dynamics. According to Quijano (2000), decolonization is necessary for any significant social change. Brazil has developed a design culture based on its own political and sociocultural context. As Maurice Dobb (1987) notes, the origins of design can be traced back to industrialization, which separated the creation of an object from its production. This led to poor working conditions and low wages for factory workers, as well as rapid technological development and increased consumerism. Those conditions had, as their main characteristic, the alienation of man from the means of production and the transformation of human labor into a commodity like any other.

Until the 1930s, Brazil's economy relied heavily on coffee exports and had a small, insignificant industrial sector. However, when the world market became oversaturated and the New York Stock Exchange crashed in 1929, coffee exports declined, and the government's economic strategy was no longer able to support coffee prices on the global market (Otaiza de Oliveira Romanelli, 1996). According to Boris Fausto (2007), the developmentalist policies of President Juscelino Kubitschek's government (1956-1961) aligned with the needs of international capitalism, led by the United States, and welcomed the construction of multinational industries, positioning Brazil within the global monopoly of capitalism.

The Brazilian government saw design as a useful tool for the country, but not as a critical and reflective practice. Instead, it viewed design as a technical discipline that served industrial interests. To achieve this goal, the government based its approach on European models of design and incorporated them into Brazilian culture through rhetoric that aligned with modernity and the country's economic goals of growth and export of commodities to foreign interests.

In the debate over the consolidation of industrial projects in Brazil, the German matrix, represented by the Ulm School, was the main reference. This model was brought to Brazil through the creation of the Superior School of Industrial Design (ESDI) at the State University of Rio de Janeiro. According to Izabel Maria de Oliveira (2009), the ESDI project anticipated the ideological transformation associated with modernity. The influence of European rationalism on Brazil and other peripheral countries that experienced Western industrialization led to a focus on technical and functional quality in product design.

Functionalist design and internationalism were well-suited to Brazil because they aligned with the country's developmental project, which was driven by the "economic miracle" of the time. This period of economic growth led to the emergence of regional inequalities, with consumer goods concentrated in the south and southeast regions of the country, while other areas outside of production systems experienced severe industrial crises (Zoy Anastassakis, 2011).

In the 1970s, the military government's economic development policies discouraged bachelor's degree programs in social and artistic fields, while providing financial incentives for technological areas. According to Rita Maria de Souza Couto (2008),

this was intended to help Brazil become a forward-thinking country. To adapt to the developmentalist ideal and secure resources, bachelor of arts programs were abruptly transformed into undergraduate industrial design courses. This led to a standardized and centralized curriculum structure imposed by the Ministry of Education (MEC), based on the ESDI model (Lima; Lima, 2003).

According to Guacira Lopes Louro (1997, p. 143), no research, or rather, no science, is disinterested or neutral, and the adoption of a European curriculum to lead the experience of teaching design in Brazil cannot be isolated from the interests encoded in that act. To maintain colonizing power, knowledge, and being, the curriculum includes itineraries, routines, procedures, didactic-pedagogical conceptions, theoretical references, and physical structures, thus that students and even teachers regard Eurocentric knowledge as natural, valuable, and beneficial. We currently detect criticisms of design studies and practices in both the global south and the north. Such viewpoints try to break with the designer's unilateral creation logic. Design anthropology, defined as a hybrid approach by Anastassakis and Kuschnir (2013), is one example of these initiatives to destabilize the hegemonic knowledge of countries in the global north. This strategy combines methods and tools from anthropology and design, as well as interventionist research and field design. It also repeatedly alternates between reflection and action. It tries to actively involve the subject in the creative process as a co-creator.

The countries of the global south bring ideas, such as those proposed by Alfredo Gutierrez Borrero (2014), which argue that even if all human groups design, only industrial projects designed in a specific and hermetic graphic language are understood as technical, neutral, and universal. He emphasizes the importance of prioritizing South designs — those created in the South through the construction of South ideas, which are more inclusive and emancipatory (Borrero, 2014). However, Geraldina Porto Witter (1985, p. 54) advises against changing the curriculum model before recognizing, investigating, assessing, and critiquing the issues that the current educational system is founded on. To gain a better understanding of the current teaching environment, we will now focus on research on the curriculum for design programs in Brazil. As Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (1995, p. 196) explains, the curriculum allows or rejects, legitimizes, or delegitimizes, includes, or excludes it, making it the subject of decolonial research.

4 Analysis of the Bachelor of Design Curriculum

It is important to consider the curriculum not only as a tool for facilitating learning, but also from a broader perspective that takes into account its social, political, and epistemological implications. According to Tomaz Tadeu da Silva and Antônio Flávio Barbosa Moreira (1995), the curriculum plays a significant role in shaping personal and social identities, as well as in communicating societal perspectives. To better understand the framework that shapes design education in Brazil, we analyzed bibliographies included in syllabi from various institutions that offer graduate programs in design, recognized by the "Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES)", as shown in Table 1. We were particularly interested in identifying the sources used to develop ideas that shape professionals in this field, and how these ideas have influenced their development.

TOTAL DE PROGRAMAS DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO

INSTITUIÇÃO DE ENSINO	UF	TOTAL
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS E SISTEMAS AVANÇADOS DO RECIFE (CESAR - PE)	PE	1
CENTRO UNIVERSITÁRIO TERESA D´ÁVILA (UNIFATEA)	SP	1
CESAR CENTRO DE ESTUDOS E SISTEMAS AVANÇADOS DO RECIFE (CESAR-AM)	AM	1
PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA DO RIO DE JANEIRO (PUC-RIO)	RJ	1
UNIVERSIDADE ANHEMBI MORUMBI (UAM)	SP	1
UNIVERSIDADE DA REGIÃO DE JOINVILLE (UNIVILLE)	SC	1
UNIVERSIDADE DE BRASÍLIA (UNB)	DF	1
UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO (USP)	SP	1
UNIVERSIDADE DO ESTADO DE MINAS GERAIS (UEMG)	MG	1
UNIVERSIDADE DO ESTADO DE SANTA CATARINA (UDESC)	SC	2
UNIVERSIDADE DO ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO (UERJ)	RJ	1
UNIVERSIDADE DO VALE DO RIO DOS SINOS (UNISINOS)	RS	1
UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL PAULISTA JÚLIO DE MESQUITA FILHO, BAURU (UNESP-BAURU)	SP	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE CAMPINA GRANDE (UFCG)	PB	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE PERNAMBUCO (UFPE)	PE	2
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA (UFSC)	SC	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO AMAZONAS (UFAM)	AM	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO MARANHÃO (UFMA)	MA	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ (UFPR)	PR	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO (UFRJ)	RJ	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO NORTE (UFRN)	RN	1
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL (UFRGS)	RS	1
TOTAL		24

Table 1: Courses evaluated and recognized by CAPES, prepared by the authors based on data from the Sucupira Platform. Source: Authors, 2022. Available at: <https://sucupira.capes.gov.br/sucupira/public/consultas/coleta/programa/quantitativos/quantitativoles.xhtml?áreaAvaliacao= 29 & areaConhecimento=61200000>. [Accessed: 02 March 2021].

This study examines multiple design teaching curricula to better understand the context of design teaching in different parts of Brazil. The goal is to provide a more comprehensive and accurate description of design education in the country, rather than rely on a single case study. Our analysis showed that external factors, such as European culture, have had a significant impact on the national design curriculum. By comparing the authors of the publications included in the bibliographies, we were able to demonstrate and discuss the influence of European culture on Brazil's design education.

Design education in Brazil has been heavily influenced by European culture, as evidenced by our analysis of 1,065 publications designated as fundamental bibliographies in 365 disciplines. The significant disparity in the number of institutions by region of the country was already apparent at the start of the analysis: 66% of all the universities analyzed are concentrated in the south and southeast regions, with the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo accounting for 33% of the total. These two states have more CAPES-recognized graduate design programs than the North and Northeast regions combined (28.6%). This illustrates the presence of European hegemony, but also of internal colonialities, with the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axes as the central focus of courses and discourses regarding the rest of the country.

The principal location of the publications cited in the studied syllabi is a crucial aspect of this research, as it indicates where design knowledge is generated. According to our findings, works produced in the United States (22.7%) and Europe (38.1%) predominated, with only the cities of New York and London accounting for 26.1% of the total output. This indicates that, although all courses are held in Brazil and relevant to national realities, only 35.4% of the works were made in the country. We also found that there is a greater diversity of cities in the United States where design projects are launched (30 cities) compared to Brazil (16 cities). This can be explained by the concentration of Brazilian publishers in the Rio de Janeiro and

Sao Paulo axes. While in the United States, many publishers with ties to universities operate autonomously, and practically under the licensing of these institutions (Rocha, 2014, p. 19). Figure 1 shows the distribution of publications by location.

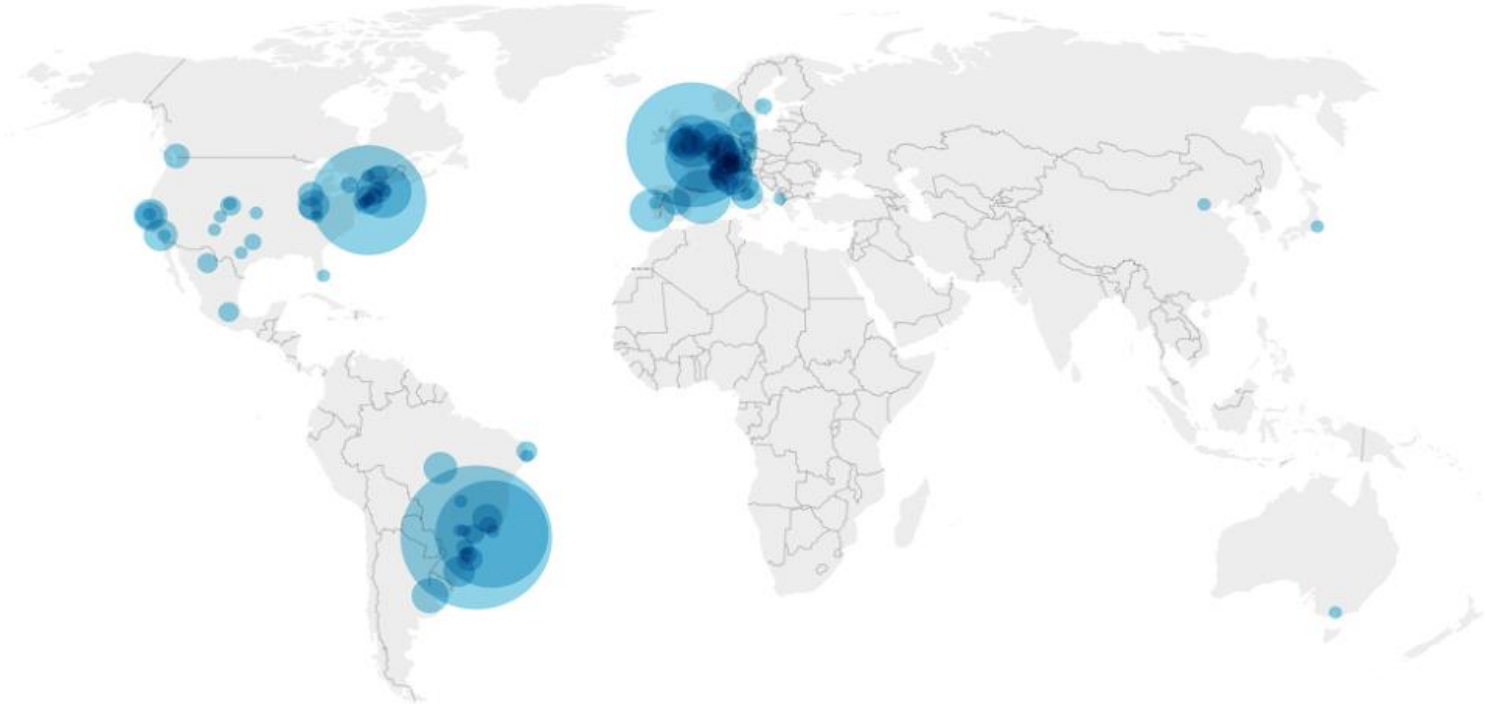

Fig. 1: Proportion of publication of works analyzed in cities around the world, a graph created using the *datawrapper* with data collected from a curriculum analysis. Source: Authors, 2022.

This data supports our research findings, which indicate the presence of Eurocentric hegemony in the production of design knowledge in Brazil. It reflects the country's adoption of the German matrix in design education, which represented imported ideas still considered paradigmatic.

In terms of the gender of the authors of design works, the significant difference between publications by cisgender male authors (84.3%) and cisgender female authors (15.7%) is notable. Taking into account the low representation of women in design research, we highlight the gender issue in the field, as noted by Beatriz Batisteli (2021). The percentage of women in undergraduate and graduate design courses varies depending on the institution, but is generally greater than 50%. However, when analyzing the representation of women in leadership positions within companies or in awards, this representation decreases drastically. According to Gabriela Angel Ramalho de Sá (2018), there is a sexist effect on female scientific production in academia, in which male researchers receive superior and prominent recognition, underestimating and minimizing the qualifications of women, which suggests the distortion of the construction of women's representativeness and authorship in scientific production. Figure 2 shows these findings.

Fig. 2: Relationship between the genres of the authors of the analyzed works, a graph created from *Infogram* with data collected from curriculum analysis. Source: Authors, 2022.

5 Interviews

This article aims to analyze the construction of the field of design in Brazil and the consequences of its colonial past on teaching in the area. To do this, interviews were conducted with the coordinators of institutions whose curricula were previously studied. The interviews were based on online questionnaires and focused on the presence or absence of national authors in the curriculum, as well as the diversity of authors in terms of gender and race.

The answers to the questions raised some interesting points, such as the lack of national authors in the curriculum and the lack of effort to ensure diversity. However, many coordinators believed that prioritizing national authors and increasing diversity would be beneficial. The text also discusses the need to incorporate more diverse voices into the design, and the challenges of decolonizing the curriculum.

For the selection of the interviewees, only one criterion was adopted: that all were in the position of coordinating the selected courses when the interview was carried out, and nine (9) were available to participate. As for the questions asked, we highlighted those that helped introduce the theme of decolonization, starting from the hegemony of Eurocentric knowledge within universities. Therefore, the first question was: "Do you believe prioritizing national authors is a concern?" This question sought to understand the interviewees' view of the presence or absence of national authors in their curriculum matrices.

Some interesting issues were raised from the analysis of the answers to the questions. For example, interviewee nine stated that "one knows these titles can be more specialized and specific (...), thus they may not be as apparent in the matrix

curriculum, which does not mean they are not present in the course and classroom." However, it is necessary to reflect on why national authors' materials are "specialized" and "specific" within the curricula matrices of their own country, while the classics or basic contents continue to be mostly Eurocentric.

The lack of national base works, whether because of the low production of scientific knowledge in the area or the difficulty in accessing existing works in libraries, leads to a cycle that does not feed the national scientific production in the sector. This means our main references are almost always foreign. However, it is important to emphasize that most believe that giving priority to national authors would be beneficial.

For the question, "Do you think there is any concern with the gender and race diversity of the authors when choosing the bibliographies for the elaboration of the curriculum matrices?" The answers were almost entirely negative. The interviewees do not see an effort to guarantee gender and race diversity in the curricula. One interviewee even declares "it would be absurd, in my opinion" (interviewee eight). The interviewed three share a similar perspective, stating that "the implications for influencing choices are based on the quality of production, regardless of gender, race, etc." It is worth mentioning that the same respondent, who stated in the previous question that the effort to ensure gender and race diversity would be absurd, replied that with a greater presence of diverse authors in the curriculum, it would be more inclusive and representative of society.

We noticed that including more voices than the white man's voice in intellectual production, validated by the academy, is not a priority for many of the coordinators in question, perhaps because many of them do not see the direct relationship between issues such as race and gender with design. What is visible in the responses is that "academic writing is not only linked to color or gender," as interviewee two states. Nevertheless, as advocated by Francielly Baliana, the construction of a field of knowledge production - centered on Eurocentrism/Westernism and a specific idea of modern rationality - also led to the consolidation of coloniality beyond the borders of colonialism itself. Because of these historical perspectives on power, a system of social exploitation has been built that makes all forms of work increasingly subject to the exclusive and permanent logic of capital, as well as cultural dominance that controls, covers up, and hierarchies the forms of subjectivities based on a Eurocentric perspective of rationality even today, even after the independence processes (Baliana, 2020).

For the analysis of the item related to the European centrality of the most read authors in design teaching in Brazil, we started this axis with the question: "According to our previous research, most of the authors used in the disciplines are men and Europeans. Why do you believe this phenomenon occurs?" Many interviewees were aware of the presence of a strong Eurocentric influence in society, stating that it was "a matter of power." "As a country with a colonial history, Europe heavily influenced us." Yes, “they result from a patriarchal society and the influence of the first European design schools" (interviewee two), which we can complement with another answer: "mainly linked to schools like Bauhaus and Ulm" (interviewee 1).

The interviewees also perceive the centrality of the production of knowledge that such influence creates, and show that many researchers in the area need to go abroad to specialize: "many of our professors were prepared from this European content in Italy, influenced by male authors" (interviewee five). This statement highlights the fact already mentioned in this article: the association of the area with foreign, classical, and canonical content, as shown by interviewee nine: "an undergraduate course needs to commit to traditional training values." "It is impossible to recommend, as a basic bibliography, an author who has not yet recognized relevance for the area."

Respondents' opinions and ideologies form an unbreakable chain, because academic works with European or American credibility are used to validate the course. As mentioned in previous questions, the national scientific publication market does not offer opportunities for publishing unpublished national works. This leads to the stagnation of the field with the reading of the same authors and concepts, feeding back the cycle of dependence on the works of foreign authors. Most interviewees perceive the colonial problem and its effects on scientific production in the field. However, they would like something done. Especially when faced with more complex discussions, such as race and gender, they withdraw and do not see in these discussions the key to improvements in the area. This reaction indicates the importance of raising topics such as those proposed here to build deeper debates in the area. Decolonial thinking can be an important tool for the future of design, and for the designer who seeks to be more aware of the complexities surrounding it.

6 Final Considerations

The need to investigate the main influences of coloniality on design and national education in contemporary times motivated this work. We sought to understand the formation of the countryside in the country, and, from there, we verified that there has been strong coloniality, as well as subservience to international economic interests. The teaching base was exported from European schools to the Brazilian context, with completely different realities.

It was found that the methodological procedures used proved efficient as tools to achieve the proposed objectives, considering they allowed both a theoretical deepening of the research themes and a broader and more contextualized understanding of the same.

It is important to point out that the method used in the research, despite achieving the proposed result, is subject to improvement and should be applied in the service of a counter-hegemonic discussion of design. Using this method in other research requires analyzing in more depth the internal colonialism between regions and locations in the national context through the replication of the same questions asked here (for the field of design) in specific areas of the field, like graphic design, product design, and fashion, among others. So, through additions to the theoretical framework and other interlocutors, the focus is on encouraging the national production of scientific knowledge and literature in design.

In this sense, the present research revealed both the discourses that have remained in force since the last century, and the mechanisms that understand technical-scientific and rational knowledge as the only valid epistemology. It also indicated the behavior of the designer, as reported in some interviewees' answers, of seeing himself as a neutral agent whose function is only to design. However, design, as a field of knowledge and practice, is not exempt from responsibility for the events of today's society. It is a fundamental element of this context. For this reason, the designer must understand his context and history, making his practice liberating and sensitive to the effects of the power structures surrounding him.

It is, therefore, necessary to situate the problems arising from modernity to understand how to naturalize and standardize certain narratives, and thus to conceive alternatives that challenge the dominant discourse, conventions, knowledge, and language, since it is impossible to find solutions to the problems of modernity by seeking them in modernity itself. Therefore, to become a counter-hegemonic tool, the design must cease serving the old premises and propagate certain narratives, such as modernity or infinite development, that only endorse colonialism and extractivism. Every design serves as a narrative. It is never neutral, as all professional activity will, to some extent, relate to and interfere with the daily lives of people who Accessed: it. This impact will not always be positive. Because society considers the historical legacy of injustices committed since the colonial period, the chances of reproducing an excluding and oppressive vision are high.

Finally, this research was only a first step toward discussions that could be broadly explored in design, as well as a method to demonstrate new ways for designers to act. Using the decolonial perspective in the field does not imply developing a new style of design or technique of designing, which would just add to the many other issues that the field is now dealing with. Decoloniality acts as a guide for investigational orientation, a radical mode of thinking and questioning, and a means of combating oppressive hegemonies and creating forms of reflection. The work to decolonize the curriculum contributes to the development of new perspectives, ideas, and readings that should serve as the foundation for altering design education. The work to decolonize the curriculum contributes to the development of new perspectives, ideas, and readings that should serve as the foundation for altering design education. Another perspective on modernity and the purported universality of Eurocentric logic sold as neutral: a perspective that is pluralistic, intercultural, and decolonial.

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PROJETO
PROJECT

THREE COUNTER-HEGEMONIC PROJECTS
TRÊS PROJETOS CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICOS

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Abstract

There is a hegemonic practice in the Southern Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, and certainly in many other parts of Brazil, which disregards the need to create open spaces and buildings which are what some call everyday infrastructure, that is, public facilities that can make daily life more dignified, especially for the low-income population. This practice results from a non-explicit but dominant hegemonic thought in Brazilian politics and administration. Curiously, it does not depend on ideologies, as not even left-wing municipal and state governments dedicated themselves to building such equipment. This text presents three projects that seek to oppose the hegemonic thinking described above. The projects illustrate architectural responses to three situations characterized by neglect: the lack of qualification of open spaces in cities, the almost total absence of equipment that can foster cultural life and social relations, and the indifference to how historical heritage and consolidated urbanism are treated. The methodology involves identifying a problematic urban situation, transforming it into a program for a design studio at the undergraduate and graduate levels, carrying out the architectural design simultaneously with the students, discussing the project in class, and seeking to disseminate it in order to establish a discussion about the problem that gave rise to this response, more than about design itself.

Keywords: Qualification of the Open Space, Everyday Infrastructure, Dialogue with the Surroundings

1 Introduction

This text stems from the premise that the shortage of equipment for public use in the Rio Grande do Sul province is due to thought and practice that could be called hegemonic. Given this panorama, one of the possibilities of resistance and opposition to this state of affairs is to propose concrete actions from the platform I have: teaching at a public university and the practice of architectural design. In Rio Grande do Sul, this hegemonic thought disregards the need to create public spaces[1] and buildings that constitute what some call everyday infrastructure, that is, urban facilities that facilitate and make people's lives more dignified, especially low-income populations. I am referring to equipment such as schools, health centers, libraries, cultural centers, and sports centers, among others, strategically disseminated in cities by public authorities. This lack of action is so pervasive that it is not linked to any political ideology. One might think that it has to do with the right-wing, traditionally indifferent to collective values and public policies. However, the same inertia was present during left-wing governments, both at the federal, state and municipal levels – suffice it to mention the Minha Casa Minha Vida program as an example of a missed opportunity to create dignified environments to live in.

Concerning the cities' public space, there is no permanent qualification policy. When improvements happen, they have to do with preparing the city to host an event, as was the case with the creation of the Orla Prefeito Luiz Paulo Conde and the Olympic Boulevard for the World Cup (2014) and the Olympics (2016) in Rio de Janeiro, but which later had no follow-up. I am aware of the social conquests of the last decades, including in the city of Porto Alegre, but these conquests did not materialize in public facilities such as the ones I am asking for. In recent years, a large public park was built on the shores of the Guaíba Lake, in Porto Alegre, a unique initiative in many decades of inertia. In other countries, there is a continuous effort to qualify existing squares and create new ones because it is understood that public space is the privileged place for meeting and exchanging information, even at a time when digital communication has gained importance. Could this inertia be a part of a strategy to avoid such encounters because they can result in the organization of society claiming its rights? In Portugal and Spain, not to mention the richest countries in Europe, it is common for each neighborhood to have a health center, a public library, a sports center, and a civic center, which contribute to a dignified and culturally rich life, even if one earns little or is unemployed. These are examples worth emulating.

During the decades I have lived in Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, I don't remember seeing anything like this being built in the city's neighborhoods. It does not seem to have occurred to successive mayors that these activities are the basic needs of urban dwellers and that ensuring their existence is part of the mayor's attributions. The market will certainly

[1] By public spaces we mean any not privatized, both open and closed spaces, such as streets, squares and parks, gymnasiums, markets, among others.

not create this kind of equipment, which does not aim at an immediate profit and whose result – the development of citizens – is something diffuse and long-term. In truth, in the Brazilian legislation, there is the figure of the Urban Social Center (CSU), “public centers aimed at development, social inclusion and reduction of violence” (Decree nº 75922 of 01/07/1975 / PE - Federal Executive Branch). However, its implementation is sporadic, irregular, and rarefied. It is curious to note that most of the CSUs were built in the 1970s when the country lay under a dictatorial regime. Another characteristic of this hegemonic attitude is the neglect of historical heritage, both in terms of the individual building and the consolidated surroundings, with their material characteristics and use. The English concept of notable collective value is rarely applied, justifying the preservation of architectural groups based on the perception that the global quality of the whole exceeds the defects of any of the individual structures.

Not happy with this state of affairs and having been a design teacher at a public university for over 30 years, I decided to protest using the weapons at my disposal: the classroom and my work as an architect. In the first case, by proposing as design exercises the equipment which is lacking in the Brazilian cities and, in the second case, by elaborating projects that respond to unresolved problems in my city, which I call counter-projects. In the academic field, I have led design workshops whose theme is a community center and the open space around it, generally located on land supposed to be public squares, but lacking in formal design and landscaping. The work required of the students must give equal attention to buildings as well as open spaces. Every two semesters the site – which generally measures approximately 10,000 m2, the equivalent to a typical urban block – is changed and this alters the general equation since different environments require different responses. The community center program includes a library, a multipurpose room, and a café, plus the support spaces for each activity. At postgraduate studios, community service rooms are added to the program.

The objective of the exercise, in addition to the obvious training for the practice of architectural and urban design, is to draw attention to the role of architecture as a social practice through the topics covered in the studio. The safest way to learn to design is indeed by designing, but you can also teach by example. Experience has shown me that students of any level feel safer being guided by someone who has already faced the same design problems as them and, for this reason, I develop all the projects that I propose as a class assignment, in addition to my interest in this type of intervention. In a studio whose methodology encourages the study of precedents as an important step in any project, the teacher's work appears as yet another precedent to be studied. In addition to immediate educational support, these so-called counter-projects are intended to show that it is possible to better resolve those urban and/or constructive situations in a way that benefits the city.

2 Methodology

The methodology concerning the projects presented here begins with the identification of an urban or construction situation perceived as deficient, which then becomes the subject of a design assignment and the motivation for carrying out a counter-project. In the first two cases, they are public spaces lacking formal structure and the equipment and amenities that would facilitate more intense use by residents. In the third case, the expansion of a building with an important cultural value has completely ignored the urban environment in which it was inserted. Once the problem is identified, an attempt is made to understand the place both from a historical point of view and its current use, precedents are studied in search of analogous situations that can serve as a reference, and in all cases, the project is developed guided by the belief that its highest commitment is to the city, that is, the creation of public space and integration with the context. Every proposed building seeks to help define open space rather than just occupying it. When possible and appropriate, new buildings try to amplify favorable local conditions. Projects are developed with a high degree of detail to overcome the schematization of a superficial proposal that addresses only some aspects of the problem. Likewise, the presentation is careful and seeks to present the exterior and interior aspects of the project, when applicable.

3 Counter-hegemonic Project #1: André Forster Square

This first project is a neighborhood square, the André Forster Square, as shown in figure 1, typically resolved in Porto Alegre by creating a sports court and a playground in the middle of existing trees, without a clear landscape design and without including any of the activities described above as everyday infrastructure. A new spatial distribution is proposed to transform that insufficient open space into an ordered whole composed of a representative center – portico, Civic Square, and Community Center – and a strip for physical activities – skateboard, multipurpose court, and playground, next to the building, as seen in figure 2. Shaded green areas for rest and contemplation surround these spaces. The relationship with the

surroundings is carefully planned: the main access is via the avenue and there is a transverse path, tangent to the Community Center, which connects the two side streets. The Civic Square is a place for fairs, local events, protests, and concerts, among others – figure 3. The Community Center offers a place for cultural activities and meetings sheltered from the weather. This is a project that, if implemented, would create a center for the neighborhood, a place where many kinds of activities linked to citizenship could take place, as seen in figure 4.

Fig. 1: André Forster Square, present situation. Source: Google Earth, 2021.

Fig. 2: Community Center and Civic Square Proposal. Source: The author, 2019.

Fig. 3: Aerial view of the square. Source: The author, 2020.

Fig. 4: View of Community Center from Civic Square. Source: The author, 2019.

4 Counter-hegemonic Project #2: Zumbi Dos Palmares Cultural Center

Zumbi dos Palmares Square, in figure 5, is one of the worst examples of neglect with public space that can be found. Located where the historic center of Porto Alegre meets its first expansion, it is an area of almost 11,000 m2 completely paved and without any urban furniture or vegetation to soften the impact of the heat (figure 6). In this space, events take place that bring together many people – concerts, rallies, food truck parties – without any infrastructure. The neighborhood to which it belongs – the Cidade Baixa neighborhood – is not lavish in good open spaces either. Actually, there aren't even poor quality open spaces and, although a few meters away there are two green areas, they are residual spaces inside the loops of a viaduct,

very unsuitable to be used as public spaces. Therefore, the site is an opportunity to create a complex of spaces and programs of a public nature.

Fig. 5: Zumbi dos Palmares Square, present situation. Source: The author, 2020.

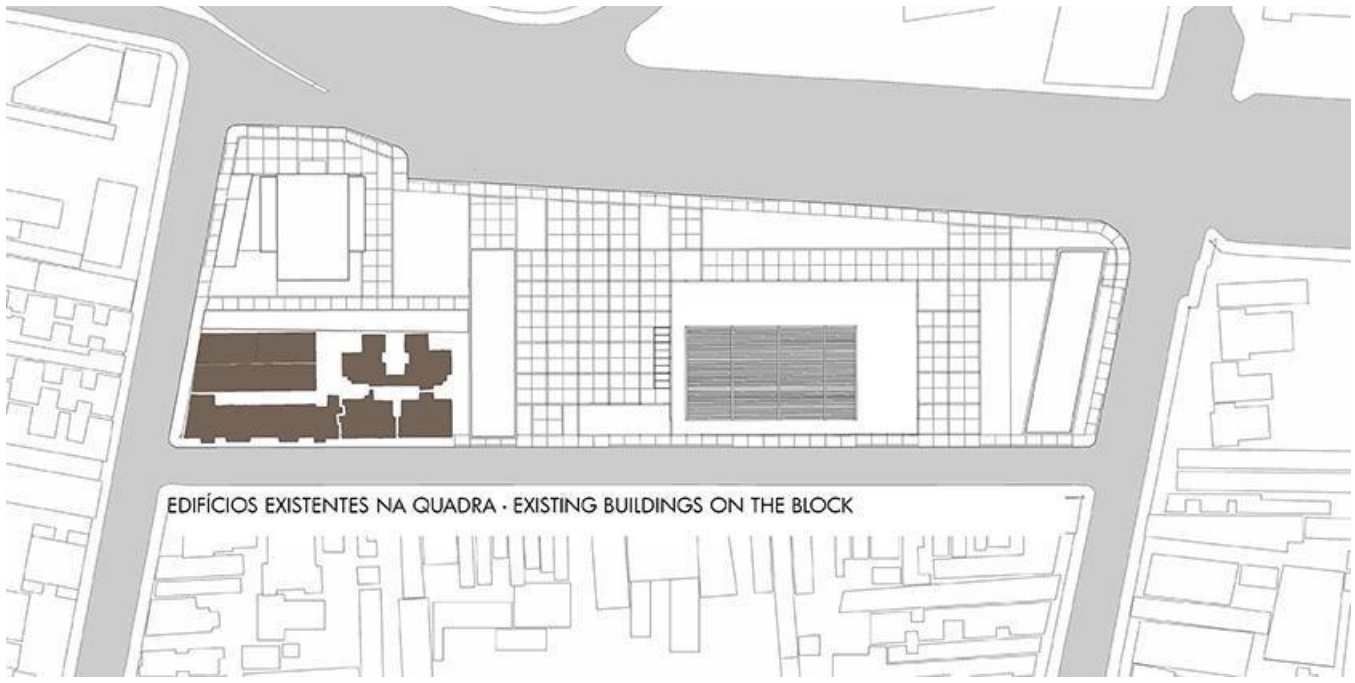

Fig. 6: Existing buildings on site. Source: The author, 2020.

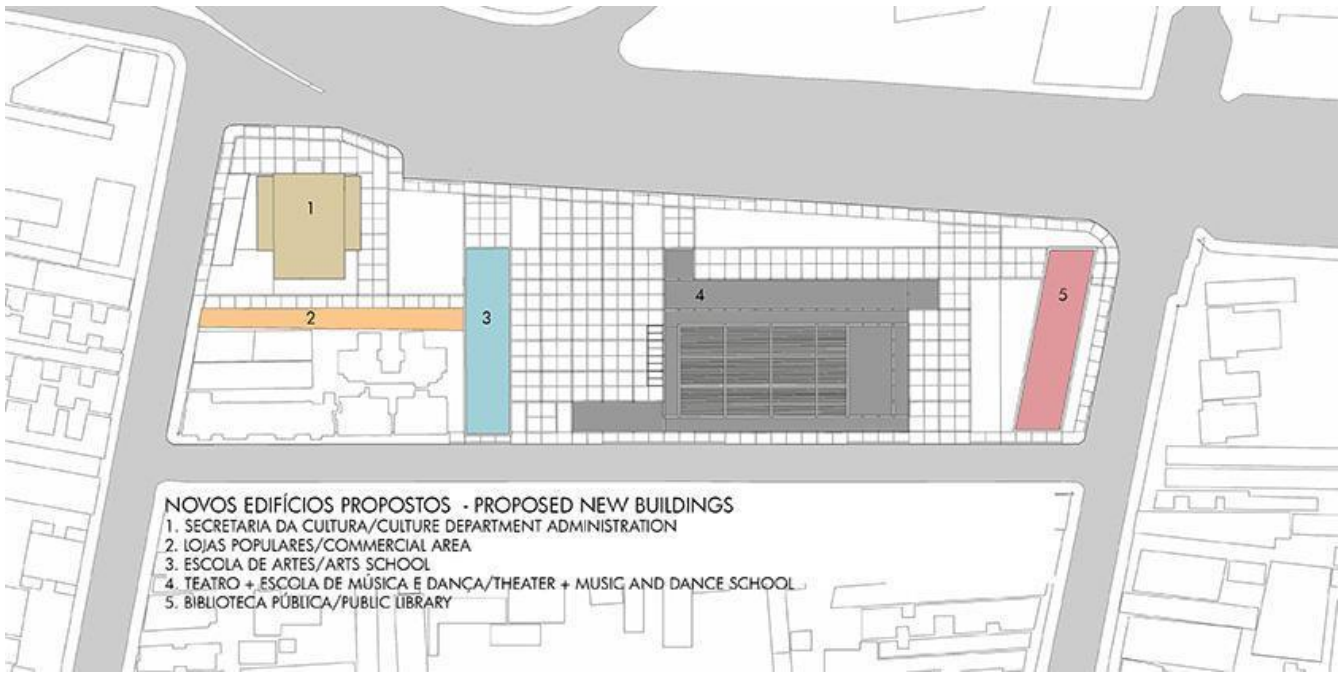

Fig. 7: Distribution of proposed buildings and open spaces. Source: The author, 2020.

Presented in Figure 7, the proposal consists of a cultural center in which the buildings are interspersed with open spaces with the characteristics of a paved square. The Zumbi dos Palmares Cultural Center would consist of the following elements: on the right, in pink, a public library, parallel to José do Patrocínio Street. In the center, in grey, a school of dance and dramaturgy organized around a theater. On the ground floor of this building, there would be a restaurant, café, and shops facing the back street and the small square between this building and the library, which contains a play area for children. To the left of the larger building, there is an art school, in blue, and between them lays the largest and most important open space in the complex. Attached to the school there is a low, long construction in orange, which houses small popular stores and serves to hide the party wall of the existing buildings. Finally, in beige, an administrative tower that concentrates municipal administration offices, today scattered throughout the neighborhood. The project proposal can be seen in figures 8, 9 and 10. This tower is an adaptation of a project by the Spanish architect Helio Piñón. The project would have a positive impact on the neighborhood, introducing teaching, leisure, cultural and administrative institutions, while preserving the possibility of carrying out other outdoor activities in the main square. There is no lack of ideas to qualify cities: what is lacking is the political will to put them into practice.

Fig. 8: General view from the North (historic center). Source: The author, 2020.

Fig. 9: View of the space between the library and the dance/theater school. Source: The author, 2020.

Fig. 10: Square between dance/theater school and art school. Source: The author, 2020.

5 Counter-hegemonic Project #3: University Hospital Addition

Some situations in life seem so wrong that they push us to some kind of reaction, even if innocuous since the wrongdoing cannot be reversed. But the reaction marks a position and, who knows, it may have future positive consequences for similar cases. I am referring to the case of the Porto Alegre General Hospital (HCPA) (figure 11), affiliated with the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). It has been originally designed by architect Jorge Moreira, and its expansion is an architectural and urban scandal due to its vulgarity and for not knowing how to deal with cultural heritage and the urban environment. What is questioned here is not the expansion itself but the way it was carried out. It was a difficult problem from the outset, as the HCPA block is anomalous to its surroundings, with most of its buildings rotated approximately 45 degrees in relation to the streets defining it, except for five buildings on the corner of Protásio Alves with São Manoel streets. This seems to be a consequence of having been designed taking into account roads that finally were not built. This is why the only perceptible relationship with the surroundings is the perpendicularity to Jerônimo de Ornelas Street, much less important than the roads that define the corner of the block where the hospital was located, formed by Ramiro Barcelos Street and Protásio Alves Avenue, the latter being one of the structuring axes of the city's growth towards the East.

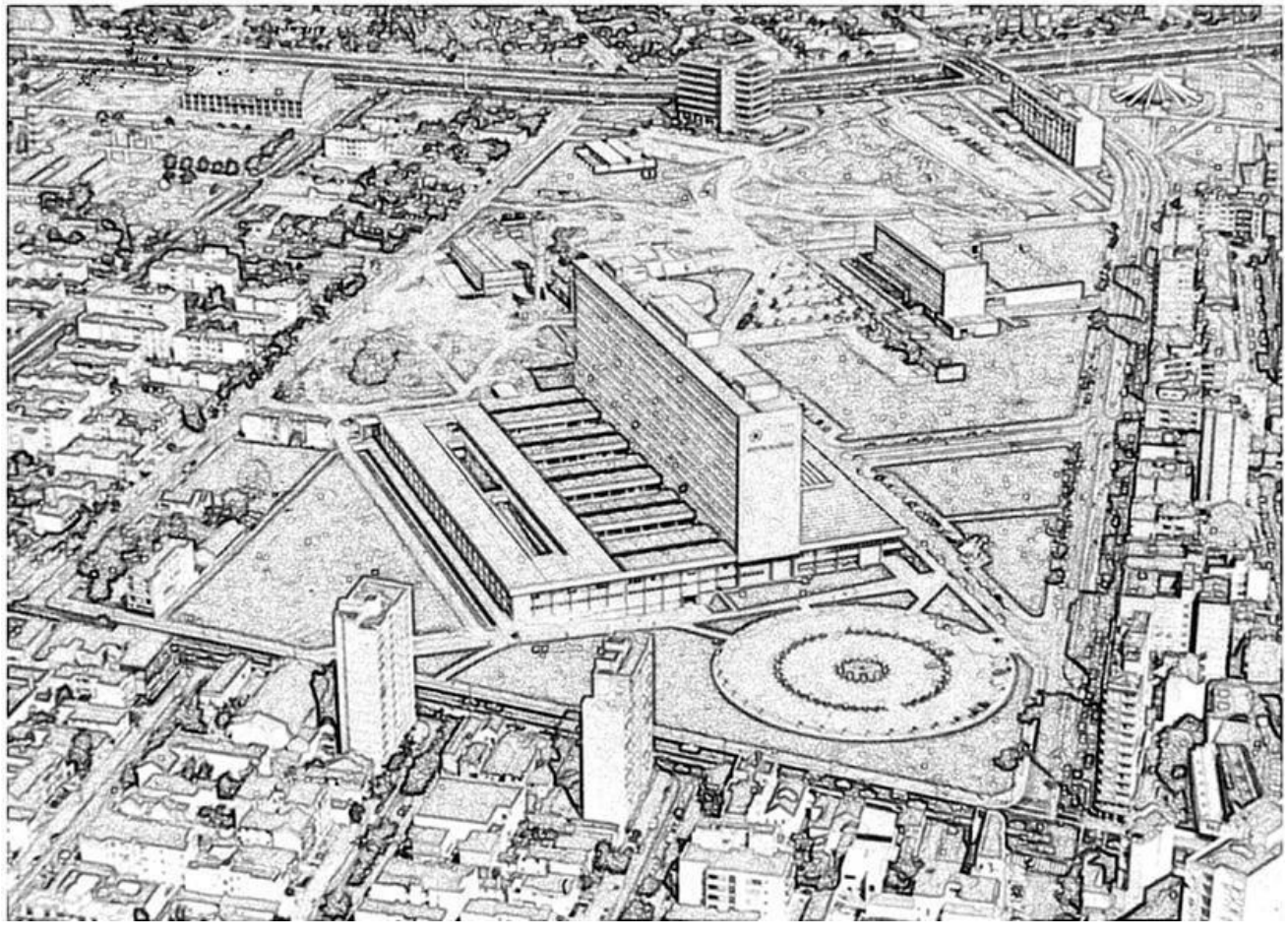

Fig. 11: HCPA, general view before the addition. Source: The author, 2022.

Fig. 12: HCPA, situation prior to the addition. Source: The author, 2022.

The original building (figure 12) was positioned considering the streets, and minimizing the impact it could have on them due to its large size. Whether we like the HCPA building or not, it is part of the city's cultural heritage – protected by the Historical and Cultural Heritage Agency (EPHAC) since 2011. It was very much a part of the residents' memory and deserved much better treatment by those involved in the process. The city of Porto Alegre usually misses out the opportunities to qualify its neighborhoods and, consequently, the lives of its citizens. One could mention the area around the Jockey Club, the Mauá Wharf and the Só Shipyard, to name just a few of such lost opportunities.

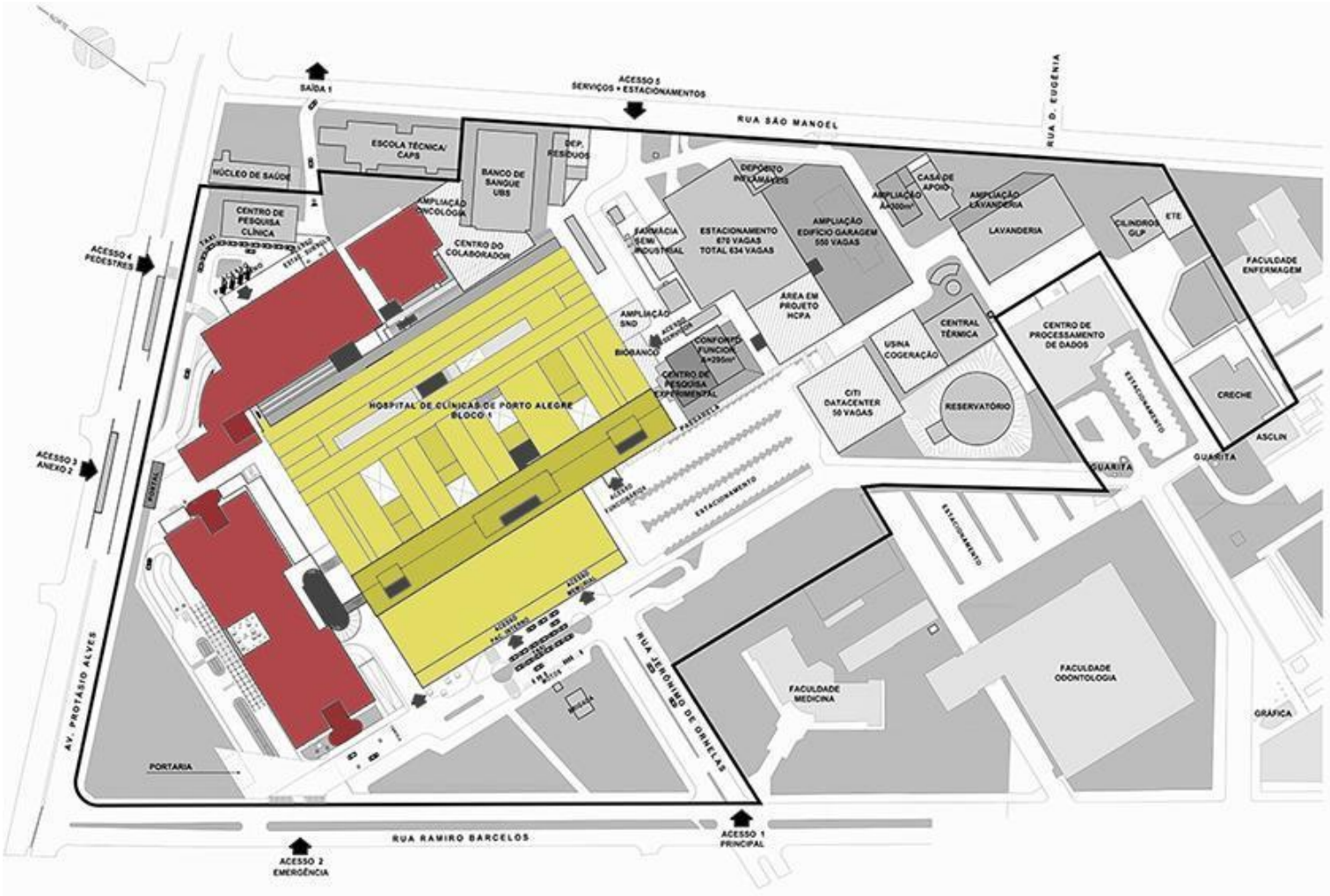

Fig. 13: Hospital de Clinicas de Porto Alegre. Planta de situação, ampliação em vermelho. Fonte: Autor, 2022.

In this case, there was an opportunity to expand the hospital and correct its faulty relationship with the immediate surroundings. However, what was finally built is characterized by vulgar architecture and a total lack of understanding of what is crucial when intervening in a consolidated urban environment. The expansion managed to make matters worse, establishing a chaotic relationship with Protásio Alves Avenue, as its contact with the road takes place through curves and corners, configuring a building volume that in no way favors the daily life of this road, as seen in the expansion plan, figure 13. The view below, in figure 14, shows how formally aggressive the adopted solution is and how it differs from the surroundings, both from a volumetric point of view and from the way the buildings relate to the sidewalks. Furthermore, it completely ignores the commercial use of the ground floors across the avenue, an urban feature that contributes to the vitality of this neighborhood.

Fig. 14: HCPA. Views from Protásio Alves Avenue. Source: Google Maps, 2020.

What I propose derives from a basic premise: architecture's first commitment is to the city. Therefore, the problem of expansion has to be solved at the same time that a positive relationship with the surroundings is established. Another important premise is that when flexible plans are generated – generally by way of orthogonal configurations, well served by circulation and service nodes – with sufficient space to house the program, there is no reason to worry excessively about the layout of the spaces. The counter-project aims to solve the two problems, by reconciling the two directions involved: the alignment of the streets and the rotated angle of the hospital. From a compositional point of view, it can be divided into three parts: an L-shaped bar that follows the directions of Ramiro Barcelos Street (left) and Protásio Alves Avenue (top) and defines the edges of these streets in three dimensions; a central body that follows the orientation of the existing building and that – where it touches the previously mentioned bars – generates a series of patios that light and ventilate the interior space; and the third block, located on the São Manoel Street side, an extension of the spatial logic of the lower body of the hospital, organized around several courtyards, extending as far as the site boundaries, as seen in figures 15 and 16.

Fig. 15: HCPA, counter-project. Ground floor plan, commercial areas in white. Source: The author, 2020.

Fig. 16: HCPA, counter-project. Typical floor plan. Source: The author, 2020.

As for the use of the extension, the entire ground plan of the L-shaped bar that follows the streets is dedicated to commercial use, which would certainly bring life to this part of the block, as well as a welcome financial return to the hospital. It should be noted that the store fronts, shown in figures 17, 18 and 19, are recessed, creating a continuous and comfortable portico for circulation and a terrace for bars and restaurants. The entire expansion was kept four stories-high, which meets both the needs of the hospital area and the city's, as the urban space is well defined and the heritage is protected and still visible from various angles. The structural module of the expansion measures 7.5 m, which facilitates underground parking.

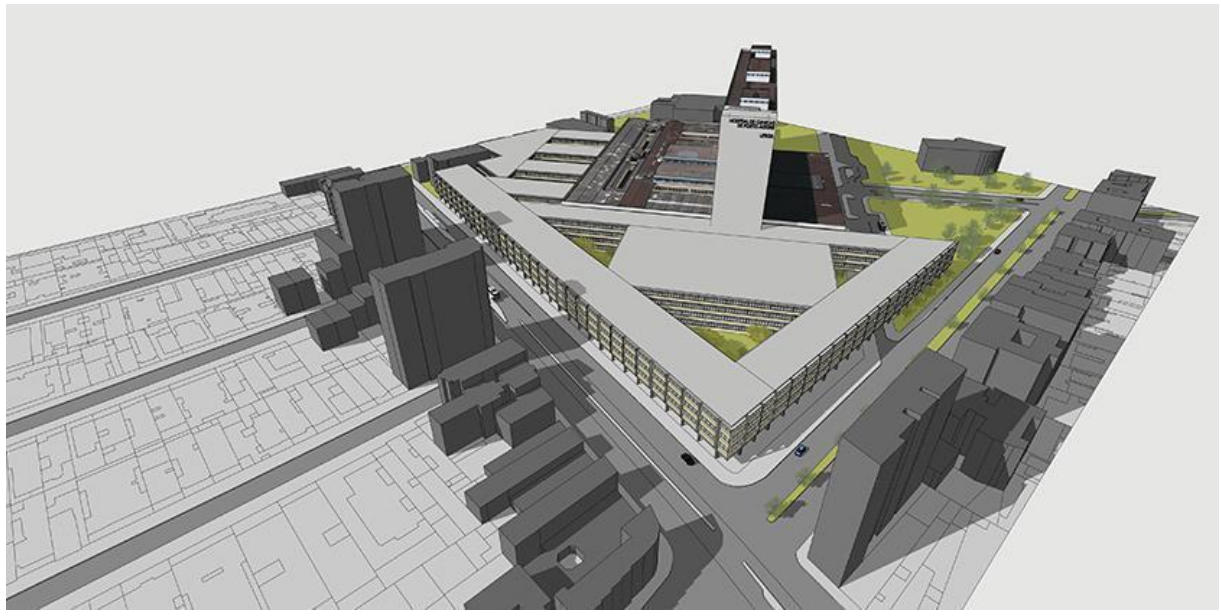

Fig. 17: HCPA, counter-project. Aerial view. Source: The author, 2020.

Fig. 18: HCPA, counter-project. View from the corner of Protásio Alves and Ramiro Barcelos. Source: The author, 2020.

Comparing what is proposed here with the expansion carried out, one can see that the lowest and urbanistically most appropriate solution is also more efficient than the one actually built. The built project totals 84,000 m2, spread over 7 and 6 floors, with two underground floors dedicated to parking. The counter-project reaches 71,000 m2 above ground, arranged in just 4 floors, with two underground parking floors that add up to another 23,000 m2, totaling 94,000 m2, which makes it better in every way, not just in the urban sense. This third counter-hegemonic project once again proves something that public works promoters often ignore: in most cases, doing it badly and doing it well costs the same, although doing it well requires more work, as it requires considering more aspects of an urban design problem.

Fig. 19: HCPA, counter-project. View of the Ramiro Barcelos Street facade, showing that the proposed expansion would not hide the historic building Source: The author, 2020.

6 Final Considerations

Works like those presented here have at least three positive aspects. The first one is that, by studying each problem and gathering material about them, conditions are created to work in the design studio on real themes and, in some cases, the product of joint work can act as a basis for the effective solution of an urban problem by the public authorities. The second positive aspect is that, by developing his own project, the teacher becomes better qualified to guide students, as he knows the difficulties and opportunities intrinsic to the subject. The third positive point, and here comes the direct relationship with the theme of the journal issue is that projects of this nature reveal an attitude of protest and resistance against what is considered a negative hegemonic thought for life in cities. Every well-reasoned criticism has its weight, but when it is presented as a project it overcomes a common type of reaction which claims that it is easier to criticize when one does know the problems in depth.

In the academic environment, the guidelines for authors require references to be included and made explicit in the text. However, almost four decades of teaching and research allow for the development of one's own thinking which, although indebted to the work of countless colleagues, is able to carry out theoretical and design work without being conscious of who influenced each part of it. In these three projects, it is clear that buildings are always at the service of the three-dimensional definition of the open space, that open spaces must have a clear form and avoid any residual condition, and that the immediate surroundings are a factor of great importance in the formal and programmatic definition of any urban project. These characteristics of the projects presented here appeared in my work as a result of the assimilation of ideas from many authors. Therefore, I list below a series of authors whose work was important in my education and whose influence hovers over the presented projects.

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